



## ***Concordia Discors***

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

## **Barcelona Final Report**

*Ricard Morén-Alegret*

*Albert Mas*

*Dawid Wladyka*

*Barcelona, October 2012*

With financial support from the European Commission





*\* Cover pictures of Poble Sec and Sagrada Família quarters (in their context) taken from Montjuïc Mountain (R.M.A., February 2010).*

## List of Contents

Preface .....	5
Introduction .....	7
<b>1. Methodological considerations .....</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>2. Quarters as contexts of social interaction: Compared indicators and perceptions .....</b>	<b>11</b>
2.1 Quarters as urban contexts .....	11
2.2 Quarters as social contexts .....	15
2.3 Quarters as migrant destinations .....	16
2.4 Political and institutional setting .....	19
<b>3. Quarters as contexts of intergroup relations: Representations and interactions .....</b>	<b>22</b>
3.1 Quarter 1. Sagrada Família .....	22
3.1.1 Intergroup representations .....	22
3.1.2 Intergroup interactions .....	28
3.2 Quarter 2. Poble Sec .....	41
3.2.1 Intergroup representations .....	41
3.2.2 Intergroup interactions in Poble Sec .....	46
<b>4. Quarters as media images: Narratives on places and narratives on people .....</b>	<b>62</b>
4.1. Quarters in the media .....	63
4.2 Migration in the quarters .....	66
4.3 Media as seen from below: The perspective of residents .....	76
<b>5. Quarters as policy objects: Frames and outcomes .....</b>	<b>79</b>
5.1 Quarter 1. Sagrada Família .....	79
5.1.1 Policies as seen from above: The perspective of the policy community .....	79
5.1.2 Policies as seen from below: The perspective of residents .....	81
5.2 Quarter 2. Poble Sec .....	82
5.2.1 Policies as seen from above: The perspective of the policy community .....	82
5.2.2 Policies as seen from below: The perspective of residents .....	85
<b>6. Conclusions .....</b>	<b>87</b>
References .....	91
<b>Annex 1. List of interviewees in Sagrada Família and neighbourhood forum participants quoted .....</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Annex 2. List of interviewees in Poble Sec and neighbourhood forum participants quoted .....</b>	<b>104</b>
<b>Annex 3. Neighbourhood Forums pictures .....</b>	<b>107</b>

## **Preface. Essential features and fundamental assumptions of the Concordia Discors project.**

I. The expression “Concordia Discors” comes from the Latin poet Horace’s epistles and has become paradigm 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. Therefore it is necessary to face, thematize and analyze the inter-group tensions associated with integration processes, as a precondition to deal with such tensions proactively and constructively. We have thus investigated different modes of intergroup relations, in particular the various shapes of conflict and cooperation, including intermediate patterns of interactions, seen as developmental dynamics of integration processes.

II. Another assumption concerns the view of intergroup relations. We have adopted the boundary-making perspective proposed by Fredrik Barth as early as the 1960s, according to which ethnic distinctions have a relational nature and they may (or may not) crosscut groups of shared culture or nationality. Therefore, our units of observation are individuals and organised groups, that we have not pre-clustered into ethnic groups since the existence and the configuration of such groups will rather be part of the research findings. Coherently with this approach we have looked not only at ethnic/migration cleavages but also at other relevant cleavages which structure interactions - overlapping, reinforcing or blurring the ones produced by migration - such as the cleavages based on socio-economic status, generation or length of stay in the neighbourhood. The choice of this approach is the reason why we use the term “intergroup relations” and not “interethnic relations”.

III. A third assumption inspiring this project is that places matter in shaping relations among groups. Given that contemporary cities are (increasingly) internally fragmented and too heterogeneous to be investigated as undifferentiated places, we focused our study on those specific areas in cities which share urban and social characteristics and are called quarters. We define the quarter as a sub-municipal urban entity, which is not necessarily an autonomous administrative entity, but whose identity is recognisable (although not necessarily with a shared perception of its exact geographical boundaries).

IV. Given these three assumptions, Concordia Discors have investigated intergroup relations at the quarter level, in order to produce a deep, strongly empirically-based and directly policy relevant understanding of integration and conflict processes.

We focused on the quarter specificities, nonetheless adopting a wide perspective and taking factors into account which belong both to the macro and micro levels. In particular, we analysed the role played in shaping intergroup relations by:

- Neighbourhoods as urban and social contexts;
- Everyday experience and relations;
- Information and representation flows of local media concerning the target neighbourhoods;
- Local policies producing their effects on intergroup relations in the target neighbourhoods, including political/electoral communication strategies.

V. We have referred to different disciplines and fields of study, using both quantitative and qualitative methods. The main methodological steps of the Concordia Discors project are the following.

- Analysis of social and urban context. The first step consisted in reconstructing the urban and social context of the target quarters and identifying common indicators describing the urban, social and migration contexts;
- Analysis of local policy communities' perceptions. We carried out interviews and focus groups with quarter-level policy communities (policy-makers, street-level bureaucracy, NGOs, etc) investigating policy frames (i.e. the cognitive dimension of policy, in particular the way in which immigration and intergroup relations are framed) and the measures that according to interviewees have influenced intergroup relations;
- Analysis of local media flows. This step of analysis was based on media contents of local and/or local sections of national newspapers depending on the specificities of media landscape of each city. First, we tried to understand how often the target quarters have been mentioned in association with immigration. Then, we analysed the contents of the news identifying the dominant representations of intergroup relations and of policy interventions on immigration and integration issues in the target quarters;
- Ethnographic fieldwork. We tried to catch the experienced intergroup relations through direct observation and interviews that allowed us to single out residents' representations of differences, on the one hand, and investigating everyday practices and daily encounters, on the other hand. In order to carry out an in-depth analysis, the ethnography was focused on a limited number of "interaction zones" for each quarter, which are regarded as significant in terms of intergroup relations and are geographically circumscribed. Furthermore, we reconstructed collective narratives of the neighbourhoods' recent history through the Neighbourhood Forums, half-day events engaging residents from different ethnic and socio-economic groups (local administrators, NGOs, ethnic associations, residents of various ages, shopkeepers, etc). This Forums also represented means of involvement of population of the target neighbourhoods thus enhancing the participatory nature of this research.

VI. The Concordia Discors project has adopted a comparative perspective which has been articulated over two levels:

- Comparison between different quarters within the same city;
- Comparison between quarters located in different cities and countries.

The project's specific focus has been on 11 quarters of five European cities, each of which has been investigated by one research partner: Barcelona by GRM-Geography Department-Autonomous University of Barcelona, Budapest by TARKI, London by COMPAS of the University of Oxford, Nürnberg by efms of the University of Bamberg and Torino by FIERI. A sixth partner, the Brussels-based European Policy Centre (EPC), has been in charge of the dissemination of results and of networking and institutional relations with decision-makers and civil society organizations at EU level.

For each city a Background report and a Final report have been produced, whereas the Synthesis report provides a comparative analysis of all eleven quarters of the five target cities.

## Introduction

Barcelona has over 2,200 years of relatively well recorded history since the Romans started to conquer this part of the Mediterranean and ancient Latin sounds became more and more common here. Before then, human diversity already existed in the area. The Laeitans were the main Iberian tribe settled in what today is the Barcelona area, but the Phoenicians and Greeks had already been there. The main ancient human settlements on the Barcelona plain were located around two small mountains, Mount Taber - where today the mediaeval Cathedral of Barcelona is located - and Montjuïc. The Barcelona plain is a roughly rectangular strip of land between the Llobregat River, the Besòs River, the Mediterranean Sea and the Collserola Mountains (Sanz Parera, 1988). Both Mount Taber and Montjuïc are close to the sea (the main route for long-distance commerce in ancient times). During recent centuries, Barcelona's urban expansion has mainly been along the plain from the old city set up around Mount Taber outwards, while Montjuïc became mainly a quarry, a military headquarters (at the peak) and, more recently, a leisure and sports area. Today Montjuïc is a large green space next to the Poble Sec quarter, and the mediaeval Cathedral of Barcelona has a big and growing rival: Sagrada Família temple, which is located in the middle of the current metropolitan Barcelona. This is a city with 1,619,337 inhabitants on 1 January 2010, according to the Official Local Census (i.e., *Padrón Municipal*), 17.46 per cent of whom were foreigners. Barcelona is the core of a metropolitan area (AMB) and a metropolitan region (RMB) which is the home to around 5 million inhabitants<sup>1</sup>.

The main focus of this report is on two Barcelona quarters: Sagrada Família (Eixample District) and Poble Sec (Sants-Montjuïc District). In toponymic terms, the Sagrada Família quarter was named after the homonymous Catholic temple<sup>2</sup> that has been under construction there since late 19th century following architect Antoni Gaudí's designs. In the Catalan and Castilian languages, the toponym "Sagrada Família" means "Holy Family", and construction on the temple started in around 1881 in former crop fields belonging to *El Poblet* (in Catalan, it means "little village"), a small semi-rural setting within the boundaries of former municipality of Sant Martí de Provençals. Those and other building activities started to attract internal rural immigrants back then (Ligüerre, 2007). In 1897, that sparsely populated municipality of Sant Martí was absorbed by Barcelona. Many things have changed since then. Today the statistical indicators underline the high population density in the Sagrada Família quarter. Concretely, the population density in this quarter is three times higher than the average density for Barcelona and is also slightly higher than the population density in the Poble Sec quarter (another densely populated area) even without counting the large Montjuïc leisure area. Historically, Poble Sec shares with Sagrada Família the fact that in early 19th century they had pockets of semi-rural activity. In the Catalan language, the toponym "Poble Sec" means "Dry Village". In the past, this was an agricultural area supplying fresh vegetables to Barcelona, and it is ironic that an area that was rich in water until early 19th century is known today as a dry area. However, starting in 1830 several textile industries were set up nearby (close the sea port), and in just twenty years the subterranean water

<sup>1</sup> See: <http://www.amb.cat/web/guest/quisom>;  
<http://www.coamb.cat/puntambiental/noticies.php?notid=31&u=ok>  
<http://www.arcmetropolitana.org/inici.cfm>;

<sup>2</sup> According to architect and urbanist Oriol Bohigas, the Sagrada Família was set up by the Catholic Church as an expiatory temple, like Sacré-Cœur Basilica in Montmartre, Paris. The main aim of that kind of temple was to expiate 'the so-called sins of the working class' at a time when the workers' movement was challenging the status quo, as in the case of the 1871 Paris Commune (see, for instance, a recent interview with Oriol Bohigas at BTV: <http://www.btv.cat/joqueuse/>, 18 May 2012).

sources were dried up. Most of today's Poble Sec quarter was protected from urban expansion because it was a military area linked to the castle located at the top of Montjuïc Mountain, but the ban on construction was lifted by the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, paving the way to housing construction, urbanisation and immigration (Badenas i Rico, 2006). Regarding historical ethnic-religious diversity and connections between the Poble Sec and Sagrada Família quarters, it is interesting to note that, according to several historians, the term "Montjuïc" means "Jewish Mountain", a toponym coined due to the Jewish cemetery located there during the Middle Ages (although, others believe that the toponym "Montjuïc" comes from another religious connection, from the Latin *Mons Iovis*, i.e., Jupiter Mountain). Additionally, continuing with the historical links between both quarters, it should be mentioned that the Sagrada Família temple, just like many other noble buildings in Barcelona, was originally built using stones from the Montjuïc Mountain quarry (the extraction of Montjuïc stones stopped in 1957). On the other hand, both quarters have had a very active local civil society during the last decades and today they are the only quarters in their respective districts where official Community Plans have been implemented.

History is the foundation upon which the present is built, and the words above are a brief introduction to several historical and geographical features in order to provide the reader with some time-space and symbolic coordinates. However, this report is devoted to the present. In the analysis that has been carried out during the past year, the authors have taken into account both differences and common factors affecting Sagrada Família, Poble Sec and Barcelona as a whole. The former include the fact that Barcelona is the capital of Catalonia, a historical nation that today is officially considered an autonomous region within Spain with two co-official languages (Catalan and Castilian-Spanish), along with the fact that Barcelona is relatively close to France and is relatively well connected (by land, air and sea). In relation to economic sectors, since the 1980s and 1990s Barcelona has mainly been devoted to services - including retail commerce, tourism and international trade - that have attracted a variety of unskilled and skilled immigrants, construction and building industries and, especially since the 2000s, innovative sectors linked to cultural, educational and scientific activities - and to ITs and the so-called knowledge economy – that are attracting highly-skilled immigrants. However, even though today both Sagrada Família and Poble Sec belong to Barcelona and share some commonalities, in this final report we shall reveal that these two quarters are quite different regarding their urban fabric, social dynamics, economic activities, immigration flows and policy-making. But before that, some methodological notes might be helpful in order to grasp the research project upon which this report is based.

## 1. Methodological considerations

The research project that has yielded this report started with documental and statistical work in order to learn from major projects and databases on international immigration in Barcelona published previously, in order to set up a general framework and to select two sub-municipal units where the authors could carry out fieldwork and which were going to be studied in depth. Regarding the sub-municipal units of analysis considered in this research project, the selection process took into account the official administrative subdivisions of the Barcelona urban area. In this sense, in Barcelona there are ten districts, and under them are 73 neighbourhoods officially recognised as geographical and administrative units:

The boundaries of the ten districts have remained basically stable since 1984, but their subdivision was modified in 2008. This new subdivision originated by the City Council's passing a new subdivision into 73 neighbourhoods. This new subdivision was passed in accordance with article 21 of Barcelona's Municipal Charter, and it entailed a reorganisation and modification of the organisation and operating procedures of the districts, as well as an update of the subsequent subdivision into smaller territorial areas. (...)

*Barcelona's neighbourhoods:* The project whereby the neighbourhoods were officially defined started in 2004 with the aim of dividing the city into neighbourhoods that were significant 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. (...)

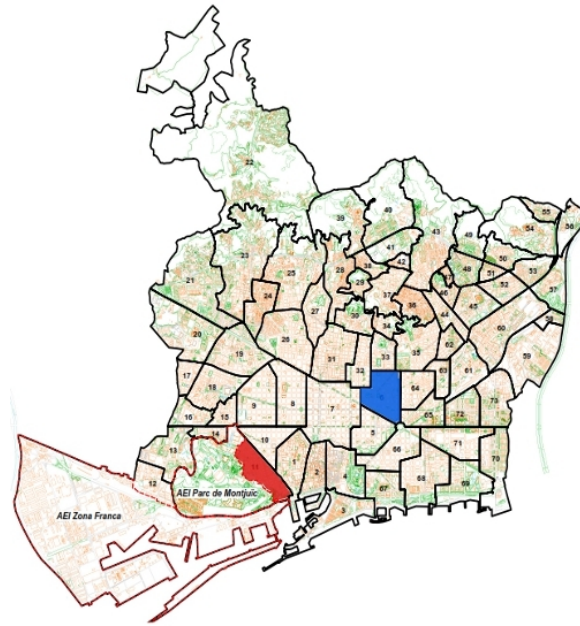
Besides the 73 neighbourhoods, [two special areas] were created (Montjuïc and Zona Franca), given their small population but large area. They thus receive special treatment: when collecting statistical data they are included inside an official neighbourhood (Montjuïc within Poble Sec, and Zona Franca within La Marina del Prat), but in territorial terms they can be split and regarded as different entities. (...) Statistical data for all 73 neighbourhoods are available since 2007. (Source: <http://www.bcn.cat/estadistica/angles/terri/index.htm>, English edited)

Bearing that in mind, two quarters (i.e., neighbourhoods<sup>3</sup>) located in two different districts were selected for this project (see Map 1.1). The first is Poble Sec, mainly considered a semi-peripheral working-class quarter situated in the Sants-Montjuïc district, with a percentage of foreign residents clearly above the Barcelona average. The second is Sagrada Família, today mainly considered a semi-central low middle-class quarter located in the Eixample district, with a percentage of foreign residents around the Barcelona average.

---

<sup>3</sup> The translation into English of 'barri' at the official website of the Barcelona City Council is 'neighbourhood'. However, in the *Concordia Discors* project, after long and complex international debates, it was decided to use the name 'quarter' for what in Barcelona and other cities is named "barri" / "barrio". In general, this report tries to implement that decision as much as possible, but on some occasions the authors have kept the term 'neighbourhood', such as in the case of the "Neighbourhood Forums", for esthetic and ethical reasons.



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

Source: [www.bcn.es](http://www.bcn.es)

With regard to the fieldwork, it was mainly carried out from April 2011 to April 2012. The first stage was carried out from April 2011 to June 2011 in both quarters as a whole. This early stage, apart from exploratory and photographic work, was mainly devoted to interviews with key informants and stakeholders at the quarter level in order to prepare a background report (see section 2 of this report and also the *Barcelona Background Report* at [www.concordiadiscors.eu](http://www.concordiadiscors.eu)), and to select three key 'interaction sites' in each quarter (see section 3 of this report). On the other hand, from July 2011 to April 2012, the second stage of the fieldwork included carrying out ethnographic activities at three 'interaction sites' in each quarter and preparing the neighbourhood forums. Additionally, an exploratory study on the local elections that took place in May 2011 was carried out during spring and summer 2011. Concretely, representatives of the five main political parties and coalitions were interviewed in both neighbourhoods: *Convergència i Unió*, *CiU*; *Partit dels Socialistes de Catalunya*, *PSC*; *Partido Popular*, *PP*; *Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya*, *ERC*; and *Iniciativa per Catalunya-Verds-Esquerra Unida i Alternativa*, *ICV-EUiA*.

In Sagrada Família, 31 interviews were audio-recorded (see Annex 1). Among these 31 interviewees, 13 were considered key informants (codes B-SF-KI) and the rest were considered informants (codes B-SF-I). Twenty-two interviewees were over 35 years old, while nine interviewees were younger than 35 years old. By nationality, seven were of foreign origin and 24 were Spanish. Regarding sex, 13 were females and 18 were males.

In Poble Sec, 39 interviews were audio-recorded (see Annex 2). Among these 39 interviewees, 17 were considered key informants (codes B-PS-KI) and 22 were considered informants (codes B-PS-I). Regarding nationality, ten were of foreign origin and twenty-nine were Spanish. By sex, 14 were females and 25 were males. By age, 21 interviewees were over 35 years old, while 18 were 35 years old or younger.

In February 2012, one Neighbourhood Forum was organised in each quarter, which included total participation of 70 neighbours: 30 neighbours participated in the Sagrada Família forum on Thursday the 2<sup>nd</sup> of February 2012 (evening-night) and 40 neighbours participated in the Poble Sec forum on Saturday the 11<sup>th</sup> of February 2012 (morning-afternoon). All seventy participants registered before the event and completed a form with their personal details. In Annex 1, in addition to the 31 interviewees, the details of three participants in the Sagrada Família Neighbourhood Forum, who have also been quoted in this report, can be found (codes B-SF-NF), while in Annex 2, in addition to the 39 interviewees, the details of five participants in the Poble Sec Neighbourhood Forum, who have also been quoted in this report, have been noted (codes B-PS-NF).

All the interviews were audio-recorded, and they were mainly conducted in Catalan and/or Castilian-Spanish. In the Neighbourhood Forums, both co-official languages were used as well. Additionally, various pictures of the forums were taken, and the three small-group discussions held (in two sessions) during each forum were audio-recorded as well (see Annex 3 for a working document with a detailed account of the forums, and Annex 4 for some pictures of the forums).

## 2. Quarters as contexts of social interaction: Compared indicators and perceptions

### 2.1 Quarters as urban contexts

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

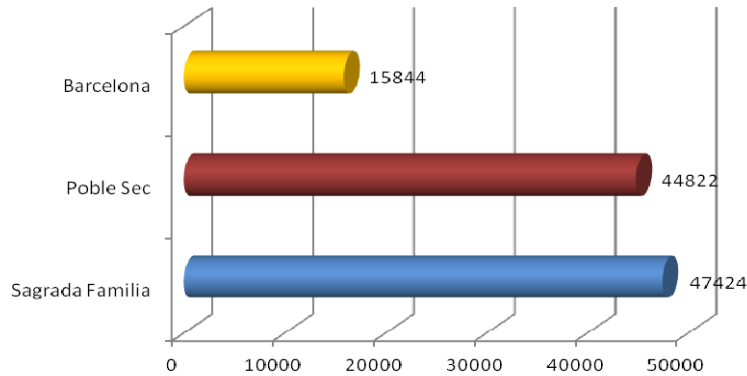
Concerning the boundaries of the quarters, Poble Sec has four very clearly defined boundaries (Espanya Square-Lleida Street, Montjuïc Mountain, the main sea port and Parallel Avenue), and in fact one of its geographical characteristics, together with its peripheral status within the Sants-Montjuïc district, is that it is the largest district in Barcelona (apart from Montjuïc, Poble Sec is connected to the rest of the district just by a narrow corridor near Espanya Square -Lleida Street). In contrast, Sagrada Família is part of the Eixample district; the boundaries of the quarter are relatively well known (although with a few variations depending on whom you ask), but they are easily crossed. In this sense, in Sagrada Família, the inflow of people from outside the quarter is enormous and particularly noticeable in the area of the Sagrada Família temple (tourists inflows and car traffic are underscored by many informants). On the other hand, in Poble Sec, in general, there are few visits from people from outside of the quarter. It is perceived by some as a cul-de-sac because the main routes to Montjuïc Mountain do not cross the heart of the quarter:

“Another characteristic that I would say about the quarter is that it is a not very permeable. I mean, luckily not a lot of people come here. And I see that positively” (B-PS-KI-3- association member-28).

However, during recent years there has been a process of ongoing change in a few streets that are becoming part of the city’s “bohemian” leisure and nightlife scene. In contrast, in Sagrada Família there are just a few nightlife establishments and a handful of activities for young people.

Sagrada Família and Poble Sec are both densely populated quarters (see Chart 2.1.), but while the former has wide streets with a lot of car traffic inside the quarter (it is an area of transit), the latter has narrow streets and very little car traffic inside the quarter (although there is a lot of car traffic on Parallel Avenue, i.e. on one of the boundaries of the quarter).

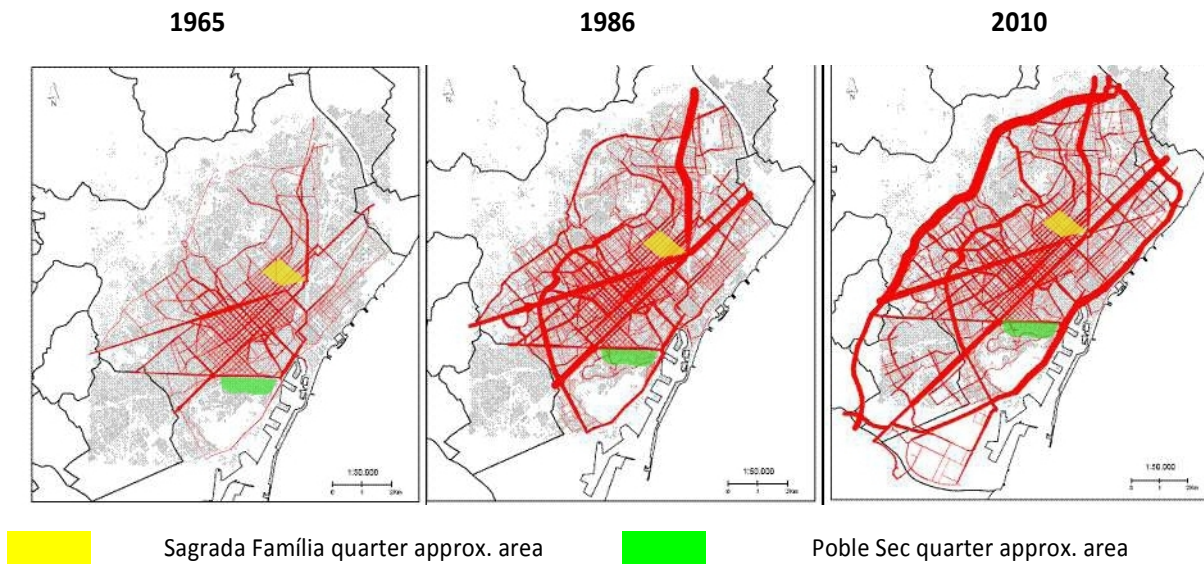
**Chart 2.1: Population density (population/km2) in Sagrada Família, Poble Sec and Barcelona as a whole (01.01.2010)**



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

Concerning the connections of the quarters, generally speaking, both are well connected with other parts of Barcelona (see Map 2.3.). Because of its location within the city and the kind of streets it has, Sagrada Família is a kind of crossroads area. In contrast, some upper areas in Poble Sec are cul-de-sacs because of Montjuïc Mountain, and they are relatively far from the metro stations.

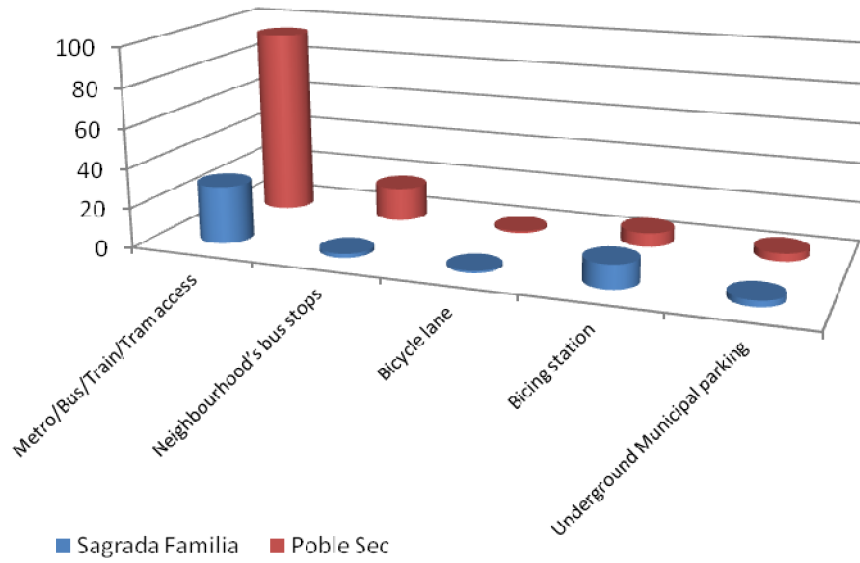
**Map 2.1. Road traffic volumes in Barcelona: 1965, 1986, 2010**



*A thicker red line means more road traffic.*

Source: Datos básicos de movilidad 2010, v.03 (www.bcn.cat). Ajuntament de Barcelona.

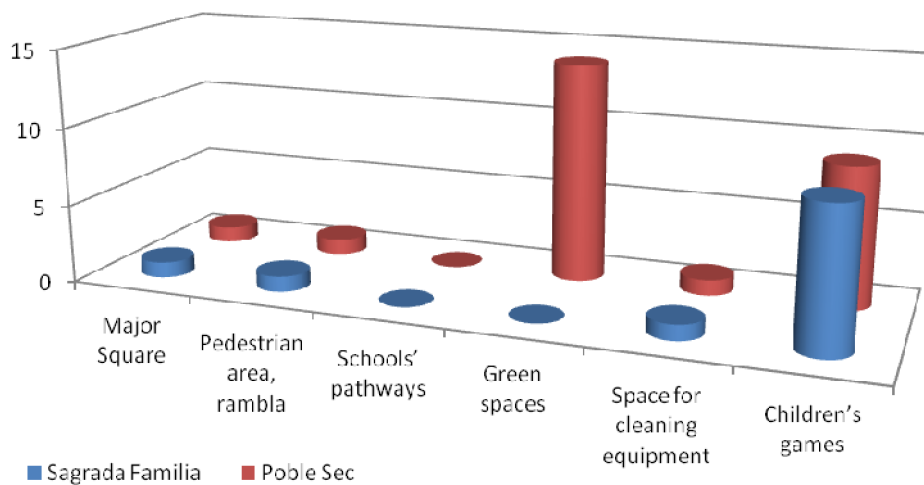
**Chart 2.2. Transport infrastructure in the Sagrada Família and Poble Sec quarters (2009)**



Source: Neighbourhood Briefs. Ajuntament de Barcelona.

Sagrada Família lacks open and green spaces, especially for celebrating local festivities and social activities in general. On the other hand, Poble Sec has also the same dearth of open and green spaces within the quarter, but it has the Montjuïc Mountain Park on one of its boundaries and the *Tres Xemeneies* Park at one of its ends. One similarity between both quarters is the perception of a lack of public services in the quarter, especially spaces and resources for young people and children and places for elder people.

**Chart 2.3. Public spaces in Sagrada Família and Poble Sec (2009)**



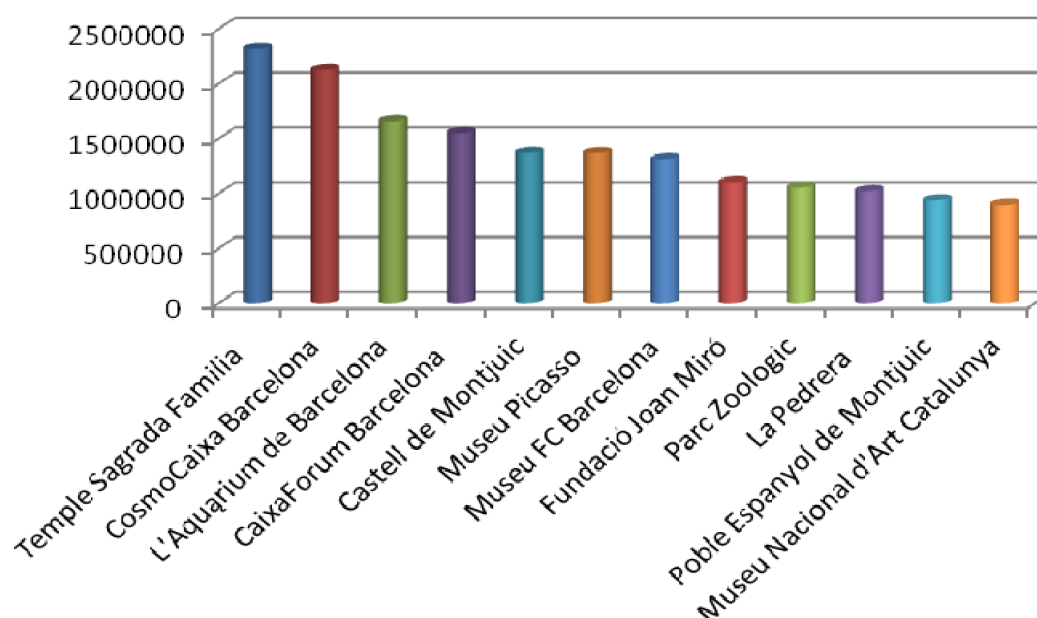
Source: Neighbourhood Briefs. Ajuntament de Barcelona.

In the case of Poble Sec, some basic services are not available within the quarter. For example, there is no adult school, and the health centre and the library seem to be too small for the needs of the quarter.

Regarding housing stocks, Sagrada Família is mostly made up of tenements of up to six floors, generally good quality apartments, some of which are 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 areas, have been remodelled during the last decade by creating new gardens with the *Pla de Barris* (i.e. the Neighbourhood Plan implemented by the previous Catalan government). On the other hand, Poble Sec is made up of a mixture of different kinds of housing stock. In the northern-lower part, which touches Parallel Avenue, there are big blocks of medium-quality flats built during 1970s and 1980s. The central part contains little blocks of flats built in different periods and with qualities, dating from the late 19th century and the first half of the 20th century, mainly older than the former. In the upper part, on the side of Montjuïc Mountain, there are more expensive flats and also houses with gardens built during the early 20th century. Some parts of the quarter have been remodelled during the last decade as part of the Neighbourhood Plan.

In relation to the local economy, the economic crisis has led to closures of some commercial establishments in both quarters. While in Sagrada Família most shops and bars in the area surrounding the temple of the same name are devoted to mass tourism attracted by the temple (see Chart 2.5.), in Poble Sec tourism is generally not very relevant (except in Montjuïc Mountain).

**Chart 2.4: 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

## 2.2 Quarters as social contexts

In relation to the social context, both quarters are very densely populated areas, clearly above the Barcelona average, which was 15,977.7 inhabitants/km<sup>2</sup> in 2010.

On the one hand, Sagrada Família has a population of 52,167 inhabitants, a density of 47,424 inhabitants/km<sup>2</sup>, and 16.86% of the population was foreign (2010). On the other hand, Poble Sec has a population of 40,340 inhabitants, a density of 43,227 inhabitants/km<sup>2</sup>, and 27.9% of the population was foreign (2010).

Sagrada Família can be considered mainly a middle-class quarter, with high real estate prices 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 estate prices, but during the last decade the quarter has attracted some young middle class residents.

In Sagrada Família, the residents participate little in the local social life. Many of them only sleep in the quarter and spend their spare time and working hours outside it. The quarter has lost its historical identity because of its residential nature and the lack of social participation. This can be identified as one of the main differences between both quarters.

In Poble Sec, there is a vivid social life; it is a 'friendly' quarter (i.e. *barrio familiar*). The sensation of closeness among its inhabitants is high, and most informants interviewed during the fieldwork reported the feeling that, although the arrival of new population has affected the former 'chummy' social relations in the quarter, there is still a balance that has allowed Poble Sec to maintain warm social relations and some degree of singularity compared to other parts of the city. The following words express this opinion:

"This is a quarter where there is a lot of local life, warm social relations ['caliu de barri']. Everybody knows each other, residents, shopkeepers... There is a tight social feeling among its inhabitants. And, even with the recent arrival of many newcomers - foreigners and people from other parts of Barcelona - there is still a balance with the people who have been residing in Poble Sec all their lives" (B-PS-KI-3-Association member-28 years old).

However, a few informants suggested that the quarter's identity is disappearing, among other factors, due to the inflow of immigrants.

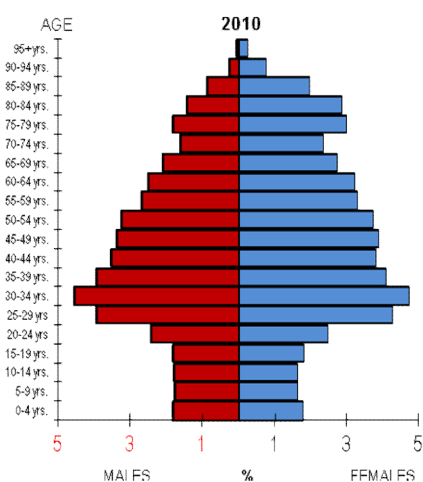
"It was a very united quarter and with very good relationships (...), but precisely during these last 10 years, when all these people from the outside have come, the newcomers we call them, this has disappeared. There is no warm coexistence" (B-PS-KI-2-residents' association-58).

Despite these negative opinions, in Poble Sec there are many associations with a dynamic and permanent social life that have fight to foster spaces for inter-cultural living together. This is another difference with Sagrada Família, where there are many associations, but just a few neighbours participate in their activities. In contrast, in Poble Sec the associative life is very well developed and involves a wide range of people and activities.

Both in Poble Sec and Sagrada Família the elderly populations are high, but to different degrees: in Sagrada Família, the population over the age of 64 accounts for 22.13% of the total, while in Poble Sec they account for just 18.5% of the total (see Charts 2.5 and 2.6.). At the same time, both quarters have

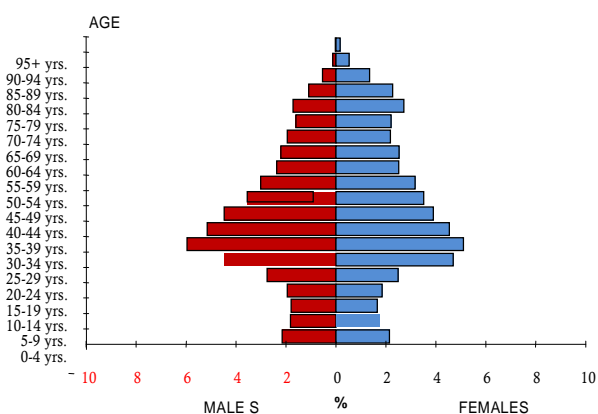
been steadily changing with the inflow of young Spanish families coming from other parts of Barcelona and foreign immigrants from abroad.

**Chart 2.5: The age-sex pyramid of the Sagrada Família quarter, 2010**



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

**Chart 2.6: The age-sex pyramid of the Poble Sec, 2010. (percentage of the total population)**



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

## 2.3 Quarters as migrant destinations

Regarding the quarters as migrants' destinations, in both cases, internal migration could already be seen back in the 19th century. In Sagrada Família, during those days the quarters name was "El Poblet" and it was the home to mainly rural immigrants attracted by the manufacturing jobs, which were better paid and more stable than work in the fields. Apart from immigrants coming from Catalan mountains and plains, employees also came 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 servants and builders. That brought a working-class character to the quarter and resulted in the headquarters of some manufacturing companies being set up there. Significant immigrant flows came from workers who arrived because of the construction projects linked to 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 immigration slowed down at the beginning of the 20th century, it sped up again with the second International Exposition of 1929. During this time, apartment buildings began to replace small houses, and there was a general improvement of infrastructures which later fuelled inflows of the small bourgeoisie to the quarter. Although urban housing pressures triggered the disappearance of many manufacturing businesses, there were still a number of factories there as late as the 1960s and 1970s. During that time, the social classes in Sagrada Família were roughly divided between the petit bourgeoisie, middle classes (professionals, tradesmen, officials) and semi-skilled workers. During this time, there were immigrants from other parts of Catalonia in the quarter, as well as also from Valencia, Murcia, the Balearic Islands, Andalusia, Castile, Extremadura, Aragon, the Canary Islands and North Africa (Spaniards), as well as

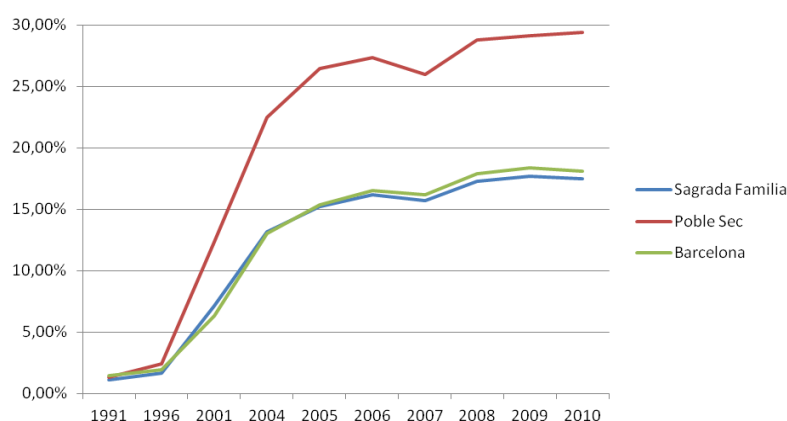


some foreigners (Ligüerre, 2007). Recent decades have witnessed the arrival of foreign immigrants from a variety of nationalities, including mainly Europeans, Latin Americans and, lately, Asians.

On the other hand, Poble Sec has welcomed people from all the different migratory waves that have settled in Barcelona during the past century. Apart from the internal rural-urban Catalan migration movements to the Barcelona metropolitan region, during the 20th century there were two major periods of growth due to internal migration: from 1916 to 1930 the industrial expansion and public works required workers, who basically arrived from geographically close areas within Spain. From the 1950s to early 1975s, the massive immigration into the Barcelona region was from more distant Spanish regions. In the late 1990s early 2000s, another inflow began made up of international immigrants, mainly from Morocco, a variety of Latin American countries and Asian countries like Pakistan and China:

“And just like in the 1950s and 60s or the 1930s we were a quarter hosting other migrations, this time we have been a quarter hosting these new immigrants. And we’ve withstood it, we have paid a price, of course we have paid a high price, because the last time we had many immigrants among us and we put them on Montjuïc Mountain in cardboard or brick barracks. With totally unhealthy conditions, no medicine, no doctors, no schools ... (...) Now it is different. Now what we have done is to shelter them among us. Maybe you knew that your neighbour, in the house next door, ten people were living there, when maybe it was built for six ... And this is the issue. We have paid the price of having them among us. But at the same time we did our best to prevent them from living in barracks, because it has not happened again. And we’ve worked with them. An important part of what the associative movement has done is trying to work with them...” (B-PS-KI-11, association member, 50).

**Chart 2.7: The timeline of changes in the proportion of foreigners in the total population of the Sagrada Família and Poble Sec quarters compared to Barcelona as a whole. (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.

In Sagrada Família, according to the local census, the most populous foreign nationalities are Italians (10.45% of the foreign population), Peruvians (8.3%), Chinese (7.89%), Ecuadorians (6.76%) and Colombians (6.25%), while the immigrant groups perceived by the interviewees as the most populous

ones are Latin Americans, Chinese, Pakistanis, Eastern Europeans and Italians (in Barcelona, a major number of people holding Italian passports were born in Argentina). On the other hand, in Poble Sec, according to the local census, the most present populous 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 populous are Moroccans, Pakistanis, Dominicans and Gypsy-Romanians.

**Table 2.1.: Percentage of foreign and national population, 01.01.2010**

	Sagrada Família	Eixample district	Poble Sec	Sants-Montjuic district	Barcelona
<b>Spanish</b>	83.14%	81.96%	72.1%	80.26%	82.54%
<b>Total Foreigners</b>	16.86%	18.04%	27.9%	19.74%	17.46%
<b>Non-EU foreigners</b>	11.86%	11.71%	21.77%	15.61%	12.83%

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

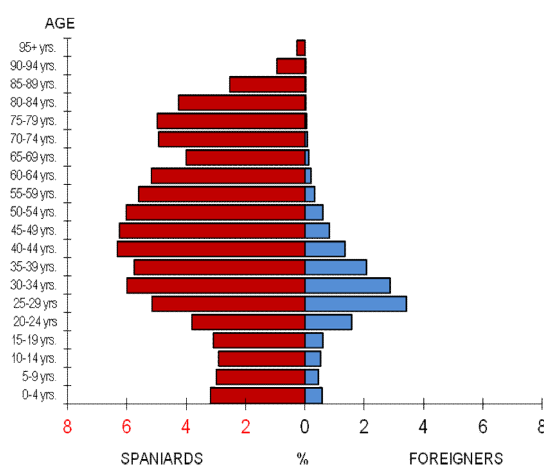
According to the interviewed stakeholders, one comparative difference in both quarters concerning the presence of immigrants is that in Sagrada Família the immigrants are not very visible on the streets because of the massive presence of tourists, the wide main streets and the residential nature of the quarter. In contrast, in Poble Sec immigrants are very visible on some streets, both daily and at weekends, tourism is scarce and the heart of the quarter is not crossed by wide traffic lanes.

**Table 2.2. Main foreign nationalities in the areas studied, 1.01.2010**

Sagrada Família	Eixample district	Poble Sec	Sants-Montjuic district	Barcelona
Italy 909	Italy 5,538	Pakistan 1,357	Ecuador 3,187	Italy 22,684
Peru 779	China 4,143	Morocco 1,012	Morocco 2,372	Ecuador 22,210
China 722	France 3,206	Philippines 982	Pakistan 2,267	Pakistan 17,735

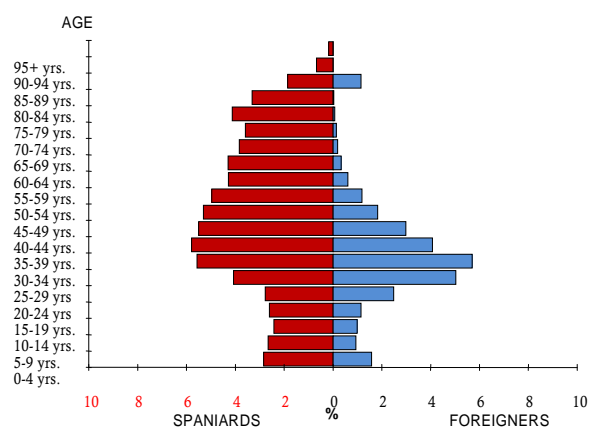
Sources: <http://www.bcn.es/estadistica/angles/dades/inf/barris/a2009/pdf/dte022.pdf> (retrieved: 05.02.2011) and <http://www.bcn.es/estadistica/angles/dades/inf/barris/a2009/pdf/dte031.pdf> (retrieved: 05.02.2011)

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



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

**Chart 2.9. The age-nationality pyramid of the Poble Sec quarter, 2010**



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

## 2.4 Political and institutional setting

In Spain, immigrant integration policies are mainly implemented by regional and local governments. The region of Catalonia, in particular, was a pioneer by developing the first integration plan in 1993 (Bruquetas-Callejo et al., 2011). In Barcelona, there are two main levels of local administration which can be relevant to immigrant integration policies (Morén-Alegret, 2002): the *Diputació* (provincial council) at the provincial level and the city government and the ten administrative districts of the city at the municipal level. Recently, as noted above, each district has been divided in several neighbourhoods (i.e., quarters), adding a third administrative tier at the municipal level in 2009 that aimed to increase the dialogue between the local government and the local civil society, to make administrative procedures easier than before and to improve the quality of municipal services. Each of the current 73 neighbourhoods has a local government officer (the so-called *Tècnic de Barri*) who is in charge of identifying needs in each neighbourhood and serve as the district representatives in communications with local organisations. Their main aims are the following: a) to promote local government and civil society projects; b) to serve as communication channels between local government and civil society; c) to foster local organisations and government participation; d) to identify and assess needs and problems in civil society; and e) to report on associations' projects to the public administrations.<sup>4</sup>

In both quarters the activity of the Coordinator of Organisations (i.e. *Coordinadora d'Entitats*) and the Neighbours' Associations is viewed positively, although in Sagrada Família not many residents participate in them. In both quarters there are community projects like the Communitarian Plan (*Pla Comunitari*)<sup>5</sup> and the Peaceful Coexistence Committee (i.e. *Taula de Convivència*) which are frameworks for associations to cooperate in order to improve the quarter and manage immigration issues, among other aims.

<sup>4</sup> See: *Fitxa Temàtica*, no. 21, December 2011 ([www.bcn.cat/craj](http://www.bcn.cat/craj)).

<sup>5</sup> See: [www.pcpoble-sec.org/](http://www.pcpoble-sec.org/)

Regarding political participation, on 22 May 2011 local elections took place in Barcelona, which was an opportunity to explore the possible links between political parties and immigration in both quarters.

For several decades, Barcelona had been governed by centre-left governments (PSC alone or in coalition with ICV or ERC), but on May 2011 the centre-right and Catalan nationalist CiU coalition won the elections. Sagrada Família had already been a quarter where CiU used to earn strong support but due to abstention and other reasons, this time CiU earned the most votes in Poble Sec for the first time, too (see Table 2.3). However, Poble Sec is still a quarter where most of the voters support centre-left and leftwing mainstream options, i.e., the total for PSC-PM, ICV-EuiA-E and UpB-ERC was 4,928 votes compared to the total of CiU and PP, which was 4,242 votes.

**Table 2.3. Local election results of the main political parties in Sagrada Família, Poble Sec and Barcelona. 22 May 2011**

Territory	Electors	Voter Turnout	CiU	PSC-PM	PP	ICV-EUiA-E	UpB-ERC	Others	Blank	Null
BARCELONA	1,163,556	616,290	174,022	134,084	104,301	62,939	33,593	69,539	27,093	10,719
Sagrada Família	38,459	20,831	6,606	3,892	2,963	2,252	1,371	2,427	966	354
Poble Sec	25,865	11,619	2,522	2,509	1,720	1,594	825	1,697	505	247

Source: Authors' own based on: <http://www.bcn.es/estadistica/catala/dades/inf/ele/ele27/ele27.pdf>

In those elections, some non-EU nationals were allowed to vote for the first time. There were 21,234 foreign residents with the right to vote, which was roughly 1.8% of the electoral census. Thus, several interviews were conducted with political party representatives and other key informants in Sagrada Família and Poble Sec in order to ascertain their perception of immigrants' participation in the elections. It seems that in both quarters there is a kind of agreement that immigrants' involvement in the electoral campaign was low. Some political representatives are not very concerned about this issue (e.g., PP), but others especially do care about that low participation (e.g., ICV). The centre-left and leftwing parties (PSC, ICV, ERC) see an immigrant as just another citizen that should have equal rights and obligations at the local level. They see immigrants in the wider framework of social services, youth and equality and are keen to resolve immigrants' issues within wider policies. On the other hand, the CiU creates separated work spaces and different areas for the immigrant party members. The CiU asks for the "freedom of speech" on immigration issues with no political correctness involved, and it restrained itself from speaking about immigrants' right to vote. However, in Sagrada Família, while CiU was the most "cautious" political party on the immigration issue, it was able to involve some immigrants in prominent and specific actions during the electoral campaign (especially merchants). They also identified several tangible issues requested by the immigrants who live in the neighbourhood, especially business-oriented ones.

Regarding the presence of single-issue political parties with anti-immigrant stances, although they did not earn political representation in the local elections held on 22 May 2011 in Barcelona, and there they did not reach the same levels as in other Catalan cities, the presence of Plataforma per Catalunya (PxC), which has a xenophobic discourse, notably increased in the Eixample district, in the Sants-Montjuïc district and in the city of Barcelona as a whole during the last elections (see Table 2.4.).

**Table 2.4. Number and percentage of votes for Plataforma per Catalunya, PxC (political party with anti-immigrant stances)**

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

Source: Authors' own based on [www.bcn.cat](http://www.bcn.cat)

There are other political parties with anti-immigrant stances (including the mainstream PP), but thus far PxC has been the most prominent party to mainly focus on anti-immigration topics.

### 3. Quarters as contexts of intergroup relations: Representations and interactions

#### 3.1 Quarter 1. Sagrada Família

##### 3.1.1 Intergroup representations

According to the official figures, Italians seem to be the most numerous group of foreign residents in the quarter. Nonetheless, they are not the most visible ones according to the neighbours interviewed. One of the reasons why that is true is that a number of them were born in Argentina. Official statistics show Peruvians and Chinese as the next most populous nationalities. Both of those nationalities are mentioned by interviewees as having a major presence in the quarter. Peruvians are often included within larger categories such as 'Latin Americans' or 'South Americans'. Additionally, some interviewees also include Colombians, Mexicans, Ecuadorians and Argentineans as a part of those groups. Although frequently mentioned as present in the quarter, Mexicans are not in the list of main foreign nationalities. That could go along with some interviewees' comments that a number of Latin American immigrants do not live in Sagrada Família quarter, but they only work there.

Chinese immigrants are seen as a closed but peaceful community that does not cause problems in the quarter. Still, it seems that the issue of the rapid growth in Chinese-owned commercial establishments arises as a possible hot spot in the immigration debate within the quarter. The Chinese residents' strong purchasing power and the supposed poor quality of their shops and products seem to be the most disturbing issues, especially (but not only) for native merchants.

On the other hand, Latin Americans (rarely distinguished by nationality) are seen as the immigrants who have paid jobs. They rarely own bars or shops. Their presence is sometimes related to the ageing of the quarter. Many of them are perceived as working in the personal services sub-sector, especially taking care of the elderly. In contrast to the apparently quiet Chinese community, young Latin Americans were portrayed by some informants as responsible for a noisy street life until late hours and the lack of safety on the streets.<sup>6</sup> We should also mention that these allegations were not confirmed during the ethnographic fieldwork.

The other immigrant groups 'labelled' by interviewees as prominent in the quarter are 'Muslims' (specified as Pakistanis and Moroccans), 'Senegalese', 'East Europeans' (detailed as Romanians, Ukrainians and Russians), and 'European migrants' (mainly Italians).

Pakistanis are perceived as less numerous and somehow more socially open than Chinese immigrants. However, the general perception is that they are a closed community:

"A neighbourly relation between a Spanish woman and a Pakistani man is impossible in the quarter. Between man and man, yes, there are some relations (...) For example: there is a Pakistani child in the school, and the school needs to speak with the parents. The mother never goes. It is always the father that responds to the call... The school director is a woman, and so there is no dialogue because the

---

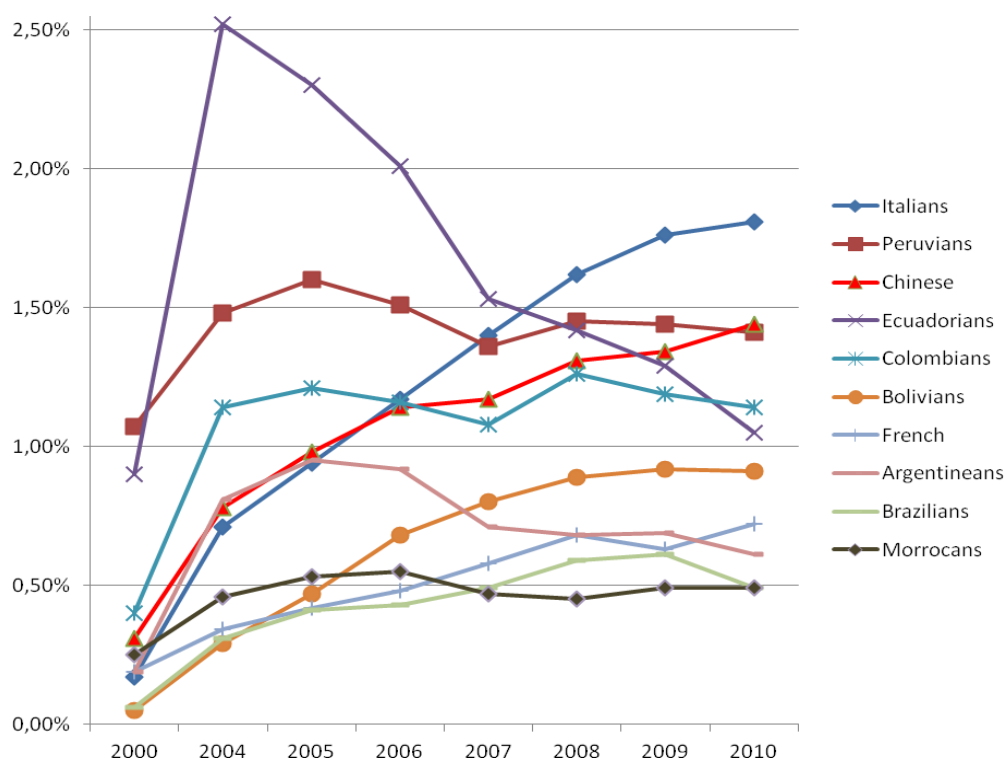
<sup>6</sup> News reports about groups of Latin American origin have also been published in newspapers in previous years, e.g., "BCN alerta del rápido aumento de bandas latinas en la ciudad", *El Periódico de Catalunya*, 26<sup>th</sup> March 2005, page 30.

father needs there to be a man opposite him as an interlocutor. If there is no man, the dialogue ends” (B-SF-NF-34-social organisation member, 44).

Just like Chinese merchants, Pakistanis are known to run small businesses (mainly kebab joints and grocery stores) that are open long hours. They are also known as working in gift shops for tourists in the area of Sagrada Família temple. Their presence is not perceived using terms such as “flood”, but they are seen as a large group.

The so-called “people from the East” (i.e., Byelorussians, Ukrainians, Russians and Romanians) are mostly mentioned in the context of the bad opinion they have earned, and this is related to alcohol consumption, conflict, a lack of safety and discomfort. Romanians are portrayed as perennial beggars and delinquents prone to committing petty crimes.

**Chart 3.1: Timeline of changes in the ten most populous 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

The Sagrada Família quarter is a touristic destination and a residential area with limited number of public spaces. Both characteristics have an impact on the visibility of immigrants, in that they become merged with the mass of tourists. The daily and often superficial inter-group relations take place in bars (mostly owned by Chinese and some Peruvians) and shops (groceries owned by Pakistanis and multipurpose shops owned by Chinese).

“If you walk through the quarter (...) you notice that there are a lot of bars and restaurants (...) run by Chinese people (...) Peruvian bars, Colombian bars (...) None of them has a presence in the street (...) since this is a

dormitory quarter not for [social] life (...) This a very touristic quarter (...) The [immigrants'] presence is not very obvious (...) In other sites you see it like: wow! But not here." (B-SF-KI-06-social organisation technician-34)

There are no well-developed immigrant organisations in the Sagrada Família quarter. There is a Chinese Evangelical church, but it does not seem to interact much with the other organisations in the quarter. There were some attempts to set up a Peruvian immigrants' association, but ultimately it was transferred to another quarter. Some interviews show that there might be distrust among natives towards how immigrant organisations manage public funds.

Some organisations have become meeting places for immigrants and natives alike. One example is the Multicultural Interaction Group (*Grup d'Interacció Multicultural, GIM*),<sup>7</sup> an organisation located in a socio-cultural space called *Espai 210* that seems to be the most important one. This group is prominent in the whole quarter. Its core activities include organising cultural activities and fighting stereotypes. Immigrants of Latin American origin (Peru, Cuba, and Argentina) are especially actively involved in this organisation.

**Photo 22, 23, 24, 25: A Multicultural Interaction Group (GIM) stall during a local street festival**



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



Photo 23: A debate on multicultural interaction with the participation of a young Muslim woman attracted the attention of another Muslim woman who was passing by. (Photo: D.W.)



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



Photo 25: Smoke and rumours. A poster imitating non-smoking signs announces a 'Space without rumours'. An Asian immigrant attracted by the stand. (Photo: D.W.).

<sup>7</sup> See: <http://gimsagradafamilia.blogspot.com.es>



There is a space for “newcomers” integration in the quarter’s Public Library.<sup>8</sup> Nonetheless, it seems not this “newcomers space” but some activities organised by the library (for example, Chinese New Year activities in early 2012) and courses held at the Civic Centre (in the same building) are what empower immigrants to participate and interact with natives and other immigrants. Worth highlighting is the importance of one unique building where a library, civic centre, local marketplace, social services, excursionists club and other organisations are located. In that building, one can gain access to cultural and educational services, free internet, a variety of organised activities and everyday basics as shopping. As result, it generates areas of encounter that allow everyday interactions (albeit often superficial) between immigrants and natives.

There are also other organisations that noted the participation of immigrants during the interviews. Among them, we should highlight the *Associació de Veïns i Veïnes de la Sagrada Família*<sup>9</sup> (i.e., Neighbours’ Association, providing mainly free Catalan language lessons), *Aula Ambiental de la Sagrada Família*<sup>10</sup> (i.e., Environmental Classroom, located near the temple and offering activities and short courses on sustainability, etc.), *Castellers de la Sagrada Família*<sup>11</sup> (the traditional Human Towers movement, where immigrants and natives can climb on the back of each other forming human pyramids together), as well as language and music schools that are present in the quarter. However, immigrants’ participation is perceived as insignificant due to a number of factors:

- a) Chinese immigrants are perceived as the least participative, and Latin Americans are seen as the ones who are the most actively involved in the life of the quarter. This was explained by the interviewees by noting linguistic difficulties, cultural differences, long working hours and the knowledge about how the quarter operates, which are dependent on residence seniority.

“The ones from South America participate, although not the young ones but those who are mature (...) they probably have already spent some time here (...); they know how the quarter works” (B-SF-KI-03-socio-cultural activist-28).

- b) At the same time, the informants noticed that the second generation of people of Chinese extraction do relate more with natives. They go to schools with natives and other immigrants and maintain friendships with them:

“You cannot see them shopping in the stores (...) maybe now you can start to see it (...) some young Chinese girls do, sometimes; I saw one buying in the shops, in the market (...) so you say it is not so bad” (B-SF-I-01-shop keeper & traders’ association-51)

“The Chinese do not participate a lot. Anyway, I had a Chinese classmate in the Catalan language course. The girl was completely integrated. You can find all kinds of people” (B-SF-NF-31-social organisation member- 64)

- c) Another pattern is the type of organisation where there is interaction or where it is lacking. Traditional organisations like *Castellers* and the board that organises local traditional festivities are the ones that seem to attract the immigrants’ attention and even participation. In contrast, the merchant or

<sup>8</sup> The integrative function of Barcelona public libraries is mentioned in the following newspaper article, whose title is clear: “Biblioteccas hasta los topes” (See: *La Vanguardia*, 16th of April 2009, Section “Cultura”, page 30.

<sup>9</sup> See: <http://www.avvsagradafamilia.net/>

<sup>10</sup> See: <http://aulambientalsf.blogspot.com.es/>

<sup>11</sup> See: <http://www.castellerssagradafamilia.com>

excursionist associations seem to be ignored by immigrants. Some observations expressed by interviewees arising from ethnographic observations that partially explain this pattern:

- Firstly, organisations like the *Castellers* and the committees of the local traditional festivities are usually the most popular organisation in the quarter, among both younger and older residents. At the same time, the merchant associations in the quarter are visibly divided and often have distinct aims that cannot be easily understood by the new or prospective members.
- On the other hand, there is a financial issue. While there is a fee for participating in the excursionist organisation and the merchant organisation, participation in traditional activities, Catalan language courses or other short courses is often free of charge.

In any case, we should underscore the fact that the ethnographic observation showed that the lack of participation is not an issue exclusive to immigrants. Young people in general are portrayed by interviewees as people who do not participate. Therefore, the intergenerational gap is relevant in terms of inter-group relations. In many organisations, like the Residents' Association, during the ethnographic observation it became quite visible that the majority of day-to-day active participants are elderly or mature people. There are many reasons that seem to cause this situation. The most important ones would be: the same group of neighbours that holds the power in some important organisations, a lack of openness to new ideas and a lack of spaces for young people.

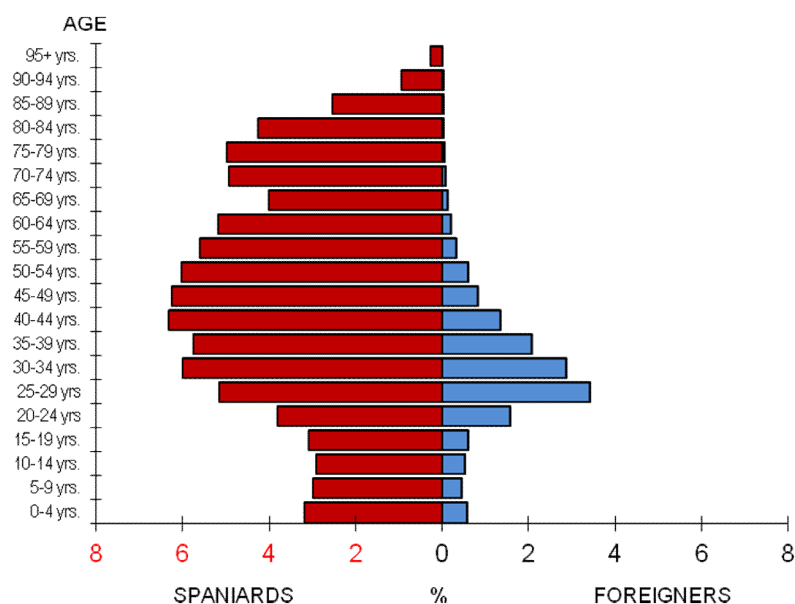
Some interviewees noted that recently most students in public schools appear to be immigrants or immigrants' children. For them, native people go to private (or semi-private<sup>12</sup>) schools, and thus immigrants lower the public education level. Immigrant students in private or semi-private schools are mainly from China because they can afford it. Latin Americans and Africans go mainly to public schools:

"I had five or six [foreign classmates] in a class of twenty-five people. My brother had over 50% (...) Immigrants lower the schooling level. It is somehow ugly to say it... but it is true." (B-SF-KI-10-sports instructor & cultural organisations member-24)

---

<sup>12</sup> In Catalonia and other Spanish regions, there are numerous semi-private schools known as "escoles concertades". They are privately-run schools co-funded by the regional government. In this way, the regional government may have a say in some "escola concertada" issues. The fees are lower than in private schools but higher than in public schools. Thus, they cannot be considered private schools (even if they are privately-run) but they are not public schools either. However, some people may perceive the semi-private and private schools as if they were the same type of school in contrast to public schools due to student selection processes.

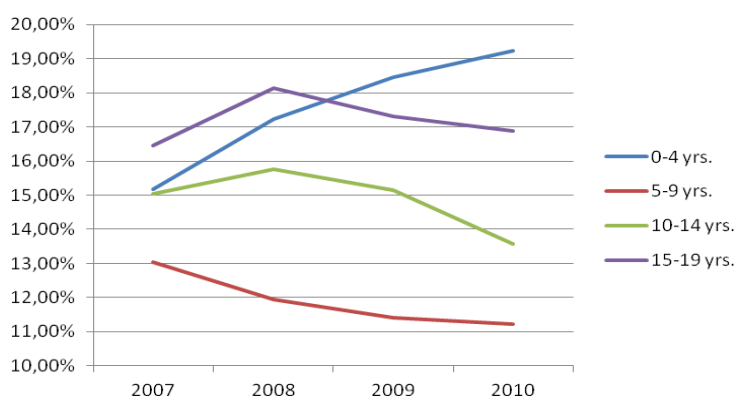
**Chart 3.2. The age-nationality pyramid of the Sagrada Família quarter (2010)**



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

The perception of the increasing number of immigrants' children in the public schools goes along with the data about the average household age according to nationality. The households made up of foreign members are, on average, 17 years "younger" than the Spanish-nationality ones. However, the statistics about the proportion of young foreigners out of the total population in their age group in the Sagrada Família quarter does not show such a high number of foreign youths. During the last four years, this figure did not exceed 20% in any of the age groups. The primary data about schooling in Barcelona shows that four out of 16 public schools and two out of 29 private schools in the Eixample district have more than 30% foreign students. The data about the education of the children between the ages of three and 16 show that most of the foreign students are from Latin American and Asian backgrounds (Consorci d'Educació de Barcelona, 2010).

**Chart 3.3. Timeline of changes in the proportion of foreigners up to the age of 19 compared to the total population in their age group, Sagrada Família quarter (2007-2010)**



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

### 3.1.2 Intergroup interactions

In each quarter, three key ‘interaction sites’ have been chosen according to the following criteria: a) they are relatively significant in the quarter; b) they have a relatively large number of interactions between different social groups and nationalities; and c) they have various geographical characteristics and are located in different parts of the quarter.

The three chosen sites of interaction in the Sagrada Família quarter where the second stage of fieldwork was carried out are the following:

- 1) The area of the **Sagrada Família temple and Gaudí Avenue**. This is perceived as the only wide-open public space of social activity and the only relatively large green zone in the quarter.
- 2) The Sagrada Família **multi-purpose centre** bounded by four streets: Provença, Padilla, Mallorca and Lepant. This makes a square-shaped area that is made up of apartments, commercial establishments and a series of public services.
- 3) The third area was tentatively called **“Encants Vells”** due to the most significant space located there: the open-air flea market bearing that name. In fact, it should be analysed in the context of larger part of the quarter that is boundary by: *Dos de Maig* Street, Aragon Street, Diagonal Avenue and Glories Square.

**Orthophotomap 3.1. Significant spaces in the Sagrada Família quarter marked on a satellite image**

- Sagrada Família Square
- Gaudí Square
- Gaudí Avenue
- Civic Center, Library and Marketplace
- Sant Pau Hospital
- Damm Brewery
- “Encants Vells” market



Source: GRM, based on map available at:

<http://maps.google.es> (retrieved: 23.06.2011)

#### a) Interaction site 1 – Sagrada Família Square, Gaudí Square and Gaudí Avenue area

The territorial perception of the entire quarter is mainly related to the central touristic area of the Sagrada Família Temple (the two squares, and the low part of Gaudí Avenue and their surroundings). As introduced

above, it is perceived as the only wide-open public space of social activity and the only relatively large green zone in the quarter. It is therefore both emblematic and problematic for the quarter.



Sagrada Família Square and Gaudi Avenue. (Photo: D.W.)

This space and the facilities located nearby are perceived as totally overwhelmed by tourists. The noise and massive influx of people and touristic buses can make the residents' life unbearable. There were several official grievances filed aimed at cutting off the traffic and better distributing the flow of tourists.<sup>13</sup>

“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 they are very emblematic. There are conflicts because it is a very touristic area; the residents are asking for a less touristic quarter (...), and also some activities of the quarter are organised in this area: Marina, Gaudi Square and Sagrada Família Square. This is an area of influence in the quarter where everything converges. If there are celebrations (...) or any controversies, they also take place here. This is because this is an area that is really overwhelmed by tourism. (...) The quarter doesn't have a lot of green spaces. The few existing green spaces are occupied by tourists (...) and it causes big conflicts; it is a sense of discomfort.” (B-SF-KI-06-social organisations technician-34)

<sup>13</sup> At the time this report was being finished, it seems that a sort of consensus has been reached among local authorities and neighbours. In June 2012, the streets around the Sagrada Família temple were closed for most of the tourist bus traffic and provisional bus-parks have been located in the other areas of the quarter (e.g., near Encants Vells). Remodelling projects of the pavements in order to adapt them to intensified tourists traffic are underway. Some details of the project can be found at: *La Vanguardia*, 25<sup>th</sup> of April 2012, “Vivir” section, page 5.

Map 3.3. Noise map in the Sagrada Família quarter's central area (07.00 – 21.00 hours)



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

It was also mentioned that one of the repeated neighbour's complaints is that most shops, bars and restaurants located near Gaudí Square and Sagrada Família Square are designed just for tourists and reflect neither the local culture nor the needs of the local people. Still, thanks to this very fact, the external perception of the neighbourhood is often positive, and it should be acknowledged that there are also local residents of the quarter that make use of places meant for tourists. For instance, the ethnographic observation proved that there are some elderly residents of the quarter who play cards in the *McDonald's* restaurant across from the Sagrada Família Temple.

"The press doesn't say really bad things; the press says that this is a quarter (...) because of tourism. Those who see it a little bit worse are (...) the people who live here, in the quarter, and we see that the quarter is seen by the Town Hall ... or the administration only thinks about tourism, not about the people who live here. It is mainly designed for tourists instead for the people who live in the quarter when it comes to (...) municipal spaces, local politics, the administration (...) They don't care about it in Barcelona as a whole, but here, as they say, a lot of residents complain about tourism and that this is of a main concern... they respond that those are interviews that can be easily manipulated" (B-SF-KI-03-socio-cultural activist-28)

### 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.).

As mentioned before, both squares have become areas of transit for thousands of tourists, and that makes them nearly unusable for neighbours. This of course depends on the hour of the day and the tourist season. Additionally, the very construction of the squares, the lake in the middle of Gaudí Square and the maze-like construction in Sagrada Família Square, prevent them from being used as gathering places for the public at large.

Nevertheless, there are also several places in the area that foster interaction among residents. Those are mainly two separate fields where petanque (i.e. “petanca”), a traditional game for the elder neighbours, can be played; the green point that serves as recycling centre; and an Environmental Classroom (*Aula Ambiental*). Also, during the local festivities, part of Marina Street is closed to traffic in order to gain room for quarter’s traditional events like *Castellers’* performances. This custom will probably be ended by the new CiU government, which is attempting to move the quarter’s public events to less visible/touristic place – e.g., the *Jardins de la Indústria*. At any rate, the flow of tourists is a reason behind many inconveniences when it comes to neighbour’s use of those squares, the church and other services located nearby: the metro station, bicycle lanes and other services.

“It is a very overcrowded quarter, very dense. (...) The spaces where you can be, except for Gaudi Avenue and the two squares and the interior of the open courtyard, do not allow for a lot of street life (...) There aren’t any big squares, a space... Gaudí Square has a lake in the middle, so it is a square that cannot host a concert. Even Sagrada Família Square (...), since it is as a maze, doesn’t allow for every kind of activity” (B-SF-KI-06 -social organizations technician-34)

The permanent discomforts caused by the massive touristic flow stigmatise that area of the quarter as a rather conflictive one. Some of the perceived conflicts are directly related to the presence of tourists. This includes petty crimes like pick-pocketing. Although the ‘Romanians’ seem to be a group accused by some interviewees, there is a consciousness that this kind of behaviour is not an exclusive feature of the Sagrada

Família quarter and that some Romanians are the only ones to blame. Additionally, it seems to be quite clear to the interviewees that the pickpockets do not live in the quarter.

On the other hand, there are some inter-group issues in the area that are not directly related to the popularity of Gaudí's temple among tourists. Some of the interviewees point out that there are gatherings of young Latin Americans that make loud noise at night and a sense of discomfort and insecurity on Gaudí Avenue and the two squares described above. Although these repeated concerns were not confirmed during the ethnographic observation, the variety of interviewees that repeated the observation (including immigrants) suggests that perhaps this is a recent problem that has remained in some people's minds and that deeper research could be carried out in this perceived conflictive feature of the area.

There is also another group that is perceived as somehow disturbing the residents in the public sphere. This group is made up of homeless people who spend their days in Sagrada Família Square. According to the interviewees, for many years that square was a place where native homeless people spent their days. Nowadays, there is a group of about eight men who occupy a few benches of the square that are perceived as Eastern European immigrants, mainly Ukrainians or Russians, who spend their days drinking alcohol. The reality is somehow different. According to the ethnographic observation and interviews, most of this group is in fact of Polish extraction. Despite the fact that there is a visible Polish grocery store located just around the corner from the Sagrada Família Square (i.e., one of the reasons why homeless Polish migrants can be found there), this migrant nationality seems to be generally invisible both for natives and other immigrants in the quarter.

"(In) Sagrada Família Square (...) there are groups of homeless people who live there in the street... They can cause a ruckus anytime, but it's a minor problem. (...) Nowadays, they are usually immigrants, whereas before they were locals. That has changed. (...) Nowadays you can find that they are people from the Eastern countries [i.e., from Eastern Europe] who mainly have very big problems with alcohol. That, of course, can result in conflicts with some violence. But not, well, it's not ... I, we have never had any problems" (B-SF-KI-03\_socio-cultural activist\_28)

**b) Interaction site 2. The Sagrada Família multi-purpose building and its surrounding four streets (Provença, Padilla, Mallorca, Lepant)**

In 2007, a new multi-purpose public building named the *Centre Cultural Sagrada Família* (Sagrada Família Cultural Centre) was opened. This four-storey building has an area measuring 2,900 square metres, including an internal courtyard that allows natural light to enter from the top to the bottom. It was designed by architect Manuel Ruisánchez Capelastegui (see: <http://www.ruisanchez.net/despacho.jsp>), and it is surrounded by four streets: Provença, Padilla, Mallorca and Lepant. Thus, it forms a square-shaped area that includes apartments, commercial establishments and, last but not least, a series of public services.

The aforementioned multi-purpose building hosts a variety of establishments that are important primarily for the quarter, but also for the district and the city. Among them, the Civic Centre (<http://www.ccsagradafamilia.net/>) and the public library stand out. Nevertheless, there are also other establishments of importance located in the aforementioned building, such as the local marketplace (<http://www.mercatsagradafamilia.com/>) and a big study room that is open to young students from 9 pm to 1 am. The building also has a large underground public car park connected to the market place, the



library and the civic centre by an elevator, following a very functional architectural design. The social services offices and attention point are located on the opposite site of the same building. The Catalan Excursionist Association (important beyond the quarter) has headquarters on the first floor of the building.<sup>14</sup> Moreover, this stretch of Provença Street has been used for local festivities, like the “street sales” days. The Sagrada Família metro station is a few metres round the corner.

The location of such a variety of organisations and services that are significant to the quarter’s daily life coupled with the presence of diverse local commercial establishments make this area a hub of the quarter’s commercial, cultural and educational activities. Interestingly, although it is located directly near the overcrowded Gaudí Square, this area seems to suffer visibly less tourist traffic than its neighbouring sites. Building on the words of one of the interviewees of Chinese origin who has owned a bar for over two decades, it might be because of the ‘hop-on, hop-off’ buses that visit the Sagrada Família Temple. On the one hand, tourists do not interrupt life in that part of the quarter, but on the other hand nor do they bring revenues for the businesses located there:

“Tourists do not visit the bar as often as before. They come with a tourist bus for an hour or half an hour and then leave the quarter (...) Most of the clients are the local, native people. There are not many Chinese or Japanese clients. There is one solid Korean client” (B-SF-I-12-shop keeper- approx. 50)

The local retail establishments located in the area, especially the aforementioned marketplace (255 Padilla Street), are key places for basic daily interactions. The most visible immigrant participants of those interactions are Latin Americans, although second-generation Chinese immigrants were also mentioned by some interviewees. Latin American immigrants mostly play the roles of buyers and employees at the marketplace. Those described as buyers are mainly eldercare workers and are portrayed as companions for the elderly. It is relevant to note here that the marketplace website includes a section with the translation of basic foods into ten languages, including Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Portuguese and Russian<sup>15</sup>. In the surrounding area, there are also several retail establishments owned by Latin American immigrants, like an Argentinean butcher and a Brazilian bar located nearby. Chinese immigrants are present in the commercial life of the area mainly as the owners of bars and variety shops.

“Residents use the marketplace a lot, and the entire building is very important” (B-SF-I-16-library employee-approx. 40)

“There are clients of South American origin, a lot of them. Ecuadorians, Peruvians... They take care of elderly ladies or they go shopping for them” (B-SF-I-02 -marketplace’s grocery merchant-55)

“The bar next door, which is currently closed, it was owned by some Cubans, and... It was a outrageous... It doesn’t matter; they are fun and they bring colour to the quarter” (B-SF-I-01-shopkeeper & retailers’ association-51)

<sup>14</sup> See: <http://www.aec.cat/web/>.

<sup>15</sup> See: <http://www.mercatsagradafamilia.com/04%20DICCIONARIO/DICCIONARIO.html>



The local marketplace (Photo: D.W.)

Another significant site of daily interaction among native and immigrant residents is the public library (480 Provença Street). Apart from its main aim as source of books and other documents, this facility provides the residents with variety of spaces and activities that have become important venues of social interaction. According to some interviewees, the immigrants who use the library are not the ones who just arrived to the Sagrada Família quarter. They are more settled people, i.e., students or educated immigrants with working hours that allow them to use the library services. Third-country nationals use the internet a lot in order to stay in touch with their families or friends back home. They prefer the library's free internet access over paid access in a telecommunication point ("locutorio"). According to one library employee, the internet attracts a lot of users from many countries, but also natives. This is due to the current economic crisis: "I think that the most influential factors are not the group characteristics but the socio-economical characteristics" (B-SF-I-16-library employee-approx. 40)

In the library there is a specific space for newcomers. Currently, it is not as important as it was in the past when the immigration rate was higher. There, immigrants could find documents that would help them in their process of integrating into society, including basic Catalan and Spanish languages learning guides. The focus was also on publications in foreign languages.

There are some Latin Americans (Cubans, Ecuadorians and Colombians are mentioned) and some Europeans who are library users and participants in activities. There are more children than adults participating. The library is currently undertaking attempts (cultural activities and books available in Chinese during 2012) to engage the growing Chinese collective. For now, the Chinese do not participate in the way that the other collectives do. There are no adults borrowing books, and there are only some children who come mainly because of the internet access. The small preliminary survey made by a library and family reuniting worker indicated that the long working hours and the lack of knowledge of the local languages are two main obstacles in Chinese people's use of library resources. It seems that the young

Chinese mothers are the ones that are the most interested in integration since their children go to local schools.

Some immigrants register in courses on the new technologies, digital photography and Catalan language. They are interested in books on “how to get a job”, “how to write a CV”, etc. According to one interviewee, for many immigrants the leisure side of the library is not as important as this integration side. On the other hand, there are also some paid classes that fail to attract immigrants’ attention. According to the interviewees linked to the library and the Catalan Excursionist Association, the need to pay automatically reduces immigrant participation, except for well-off immigrants and those from the EU.

The newcomers’ space in the public library is a domain of immigrants, and there is no mixing with the local natives, although their interaction with the library employees could be qualified as such. However, there are courses where inter-group relations take place, but this mixing or interaction is not explicit objectives of the immigrants participating in the courses. Still, in some cases the collateral result is that this interaction happens.

“Libraries are the most ‘quarter-related’ service. Thus, after working through the initial difficulties, they understood that the library can help them in their integration. This is also a role that the libraries take on in Barcelona.” (B-SF-I-16-library employee-approx. 40)



Popular culture ‘giants’ and ‘big-head’ disguises together with *correfoc* ‘dragons’ displayed in the Civic Centre (Photo: D.W.)

The Civic Centre also provides activities related to the quarters’ ethnic diversity. It has hosted several debates included in the Barcelona Interculturality Plan. It also hosts activities focused on particular countries, like Brazil or China, as well as workshops and courses. Nevertheless, it seems to be difficult to gather a diverse audience for the activities. The most visible participating immigrants are those from Latin America:

“I do not know how well it works on the coordination level between official institutions and volunteers. Sometimes it is difficult to coordinate and therefore to achieve diversity.” (B-SF-I-14-environmental organisation technician-37)

“I participate in GIM, Espai 210, the library and the newcomers’ space. I have participated in the short story contest in March. I feel that I am part of a neighbourhood. (...) In many meetings here in the Civic Centre, many times most participants are foreigners. During the Congress of Women, there were a lot of Latin American women.” (B-SF-NF-31-social organisation member-64)

Apart from the examples of positive interactions, there were also some conflictive situations in the area. However, some cases have led to interesting instances of cooperation between native and immigrant residents. This is the case of the residents’ mobilisation around the construction of the High Speed Train (AVE) infrastructure. This construction has greatly influenced business and the pedestrian/car transit in the affected zone: Mallorca Street, from Padilla Street to Lepanto Street. The existing organisations at that time were unable to achieve positive solutions to this conflict with the local government. At the end of day, an informal association of residents affected by the High Speed Train infrastructure construction was set up. The idea was suggested by one of the local retailers, and the participants were mainly local business owners. Their businesses were suffering from significant decreases in the number of clients because of the prolonged street and pavement construction related to the High Speed Train tunnel. Apart from native members, one of the key activists was a local Peruvian merchant. It was an informal, grassroots group and it did not require a member fee, in contrast to the traditional and formal retailers’ associations. Nevertheless, its actions were more dynamic than those of the traditional organisations, and in a short time it yielded outcomes: the local government allocated resources to re-activate the retail in the area affected by the construction.<sup>16</sup>

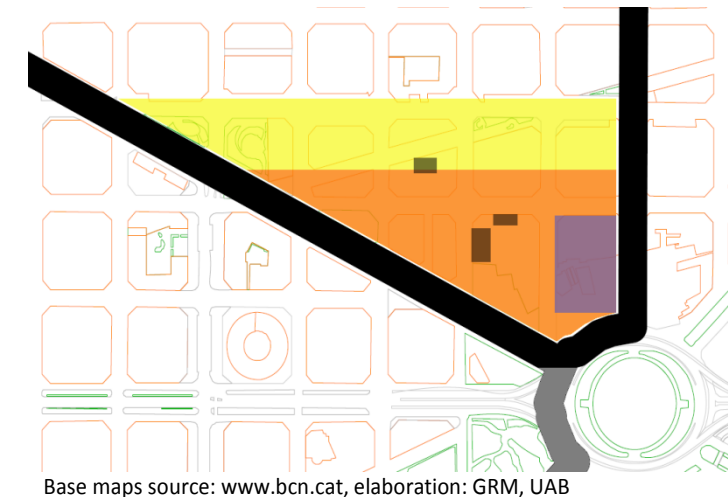
Another problem that is currently partially solved is the security issues in the area. There were shop robberies and assaults on the street that were supposedly related to immigrants, mainly to Latin Americans. The recent decrease in robberies may be the result of the quarter’s new police patrols (called “*policia de proximitat*”) who have been watching the area from about two years. Those patrols are made up of pairs of officers: one from the *Mossos d’Esquadra* (Catalan police) and one from the *Guardia Urbana* (municipal police). The patrols are uniformed, and their presence intimidates the robbers, according to the local merchants. However, there are some relatively recent cases of robberies. A local shopkeeper interviewed recounted a story that happened about a month before the interview in front of her store on Padilla Street. Two residents had to intervene when four Latin American immigrants wanted to steal a native boy’s belongings just next to the interviewee’s shop. The interviewee links this kind of assault to the children of immigrants who grew up in Barcelona and who have ended up out of work (just like many Spaniards) and spend long hours in the streets.

<sup>16</sup> More details about the problems of local merchants caused by construction of the High Speed Train infrastructure can be found in the following article: “Afectados del AVE critican el abandono de los trabajos” *El Periódico de Catalunya*, 5<sup>th</sup> July 2010; Section: “Gran Barcelona”, page 34.

### c) Interaction site 3. Encants Vells / “Glories Square area”

This area was provisionally called “Encants Vells / Encantes Viejos” according to its most significant place: the open-air flea market of the same name.<sup>17</sup> In fact, it should be described in the context of larger part of the quarter that is limited by Dos de Maig Street, Aragó Street, Diagonal Avenue and Glories Square. A common feature of that area is the perception of its being outside the Sagrada Família quarter and other surrounding quarters. Some people who work or live in the area even use names like “no-man’s land” [in Spanish, “*tierra de nadie*” (B-SF-I-24-Self-employed & local activist-38)] in to describe the area. It is located on the boundary of three different quarters: *Fort Pienc* (Eixample District), *El Parc i la Llacuna del Poblenou* (Sant Marti District) and El Clot (Sant Marti District as well). It is separated from the rest of the Sagrada Família quarter by the six-lane wide Aragó Street (this street channels most of the car traffic entering Barcelona’s city centre from the north). Additionally, the similarly-wide Diagonal Avenue separates this area (and Sagrada Família quarter in general) from the Fort Pienc quarter. Glories Square (currently a kind of two-level heavy traffic roundabout and closed square) separates this area from the La Llacuna del Poblenou quarter. The only soft border is the one with the El Clot quarter. Still, even here, in the distance of two square blocks from the area’s boundary, the wide Meridiana Avenue passes by.

“Encants Vells” flea market has adjacent warehouses that are supposedly illegally housed in abandoned buildings. During the last ten, years the illegal street vending stalls located on the pavements surrounding the original market have become a significant problem and a “landmark” of that area. Although the core of this problem area is located between several streets - Dos de Maig, Consell de Cent, Diagonal, and Glories Square - the problematic issues have spread towards Aragó Street.



Base maps source: [www.bcn.cat](http://www.bcn.cat), elaboration: GRM, UAB

- the upper part of the “isolated” area”
- the core of the “Encants Vells” area
- the “Encants Vells” market
- frequently mentioned squatted properties

The squatted properties and supposed illegal warehouses are landmarks of the area (Photos: D.W.)

<sup>17</sup> See: <http://www.encantsbcn.com/>



Squatted property located next to a primary school (Castillejos Street).



Another squatted property / supposed illegal warehouse that was recently set fire (Consell de Cent Street).

According to some neighbours, foreign immigrants have had a major impact on the area in the last ten years. There are four key issues that residents see as problematic which they relate to the increasing number of immigrants:

- a) The illegal street vending is described as littering the area and increasing the sense of insecurity. Moroccan, Senegalese and Romanian immigrants are mentioned as participating in this activity;
- b) The squatted houses and supposedly illegal warehouses are described as areas with no control, inhabited by suspicious people, creating noise and fire hazards and littering the area. Immigrants from other European countries - especially Portugal, Morocco and Romania, but also some natives - are noted in this context;
- c) Robberies and assaults on the streets are described as alarming, but they are regarded as rare incidents. Moroccan immigrants and natives are mentioned as delinquents in this context.
- d) Overpopulated rented flats are mentioned as disturbing to other neighbours and creating unhygienic conditions. Immigrants in general are noted in this context.



The open-air flea market and special urban fabric are the landmarks in this area (photos: D.W.)

It is important to mention that although the residents of the Encants Vells area are disturbed by the aforementioned issues, they believe that the area is less dangerous and “obscure” than the key informants and neighbours who live in other parts of the Sagrada Família quarter think. The issue of the Latin American young gangs sometimes attributed to the area by interviewees from the outside seems to have only little importance when the residents talk about their real concerns regarding Encants Vells. The interviewees often ascribe the illegal street vending and robberies to immigrants or natives who do not live in the quarter. Additionally, those who live in the quarter are often positively portrayed as quiet families with children (mostly Latin Americans) or entrepreneurs who keep grocery shops open for long hours (mostly Pakistani or regarded as such), offering the residents a useful service. Thus, immigrants do not seem to be generally stigmatised by neighbours. The disturbing activities described are many times ascribed to the current difficult economic situation, which is understood as a context for struggle equally among both immigrants and natives alike. The economic recession also made it difficult for many Spanish residents to earn a living as well, as the crisis is currently affecting their neighbours, friends, families or themselves. That, in some cases, triggers more profound reflections on the current situation among some natives and prompted economic explanations of some behaviours in the interviews. During recent years, some media in Spain have been paying increasing attention to emigration abroad of both some former foreign immigrants and natives. Additionally, some of the interviewees mentioned that their father or grandfather worked in Germany and, because of that, they understand the economic difficulties of immigrants. However, they also require the immigrants to make an effort to understand and respect the local culture just as their father/grandfather had to when he emigrated.

On the other hand, to some of the interviewees, there is a lack of interaction between native and immigrant neighbours (the flea market attracts a lot of outsiders, and it can hardly be considered as a meeting point for residents or a neighbours’ area of encounter). Still, there are few examples of this kind of interaction. The *Encants* primary school entails the most important ground for interaction among a variety of neighbours<sup>18</sup>. According to a school employee, there are not a lot of immigrant children in the school. Among them, Latin American parents are the ones who participate most in the school’s activities, but the level of participation is still not what was expected [B-SF-I-23-teacher-50]. Another participative space is Petanque Association “*La Cènia*” (its headquarters is on Castillejos Street), which has around 150 members from the surrounding area. There are two brothers of Moroccan extraction actively participating in the organisation’s activities. In general terms, the most significant place of interaction may be the Encants Vells flea market, but most people who buy and sell there reside in other parts of Barcelona or even in other municipalities within the metropolitan area. The flea market takes place four days a week (Monday, Wednesday, Friday and Saturday) and it attracts masses of people in pursuit of cheap goods. The ethnographic observation and the interviews show that vendors and buyers are of various national and ethnic backgrounds, including a variety of natives, Europeans and third-countries nationals. When it comes to the last group, the interviewees particularly mention the presence of Moroccans.

With the exception of the Encants Vells market, there is a lack of public spaces that could serve as places of interaction. There are only several small green squares, but they are not popular because of their location next to streets with heavy traffic. It seems that residents prefer some places located in the neighbouring El Clot quarter or the squares located by the Sagrada Família temple as spots for a stroll. Bars and restaurants are mentioned as places of gathering and interaction, but there are not a lot of them

<sup>18</sup> <http://www.escoladelsencants.cat/>

either. Although the number of Chinese shops and Chinese-owned bars seems to be lower than in other parts of the quarter, the interviewees tend to highlight the Chinese residents' so-called 'incomprehensible' purchasing power. However, Chinese neighbours and bars are generally described as quiet and non-problematic.

There is one exception to this rule, and it seems that this is an exception that extends throughout the entire quarter. One of the bars located just opposite to the Encants Vells market is described as supposedly suspicious. According to the interviews and the ethnographic observation, this Chinese-owned bar has become a gathering place of Moroccan immigrant groups. According to the interviewees, they are the same people who are often associated with Encants Vells businesses. While in the bar, they supposedly engage in illegal yet unknown transactions. It seems that some suspicious behaviours trigger a sense of insecurity among the local residents. According to some neighbours, the local government and the police were urged to deal with the establishment, but the response was that it is unlawful to close a legally opened business with no proof of illegal activities.

Both the issue of the suspicious bar and the illegal street vending empowered some residents to set up an informal protest platform. On the balconies of the surrounding buildings they hung out dozens of posters with the same demand: "We want a dignified quarter". This poster campaign was not the first one in the area. The aforementioned Glories Square working group had previously started a similar campaign with the same slogan in areas adjacent to Glories Square in all the four quarters. The main aim of that campaign was to lobby the local government and to foster the re-development of Glories Square. Thus, there are two different campaigns that use the same slogan and the same posters. They have no relationship with other apart from the common slogan and posters. Although the interviewees agree that in general the goal is to improve the quality of life in that area, the campaign aiming to re-develop Glories Square has no hidden anti-immigrant stances so far.



**'Civic activity' is widely visible on Consell de Cent and Cartagena Streets (Photos: D.W.)**



Banners saying 'We want a dignified quarter' posted throughout the entire area demand improvements in public safety and the quality of public spaces.



Graffiti against 'police raids' and 'deportations' painted on the doors of a building that is currently undergoing construction.

## 3.2 Quarter 2. Poble Sec

### 3.2.1 Intergroup representations

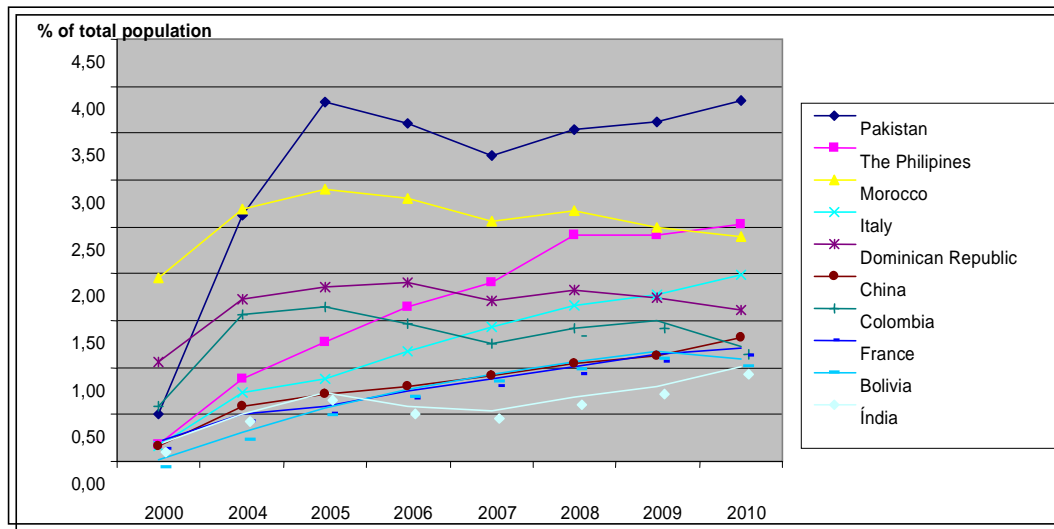
When talking about Poble Sec intergroup representations, the differences between the immigrant communities present in the quarter seems to be a relevant issue. According to most interviewees, Moroccans, Pakistanis, Dominicans and Gypsy-Romanians seem to be the most populous groups in Poble Sec. This observation seems to be quite accurate. According to the official data as of 1 January 2010, Pakistan was the foreign nationality with greatest presence in the quarter with 1,290 inhabitants, followed by Philippines and Moroccans. Dominicans, also perceived by the interviewees as one of the most populous nationalities in the quarter, appear in the statistics as the fifth most populous nationality, behind Italians.

In contrast, the interviewees' perception regarding Romanians seems to be quite inaccurate. There are only 177 official residents with Romanian nationality but they often popped up during interviews and conversations with residents. Chart 3.4 shows the evolution from 2000 to 2010 of the ten most populous foreign nationalities in Poble Sec in 2010. It should be noted that all the nationalities have risen in numbers, but nationalities like Moroccans, Dominicans and Colombians have undergone different fluctuations throughout this period. The increase in Pakistanis is especially noteworthy, with a spectacular influx during the first part of the decade.

The continued arrival of Philippine immigrants over these years is also remarkable. Among the top nationalities, they are the ones mentioned in the interviews the least often. Sometimes the interviewees

confuse the Philippine immigrants with Chinese nationals, or they are grouped under the umbrella of 'Asians' without people knowing their exact country of origin. A similar case, to a less degree, occurs with some interviewees when talking about South American nationalities. Although some interviewees identify specific nationalities (i.e., Dominicans, Peruvians, Ecuadorians, etc.), others are not sure about the countries of origin and make assumptions.

**Chart 3.4.: Timeline of changes in the top ten nationalities (2010) in the Poble Sec quarter (2000, 2004-2010).**



Source: Authors' own based on the Continuous Census. Departament d'Estadística. Ajuntament de Barcelona

Regarding Pakistani immigrants, there are numerous shops in the Poble Sec quarter owned by the so-called Pakistani community. This is the reason why they are quite visible in the streets. The perceptions are that they are very prominent in the quarter, they are mainly concerned about their business and there is no conflict between them and the natives or other immigrant collectives. Some interviewees distinguish clearly between Pakistanis and other nationalities, like one man aged 58 who has lived in Poble Sec since he was ten years old; he mentions the Pakistani community as positive immigrants, in contrast to other nationalities:

"These ones [Pakistanis] don't. They don't cause problems. The problematic ones are the others (...) [Pakistanis] open at 8 am and close at midnight, but well, they do not cause problems" (B-PS-KI-2-neighbours' association-58).

Although it is difficult to speak with Pakistani residents, they seem to corroborate the idea that they are almost only concerned with their jobs and businesses. In this sense, when asked about the quarter's situation, an immigrant from Pakistan, the owner of a grocery shop, said: "If you just come here to work, it doesn't matter what the quarter is like" (B-PS-I-9-Pakistani grocery owner). In a similar vein, when asked to draw a map of the quarter, another Pakistani immigrant who owns another similar business added the following: "I don't go out [of the grocery shop]. I stay here inside..., people buy..." (B-PS-I-7-Pakistani business owner). Although this observation is not exceptional, at the same time they both seem to be

aware of the noise and dirtiness problems on Blai Street, and they also know about the prominent presence of Dominicans on that street. Additionally, it is interesting to quote a few words from a more socially integrated Pakistani shop owner who participated in the Neighbourhood Forum:

"I do participate in the merchants' association of Poble Sec - Associació de Comerciants del Poble Sec - (...) the neighbourhood has improved a lot. I arrived [from Pakistan] in 1996 and I started my business in 2002 (...) A person who comes anew, with another skin colour, people treat you differently, of course. 'Ah, these newcomers, who knows what they are like...', this is normal. Later, as time goes by and people visit your business, they start to get used to us, and now they are already used to us" (B-PS-NF-42-merchants' association member-38)

However, it seems that for some local social stakeholders, there are neither visible heads nor spokespeople among the Pakistani immigrants:

"From what I know, and I know quite a bit, we have not managed to get these communities of people who came from abroad to set up organisations, and there is no clear reference point or a partner with whom to communicate. There are individual people, but not much has been achieved. And Coordinadora [the umbrella organisation where most Poble Sec associations gain strength] has tried to get to know Pakistani people, because there was a conflict a couple of years ago regarding a mosque, a prayer hall that they were using, but, generally, there are no clear partners with whom to communicate" (B-PS-KI-3-Association member-28).

A different question arises when talking to residents about Latin American communities, especially regarding the Dominicans. From some sectors of the quarter, the concern regarding Dominicans is highlighted in the interviews, including an important negative stigmatisation. For instance, the same 58-year-old man quoted above claimed that there are no problems at all with the other communities, but

"the problematic ones are the South Americans (...) People here want these people to get integrated. But they do not want to integrate... No, I don't know if it is their culture, or a lack of will, or ... I don't know." (B-PS-KI-2, neighbours' association, 58).

This street life issue is even taken by some Dominican immigrant leaders as a challenge to overcome:

"The street life is really the main issue. To be truthful, street life brings a lot of joy to the neighbourhood and a lot of headaches, too, both to the quarter and to the community (...) In the case of Dominicans, I would say that our street life brings a lot of headaches because it is true that sometimes causes a disturbance... [later] the neighbour calls, as revenge, to Dominican people like me who have a business but who do not support those people who are in the street, I do not support them..." (B-PS-NF-40-merchants' association member-37)

It might be interesting to note that Dominican immigrants are often regarded as "South Americans", although they are not. The Dominican Republic is located in the Caribbean, a geographic region quite different from the South American continent in many senses. Other residents attach the label "Latin American" to all immigrants from former Iberian colonies in the Americas as a whole. In any case, when using the latter term as a working category, it should be noted that the population of Latin American origin residing in Poble Sec is quite large. In 2010, there were 639 registered Dominican immigrants, and they were the fourth most populous foreign nationality in the quarter. Ecuadorians were the fifth nationality with 626, Colombians were the sixth with 563, Bolivians were the ninth with 434 and Peruvians the tenth with 343.

As noted above, Poble Sec is characterised by a powerful associative network and a so-called 'friendly atmosphere' that contributes to relatively strong ties among many residents. In addition, it has an historical experience of welcoming new immigrants. These factors can a priori be considered positive in achieving a satisfactory integration process into Barcelona society, fostering the overcoming of conflicts and facilitating cooperation.

On the other hand, it should be taken into account that the 'friendly atmosphere' of the quarter can also pose a potential source of conflict. The changes entailed by the arrival of newcomers can be seen from some vantage points as a threat to this 'friendly' atmosphere, the quarter life or the aforementioned 'caliu de barri'. 'Caliu de barri' goes beyond intergroup representations. It may mean that you cross and greet the same people in your daily life in the quarter. For intergroup representations, it means that native neighbours can get used to their foreign neighbours more quickly and easily and, consequently, false stereotypes can be eliminated more easily. The same can happen among foreigners who can get used to their native neighbours or other foreign neighbours more easily. On the other hand, if some neighbours do not like or do not tolerate the attitudes or activities of specific neighbours or groups of neighbours, this 'caliu de barri' can play a negative role, facilitating conflicts or fuelling the growth of latent conflicts.

In other words, a strong local identity and social cohesion, a powerful associative network and a so-called 'friendly atmosphere' contributing to relatively fluid relations among some neighbours, is regarded by some interviewees as positive factors for integrating their residents and as a sort of vaccine against possible exclusion processes. But, on the other hand, apart from the integration of foreigners, those characteristics of the quarter may also cause some native neighbours to view the arrival of new population as an intrusion on the so-called 'friendly atmosphere' (until they may get to know the newcomers).

Specific issues like noise in the streets and dirtiness in the quarter are mentioned in the interviews as potential sources of conflict. However, these issues do not exist in isolation. As expressed by a 28-year-old woman who is member of a local association, some social sectors say that the conflicts that have arisen and that will continue to arise in the future are often linked to the arrival of immigrants and to a lack of policies aimed at improving interrelations between communities. This interviewee mainly points out conflicts derived from noise and dirtiness. In her opinion, unemployment and poverty can also be seen as sources of conflict. Regarding the dirtiness issue, in contrast with other views, she expresses her doubts about linking this issue with the arrival of foreigners and suggests another explanation more closely related to socio-economic aspects:

"I would link the cleaning issue to ... immi, rather than immigration, it can be linked, I don't know, maybe I'm going to say something political incorrect, but I associate it with a low socio-educational level. You know, not showing respect, not valuing having a clean place, to the fact that having a person coming to sweep once a week costs money, right? So, many times the profile of newcomers who come is people - as is logical, this is not a criticism - who have a low socio-educational profile and therefore do not value the public space the way other people do. But this has always been a working-class quarter, so I don't think immigrants are the ones [to blame]... (...) It is not the fact of immigration, but the failure to take care of the place where you live" (B-PS-KI-3-association member-28)

The noise issue especially affects some parts of Poble Sec studied in this research project as 'sites of interaction' which will be analysed along the next section.

Another source of conflict that appears in some of the interviews is the feeling that there is a lack of safety in the quarter. This question is not necessarily related to immigration, but some of the interviewees

identified a link between insecurity and the foreign population. Looking at the number of crimes per 1,000 inhabitants (Table 3.1.), we can observe that the Sants-Montjuïc district has lower numbers than Eixample district and the Barcelona average (data is not available at the quarter level). Additionally, it worth mentioning that both districts are very far from the district with the highest crime rate, i.e., Ciutat Vella district, with 33 crimes per 1,000 inhabitants in 2009:

**Table 3.1. No. of Crimes / total population x 1000 (2009)**

<b>Eixample district</b>	<b>8.2</b>
<b>Sants-Montjuïc district</b>	<b>6.1</b>
<b>Barcelona city</b>	<b>7.07</b>

Source: Statistics Department, Barcelona City Council.

The perception of a lack of safety and security in Poble Sec is sometimes directly linked to the arrival of immigrants (i.e., B-PS-I-36-car park employee-52; B-PS-KI-2-neighbours' association-58; or B-PS-KI-6-business owner-38). In this context, according to some stakeholders, having more police officers patrolling is one of the options to change that perception. In fact, when asked about the positive changes experienced in the quarter in recent years, one of the aforementioned interviewees answered that the main positive change is the increase in "security, police officers patrolling" (B-PS-KI-6-business owner-38). To his mind, more police officers patrolling has soothed a situation that was much worse five years ago. According to this interviewee, during the past five years, the attitude towards the new residents has changed in an important way. During the early years of the big influx of newcomers, he assures that problems like fights, stab wounds and robberies were more frequent. He owns a business where three foreigners are employed, and he underscores the fact that he interacts with members of other communities on a daily basis. As a key to this change, he mentions a visible police presence and a better attitude among residents:

"We've faced the problem. And they have also understood that they must learn to live together with us. If they respect us, they will be respected" (B-PS-KI-6-business owner-38).

As noted above, in Poble Sec there coexist very different opinions about immigration. This discrepancy can also be identified as a potential source of conflict between different groups of natives. In other words, strong differences and opposing points of view can lead to heated discussions among residents, sometimes following ideological lines. Local citizens are aware of the presence of divergent and disparate opinions. For example, a 28-year-old woman who belongs to an association in the quarter quite clearly explains two contrasting visions that can be shared by persons with close relations and even in some cases almost by the same person:

"At the same time they say (...), that life is much better. That years ago there were many more problems of.... I don't know if I should use the word delinquency, but of drug use, of .... Well, you know, like some social unrest, the old residents say. And they say that now life is so much better. But there are others who say that, obviously, with so much immigration, the quarter is in a very bad situation" (B-PS-KI-3-Association member-28 years old).

Cultural differences are sometimes perceived as a factor that lies at the bottom of conflicts and as potential sources of conflict. This issue becomes particularly important when talking about residents in Poble Sec of Latin American extraction, especially Dominicans due to their daily presence on the street, although not only concerning them. Different ways of life, more intensive uses of the street in their daily lives or louder conversations or music are just some of the aspects noted by some interviewees that explain controversies regarding Dominican immigrants.

### 3.2.2 Intergroup interactions in Poble Sec

In Poble Sec the three selected 'sites of interaction' where the second stage of fieldwork was carried are the following:

- 1) *Blai Street (Carrer Blai)* and its different intersections, especially the intersection with Margarit Street.
- 2) *Sortidor Square (Plaça del Sortidor)*. This is the physical centre of the quarter.
- 3) *Three Smokestacks Gardens (Jardins de les Tres Xemeneies)*. This is a meeting place with a high demand of uses.

**Orthophotomap 3.2: Significant spaces in Poble Sec quarter marked on a satellite image**



- Parc de les Tres Xemeneies
- Plaça Bella Dorita
- Plaça del Sortidor
- Carrer Blai

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

### a) Interaction site 1: Blai Street

Blai Street is an axis located approximately in the centre of the quarter. After the long remodelling process started during the 1990s and finished a few years ago, today Blai Street is a pedestrian street. Recently, it has been popularly re-named as the 'little Rambla of Poble Sec'<sup>19</sup>. Blai Street runs northwest to southeast from *Ocellets* Square and Parallel Avenue. It is approximately 400 metres long, until the street changes its name to Blesa Street (this latter street continues 100 metres further as a pedestrian area). Both streets are approximately 10 metres wide. Blai Street is crossed perpendicularly by six narrow streets with variable car traffic that go to or come from Parallel Avenue. Along the 400 metres of Blai Street plus the 100 of Blesa Street, there are three- to five-storey buildings on both sides. Most of them are buildings with flats in the upper floors and an assortment of bars, restaurants, shops and other kind of businesses on the ground floors. Today, this is one of the main characteristics of the street daily life: people walking or having a drink and chatting outdoors in the bars and restaurant terraces for most of the day<sup>20</sup>.



Photo: One of the numerous terraces on Blai Street, with a banner from the campaign 'we want a dignified quarter' placed on a balcony (D.W.)



Photo: Blai Street during a celebration of the Communitarian Development Plan (A.M.)

Some interviewees explained that the change of Blai street life can be representative of the change experienced by Poble Sec as a whole during the past decade. Although this idea can be called into question by some residents, it is common to agree that Blai Street is generally identified as the most well known "face" of the changes that have occurred in the quarter. For this reason, and because Blai Street is centrally located and hosts the aforementioned specific social interactions, this social axis has been selected as an interaction site to be analysed in-depth.

<sup>19</sup> This nickname of Blai Street even appeared in a recent popular song written by a young Catalan musician, Cesk Freixas: "La Boheme, on comença el carrer Blai / que és la petita rambla del Poble-Sec". See: <http://blocs.mesvilaweb.cat/ceskfreixas>

<sup>20</sup> In January 2012, in a flat in Blesa Street, police discovered a so-called 'drug supermarket' for tourists, and three Pakistani immigrants were arrested there. See: [http://www.ara.cat/societat/droga-Poble-Sec-supermercat-turistes\\_0\\_636536438.html](http://www.ara.cat/societat/droga-Poble-Sec-supermercat-turistes_0_636536438.html)

As explained by some interviewees, a few decades ago Poble Sec's inhabitants had to go outside the quarter to perform their everyday activities (studying, going the gym, going to the doctor, going to the market, etc.), while the inhabitants of other quarters of Barcelona would never visit Poble Sec. That situation has been changing in recent years and, although most of Poble Sec's territory is not frequented by outsiders, there are specific parts of it - with Blai Street at the top of the list - that have become more and more popular in the past few years.

The urbanistic transformation of Blai Street into a pedestrian street and other remodelling processes - like the one carried out in some squares in Poble Sec - were aimed at allowing Poble Sec's residents to perform their daily activities within the quarter. These remodelling processes, together with the arrival of young people - due to internal migration mainly from other parts of the city or the metropolitan area - have led the quarter to experience a renewal process. Most of the interviewees noted the change undergone during the past decade, explaining that this change has turned Poble Sec into a leisure area of the city:

"I believe that Blai Street is the paradigm of what the quarter has been, of what the quarter is nowadays. This is a quarter that somewhat fashionable, I mean, where the young people come. They come to consume, to meet each other, to have a good time" (B-PS-KI-11-association member-50 years old).

"Blai Street was a street with cars, it didn't have businesses, there was no life. And nowadays this is one of the coolest and most lively streets in Barcelona, and people come to the quarter and people love it. More people are coming here to live, young people, Europeans or people of European extraction: Italians, English... I don't know. Designers, artists, actors... There is a very very interesting mixture, and this has occurred during the past few years" (B-PS-KI-10-social association employee-28)

In terms of intergroup relations, this urbanistic transformation mainly means an increase in the different kinds of people that converge in the quarter and especially in places like Blai Street. Different cultural origins, different nationalities and different social classes can be found in the daily life of Blai Street. During the fieldwork, a number of interactions between different groups were seen (sharing a bar-terrace, worker/owner-customer, use of the same facility, etc.).

To the leisure and nightlife attraction of Blai Street and its central situation, we can add the public library of the quarter as another important factor in the changing significance of Blai Street. The library building was acquired by the town in 1987 and opened as a Civic Centre in 1991. However, with the construction of the new Civic Centre in El Sortidor Square (i.e., Centre Cívic el Sortidor), the building was remodelled as a library to fulfil another longstanding claim from the inhabitants of Poble Sec. Finally, it was opened in 2001 as 'Biblioteca Poble Sec - Francesc Boix', in honour to a distinguished resident of the quarter.

Regarding the interactions between groups that take place on Blai Street, it is clear that this street is an area where multiple interactions occur, including relations between different national groups. The presence of businesses owned by foreigners creates a striking mixture of people: to name just a few of them, there are different grocery shops and fruit shops owned by Pakistani nationals; bars owned by Chinese, Italians, Pakistanis and Turks; and shops owned by Dominicans and Chinese. Additionally, there are also a variety of businesses owned by Spanish citizens. Such a diverse range of businesses located on a small 'rambla-style' pedestrian street attracts people from the rest of Poble Sec and also outsiders, mainly residents from other quarters of the city but also a few tourists or visitors from beyond.





A cyber-cafe run by immigrant businessmen on a corner of Blai Street

Interactions between groups take place on a daily, weekly or more occasional basis. The reasons for these interactions include leisure, trade, culture or even study. To a certain extent, all the main groups and nationalities residing in the quarter seem to gather there. Maybe that is the reason why On Blai Street we can find one of the most important perceived problems or conflicts in the quarter: the ‘noise’ made by groups of young people who gather at different corners of this street. Although this issue did not affect all the interviewees, almost all of them knew about its existence. This problem can be divided in two sub-issues: on the one hand, the ‘noise’ in the street at night, especially weekends, and, on the other hand, the daily ‘noisy’ presence of some groups of people, especially young Dominicans, on specific corners of Blai Street.

Regarding the former issue, this may be more related to the presence of bars, restaurants and their terraces and the noise produced by their clients that disturb the rest of the residents. Although an agreement between owners and neighbours about the closing time had already been implemented, it seems that there is quite a lot of action in the street after the closing times, especially at weekends. Noise is sometimes produced by people who do not reside in the quarter. As explained by one interviewee, the police officers on patrol are not totally effective in solving this problem:

“What specific problems of living together there are? The problem is noise. Noise at night. We can not control it, even if the police do a lot of work....” (B-PS-KI-2-neighbours’ association-58)

It can be said that residents of Blai Street, especially the ones whose bedrooms face the street, are almost the only ones who are not satisfied with the changes experienced in the street. Closely related to the noise issue and beyond the arrival of foreign people, the fact that some parts of the quarter like Carrer Blai are becoming a popular nightlife areas plays a negative role in the noise-migration conflict. Immigrants are not the only ones making noise, but it seems to be true that there are groups of Dominicans who stand at the corners of Blai Street after the bars and restaurants have closed, and it is easy for people to link noise with Latin American immigration. This mixes the ‘noise’ issue with ‘foreign groups’ issue and feeds arguments to the detractors of the presence of these groups on the corners of Blai Street.

A 21-year-old Colombian man living in Poble Sec talks about a conflict on Blai Street, with the bar terraces and a group of Dominicans being noisy until late at night:

“The people who live on Blai Street cannot bear it more; they are tired. The action does not die down until 3 or 4 in the morning, you know? And, apart from that, on Blai Street there is one [bar] owned by Dominicans between Margarit and Tapioles Streets. And the Dominicans are the ones who... who ‘stir up’ things there (...) And I am very fed up, too. This is the problem there” (B-PS-I-22-Colombian waiter-21).

Life in the street appears to be a key issue, and as noted above, Dominicans are at the centre of the controversy, especially the groups that gather on the corners of Blai Street. From the ethnographic observation and interviews, we could consider the Dominicans to be the ones who attract the most controversies. For instance, one interviewee said:

“These people, when the bars close, they get drunk, there are bottles, shouting, because they are very loud (...) They drink after hours, they get to the people (...). They get in the gates, they have confrontations with the people (...). People here want to integrate them. But they are the ones who do not integrate... No, I don't know if it is their culture, or if they're unwilling, or... I do not know. We had had an interview with the South American consul in Barcelona here, and he told us, 'The culture is different.' 'But what are they doing on the street at these hours?', 'They are working with the phone'" (B-PS-KI-2-residents' association member, 58).

Cultural differences seem to play an important role in the conflict or the potential conflict. Ignorance about these cultural differences coupled with not knowing members of the Dominican community are behind opinions like the one presented above. Different uses of public space are possibly the most visible consequence of these cultural differences between some Latin Americans and natives. Another interviewee, aged 30, the member of an association and who was born in Puerto Rico, quite skilfully expresses these cultural differences as a part of the conflict:

“Where I think there is a culture shock on Blai Street, where small groups meet up on the street, talking... Latin Americans, it seems that they are mostly Dominicans, and they collide a lot with the culture from here, which is more one of terraces, staying inside the bar, right? People do not lie in the street, do not gather in small groups there. Where I see the biggest impact is here [on Blai Street]. (...) Latin Americans are totally the opposite [of Catalans], and they are in the street and want to expand. Catalans are shy (...) And then, there are differences, of course. Many of them. (...) There are changes at the cultural level. People coming from other neighbourhoods of the city may have already learned the language of the city, the codes, but there are people coming from other countries who used to operate by other codes and it is difficult to understand each other” (B-PS-KI-4-association member-30).

A 55-year-old man from Honduras living in Poble Sec for 27 years also explains these cultural differences and the effect they can have produce on the perceptions of other nationalities:

“Sometimes in areas like here, between Margarit and Parallel Streets, I don't know, because the habits of people from our countries, of spending more time on the streets instead of being more inside the houses or crushed in a flat. So, since it is usual, most people go outside and stay there. And since they are groups of people from the same country, I don't know, for the people it is a little bit more conflictive, or may we could say violent, but it has not gotten that far yet. What happens is that people, the young people from there, they like to dance and..., to talk loud, and to listen to the music.” (B-PS-I-27-Honduran association member-55 years old).

It is important to point out that the Latin American immigrants who are more settled in the quarter know about this situation. The length of residence of some foreign inhabitants who arrived in the quarter during

the 1980s and 1990s plays a role in these residents' capacity to build intergroup relations. The fact that back when they arrived the number of foreigners was lower than it is nowadays was also crucial in their forging relations with natives more than, for example, foreigners who arrived during the 2000s. The man from the last quote, for example, stresses the importance of the quarter's associations in working to overcome tensions together and with the members of the different communities. In this sense, a 29-year-old Dominican man living in Poble Sec, member of a Dominican association, also gives his opinion about noise and expresses his association's concern about the need to make an effort to prevent the conflict from becoming more pronounced. In addition to cultural issues, there is also a very big issue that underlies the conflict, unemployment and the unemployed youths' use of time:

"The typical Dominican, for example, gathers and shares the corner... The behaviour? Yes, it has to be moderated a little bit. And we are working on this with the association (...) [He explains that they are working with young people.] Because the real problem is unemployment. They are standing around on the corners because they have nothing to do, you know? And in one way or another, they are trying to survive. So we focus on employment (...) It is difficult for Dominicans to stay enclosed in a flat all day (...) It is easier for them to be on the corner, to see who goes by, 'I need somebody...' We have this belief: at home, we don't achieve anything. On the corner, it is easier [to get a job] than at home" (B-PS-I-25-Dominican immigrants' association member-29 years old).

Unemployment is a problem that affects young Spanish young people, too, with dramatic figures which are higher among the foreign population. However, the representation of unemployed Dominican youngsters hanging around in Poble Sec streets could not be proven with objective data regarding young unemployed people from other origins.

**b) Interaction site 2: Sortidor Square (*Plaça del Sortidor*)**

Sortidor Square (*Plaça del Sortidor*) is roughly located in the geographic centre of Poble Sec. From 1874 to 1918, there was a big fountain dedicated to a fertility and agriculture goddess, Ceres. The water dispenser of the fountain, its *sortidor*, lent its name to the square. After the fountain was moved to Montjuïc, in its place a typical Barcelona fountain was installed, which in the mid 1990s was moved a few metres from its central location in the square due to the construction of elevator lift for the new underground car park located in the square.



Photos: Centre Cívic el Sortidor & Plaça del Sortidor during an activity organised by the Communitarian Development Plan. (A.M.).

Sortidor Square is a quadrangular area measuring approximately 2,500 square metres. The square is mainly pedestrian with the terraces of different bars and restaurants dotting it, along with some trees, benches, the fountain, the entrance and the lift of the car park and a bicycle rack. There is room for vehicles coming from Magalhaes Street, on the north side of the square, to drive through, but there is not a lot of traffic. The rest of the square, the middle and the south side, are pedestrian areas. There are buildings with flats around almost the entire square, and they are a little bit higher than in Blai Street, mostly around five-storey buildings.<sup>21</sup> The aforementioned configuration of the square fosters the presence of a small-town atmosphere, and it also facilitates interactions between residents as a public space where people meet up.

Due to its location in the centre of the quarter, a little bit further away from its boundaries than Blai Street, for example, which is very close to Paral·lel Avenue, Plaça del Sortidor is one of the places of Poble Sec where you can more clearly notice a local feeling or the small-town atmosphere mentioned in the previous sections and explained by most of the interviewees as one of the main characteristics of Poble Sec.

Residents from other parts of the city and tourists are less visible here than in Blai Street. This also facilitates interactions between residents, including different groups, without the 'interference' of outsiders. The square is at the heart of Poble Sec, and the changes of the quarter can be seen in it. In recent years, the opening or reopening with new owners of two of the restaurants located in Sortidor Square are instances of changes that are also affecting this part of the quarter. But at the same time, the lower presence of outsiders allows us to see more everyday life in the quarter here than on Blai Street.

The presence of two other more "traditional" bar-restaurants, plus two cafe-bakeries, one pharmacy, one little supermarket owned by Pakistanis and especially the presence of one school and one public facility, namely the community centre '*Centre Cívic el Sortidor*', show us this everyday life in the quarter. We will

<sup>21</sup>To see more pictures of Sortidor Square, go to the web page of the project <http://www.concordiadiscors.eu> in the Barcelona section.

visit the school and the Centre Cívic in the paragraphs below as very interesting places where links between communities and residents from different origins have been settled, but first we wanted also to point out commercial relations as an important way of setting up spaces for interactions between communities. The aforementioned supermarket run by Pakistanis in Sortidor Square is one of the multiple examples that we could find all around the quarter, but the next example may be more impressive because of the age of the woman that is involved on it. There is an 87-year-old woman who has been living in the square since 1959, who was not used to interacting with foreigners until few years ago. When she was asked if she thinks there is interaction between foreigners and Spaniards in the quarter, she answered affirmatively without any hesitation. When asked about the aforementioned supermarket run by Pakistanis, she said the following:

“Yes, yes. They are Pakistanis. They opened quite a long time ago and it is very good, very good. I'm very happy. These guys bring me my groceries at home, which I was not able to do myself. They have all kind of products. They are very clean, very good boys, very kind... I am very happy”. (B-PS-I-20-retired-87 years old).

This woman goes to the square almost every morning to take a little walk and get fresh air and sit down for a while on one of the benches. Like her, other elder people use this public space as a place with a special significance because of its characteristics and its location in the quarter. So different generations use the same place and, although intergenerational interactions are unlikely to occur in some cases, they also take place in this micro-site. Intergenerational interactions can be seen as sources of both conflict and cooperation, depending on the case. Setting aside situations when interaction does not occur, when the interaction does take place the effect usually is positive for cooperation. Some exceptions can be found, as we will see for the Tres Xemeneies micro-site with the skaters group, or specific cases with noise, dirtiness...

Focusing now on the school located on the mountain side of the square, Anna Ravell school, it started operating in the quarter in 1890 with the name of 'Colegio Nuestra Señora de la Consolación'. Popularly known as the 'nuns of El Sortidor', over all these decades the history of Poble Sec has run parallel to the history of the school, and its presence has affected inevitably the daily life of Sortidor Square. As explained by an Ecuadorian woman who works in domestic service for various elderly people residing in the quarter, there is always a lot of movement during the entrance and exit hours of the school:

“There are a lot of young people, a lot of movement. Especially at the hour when school lets out” (B-PS-I-21-Ecuadorian domestic service worker-35 years old).

The school, in general, has been recognised many times as an institution, as a common place where interaction between communities of different origins takes place and as space for building bridges and links for mutual knowledge. The effect on the behaviour and attitudes of this common place on children and teenagers is perhaps only the most visible part of it. But the effects on the perceptions, attitudes and behaviours of the parents and other relatives of these children are also quite frequent. According to several interviewees, the school is a place where relations between members of the different nationalities living in the quarter are on the rise. It is a place where these relations are evolving from peaceful coexistence to more intensive interactions in both qualitative and quantitative terms.

But beyond the presence of the school, Sortidor Square is a meeting point for children who are students at other schools. They go there to play with the other children. The fact that the square is mainly pedestrian

and it is in the middle of a quite densely populated area contributes to attracting children who play there almost on a daily basis and at weekends, too. The mixture of nationalities in the quarter can be noticed at these times. The presence of parents looking after their children is also significant.

Another interviewee, a woman aged 28, highlights the importance of the square as a place to perceive the life in the quarter:

“For me this is a key place in the quarter, in the afternoons, because here there is a school and it is a very cool square. If you come here at 5 o'clock in the afternoon, you can do an amazing sociological analysis of the quarter (...). I would say that it is a very important meeting point in the quarter. And in addition, this is a place where people from other quarters never come” (B-PS-KI-3-Association member).

On the other hand, the presence of *Centre Cívic El Sortidor* has given a new magnitude to the square within the quarter. The old civic centre of the quarter was moved from the building where the library is now housed, and it was opened in 2003 as the new Centre Cívic El Sortidor. This is a public facility owned by the municipality of Barcelona but co-managed by the Sants-Montjuïc district and *Coordinadora d'Entitats del Poble Sec* (i.e. an umbrella organisation coordinating most of the associations of Poble Sec).<sup>22</sup> It is impossible to describe here all the activities that take place in the Centre Cívic because they are very numerous and constantly changing over time: regular courses and workshops (languages, culture, sports, dance, cooking, etc.), talks, book presentations, celebrations of festivities, plays, regular activities for children, etc.<sup>23</sup> Additionally, there are occasional or more specific activities sponsored by different associations in the quarter.

Although it is located at the centre of the quarter, Sortidor Square was mainly used just by people residing near the square until the civic centre was open. But nowadays, with the presence of the civic centre, a lot of people from other parts of Poble Sec go there to do regular activities. In fact, almost all the interviewees have gone there at least once, and all of them know about it.

As a result of this importance acquired within the quarter and among its residents, the Centre Cívic El Sortidor appears as one of the spaces where the most interactions between members of different communities and different nationalities take place. This is also a place where, as a result of these daily interactions, relations between groups and nationalities are also contributing to moving forward from peaceful coexistence towards a society with higher levels of social cohesion. These ideas were expressed by different informants, more or less frequent users of the public facility, in different words but with similar meanings. A 55-year-old man from Honduras who has been living in Poble Sec for 27 years says:

“Centro Cívico is also a place of a confluence of cultures, because there are quite a lot of people from different places, origins and cultures. And you can feel that we are there and that all of us are living together well. In fact, we [his association] are always participating in different activities that take place there, at the Centro Cívico. By joining everybody, we are there collaborating in whatever we can. And this also helps us as immigrants to be able to integrate into society here. When these spaces exist, there are chances to live together and to interact”. (B-PS-I-27-Honduran association member-55 years old).

The importance of the civic centre can also be seen in the words of the president of the umbrella organisation coordinating the associations in Poble Sec. When asked to draw a schematic map of the

<sup>22</sup> See: [www.poblesec.org](http://www.poblesec.org)

<sup>23</sup> See: [www.bcn.cat/ccelsortidor](http://www.bcn.cat/ccelsortidor)

quarter, he placed Sortidor Square in the centre of the quarter because the importance of the Centre Cívic, and not just because of its physical situation:

“Sortidor Square is the centre of the neighbourhood. Why? Because of the potentiality of its public facilities” (B-PS-KI-11-association member-50 years old).

There are noise problems in *Sortidor Square*, too, but to a lesser degree than on Blai Street. This is due to the fact that the opening times of bars and restaurants in Sortidor Square are during daytime or evening, while on Blai Street there are places where people go out at night, after dinner time. Additionally, it is less frequented by outsiders, and this makes the ‘noise’ issue a little bit less conflictive here. However, it seems to be true that there are some residents whose sleep is affected by the noise coming from the square, especially during the summer months. Unlike Blai Street, the origin of the noise is not clearly identified with an specific nationality, although comments on the volume of the conversations among Latin Americans are also made. As an example, a 28-year-old woman talking about the noise issue says:

“It is a very big issue, this question [the noise issue]. It’s a problem where different factors take part: the buildings’ infrastructure is not very soundproof, the specific street and floor where you live, etc. Nights, and summer nights especially, are quite problematic. Sortidor Square is one of the most problematic places.” (B-PS-KI-3-Association member-28 years old).

If unemployment was noted as a factor behind the conflict when talking about problems on Blai Street, this informant’s explanation points out another problem in the quarter: a lack of enough resources and spaces for young people. She explains that if there are no alternatives, young people stay in the street. For her, the agreement reached in Blai with the terraces to close at midnight signals a huge step forward, although it does not completely solve the problem because there are still young people at the corners until later.

It is interesting to point out here that in a quarter like Poble Sec, where street life is quite important compared with other parts of Barcelona and where interactions between residents are sometimes inevitable, although peaceful coexistence seems to occur between some groups, in fact this peaceful coexistence is almost impossible in some places because the interactions go beyond mere coexistence. This may be the case of Blai Street, but it is also the case of other places in the quarter, where doing an activity implies interaction. A couple living in the quarter and working on Blai Street used clear words to explain this idea. The man, who has lived in the Eixample for a long time, complained about the noise of people and the dirtiness in Poble Sec. Additionally, the woman complained about the car noise, which can make life difficult in Eixample streets, and she added:

“In the Eixample, maybe there are fewer conflicts, but this is because there are fewer people in the streets. They wouldn’t take the dog for a walk because they can only go around the block and come back” (B-PS-I-31-shop owner and artist-33 years old).

### **c) Interaction site 3: Three smokestacks Gardens (*Jardins de les Tres Xemeneies*)**

The *Tres Xemeneies* Gardens owe their name to one of the most representative symbols of Poble Sec: the three smokestacks (*xemeneies*) of the old electrical plant *Barcelona Traction Light and Power Company*, popularly known as *La Canadenca* (i.e., *The Canadian*), which stand at one side of the so-called gardens (it is sometimes referred as ‘park’ instead of ‘gardens’ because there are so few plants). The park occupies part of the area where the old electrical factory was located. That company was set up in 1911 by an

American engineer, Frederick Stark Pearson. At the beginning of the 20th century, it was one of the pioneering companies in the production of electrical energy, and it is remembered for the strike that took place in February and March 1919, which became a turning point in the Iberian workers' movement. After a month and a half of striking to protest worsening working conditions, the employees of the factory won a historical victory in Spain: for the first time, eight hours per day became the official working day there (before then, working days were much longer). Today, according to recent news, it seems that the new centre-right local government in Barcelona is once again paying attention to that event<sup>24</sup>. Recently, a street sign remembering that strike *in situ* was changed for another sign with no reference to it. In any case, today the site is still connected to electricity. The three smokestacks have been integrated in the office buildings belonging to *Red Eléctrica Española* located next to the gardens.

These 'gardens' occupy an area of 0.9 hectares, are situated at the east side of the Poble Sec quarter and are open from Paral·lel Avenue. The place consists of a large, flat esplanade made of concrete with benches and trees, and with one area enclosed at the top by walls spattered with graffiti. Apart from the benches and trees, there is an area especially designed for skateboarding and, in between, there are several artistic elements, like machinery from the old electric plant and a giant chair. At the end of the esplanade, there is a large cube that acts as stage for celebrations and shows, and further on we find a sports area with a basketball and football court. Next to Palaudàries Street, there is a large paved area with gravel with a children's playground, petanque courts and ping-pong tables. Next to this area and integrated into the park is a 'Green Point', a place to bring useless castoff objects in order to sort them before recycling their materials. An underground car park is located below the gardens.



Photo: Tres Xemeneies Gardens (A.M.).

---

<sup>24</sup> See the recent article by Xavier Theros entitled "El canbiazo" that was published on 19 May 2012 in *El País* (Catalonia edition, page 5 of the Catalan news section).



Due to various factors, this interaction site is heavily frequented by people who are not residents in the quarter. First of all, the presence of the office buildings belonging to Red Eléctrica Española (also known as Endesa) means that a number of people go to work there every day, while others go there for administrative matters. Even though they might stay for hours in the place, all these people walk through the borders of the park or just cross it. Executives, administrative assistants, or simply city residents, all of them coming from other parts of the city, barely interact with the other the users of the site.

Something similar happens with the workers and users of other spaces located very close to the park, places that attract a remarkable number of people: the Apolo Theatre, the Tryp Apolo Hotel and the *Instituto Social de la Marina*<sup>25</sup>. They also cross or stop briefly in the site, but they rarely interact with other users of the park. An employee of the car park located under the gardens talked about these passers-by as follows:

“The ones that park [their cars] here 24 hours are residents, but most users of the car park are from Endesa. (...) The ones from Endesa come, park or take their cars, and ‘pim pim pim’, you barely see them” (B-PS-I-36-car park employee- 52).

Unlike the latter, the people who go to the Green Point are mainly residents of Poble Sec, but they can be seen also as ‘passers-by of the site. As explained by one of the ‘Green Point’ employees, foreigners use the Green Point quite often, although not at the same rate than Spaniards. He believes that the main groups are South Americans and some Moroccans (B-PS-I-34-green point employee-30).

Another group of people who are present in the site are skateboarders. They are mainly boys and young men. Most of them are residents of other parts of the city, and some of them are tourists or temporary residents of the city. None of them can be considered passers-by, and they are one of the groups with the greatest visual and spatial presence. Every day of the week at almost any time of the day there are several skateboarders practising in the park. As explained by a Brazilian residing in the Raval quarter and a Spaniard residing in the Gràcia quarter, “skateboarders like the place a lot” because of the “obstacles” and because “there are always people skating”. In addition, the police “don’t bother us a lot”, or at least they bother the skaters less than in other places, such as the square in front of MACBA museum. They do not know why there is this difference of permissiveness between places, but skating in Tres Xemeneies is more or less allowed (B-PS-I-18-Brazilian skater-28, and B-PS-I-19-Spanish skater-19).

These two skateboarders explain that people from different nationalities come to skate at Tres Xemeneies, including tourists. They see it as an important meeting point for skaters, and it is clear they are some of the main users of the place. In this case, both interviewees go to Tres Xemeneies Gardens to skate more than twice a week, one of them since 2008 and the other one since 2007. Although they have been going to the place for long hours all these years, they know almost nothing about the rest of the quarter. One of them even does not even know the name of the quarter. Thus, it seems that this collective does not interact at all with the rest of the life in the quarter and there are very few if any interactions with the rest of users in the *Tres Xemeneies* gardens. They claim that they never have problems with anybody. In any case, it seems clear that this collective is only interested in practising their activity in the site because its characteristics, but because their interest is totally focused on their activity, they do not interact with the other users of the place.

<sup>25</sup> The Social Institute for Sailors is a public body with its own legal personality that operates at the national level under the management and auspices of the Ministry for Employment and Social Security. It is attached to the Secretariat of State for Social Security and it is located in the east side of Poble Sec because of its proximity to the sea port.

Another key collective of users of the site is the one made up of citizens who go to the park to have a rest while sitting on a bench, to read, taking the sun, having a conversation, etc. This group is more heterogeneous than the skateboarders. Among them, we can find men and women equally from different age groups and the different nationalities that are present in the quarter. Obviously, elderly people (i.e., older than 65) are the ones who sit there the most often, especially during mornings but also along the rest of the day.

While skateboarders seem to be indifferent to the other park users, the elderly are not happy with the skateboarders hanging around. It should be noted that while skaters are not rooted in the quarter, the elderly people live in the quarter or nearby. A retired man who goes to the garden quite often to read the newspaper explains that he thinks that *"sometimes it is dangerous to cross the park"* because of the skateboarders. He explains that *"there are people who do not come to the park because they are afraid of the skaters"* (B-PS-I-17-retired man-73). He adds that a few days before the interview took place, a woman was injured in the park when one of them lost his skateboard and hit her. He complains about the 'bad way' they use the benches and other elements in the park. He finished the interview saying that he would ban skateboarding. Although this is not the most widespread opinion about skateboarders, among the elderly people who come to the park to sit it is a widely shared opinion. The users of the petanque courts situated in one of the sides of the park are also mostly elderly people and may share similar opinions.

Parents going with their children to play in the park are the third group of daily users. They go mainly to the specially-designed playground for children located on one of the sides of the park. Weekends and hours just after kids leave school are the time with the greatest influx. The presence of different nationalities is remarkable, and Spaniards and Pakistanis seem to be the most common. Although some of the users are residents of the nearby Raval quarter, an important part of them are Poble Sec residents. Similar to the case of Sortidor Square, this is also a place where the interactions between communities of different origins are very remarkable. The children's playground is where, as time goes by, peaceful coexistence can be replaced by closer ties and deeper interactions: while children of different origins and backgrounds are playing together, their parents are sharing the benches as they watch their children.

Another collective that frequently use the place is the Muslim community of Pakistani origin. They use the football and basketball court located at one side of the park to pray on Fridays. Dozens of Pakistani men from the Poble Sec and Raval districts come to the Tres Xemeneies gardens every Friday at midday. Although some of them stay to sit on the park benches before and after praying, they barely interact with other users. The situation is perceived similarly as in other parts of the quarter: they do not cause any problems, but interactions hardly ever occur, except when commercial dealings are involved. The rest of users of the site do not seem concerned at all about this religious use of the court. The failed attempts to interview members of this group prevented us from learning about their perceptions of what takes place in the square. It is also remarkable that Pakistani immigrants also used to gather in this park to play cricket at weekends<sup>26</sup>. Recently, they have changed the place to practise this sport and now they go to the Forum Park, quite far away from the quarter but with more open space. Some interviewees assured that when they were playing in Tres Xemeneies, *"although it was not the proper place to practise this activity, they were very careful and respectful"* (B-PS-KI-2-neighbours association -58 years old).

<sup>26</sup> See article by Mauricio Bernal entitled "El críquet de la nostalgia" that was published on 21 November 2002 in *El Periódico de Catalunya* (page 48 of 'Gran Barcelona' section).

One of the characteristics of the gardens is that they are quite isolated from the apartment buildings surrounding them. Parallel Avenue, the Red Eléctrica offices and the sports centre and its facilities close off three of the four sides. The fourth side is also partly closed off by the sports centre and partly surrounded by old warehouses, while just one part of this last side contains an apartment building with direct views of the gardens (on Paludàries Street). This fact, coupled with the considerable size of the gardens, apparently makes the park a good place for celebrations, festivals, concerts and other kind of performances. These activities sometimes involve people and associations from the quarter, but usually they extend beyond the boundaries of Poble Sec, taking in acts organised from other parts of the city and attracting people even from outside Barcelona. Latin American and Pakistani associations, among others, have held events here.

As explained by an interviewee, Tres Xemeneies Gardens is a meeting place in high demand (with official and administrative demands as well), a fact that sometimes can be identified as a source of conflict (B-PS-KI-3-Association member-28). These conflicts arise because not all the demands can be met and because some people believe that there are too many activities in the place, rendering it saturated. For example, another interviewee living very close to the park, in the aforementioned apartment building on Paludàries Street, explains that there are always activities like music, performances, etc., and he complains about the noise that sometimes comes from the park. He claims that *“residents cannot sleep until 2 or 3 o'clock in the morning [because of activities like concerts, performances, public celebrations, etc.]”* (B-PS-I-17-retired man-73)

Another problem that emerged from some interviews is that young people come to drink alcohol in the gardens at weekends. The noise that they make is compounded by the dirtiness they produce. The park is located in a quite popular Barcelona nightlife area, with several popular discotheques nearby. Before going to the discos, some youngsters drink alcohol in the park in bottles that they have previously bought in shops. As explained by an employee of the underground car park, sometimes they even go to the car park, but when they are asked to leave they rarely cause further problems.

However, the biggest problem occurring in the park according to the interviewees and the ethnographic observation is the conflict related to both the presence of homeless people and to the drug dealing and consumption. In theory, both issues are not necessarily directly linked, but the interviewees usually mixed them up, noting a feeling of insecurity. Although these issues extend beyond the boundaries of the quarter, some interviewees believe that the presence of these problems can be partly related to the park's design. As explained by one member of a Poble Sec association, Tres Xemeneies Gardens were remodelled in the 1990s, but today a new remodelling process is needed:

“Although it was officially opened ten years ago, a new urbanisation project is planned. It will change everything because there are some problems with the park design (...) This park has become outdated; it was very nice, but now is destroyed” (B-PS-KI-2-neighbours association-58 years old).

The interviewee talks about drug dealing and drug consumption behind the big wall of the park, an architectural element that prevents the police from seeing what is happening behind it. Some stakeholders have urged the city government to implement a renewal process in order to yield a panoptic park, as has been done in other parts of Barcelona in the past decade. In a panoptic place, police and other authorities can easily monitor what is going on in a given place.

While it is more difficult to confirm if drug dealing does indeed take place in that park, it seems to be true that there is drug consumption due to a number of factors. It is close to the Raval quarter but located in a quieter quarter, Poble Sec; it is near Montjuïc Mountain and the city port, and there is a “Narcosala” nearby (i.e. a place where intravenous drug addicts can inject themselves in hygienic conditions and under medical supervision). As mentioned above, drug consumption and homelessness are not necessarily be directly linked, but it seems that in this site the two issues are sometimes related. There are heroin addicts sleeping in the park or nearby, and there are also people with alcoholism problems sleeping in the area. The press has written more than once about how people who had overdosed were found dead around the park grounds. In any case, what it is clear is that the residents have noted all those issues occurring around *Tres Xemeneies* gardens with more or less concern, pointing to different causes and solutions. Generally, they perceive it as a problem. Another member of an association in the Poble Sec quarter says:

“On the other hand, an important part of the problems are concentrated here. Poverty and homelessness problems, drug problems... Tres Xemeneies Park, Walter Benjamin Gardens... Around this end of the quarter, next to the port” (B-PS-KI-11-association member-50 years old)

In order to try to solve the problems caused by people living on the entrances of their stairwells, the residents of the aforementioned apartment building located in Paludàries Street built a fence all around their property. This building, which is made up of different sections and stairwells, has a ground floor with little gardens that opened onto the street and had covered areas. This issue appeared in different newspapers, and some people believe that it can be explained in hygienic terms:

“They don't harass residents. They are here, and because we have the fences, these buildings are all fenced. We fenced it in because of them. Because before they used to go there, and when it rained they hid under the columns and took care of their [physiological] needs, and they came with pieces of cardboard. And the police used to come every day and make them leave. But they used to come back. We had to fence it in, and now they cannot come inside” (B-PS-I-17-retired man-73 years old).

According to several interviewees, some of the people sleeping in the park or in nearby areas are foreigners, mainly from Eastern European countries, an observation that seems to be true:

“-The benches are full of people who stay there to sleep, and in the winter it has to be hard.

-Are they people from the quarter?

-More foreigners than people from the quarter. Mainly from the East [Europe]” (PS-I-17-retired man-73 years old)

That situation has created a feeling of insecurity that is very keen among some residents. This feeling of insecurity is often related to the presence of immigrants. Setting aside whether or not insecurity exists, it is clear that this perception does exist, at least in a remarkable number of the residents, who consider *Tres Xemeneies* Gardens as one of the most unsafe places in the quarter. Night hours are perceived as the most dangerous, and immigrants quite often figure at the centre of their suspicions:

“With all these foreigners, most of them do not work. If somebody isn't careful, they'll rob him. There are some times no one can even cross the park (...) When I came here in 1982, there were not as many foreigners as there are nowadays. Now you cannot go out after 10 pm because you don't know if you will come back. (...) They don't kill people, but you always hear about things” (B-PS-I-17-retired man-73 years old).

When asked about the changes experienced in the area in recent years, one woman also shared her very negative opinion:

“There is quite a lot of rabble. There is quite a lot of ruffraff. There are a lot of immigrants. I don’t have anything against immigrants when they come to sort out their lives like everybody does. But there are a lot of people who devote themselves to drug dealing and thieving. The quarter has gone downhill in recent years. There are numerous robberies, and quite a lot of people are stealing” (B-PS-I-37-neighbour woman-57 years old).

In this context, the very negative image of East European immigrants also emerges, especially the bad reputation of Romanians. Different interviewees, although not during their first comments, point to this group, after some reflection, as the one causing insecurity around Tres Xemeneies:

“Romanians, they even rob you the heels of your shoes when you are walking. They are the same ones who are in Ramblas with the cards and all that stuff. (...) Romanians are only thieves. Pakistanis are more noble people. Thieves who go to houses and beat people... Pakistanis are more noble, they sell their flowers and their beers. But Romanians, no one can bear them, at least in the buildings where I live. And the ones who sleep in the park are mainly Romanians” (B-PS-I-17-retired man-73 years old).

Another woman, when asked if she links the worsening of the situation in the quarter with the arrival of immigrants, said:

“People from the East [Europe] are above all very problematic. Almost all of them are thieves. Just a few are working” (B-PS-I-37-neighbour woman-57 years old).

Although these negative opinions cannot be generalised, it should be taken into account that other interviewees who have a more positive point of view about the quarter also note that Tres Xemeneies gardens is a hotspot with regard to these problematic issues. Thus it is interesting that most interviewees linked to this site of interaction have a very negative point of view concerning insecurity, and they link this situation with immigrants, while in the other sites the opinions are more diverse.

#### 4. Quarters as media images: Narratives on places and narratives on people

The Barcelona newspapers chosen are *La Vanguardia* and *El Periódico de Catalunya*. According to the Barometer of Culture and Communication in Catalonia (*Baròmetre de la Comunicació i la Cultura*), they were the two most widely read daily general newspapers in Catalonia (27).

On the one hand, *La Vanguardia* is a paid daily-morning general news newspaper founded in 1881. It is owned by Grupo Godó and is published in Barcelona for Spain as a whole. Politically, it is usually considered a liberal, centre-right newspaper. In the edition for Catalonia, there is a section devoted to local news from Barcelona. The main language of *La Vanguardia* throughout its history is Castilian Spanish, but since 2011 it has also published a Catalan language edition (the same contents are published in both languages in two different editions).

On the other hand, *El Periódico de Catalunya* is also a paid daily-morning general news newspaper. It was founded in 1978, it is owned by Grupo Zeta and it is published in Barcelona for Catalonia as a whole. Politically, it is generally considered a centre-left newspaper. It also has a section devoted to local news from Barcelona. The main language of *El Periódico* throughout its history is Castilian-Spanish, but since 1997 has also been published in the Catalan language (similar to *La Vanguardia*, the same contents are published in both languages in two different editions, and the success of the bilingual experience of *El Periódico de Catalunya* inspired *La Vanguardia* to follow it more than a decade later).

The reasons we chose these two newspapers are the following: a) they circulate widely in Catalan territory and have a remarkable history over time; b) they are considered to represent two different political points of view, but at the same time they are both close to the political centre; c) both newspapers have a section devoted to local news from Barcelona; d) there are not Barcelona local newspapers just covering the whole city, along with the aforementioned characteristics of history and circulation.

Before the analysis, we should mention several issues related to the Professional Association of Journalists of Catalonia (*Col·legi de Periodistes de Catalunya*), which can play a role in the results of the media analysis and the subsequent comparison with the results obtained in the other cities involved in *Concordia Discors* research project.<sup>28</sup> First of all, there is a 'deontological code' or ethical code published by this association. This code is a "declaration of principles", and its first article encourages all journalists:

"To act with special responsibility and rigour in the case of information or opinions that may arise any kind of discrimination based on sex, race, belief, origins and disease (...)".

That same association has published a *Stylebook on the Treatment of Ethnic Minorities* and a guide entitled *The Treatment of Multiculturalism in Journalism*. In these documents, the Association argues that "ethnic group, skin colour, country of origin, religion or culture must not be included [in the news], unless it is necessary to understand the overall meaning of the story". The Professional Association of Journalists of Catalonia also launched a campaign titled *Don't call me illegal. In favour the removal of the word 'illegal' from the media*. These principles and recommendations are not followed by all journalists and media (i.e., ethnic group, skin colour, country of origin, religion and culture are sometimes included without it being

<sup>27</sup>The Baròmetre de la Comunicació i la Cultura, *The Barometer of the Culture and Communication*, is a study and analysis of the media audiences and the cultural consumption in the Catalan-speaking territories carried out by the foundation FUNDACC.

<sup>28</sup> All quotes concerning the *Col·legi de Periodistes de Catalunya* have been found on its web page: <http://www.periodistes.org> [retrieved: 19-04-2012]

necessary to understand the overall meaning of the story). Principles and recommendations are not legally compulsory, so they can be influential, but this influence is very difficult to measure.

#### 4.1. Quarters in the media

First of all, several methodological factors should be noted. According to the premises of the project, the media analysis has been carried out for the period 2001-2010, both years included. After a preliminary search, we realised that the number of articles for this period for both newspapers with references to the quarters in question was so large as to be unfeasible with the resources available to the project. Thus, in order to analyse the two newspapers' coverage of the Sagrada Família and Poble Sec quarters, the search was limited to the 1st, 6th, 11th, 16th, 21st and 26th of every month from 2001 to 2010 (both years included)<sup>29</sup> with the following general results:

**Table 4.1. News and articles with references to Sagrada Família quarter**

El Periódico de Catalunya newspaper	330 articles
La Vanguardia newspaper	304 articles
Total Sagrada Família	634 articles

**Table 4.2. News and articles with references to Poble Sec quarter**

El Periódico de Catalunya newspaper	141 articles
La Vanguardia newspaper	107 articles
Total Poble Sec	248 articles

Looking at the general figures, at first glance we can see that there is a big difference between the articles found regarding each quarter: more than twice the number of articles were found regarding the Sagrada Família quarter than Poble Sec.

In order to explain such a difference, we should note that the Poble Sec quarter has lower population and surface than Sagrada Família, it has a semi-peripheral location, it can be seen as a working class quarter and other factors. But above all, the main factor that lies behind the significant difference in the number of articles is the presence of the most important touristic spot in Barcelona in terms of number of visitors in the Sagrada Família quarter, namely the Sagrada Família temple. With more than two million visitors per year (without counting the people who only see the monument from outside the fence), this monument has a specific importance within the city, an importance that goes beyond the number of

<sup>29</sup> This was a shared decision implemented in the five cities studied in the *Concordia Discors* project.

visitors in aspects like the economy of the city, its history or the collective social imagination and symbols of its citizens. Thus, all these aspects inevitably affect the quarter and its presence in the press and the media as a whole.

Aware of that bias, the articles that referred only to the temple were separated out as not concerning the quarter. These articles were omitted from the analysis. However, a problem was that this was quite difficult to do, mainly because the things that take place in the temple obviously also take place at the same time in the quarter, and in some cases they can be seen as influencing the quarter. Moreover, in several cases, it is quite difficult to separate out the articles that refer to the quarter from the articles that only refer to the temple.

A considerable number of articles mention the temple, but they do not even mention the quarter, although what is described in the article has or could have repercussions in the quarter. Examples include all the news related to the controversy around the construction of the high speed train crossing the city next to the temple, all the news concerning the visit of the Catholic Pope in 2010 and articles talking about tourism in Barcelona.

In addition, another considerable amount of news takes place within the quarter only because of the presence of the temple, such as protests, special events, etc. These actions have an impact beyond the quarter and concern life in the city of Barcelona as a whole. One could even say that some news is more visible in the press because it takes place near the temple.

Another difficulty that emerged when distinguishing the articles that concern the quarter from the articles only on the temple is that in several cases journalists place actions with expressions like “next to the Sagrada Família” or “near the Sagrada Família”, referring to the temple but not mentioning the name of the quarter. This can be related to an issue that also emerges from the interviews: the diffuse boundaries of the quarter, which are not very well defined and sometimes not very clear to the residents themselves. If some residents are not very sure of the boundaries of their quarter, the newspapers readers and even journalists are probably not either. This is another reason, coupled with the importance of the temple, why this kind of expression is used when talking about the things that take place in the quarter.

It is important to note that in the interviews done in Sagrada Família quarter, some interviewees think that the quarter is almost only mentioned in the context of the temple (and focusing on the temple): talking about events related to the temple, the construction of the temple or tourists visiting the temple. A large number of articles confirm these interviewees’ perceptions. Consequently, it can be stated that the temple has much greater visibility than the quarter, and this affects how the quarter is treated in the press.

These issues related to Sagrada Família quarter and the temple of the same name should not distort the analysis and comparison between the two quarters analysed because the news concerning the temple is news located in the quarter. However, it is very important to take all these issues into account when carrying out the comparison, because otherwise the numbers shown above could give a false interpretation.

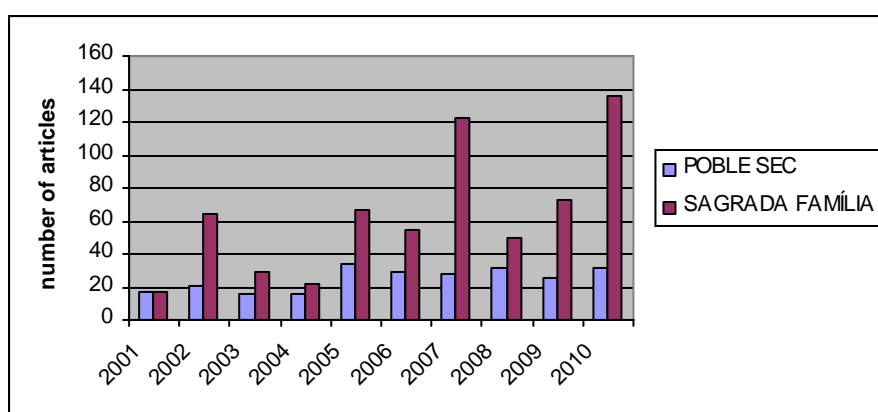
On the other hand, in the Poble Sec quarter the boundaries are more clearly defined than in the Sagrada Família quarter. Neighbours, newspaper readers and journalists identify clearly the place and the quarter when an article talks about Poble Sec. Additionally, in Poble Sec there is a stronger “neighbourhood” identity. Two illustrative instances of such a feeling of identity can be spotlighted because of its significance and the number of articles involved. One example refers to Joan Manel Serrat, a popular



singer, mainly known in Spain and Latin America, who was born in the quarter. He is popularly known by the nickname *el noi del Poble Sec*, (i.e., 'the boy from Poble Sec'). Thirty-eight articles out of the 248 total articles referring to Poble Sec were devoted to this singer as 'the boy from Poble Sec'. The other example refers to a band called 'Salseta del Poble Sec' (i.e., Little 'salsa' from Poble Sec). This band has its roots in the quarter and it is quite well known across Catalonia for playing in numerous street festivals in the summers.<sup>30</sup> Ten articles talk about 'Salseta del Poble Sec'. The strong identity of the quarter, the local feeling and even the identification of Poble Sec quarter in the collective social imagination of Barcelona's citizens (even though they might not know the quarter) play a significant role in these nicknames (and vice versa).

Regarding the comparative evolution of the number of articles per year (Graph 4.1), with the exception of 2001, Sagrada Família had higher numbers than Poble Sec. This difference is clearer in the second half of the decade. The number of articles on both quarters increased over the course of the decade, a fact that can be seen as an increasing presence of news at the quarter level in both newspapers. However, the leaps experienced by the number of articles for Sagrada Família in specific years (especially in 2002, 2007 and 2010) are the most visible aspect of the graph.

**Graph 4.1 Total articles in both newspapers, each quarter by year**

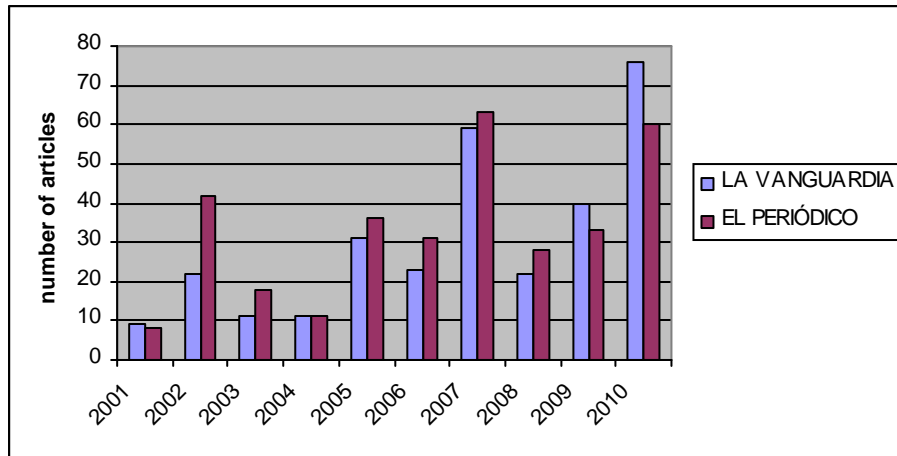


In relation to the evolution of the number of articles referring to the Sagrada Família quarter per year, comparing the two newspapers (Graph 4.2), there is a similar evolution over the decade in both *La Vanguardia* and *El Periódico*. We can even spot a parallelism in the aforementioned leaps. Regarding the reasons for changes in these years, in 2002 the Year of Gaudí celebration took place, honouring the 150th anniversary of the Sagrada Família architect's birthday. The number of events in the temple and surrounding areas that year contributed to considerably increasing the number of articles. In 2007, a blackout affected part of the city, and Sagrada Família was one of the quarters that went without electricity for more days. Additionally, in 2007 there were controversies around the route where the high speed train would cross the city (it was planned to run under the Sagrada Família temple grounds, raising alarms about possible damage). And last but not least, in 2007, local elections were held in May, opening debates concerning the quarters of Barcelona. Finally, in November 2010, the Catholic Pope's visit to the

<sup>30</sup> *The Salseta del Poble-Sec* band was founded in the late 1960s by young immigrants from Lleida province who were residing in Poble Sec.

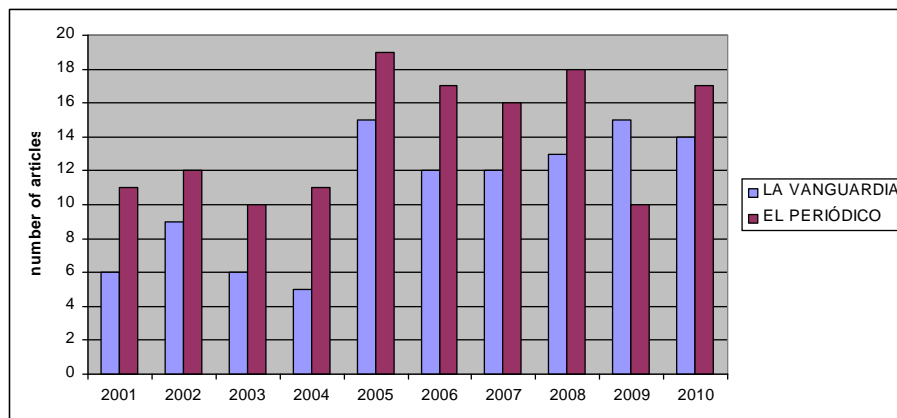
Sagrada Família temple aroused great expectations and controversies even some months before his arrival.

**Graph 4.2 Total articles referring to the Sagrada Família quarter**



If attention is paid to the evolution in the number of articles referring to the Poble Sec quarter, comparing the two newspapers analysed (Graph 4.3), we can see that *El Periódico de Catalunya* generally had more articles than *La Vanguardia* (except in 2009). This might be due to the grassroots editorial policy of *El Periódico*, which pays more attention to news at the quarter level (this is in contrast to the more business-oriented *La Vanguardia*). In general, the numbers for both newspapers follow a similar trend, a general increase from the first half of the decade to the second, and along with some divergences.

**Graph 4.3 Total articles referring to the quarter**

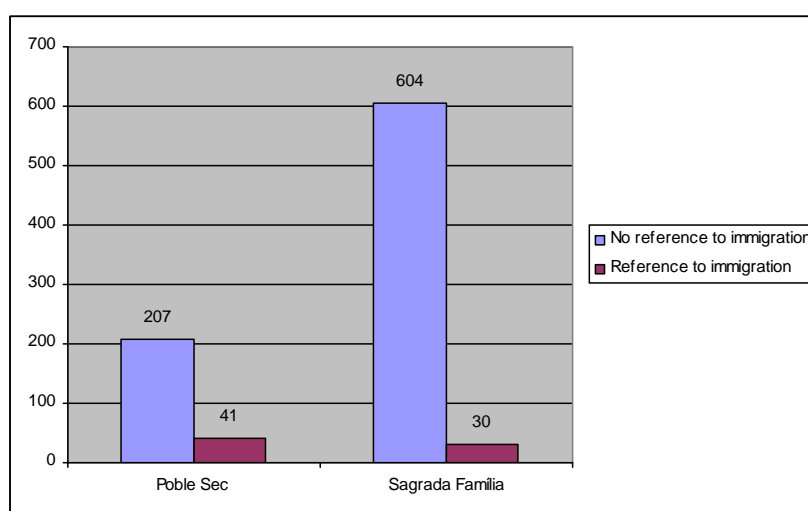


## 4.2 Migration in the quarters

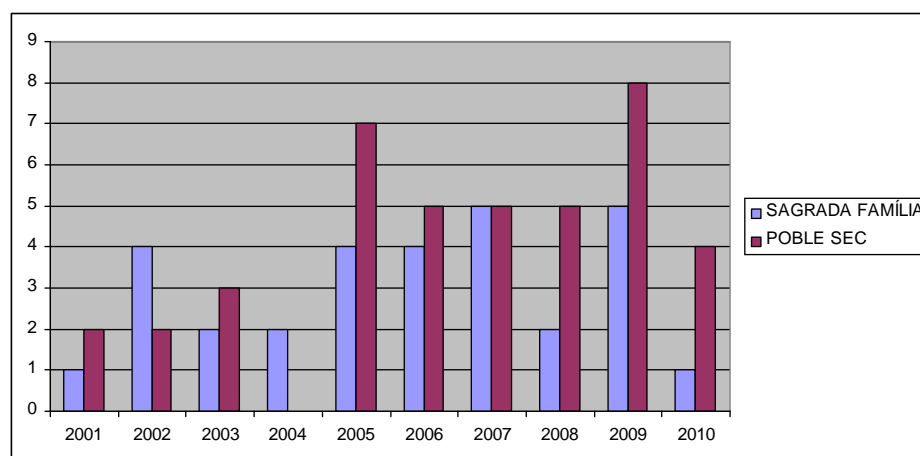
In order to compare how many times immigration in the selected quarters was covered in the news, the authors performed an initial classification based on the lack or presence of elements referring to immigrants in the news story, after searching all the articles with references to the Sagrada Família and

Poble Sec quarters. In Graph 4.4, the articles with elements referring to immigrants in the news story are compared to the articles with no reference to immigrants. It can be seen that in the Poble Sec quarter, 41 out of 248 articles include elements referring to immigrants, which accounts for 16.52% of the articles on this quarter. On the other hand, in the Sagrada Família quarter, 30 out of 634 articles contain a reference to immigrants, which accounts for 4.72% of the articles in this quarter. As can be seen in Graph 4.5, which shows the articles with references to immigration per year for each quarter, the numbers are higher during the second part of the decade, coinciding with the higher percentage of immigrants living in the quarters.

**Graph 4.4 Comparison by quarter of articles with references and no references to immigration. (2001-2010, La Vanguardia and El Periódico de Catalunya)**



**Graph 4.5. Comparison by quarters of articles with references to immigration (2001-2010, La Vanguardia and El Periódico de Catalunya)**



The number of articles with references to immigration, though not very different from one quarter to the other (41-30), is higher in Poble Sec. If the proportion of articles containing references to immigration is taken into account with regard to the total number of articles, the difference is much bigger (16.52% compared to 4.72%). The causes of these differences can be found in a number of reasons. The first are

the factors outlined in section 4.1., such as the importance of the Sagrada Família temple within the city, events and controversies linked to the temple; etc.

The second factor may be the different status of immigration in each quarter (e.g. in Poble Sec, 27.9% of the total population holds a foreign passport; in contrast, in Sagrada Família, ‘just’ 16.8% of the population is foreign residents), and this is reflected in the news covered by the press.

The third factor is that Poble Sec is a working class quarter with an average income significantly lower than in Sagrada Família, so the social service needs of the quarter are larger than in other quarters. The arrival of immigrants with lower incomes in general “impoverishes” the quarter in income or economic terms, and the quarter’s needs therefore increase. This can create conflicts and alarm, and sensationalism is always a temptation for the media, even though the newspapers chosen are not among the most sensationalist ones available in Barcelona.

Fourthly, the situation of Poble Sec, which is very near the so-called ‘conflictive’ quarter of Raval, is also a relevant factor. In the Raval quarter, at least during the past 20 years, some form of conflict linked by some stakeholders to immigrants have taken place (e.g., prostitution, drug dealing, dirtiness, noise, infections, etc.). At some moments, this geographical proximity can contribute to spreading social alarm from Raval to Poble Sec. Crossing Parallel Avenue is easier at night, when car traffic is less frequent.

Another classification emerging from the analysis of articles is related to the articles where immigrants are noted, distinguishing whether immigrants are prevalent, not prevalent or implicit in the news story (Tables 4.3 and 4.4 for Sagrada Família; Tables 4.5 and 4.6 for Poble Sec). In this sense, the patterns are quite similar in both quarters. Articles with explicit references to immigration, though that is not the prevalent issue in the article, are in the majority, and they are far more numerous than articles with explicit and prevalent references. The results are as follows:

**Tables 4.3 and 4.4 Sagrada Família quarter: Classification of articles**

<i>El Periódico</i> newspaper	330 articles
No references to immigration	315 articles
References to immigration	15 articles
Explicit references to immigration but not the prevalent issue	10 articles
Explicit and prevalent references to immigration	3 articles
Implicit references to immigration	2 articles

<i>La Vanguardia</i> newspaper	304 articles
No references to immigration	289 articles
References to immigration	15 articles
Explicit references to immigration but not the prevalent issue	7 articles
Explicit and prevalent references to immigration	5 articles
Implicit references to immigration	3 articles

**Table 4.5. Sagrada Família quarter: Classification of articles**  
**(Sum of *El Periódico* and *La Vanguardia* news)**

	Number of articles	Percentage of articles
No references to immigration	604	95.3%
References to immigration	30	4.7%
Explicit references to immigration but not the prevalent issue	17	2.7%
Explicit and prevalent references to immigration	8	1.3%
Implicit references to immigration	5	0.8%
Total	634	100%

**Tables 4.6 and 4.7. Poble Sec quarter: Classification of articles**

<b><i>El Periódico</i> newspaper</b>	141 articles
No references to immigration	119 articles
References to immigration	22 articles
Explicit references to immigration but not the prevalent issue	17 articles
Explicit and prevalent references to immigration	3 articles
Implicit references to immigration	2 articles

<b><i>La Vanguardia</i> newspaper</b>	107 articles
No references to immigration	88 articles
References to immigration	19 articles
Explicit references to immigration but not the prevalent issue	12 articles
Explicit and prevalent references to immigration	4 articles
Implicit references to immigration	3 articles

**Table 4.8. Poble Sec quarter: Classification of articles**  
(Sum of *El Periódico* and *La Vanguardia* news)

	Number of articles	Percentage of articles
No references to immigration	207	83.5%
References to immigration	41	16.5%
Explicit reference to immigration but not the prevalent issue	29	11.7%
Explicit and prevalent references to immigration	7	2.8%
Implicit references to immigration	5	2.0%
Total	248	100%

Continuing with the analysis of the articles with references to immigration, apparently not many differences can be seen between both quarters from the tables above. However, if an in-depth analysis is performed, more disparities emerge. Such as if the focus is on the distinction between the articles where the story takes place in the quarter and the articles where the story talks about the quarter but also about other places in Barcelona city. As can be seen in Table 4.7, the differences then become very important. The figures show that while in the case of Sagrada Família the articles referring to immigration primarily talk about different parts of the city, in the case of Poble Sec, more than half of the articles talk only about the quarter. In addition, among the articles with explicit and prevalent references to immigration (eight in Sagrada Família and seven in Poble Sec), in the case of Sagrada Família none of them takes place only in the quarter, while in the case of Poble Sec two take place in the quarter. All these data reinforce the idea that the newspapers analysed pay more attention to immigration issues in Poble Sec than in Sagrada Família.

**Table 4.7 Articles with references to immigration where the story takes place only in the quarter**

Sagrada Família	4 out of 30 (13.33%)
Poble Sec	22 out of 41 (53.66%)

Another difference to be noted is related to the specific comments that appear in the articles which name the quarters. In this sense we have separated the articles where the quarter is the object of specific comments which may stigmatise it from the articles where the quarter is not the object of specific comments which may stigmatise it. Adding 'labels' to the quarter do not necessarily has to be negative, but it can give us an idea of the depth of the treatment given to the quarter. The numbers in Table 4.8, which totally agree with the previous information, show that the treatment given to Poble Sec in the news related to immigration is accompanied by specific comments, and consequently it can be said that the treatment is deeper than in Sagrada Família. It should be added that from the articles where the story does not take place only in the quarter (26 in the case of Sagrada Família and 19 in the case of Poble Sec),

none of the articles on Sagrada Família is the object of specific comments which label it, while in the case of Poble Sec there are comments in nine articles that label the quarter. Therefore, even when the story does not take place exclusively in the quarter, Poble Sec is treated more in depth than Sagrada Família. To see if these comments that label the quarters refer to conflict, or on the contrary to cooperation, we are going to examine this issue towards the end of this chapter, specifically when commenting on tables 4.10, 4.11, 4.12 and 4.13.

**Table 4.8 Articles with references to immigration where the quarter is the object of specific comments which label it**

Sagrada Família quarter	1 out of 30 (3.33%)
Poble Sec quarter	23 out of 41 (56.01%)

Focusing on who the authors of the opinions reflected in the articles with references to the issue of immigration are, we find also disparities between quarters. If we examine Table 4.9, we can see how the opinions of the quarter's stakeholders (mainly members or representatives of residents' associations and umbrella organisations) play a more prominent role in the articles concerning Poble Sec. We have to bear in mind that the numbers in these tables are out of a total of 30 articles for Sagrada Família and 41 for Poble Sec, but that the opinions of different actors can appear in the same article. Taking this into account, the opinions of "ordinary residents" (excluding immigrant population) and the opinions of immigrants are also more prominent in the articles with references to Poble Sec.

**Table 4.9. Articles with references to immigration including the opinions of various actors**

	Quarter's stakeholders	Ordinary residents	Immigrant population	Administration representatives
Sagrada Família quarter	1	3	4	6
Poble Sec quarter	8	9	16	8

Another issue that is relevant for the analysis is which 'ethnic groups' or nationalities are involved in the articles. In Table 4.10., we can see how in both quarters the articles where the story is about natives and various groups of immigrants (or immigrants in general) are the most common among the articles with elements referring to immigrants, especially in the case of Poble Sec. There are only a handful of articles where natives are not involved.

**Table 4.10. Groups involved in the news story in articles with references to immigration**

	Sagrada Família	Poble Sec
The story is only about immigrants of the same group.	6 out of 30 (20%)	6 out of 41 (14.62%)
The story is about immigrants of various national groups and does not explicitly involve natives.	5 out of 30 (16.66%)	2 out of 41 (4.88%)
The story is about natives and a group of immigrants.	6 out of 30 (20%)	6 out of 41 (14.62%)
The story is about natives and various groups of immigrants (or immigrants in general).	13 out of 30 (43.33%)	27 out of 41 (65.84%)

Regarding the specific nationalities or supra-national labels that are mentioned in the articles, in the case of Sagrada Família we found the following ones (in alphabetical order): Canadian, Chinese, Dominican, Ecuadorian (two articles), German, Guatemalan, Hungarian, Indian, Latin Americans (in general), Portuguese, Swedish, Russian, Turkish, and one article referring to internal migration in Spain.

In the case of Poble Sec, the regional groups or nationalities which were mentioned specifically are (in alphabetical order): Algerian (two articles talking about the same person), Bulgarian, Chinese, Dominican (three times), Eastern Europeans (in general), Ecuadorian, French, Latin Americans (in general), Maghribian-Moroccan, Moroccan (two articles), Pakistani (two articles), and also one article referring to internal migrants in Spain.

In Poble Sec, the national and supra-national groups mentioned in the newspapers are similar to the statistically registered groups and the groups most frequently mentioned in the interviews done during the fieldwork. The only exceptions are the Algerian and French immigrants, but they are included in articles that could be classified as accident and crime reports.

In Sagrada Família, Chinese, Ecuadorians and Latin Americans are mentioned in the newspapers as well as in the fieldwork interviews and official statistics. However, at the same time, in the newspapers there are references to statistically irrelevant or less relevant nationalities such as Canadians, Germans, Hungarians, Indians, Portuguese, Russians, Swedes and Turks. In general, the articles where the latter nationalities are noted are not focused solely on the Sagrada Família quarter, rather they also take other parts of the city into account.

The aforementioned articles are focused on neither economic, social and cultural conflicts nor on cooperative situations and public policies. We should highlight the fact that the articles with elements referring to immigrants in the Sagrada Família quarter tend to be more “neutral” or more politically unimportant than in Poble Sec. In Sagrada Família, immigration is approached through individual stories, accident and crime reports, events, etc.

Building on that, the aim of the analysis below is to compare the two chosen quarters by analysing the content of the news while using common categories shared among all the cities involved in the *Concordia Discors* research project. The common categories give way to two analytical matrixes for the content analysis: one concerning the social dimension (i.e., news about social dynamics) and the other concerning the political dimension (i.e., news about policy measures). Both matrixes for each quarter are presented



below, but before examining them it might be interesting to have a brief methodological discussion about how the matrixes were filled in order to facilitate a better understanding of them.

For the social dimension, there are three areas: economic, social and cultural. For each area there are two frames: conflict and cooperation. Consequently, it is possible to obtain six categories of analysis for the social dimension matrix:

- Social dimension – Economic – Conflict
- Social dimension – Social – Conflict
- Social dimension – Cultural – Conflict
- Social dimension – Economic – Cooperation
- Social dimension – Social – Cooperation
- Social dimension – Cultural – Cooperation

For the political dimension, there are also the same three areas: economic, social and cultural. For each area there are three frames: non-policy, repressive or restrictive policies, and positive integration policies. Consequently it is possible to obtain nine categories of analysis for the political dimension matrix:

- Political dimension – Economic – Non policy
- Political dimension – Social – Non policy
- Political dimension – Cultural – Non policy
- Political dimension – Economic – Repressive or restrictive policies
- Political dimension – Social – Repressive or restrictive policies
- Political dimension – Cultural – Repressive or restrictive policies
- Political dimension – Economic – Positive integration policies
- Political dimension – Social – Positive integration policies
- Political dimension – Cultural – Positive integration policies

Having identified all those categories in each matrix, and having selected the articles containing references to immigration in each quarter, values from 0 to 3 have been assigned to every category for each article (0 meaning 'no presence' and 3 meaning 'very important presence'). Finally, all the values for all the categories were summed up, yielding the total values for each quarter. In the following paragraphs, the two matrixes for each quarter are presented and analysed. It should be taken into account that the values are influenced by the total number of articles with references to immigration in each quarter, 30 in Sagrada Família and 41 in Poble Sec. Consequently, the maximum value for the categories concerning Sagrada Família is 90 while for Poble Sec the maximum is 123. This is important because the matrixes of the quarter are better compared if we take into account the weight of each category in the respective matrix.

In relation to Sagrada Família's social dimension, Table 4.11 shows how in the economic and social areas, the number of conflicts is significantly higher than the figures on cooperation. On the other hand, in the cultural area, cooperation is much more prominent than conflict. As examples of articles where economic and social conflict are prevalent, we could mention articles related to the shops located around the Sagrada Família temple and the conflict regarding the hours they are open for business. Regarding the social cooperation category, there is an article about the numerous citizens who are users of Barcelona

public libraries, underscoring the role played by the 'libraries as spaces for integration' and that the Sagrada Família library is one of the two with the highest number of users.

**Table 4.11. Sagrada Família Social dimension**

Frame	Area		
	Economic	Social	Cultural
Conflict	29	29	11
Cooperation	7	16	15

Regarding Poble Sec's social dimension matrix, Table 4.12 shows similarities with Sagrada Família's matrix. Concretely, in the economic and social areas, the number of conflicts is significantly higher than the cooperation figures. Among the former, there are more social conflicts than economic conflicts. In this sense, it should be noted that among the 41 articles devoted to Poble Sec that include elements referring to immigrants, nine articles contained conflicts related to poverty, degradation of the public space, insecurity or dirtiness as the main issues of the article. The main issue of another five articles was conflicts related to living-together/coexistence (or potential coexistence conflicts), including noise conflicts. Finally, three articles were accident and crime reports. Due to their conflictive component and because of the point of view taken in the articles, these matters, strongly influence the numerical values obtained for the economic and social conflict categories. Again in contrast with Sagrada Família, in Poble Sec the cultural conflict value is higher than its cultural cooperation counterpart. The crucial result is that in Sagrada Família conflict prevails over cooperation, and this is particularly evident in the case of the economic frame. On the contrary, in the cultural area cooperation prevails. In Poble Sec it is the same, except for the culture area, where conflict prevails.

In the case of Poble Sec, it can be said that the economic, social and cultural cooperation categories are eclipsed by the conflictive ones. Firstly, this is because there are very few articles with references to cooperation. Secondly, this is due to the fact that in newspapers the conflict frame is much more polarised than the cooperation frame: articles show much more clearly the 'conflictive side' of an article about conflict than the 'cooperation side' of an article about cooperation. In this sense, apart from the number of articles, we should note that the larger articles dealing with just the quarter (articles occupying one or even two full newspaper pages) are mostly focusing on issues with conflictive components like the ones mentioned above (poverty, drugs, dirtiness, insecurity...).

Once we note that the analysed newspapers pay more attention to conflict than to cooperation (in both quarters, but especially in Poble Sec), it should be said that there are also some articles spotlighting Poble Sec that highlight the economic, social and cultural cooperation categories. Examples include articles explaining initiatives carried out in the quarter like the project aimed at helping the elderly to engage in outdoor activities or the experience of sharing cooking and dishes from different countries, along with the story on the quarter's cultural change during the last decade, among others.

**Table 4.12 Poble Sec Social dimension**

Frame	Area		
	Economic	Social	Cultural
Conflict	58	69	36
Cooperation	12	21	22

Focusing the Sagrada Família's political dimension matrix (Table 4.13), we can see how the articles noting the lack of policies are in a clear minority. On the other hand, socially repressive or restrictive policies have the highest values in the matrix. Accident and crime reports, the conflict about the shops' closing hours, the prohibition of selling food in *locutorios* (internet businesses) and the presence of Latin American gangs are among the key issues that explain those high figures due to the repressive or restrictive component of these news reports. Regarding the social and cultural positive integration policies, we can mention the news on libraries and their positive role in integration, the dancing lessons held at the civic centre and the increasing use of Catalan language in businesses owned by foreigners.

**Table 4.13. Sagrada Família Political dimension**

Frame	Area		
	Economic	Social	Cultural
Non policy (e.g. complaints about the lack of public intervention)	3	5	1
Repressive or restrictive policies	8	15	5
Positive integration policies	5	10	9

Similarly, regarding Poble Sec's political dimension matrix, Table 4.14 primarily shows 'repressive or restrictive policies' followed by 'positive integration policies'. However, if this Poble Sec matrix is compared to its Sagrada Família counterpart, we can see that the values are much higher for Poble Sec, even if the figures are weighed considering that the total number of articles is higher there than in Sagrada Família. Thus, we can say that among the articles concerning Poble Sec, the 'policies issue' is much more prominent than in Sagrada Família. With regard to the 'non policy' and the 'repressive or restrictive policies', as said before when commenting on Poble Sec's social dimension matrix (Table 4.12), these articles highlight conflict categories, and, at the same time, they mostly include as well complaints about a lack of public intervention, calls for new policies or opinions expressing the need for repressive and restrictive policies. Consequently, they also partly extend beyond the values of this matrix.

Regarding the positive integration policies, something similar to the cooperation categories of Poble Sec's social dimension was found. In general, it seems that the newspapers analysed pay more attention to the conflictive situation that offers the 'non policy' and the 'repressive or restrictive policies' categories. However, some articles focus also on the 'positive integration policies'. Some examples are the news reports related to the "Llei de Barris" (i.e. Neighbourhood Law) launched by the former Catalan

autonomous government in order to improve the situation of different quarters in Catalonia; an article related to the Poble Sec Communitarian Development Plan; and an article explaining the project that emerged from this Plan aimed at helping the elderly to engage in activities outside their houses. Some news reports focused on poverty, degradation and conflictive situations, while also pointing out some of the positive policies already being implemented in the quarter.

**Table 4.14. Poble Sec Political dimension**

Frame	Area		
	Economic	Social	Cultural
Non policy (e.g. complaints about the lack of public intervention)	13	21	13
Repressive or restrictive policies	16	30	7
Positive integration policies	17	24	22

As a final reflection within this section, we can note an apparent paradox emerging from the media analysis. On the one hand, there seems to be a general social agreement (including media, residents and the policy community) about the need or wisdom of cooperation and integration policies. However, on the other hand, it seems that conflict is flashier and sells more newspapers than cooperation or reflection about policies.

### 4.3 Media as seen from below: The perspective of residents

This part of the report will summarize the result of analysing interviewees' comments and reflections on media.

On the one hand, in the Sagrada Família quarter, the interviewees mostly believe that the quarter is not usually present in the media. There is the perception that the quarter's everyday life or its problems are not covered. According to the interviewees, the quarter only appears in the media when there are events or problems related to the Sagrada Família temple itself. The Pope's visit, construction of the High Speed Train tunnel or the issue of noise and pollution caused by the tourist buses are just three examples. In the eyes of neighbours, the only exception to this rule is the outrageous crimes that take place in the quarter from time to time. This kind of issue attracts sensationalistic journalists everywhere, but maybe even more in a place that includes the words "sacred" and "family" in its name.

Regarding the sub-quarter areas, residents of the "Encants Vells" area have somewhat better experiences with the media reports. The local activists in the "Glories area" mention the media interest, especially among local television stations, in the future development plans in the area. According to the neighbours interviewed, this interest and these contacts have contributed to the media coverage of other problems in this part of Sagrada Família quarter. However, the residents believe that normal, everyday life is not presented, rather instead only conflictive issues like illegal street vending, squatted houses, fires, etc. are displayed:

“It appears less in the press than you can find in the local TV stations. BTV works very well with the issues related to Encants and Glories Square. The TV of Catalonia channel also tends to publish some interesting news items, but it is not as disengaged as BTV. TV of Catalonia always tries to tone the situation down. They present more mitigated opinions in order to avoid fanning hatred. They do it especially if the news could increase xenophobia. I understand it. It is responsible behaviour. You can find claims and future projects in the media, but not [news on] everyday life. (...) ‘El Periodico’ and ‘La Vanguardia’ newspapers base their news more on what the local authorities feed them. In ‘El Periodico’, the residents’ opinions occupy maybe one-fourth of the article. ‘Punt Avui’ publishes very good articles. These [two latter newspapers] are the most closely attached to the opinions from the quarter” (B-SF-KI-24-Self-employed & local activist-38).

Neighbours often note that the media do not mention immigrants’ involvement in the conflictive issues related to the quarter being reported. The press’ deontological code seems to have both supporters and opponents among neighbours. The former highlight the need to ease the conflicts, while the latter believe that this kind of press behaviour distorts the image of quarter’s problems in the media:

“I do not think that this issue appears in the news (...) The conflict has to be very obvious in order to print that an immigrant has been involved in the press. I am sorry, but this is what I think.” (B-SF-KI-01-shop keeper & merchants’ association-51).

On the other hand, in the case of Poble Sec, most interviewees explain that the quarter usually appears in the mass media hand-in-hand with negative news. The interviewees often referred to police raids, among others. During the months prior to the ethnographic fieldwork, several police raids and arrests took place in the quarter focused on a gang of thieves that was operating in the Barcelona metro network. This fact was covered extensively by the mass media.

Although we should bear in mind that this issue could distort some interviewees’ point of view, other examples of negative news items were cited during the interviews. Dirtiness, insecurity and conflicts among residents emerged quite regularly in the interviews. In this sense, a campaign carried out during the last two years by the Poble Sec Neighbours’ Associations Union with the slogan “We want a dignified quarter” also had remarkable media coverage. This campaign was also launched with the same slogan in other parts of the city (including Encants Vells, in the Sagrada Família quarter), and some interviewees clearly felt the presence of the Poble Sec campaign in the media.

However, not all the comments offered by the interviewees refer to negative aspects (or, at least, not all the comments were completely negative). Some of them told about a series of illustrated reports on various quarters in Barcelona that were published before the local elections held in May 2011. In the opinion of some interviewees, the Poble Sec illustrated report included mixed aspects of the quarter, both ‘negative’ and ‘positive’. Additionally, some of the interviewees explained that some media outlets have been covering the social, economic and cultural changes occurring in Poble Sec. In this sense, the important media coverage of the future remodelling process affecting Paral·lel Avenue was cited by some interviewees. Some of them are a little bit suspicious about this keen coverage due to the remodelling process, but also because of the media coverage itself. For some, it could signal a future gentrification process.

Last but not least, we should mention the quarter newspaper *ZonaSec* (<http://www.zonasec.cat/>). This monthly newspaper is managed by the *Coordinadora d’Entitats del Poble Sec* (the umbrella organisation including most associations based in Poble Sec) and it has been in circulation for over 15 years. During the

interviews, *ZonaSec* was mentioned as a positive factor for cooperation and the solution of conflicts. This newspaper is distributed for free at the quarter level in a variety of places, and it counteracts the role played by some mass media, which normally pay attention to the quarter only when there are sensationalist news stories offering a negative image of Poble Sec and its foreign population. This newspaper is very popular among the quarter's residents (and some regular visitors), and in almost all the interviews it was mentioned when the media issue was asked. In Sagrada Família, there is no any quarter newspaper that could be compared to *ZonaSec*.

## 5. Quarters as policy objects: Frames and outcomes

At city, district and quarter levels, it is important to bear in mind that in the May 2011 local elections triggered a significant political change in Barcelona. After more than 30 years in power, the centre-left political parties lost the elections. Since democracy was restored in the late 1970s, the *Partit dels Socialistes de Catalunya* (PSC) and *Iniciativa per Catalunya-Verds* (ICV, former Communists) had been governing the Barcelona city council and most districts, sometimes with support from *Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya* (ERC). In the May 2011 elections, a centre-right coalition won in most districts and quarters, and in July 2011, the city council appointed Xavier Trias as the new mayor. The current governing coalition in Barcelona is the centre-right Catalan-nationalist *Convergència i Unió* (CiU), with some support from centre-right Spain-wide *Partido Popular* (PP). Since late 2010, CiU has also been in charge of the Catalan regional government, and since late 2011, the PP has been in power in the central government. However, the CiU has absolute majority in neither the Barcelona city council nor the Catalan Parliament, although the PP does have absolute majority in Madrid. Thus, the recent elections have set up a scenario for changing local policies.

### 5.1 Quarter 1. Sagrada Família

#### 5.1.1 Policies as seen from above: The perspective of the policy community

During the past decade, a few policies and political decisions implemented in the Sagrada Família quarter were influential in the intergroup relations within the area. According to key politicians in the quarter, the interviewees and the ethnographic observation, some of the most important ones for the policy community are the following:

- a) The founding of the multi-purpose building which hosts facilities such as the Civic Centre, the Public Library and the local marketplace on Provença Street (between Lepant and Padilla Streets). That building not only brought basic services to the centre of the quarter, but it has also set up a space that has become a key place for a variety of everyday interactions, including immigrant–native interactions. These interactions take place on various occasions: during the courses, seminars and presentations organised by the Public Library or the Civic Centre; while people use library services such as internet or book/video lending; or simply when shopping in the local marketplace (see interaction site 2 in section 3.1.2. of this report).
- b) The setting up of a Communitarian Plan (*Pla Comunitari*) for the Sagrada Família quarter. This umbrella organisation led to a diagnosis of the quarter’s basic needs and regular working committees on four different key local topics: health, education, commerce and multiculturalism (see: <http://placomunitari.barrisagradafamilia.org/content/taules-de-treball>). Members of various organisations in the quarter meet up on a regular basis, discuss the main problems in the quarter and coordinate organisations in order to work together and improve the Sagrada Família quarter. In this context, “Espai 210” was opened just a few years ago as the “headquarters” of the Communitarian Plan, and it has become an important socio-cultural landmark of the quarter, especially regarding intergroup interactions and immigrant participation. It has become a meeting place of many organisations in the quarter, a venue for some small events and courses and especially the headquarters of the Multicultural Interaction Group, GIM. GIM is a part of the

Communitarian Plan, and it was founded in order to empower dialogue between native and immigrant residents of the quarter, and especially to fight against negative stereotypes and rumours. There are both natives and immigrants (mainly from Latin America) in the core of the group. The activities organised by the group are not limited to the Espai 210 premises; rather they are spread around the entire quarter. The group is especially visible during the local festivals that take place in the quarter.

- c) Since 2009, the Local Technician (*Tècnic de barri*) has been the administrative/political officer employed by the Barcelona City Council at the neighbourhood level. In Sagrada Família, Olga Bastidas has been playing that role since 2009 (B-SF-KI-35, policy-maker, 46). She has been responsible for coordinating various aspects of life in the quarter at the meso-level, liaising between the quarter's users and the politicians. Although the Quarter Technician's offices are located in Barcelona City Council premises, most of her job is done in the streets and buildings of the quarter. She is sometimes referred by some stakeholders as the "Quarter sheriff". Apparently, the term "sheriff" was coined because sometimes it seems that "nothing can take place in the quarter without her consent". However, when asked about this nickname during an interview, she was surprised and she was not comfortable at all with it. Although somewhat unknown by ordinary residents, it seems that her presence has had a big impact in the quarter's civil society and administrative bodies, including those relevant to immigration. Her job has included providing training to a number of local organisation members on ways of navigating the public administration in order to obtain activity permits, licenses, revenues, etc. There are other relevant Barcelona city council's civil servants working in Sagrada Família quarter (e.g. an officer dealing with trade and commerce, another officer dealing with security and prevention, etc.) but it seems that the *tècnic de barri* has already become a relatively well-known person among various neighbours who are involved in different social organisations.

Regarding some of the main political points of view, the representatives of the quarter's centre-left-wing parties interviewed have a tendency to describe immigrants as part of Catalan society, and they should thus have full voting rights. In some cases, they clearly reject "immigrant sections" within political parties. They see the problems of immigrants in the wider framework of social services, youth and equality and are keen to resolve immigrants' issues as part of policies devoted to specific sectors of local government. They underscore that they see an immigrant as just another citizen who should have equal rights and obligations. For instance, an ICV representative [B-SF-KI-26-Policymaker-56] - who was previously a local councillor in the then-governing coalition - described South American immigrants as quite well adapted to life in the quarter and dismissed the negative rumours about Chinese shopkeepers. She believes that nobody, neither Catalan nor immigrants, should be obliged to participate in any association. She is involved in a project supporting immigrant women who work in domestic service.

In contrast, although the centre-right-wing CiU coalition calls immigrants "new citizens", it sets up separate work spaces and topics for immigrant party members. However, the CiU representative [B-SF-KI-27-Policymaker-27] - who this term is quarter councillor in the current governing coalition - believes that in the Sagrada Família quarter there are no separate immigration issues. He believes that, whether native or foreign, the problems in that quarter revolve around the dynamism of trade (the specific demands of the merchants of the quarter are the same, including job issues, unemployment, etc.). He says that in the CiU they have a Senegalese man who joined the coalition in the Eixample District and who has lived in



Catalonia for a long time (now he is in charge of the CiU immigration section). In the lists of candidates in the Catalan elections, they had a Colombian candidate who accompanied the interviewee on visits to the merchants of the Sagrada Família quarter and distributed political brochures in several languages. One of the things that caught the CiU representative's attention during that campaign was the call from the "new Catalans" (as he calls immigrants) to have places to meet. The CiU also asks for "freedom of speech" on immigration issues with no political correctness involved. CiU did not talk about the immigrants' right to vote in the elections.

### 5.1.2 Policies as seen from below: The perspective of residents

Conflictive intergroup relations (except the symbolic tourist-resident clash) do not seem to be the most important issue for residents of the Sagrada Família quarter. Thus, the main policies implemented in this quarter are devoted to neither immigration nor intergroup relations. The interviewees and the local stakeholders who were asked about these issues just mentioned the establishment of the Multicultural Integration Group (GIM) and offering free Catalan language lessons as relevant policies in this field.

The conflictive issue regarding intergroup relations that was brought up the most often during the fieldwork was the growing number of Chinese-owned shops.<sup>31</sup> However, there are no clear public policies on this issue. Some Catalan-Spanish merchants insist on changing the local law so that all the shop owners should contribute to the merchants' associations in the quarters. Another point is the diversification of the retail establishments so that poor-quality Chinese shops do not 'flood' the quarter. There were several official attempts to push forward those two issues, but according to the merchants in the quarter, the Barcelona Town Hall is not very interested in those proposals. On the other hand, the quarter's local politicians say that those changes are often impossible or irrational.

Another possible conflictive issue is the loud street life of the Latin American immigrants mentioned by some of the interviewees. Nevertheless, there is no call for any particular political solution to this issue. "Civic-mindedness" or integration lessons are sometimes mentioned as a solution. However, it seems that this is a general concern (possibly based on stereotypes) and many see it just as a way of calling for a more efficient local police. The main aim is to keep the quarter a quiet and peaceful place and to stop being disturbed by massive tourism or other 'noises'.

Although there are many claims related to the growth of immigration in the "Encants Vells" area, the policies being requested are not related to "immigration" per se. Urban re-development is the solution that the residents believe should be implemented in the area in order to resolve problems of illegal street vending and illegal warehouses or squatted properties. On the other hand, the problem of repetitive illegal street vending is seen mostly as the result of "weak" laws. This latter situation, according to some interviewees, allows delinquents to be reluctantly captured by the police and then release with no further consequences. This law's mechanics are seen as counterproductive to police actions and as negatively impacting the police officers' morale.

---

<sup>31</sup> Additional information related to the commercial establishments owned by immigrants can be found in the following newspaper articles: "Muchos locutorios se convierten en colmados de comida de inmigrantes", *El Periódico de Catalunya*, 1<sup>st</sup> of September 2003, page 25; and "Tiendas de Chinos", *La Vanguardia*, 6<sup>th</sup> of June 2006, Section "Vivir", page 11.

There is a unique characteristic the social mobilisation in Encants Vells that is interesting at both the quarter level and beyond. Its situation as a perceived “no-man’s land” that is partially forgotten by the quarter authorities and associations has empowered the area’s activists to pursue complementary solutions.<sup>32</sup> Partnerships with associations in adjacent quarters, participation in the councils of several quarters (not only in the Sagrada Família quarter) and addressing their claims straight to “higher” district authorities (bypassing Sagrada Família’s organisations) are some of the solutions implemented thus far. Interestingly, it seems that these actions have been quite effective or might yield positive results in the near future. The evaluation of this phenomenon obviously needs further and deeper research. Nevertheless, it seems that in terms of social mobilisation and policies, this kind of “forgotten” area located along the boundaries of different quarters might be distinct cases needing special trans-quarter policies as well.

## 5.2 Quarter 2. Poble Sec

### 5.2.1 Policies as seen from above: The perspective of the policy community

In order to smooth over cultural differences that can be sources of conflict, in recent years, several projects have been designed and implemented in Poble Sec. The very rich network of associations in Poble Sec has fed the creation of projects which try to induce native residents and members of different collectives to interact with each other more. These projects are reinforcing or complementing the role played by venues of great importance - like schools, the civic centre, the public library, streets, shops, stairs of buildings, etc. - and the interactions occurring in local associations. All of them are perceived as useful and necessary for making negative clichés and stereotypes disappear.

According to several politicians in the quarter, the interviewees and the ethnographic observation, during the past decade, for the policy community, the most important policies in Poble Sec influencing intergroup relations within the quarter are the following:

- a) *Plataforma Poble Sec per a Tothom*. This organisation was founded in 2001. Its main aim was to help unemployed and needy people living in the quarter. This is an umbrella organisation and its name means Poble Sec for Everybody. This organisation depends on the *Coordinadora d'Entitats del Poble Sec* (the main umbrella organisation for the associations in the quarter) and they share the *Número de Identificación Fiscal (NIF, i.e., VAT number)* as an organisation. Both umbrella organisations work in coordination, but separately. Each project of *Plataforma Poble Sec per a Tothom* is funded by different sources, including public authorities, banks, foundations, etc. *Plataforma Poble Sec per a Tothom* has four branches: children; welcome plan for adults; the elderly; and management of municipal policies. In the adult branch, legal advice (mainly on immigration and labour matters) and psychological support are offered. There is a welcome point (socio-labour diagnosis); training resources for improving language and labour skills and other courses like cooking or sports; and help and assessment on workplace insertion. Although at first immigrants were the main users, the profile of users has changed over time: from women and men without legal permits to reside in Spain to immigrants who have been living in Spain for a long period of time and have all their permits in order. Additionally, recently, Spanish citizens

<sup>32</sup> See: <http://www.glories.cat/>

have also been asking for their services. On the other hand, the children's area tends to children at risk by carrying out 'integral' interventions (education, family, values, interrelation, etc.). The headquarters of *Plataforma Poble Sec per a Tothom* is the *Casal Concòrdia* (i.e., Concòrdia House). The activities are mainly held in this building located at 33 Concòrdia Street. This headquarters has become a benchmark in the quarter where people go to ask for assessment or help. At the same time, *Plataforma Poble Sec per a Tothom* works within the Communitarian Plan at the same level as other associations in the quarter.

- b) *Pla de Desenvolupament Comunitari, PDC* (Communitarian Development Plan) of Poble Sec quarter. This was set up in 2005, but its origins date back to 2000. The project began from a group of organisations made up of residents, professionals and independent people who were concerned about the difficulties that poor people were experiencing and, above all, about the arrival of people from other backgrounds in this area. Facilitating the integration of newcomers has always been one of the Plan's priorities. The Communitarian Plan depends on the *Coordinadora d'Entitats del Poble Sec*, and it is co-funded by the Catalan autonomous government, the Barcelona City Council and the *Coordinadora* itself. The 'communitarian team' is made up of the 'technical team', 'the commissions' and representatives of *Coordinadora*. The 'technical team' is made up of the 'communitarian technician of PDC', a technician of the District-City Council, a technician from the Catalan autonomous government, a technician from the Social Action and Citizenship department of Barcelona city council, and a representative of the *Coordinadora*. The 'technical team' is poised between the 'working commissions' and the 'institutional commissions'. The *Pla Comunitari* has several commissions: health, labour, interrelation and mutual knowledge, youth and children. These commissions are made up of associations, collectives, public services and residents of the quarter. Several projects have been carried out by the PDC of the quarter and its working commissions. These projects have had different objectives, but they all share the same 'spirit'. These projects include a guide to all the resources available in the quarter, campaigns to raise public awareness against stereotypes and celebrations or regular coffee meetings where residents chat about life.
- c) *Taula de Convivència del Poble Sec* (i.e., Table for Peaceful Coexistence in Poble Sec). In parallel, and six years after the official founding of the *Pla Comunitari*, in 2010 the *Taula de Convivència* was set up by the local administration with political will and the support of different associations of the quarter. Their intention was to gather together representatives from the different communities present in the quarter. This initiative has been criticised by some of the stakeholders interviewed for not taking into account the work done by the *Pla Comunitari* and because it can be interpreted as a strategic move for political and electoral reasons. Its activities include several public talks about the different cultures in living in Poble Sec. Since the change in the city council government in July 2011, the *Taula de Convivència* has been on stand-by.
- d) *Centre Cívic El Sortidor* (Sortidor Civic Centre). This is neither a public facility designed especially and specifically to foster intergroup relations nor the product of a policy with this specific goal in mind. As explained in sub-section 3.2.2 of this report, the *Centre Cívic El Sortidor* is one of the spaces where most interactions between members of different communities and different nationalities take place. Thanks to these daily interactions, the relations between groups and

nationalities are moving forward from peaceful coexistence towards a society with higher levels of cohesion.

- e) In Poble Sec, due to the importance of bottom-up approaches, the *tècnic de barri* appointed by Barcelona City Council appears to be less visible in this quarter's daily life than the same kind of officer in the Sagrada Família quarter. Miquel Pulgarín was appointed *tècnic de barri* in Poble Sec in September 2009 (B-PS-KI-44-57).<sup>33</sup> During interviews with the stakeholders and informants, in general, his role was less mentioned than in Sagrada Família. However, Miquel Pulgarín's work and dedication have been positively received several occasions in recent years, including his support for an urban development project<sup>34</sup> and his contribution to coordinating local festivals like the *2012 Festa Major del Poble Sec*<sup>35</sup>. In Poble Sec, during fieldwork, no one quoted the *tècnic de barri* in polemic terms. He is a long-standing civil servant with experience in various community projects implemented in Barcelona.

The existence of a very important associative network in Poble Sec was mentioned in several interviews as one of the key factors helping to avoid 'bigger problems and tensions' that could stem from the arrival of a considerable number of foreigners in the quarter. The number of associations and their role in managing the situation, their will to 'get these people integrated' and their efforts are seen by some interviewees as essential. In recent decades in Spain, civic associations have received funding from different public administrations. Some of these organisations have been dealing with needs that public administrations do not cover, such as assessing foreign residents and fostering social cohesion. As an example, "*Tots som una colla*" was a project aimed at introducing Catalan human tower groups to foreign immigrants. Poble Sec's human towers group was one of the groups that implemented it.<sup>36</sup> The project is funded by the *Secretaria per la Immigració de la Generalitat de Catalunya* (Catalan government) and *Coordinadora de Colles Castelleres de Catalunya*. In 2010, after testing the idea, the project was opened to all the human tower groups in Catalonia and the *Castellers del Poble Sec* joined it.<sup>37</sup>

On the other hand, in order to explore the participation and the role played by foreign immigrants in the local elections held in Barcelona on 22 May 2011, representatives of the five main political parties in Barcelona and Catalonia from the Poble Sec quarter were interviewed in July 2011. Thus, a representative of the winning CiU coalition in Poble Sec interviewed believed that immigrants did not have a clear role in the electoral campaign; there were debates about them, but in general they did not participate actively and collectively. However, the PSC representative believed that the presence of immigration topics in the electoral campaign was an issue because in Poble Sec immigration "it is a hot issue". She talked about the presence of some xenophobic parties like PxC which were trying to take advantage of the population's different points of view with regard to the immigrant phenomenon and its influence on the neighbourhood. The PSC representative believes that it is impossible to make everybody happy about that issue and that not everybody was happy with the actions taken by the former local government. In her

<sup>33</sup> See: <http://www.el3.cat/noticies/noticia.php?p=2643>

<sup>34</sup> See: <http://www2.aq.upm.es/Departamentos/Urbanismo/blogs/re-hab/la-rehabilitacion-de-poble-sec/>

<sup>35</sup> See: <http://www.el3.org/noticies/noticia.php?p=5204>

<sup>36</sup> See: <http://www.castellersdelpoblesec.cat/>

<sup>37</sup> As explained by one of the interviewees who was member of the Poble Sec human tower team, in 2010 they were the group with the most users of the programme, including approximately 160 people interested going to different sessions. Among them, around six people joined the group as members, while other people expressed temporary interest. Despite the high rotation rate in the team, the interviewee considered that the experience was very positive for everybody (B-PS-I-28-member of several associations-25 years old).

opinion, “the immigration issue, in Poble Sec, is the foremost issue”. The PSC representative noted that her party respected the issue quite a lot, without alarming the population. It has to be taken into account that when she says that they respected the immigration issue, just like most of the other main parties, this can be interpreted as meaning that they avoided that issue. They did not deal with the lack of new proposals and policies.

In contrast, according to the ICV representative interviewed in Poble Sec, the message of the ICV was that immigrants should be granted all rights, including voting rights. He criticizes the PP's campaign slogan of "we serve our people here first". However, according to the PP representative in Poble Sec, that motto can be combined with welcoming immigrants into their political party: there are four immigrants on the party's board, two Peruvians, an Ecuadorian and a Colombian (but none of them appeared in the party lists for the District in the most recent elections).

Regarding the immigrants' participation in the quarter during the election campaign, in Poble Sec, an umbrella organisation of neighbourhood associations organised a dinner to which they invited representatives of political parties and organisations together with a few immigrants. The ICV representative stressed that part of the disaffection among immigrants has to do with the fact that they have no opportunity to vote. In his opinion, this is immigrants' main demand, which is more than the recognition of their citizenship; rather it means becoming equal to other citizens, to vote and participate in the government of the city where they live. Within the ICV, some people are of foreign extraction (e.g., a European and a few South Americans), but they do not reside in Poble Sec now. This ICV interviewee expressed his concern about the general disaffection regarding politicians that affects natives in Catalonia and Spain, not only foreigners. The lack of answers to this question worried the interviewee, who unlike the other representatives interviewed, expressed his concerns.

One of the most important differences observed was that the ERC in Poble Sec was the only party among the main ones stressing the importance of immigrants' participation in the so-called 'Citizens Consultation' on the Independence of Catalonia that took place earlier in April 2011 (in that unofficial consultation, all immigrants residing in Barcelona aged over 16 or older were granted the right to vote in a move aimed at attracting immigrants to the cause of independence). The assessment of this event extends beyond the aims of this report.

## **5.2.2 Policies as seen from below: The perspective of residents**

According to the interviewees, people who are not involved in associations do not know about policies related to immigration and integration. In general terms, this kind of interviewee recognises their ignorance about the issue and, at most, some of them assume that some kind of policy probably exists. Some rumours and stereotypes emerged from a few interviews as well, like the ones accusing the public administration of giving priority to immigrants when distributing different kinds of welfare assistance.

The 'need' for more police presence in the quarter is also an issue noted in some interviews. This demand for more police officers is usually mentioned as a way to solve a supposed security problem that is often linked to immigration. According to the interviews conducted in Poble Sec, this point of view is not exclusive to the non-association residents, although it seems to be less widespread among people involved in organisations.

In contrast, almost all the interviewees linked to associations knew something about the policies implemented by the different public administrations. At the very least, they had heard about or read information about them somewhere. The *Communitarian Development Plan* and *Taula de Convivència* were the policies noted the most often during the interviews.

When assessing the aforementioned policies and projects, the opinions differed from one informant to another. On the one hand, some believed that 'we are headed in the right direction', 'things have been done more or less correctly' and 'it is important to keep on working in this vein'. According to the data gathered during the fieldwork, this seems to be the most widespread opinion among participants in the associations of Poble Sec, including immigrants' associations.

On the other hand, other people who have some knowledge of local policies believe that 'things have been done more or less correctly' but 'the problem is that these people, immigrants, don't want to integrate'. They believe that there is nothing else to do, but their negative point of view is interfering in possible solutions to problems. This would be a typical case of blaming the other instead of assuming that one, as a responsible citizen, can also contribute to newcomers' integration.

In general terms, the Communitarian Development Plan seems to be better regarded among the interviewees who have more knowledge about policies. Its relatively long history and the involvement of a very significant number of local stakeholders (associations, collectives and residents) make this project a positively valued initiative.

In contrast, *Taula de Convivència del Poble Sec* has a very short history, and the number of stakeholders involved is lower. This is an initiative that is also viewed positively by the interviewees, but they are awaiting future results before assessing it. As said above, *Taula de Convivència* was criticised by some social stakeholders for not taking into account the work done by the *Pla Comunitari* and because it can be seen as a strategic move for political and electoral reasons.

## 6. Conclusions<sup>38</sup>

Barcelona is increasingly an actor in the international stage for a number of reasons, including assets located in or around some of its demographically dense quarters, such as Sagrada Família (e.g. the homonymous Gaudí's Temple) and Poble Sec (e.g. Montjuïc Olympic area). As it has been described and analysed along this report, the two quarters examined in this study have a number of differences and commonalities that are worth noting here. In the Sagrada Família quarter, cooperation and conflict between groups are rather scarce, and they are not as important to the quarter's life and to the residents' perception as in Poble Sec. While the difference in the percentage of foreigners is an important factor, the urban fabric is equally crucial. The wide streets with heavy through-traffic in the Sagrada Família quarter are seen by the neighbours as significant obstacles to the development of the quarter's social life. The dearth of open public spaces, the spatial configuration of the open spaces that do exist that is not conducive to activities and their occupation by massive influxes of tourists are other characteristics of the quarter that make neighbour-to-neighbour relations in Sagrada Família difficult. In fact, the Eixample district as a whole would need a kind of 'central park' in order to foster social and environmental life. In contrast, in Poble Sec, the quarter's narrow streets sometimes may even invite (or force) people to interact. The general lack of conflict in the Sagrada Família quarter is not a positive example of cooperation; rather it is due to scarce interactions. Importantly, the few large public places that do exist (like Gaudí Avenue, Gaudí and Sagrada Família squares, *Encants Vells* flea market) still seem to provoke more multi-layered conflict than cooperation between residents (whether these are natives or immigrants) and outsiders (tourists, street-sellers, etc.), but also conflicts between native and immigrant residents. Furthermore, the lack of "sharp" boundaries of the centrally-located Sagrada Família quarter, together with the very good transport connections with other parts of the city, has undermined the quarter's identity. The aforementioned features, couple with the 'bedroom community' and (lower-) middle class nature of the quarter have limited the development of social networks. In contrast, the Poble Sec quarter is a working-class area with a strong local identity, clear boundaries (and it is not a passing-through area but rather a cul-de-sac thanks to Montjuïc mountain) and hosts rich social networks that are important agents of inter-group relations. The 'community' feeling expressed by the Poble Sec stakeholders and informants is consistent with previous studies that have associated the working classes with the concept of 'community', in contrast to the more individualistic and (relatively) less place-attached middle classes (see Halfacree, Boyle, 1993).

Due to the aforementioned 'intensive' interactions and street life, in Poble Sec there are more chances for cooperation but also for conflictive (or potentially conflictive) situations. At the same time, this greater 'opportunity' for conflict allows greater opportunities to solve both implicit and explicit conflictive situations than in a context of peaceful coexistence. In this sense, a 'peaceful' quarter where individualism or group separation is the norm should avoid becoming stagnant in such a state and would need some more cooperation in order to be sustainable in the long run, otherwise it may become a social desert. In

<sup>38</sup> This concluding section includes some general reflections and notes based on the comparative study presented. In the future, the authors plan to publish more specific outputs based on the data gathered during the past year and a half, including journal articles and congress papers, both focusing on Barcelona alone and comparing that data with other data gathered in other related research projects carried out in small towns (e.g. a project funded by the Spanish Science Ministry, ref. CSO2009-13909). In this sense, some preliminary results comparing immigrants' integration in Barcelona, Castelló d'Empúries and Roses were presented at the *Association of American Geographers' Congress* held in New York in February 2012 (Morén-Alegret, Wladyka and Mas, 2012).

some quarters, there is always the danger of confusing a socially peaceful area with a social desert or semi-desert.

In both of the Barcelona quarters studied, public places (regardless of their number) are portrayed not only as areas of encounter, but also as areas of multi-layered conflicts on uses of the place, which directly influence intergroup relations. Simultaneously, in various cases, the space as such constitutes a context for various dimensions of conflict, mainly cultural, demographic and economic. As Tim Cresswell (1996) noted, studying the relation between place and behaviour helps to unveil those behaviours that are judged as inappropriate or out of place in a particular location.

Public places such as squares (like Gaudí Square in Sagrada Família or *Tres Xemeneies* Park in Poble Sec) or pedestrian and semi-pedestrian avenues (like Gaudí Avenue in Sagrada Família or Blai Street in Poble Sec) are subject to comments about the conflicts on use of the space. The kind of conflict that seems to engage the most emotional responses is based on behaviour in the public places: loud music, talking and yelling during the night or quarrels with the involvement of the particular groups of users of the space seem to bother many residents<sup>39</sup>. While the particular origins of immigrants are evoked in order to indicate the supposed 'guilt' and to underscore their cultural "otherness" as the motive of conflict, it also seems that a consciousness of the reasons for the behaviour sometimes trespass the nationality lines and some more complex explanations were found among the neighbours.

Among those explanations, the persons' origin is still important, but it reaches the particular environment where the immigrant accused of rude behaviour was raised. In some cases, the transfer from rural or mountainous sparsely populated areas to a densely populated metropolitan quarter where the definitions of "polite" and "rude" behaviours and "street life" differ is one of the explanations. In other cases, the age difference is another acknowledged explanation. Sometimes, the elderly people are not especially keen to accept alterations (evening activities, musical events, bars open long hours, street-life culture) that are sought by the youth or those trying to introduce innovative activities. This demographic gap is widely perceived not as an obstacle when it comes to the description of the intergroup relations with immigrants but as an obstacle to inter-generational relations among natives. When it comes to natives, the perception of cultural differences based on nationality still seems more common. Economic status is yet another explanation, and the lack of job or other productive activities are often mentioned as factors that bring youth to public places, where they hang around spending their daily lives in ways that are often criticised by other neighbours.

On the other hand, the interactions found in those areas of encounter are of varying depths. They range from a rather superficial level, as in daily uses of the library or the marketplace, to more profound levels in cases such as organised seminars, courses or working groups. In general, goal-oriented public spaces and organisations, which are seen by immigrants as hypothetically fruitful, do attract their attention more. In the same way, when participation is perceived by immigrants as offering added value, it is especially appreciated. Immigrants and native youth alike seem to avoid organisations with tight hierarchical power structures which are not open to new input and ideas. Importantly, another variable is the cost of

---

<sup>39</sup> According to the aforementioned evidence, place and space play not only a secondary role as the setting of the interaction; rather the configuration of areas where encounters occur has a significant influence on conflict and cooperation in the quarter. Thus, one proposal would be that immigrants' integration policies should be designed with space and place in mind not only as settings but also as objects of those policies themselves. These social policies could be inspired by what some planners have deliberately been doing when creating or preserving "memorable and singular structures to make a space distinctively different ... to encourage in the residents an attachment to that place" (Mayhew, 2004: 444).



participation. Organisations with expensive membership fees seem to attract immigrants less than groups without fees or with low fees. Still, this is more a feature of the current economic crisis and of general social class divides than a question of specific geographical origins. Thus, the organisations that attract immigrants include the traditional human tower movement (i.e. *Castellers*) in both quarters (both as participants and/or spectators) and organisations like GIM which empower communication and mutual understanding between various cultures. Additionally, in Poble Sec some immigrants' associations are quite important (especially among some Latin American nationalities), while in contrast, in Sagrada Família there are no formal immigrants' associations. Beyond immigrants' associations, other kinds of associations like business-oriented and merchants' guilds and teams organising popular street festivals in the neighbourhood are relevant in both Sagrada Família and Poble Sec.

In this sense, the importance of civil society organisations is crucial. The existing coordinated associative network of social organisations at quarter and neighbourhood level can be seen as a very useful tool. Firstly, it can facilitate the settlement process of the foreign-born population; secondly, it can contribute to managing and solving conflictive situations; and, thirdly, when it is impossible to find a quick solution to a neighbourhood problem, it can work as 'safety-valve' institution leading "to a displacement of goal in the actor: he need no longer aim at reaching a solution of the unsatisfactory situation, but merely at releasing the tension which arose from it ... the conflict itself is channelled away from the original unsatisfactory relationship into one in which the actor's goal is no longer the attainment of specific results, but the release of tension" (Coser, 1956: 155-156). In fact, it should be taken into account that these networks have been performing jobs that, in another time or another country, would be performed by the public administrations. This network of social organisation is especially prominent in the Poble Sec quarter and, to a much lesser extent, in the Sagrada Família quarter. However, in general, the generational replacement in these associations and the cuts in funding due to the economic crisis are key challenges for the future.

In both quarters, schools, public libraries and civic centres are spaces where encounters and interrelations take place. Commercial relations, especially in little grocery shops and 'bazaars', have been identified as important for inter-ethnic relations, too. In the specific cases of the Chinese and the Pakistani communities, collectives often perceived by the rest of the population as quite 'closed' beyond the economic sphere, being owners of numerous businesses in the quarters has contributed to bring them closer to some of their neighbours (albeit often in a superficial way).

The way that both quarters have been treated by the mass media is another important feature. The portraits often offered (and the kind of news covered) can influence the perception of conflicts by the population of the quarter's, the existence and evolution of these conflicts and the general perception of the quarter by residents and outsiders. In this sense, the picture of Poble Sec displayed by the press is sometimes quite 'negative', and the presence of a quarter's newspaper like ZonaSec has become a useful tool in counter-balancing prejudices and misinformation from the ground up. It can also be seen as an element that fosters a neighbourhood feeling and social involvement.

Regarding innovative actions for improving social participation, the Neighbourhood Forums (NF) organised by the authors of this report in the civic centres of Sagrada Família and Poble Sec during the *Concordia Discors* project, which combined plenary sessions of several dozens of neighbours with several small-group discussions with around ten participants, can be very useful tools for overcoming specific conflicts both at the quarter level and at the sub-quarter level. A wide variety of neighbours who participated was happy

with that experience, and they asked for more tools like that. In the future, organising a NF with the residents of a specific square or street where there are noise problems could be a relatively fast track to overcoming negative rumours and finding practical solutions *in situ*.

Before ending these concluding remarks, we must once again spotlight the importance of keeping in the future a set of projects that have been working to improve the social situation in both Barcelona quarters and with the support of civil society. Among others, the Community Plans and the projects linked to them together with public facilities like civic centres and public libraries have been performing crucial tasks during the period when hundreds of thousands of foreigners arrived in Spain, and their efforts have been useful for both natives and immigrants' social integration at the quarter level. One may wonder what consequences for social cohesion the current economic policies may have in the middle and long term, policies such as removing and cutting public and private funds to projects and organisations like these. In this sense, it would be interesting in the future to compare quarters like the ones studied here with other ones where foreign third country nationals barely exists<sup>40</sup>.

If the European society of the future has to simultaneously contemplate both the right of free geographic mobility and the right of people to settle down in a specific place, it is necessary to work much more on those issues in an interdisciplinary fashion by combining international, inter-local and intra-local perspectives. Sound European policy-making might benefit from that. The *Concordia Discors* project as a whole and this report in particular are hopefully milestones in that long and winding road which will lead to a better continent where people can live together much more contentedly than today.

---

<sup>40</sup> In this future new comparison, it would be useful to try to update, 50 years after Norbert Elias and John L. Scotson's (1965, 1994) classic book was published, the theoretical approaches on the complexities between the 'established' people and the 'outsiders' that take into account categories such as 'immigrant', 'foreigner' or 'ethnic group', but, at the same time, go beyond them.

## References

### General references quoted in the report and references for further reading on immigration in Barcelona (published 2001-2012)

- Aja, E. (2002), *Els menors immigrants del carrer a Barcelona*. Barcelona: Institut d'Infància i Món Urbà de Barcelona. <http://www.ciimu.org/arxiu/ciimu2a.pdf>
- Alba Sargatal, M. (2001), 'Gentrificación e inmigración en los centros históricos: el caso del Raval de Barcelona', *Scripta Nova. Revista Electrónica de Geografía y Ciencias Sociales*, 94 (66)
- Alcaide González, R. (2001), 'Inmigración y marginación: prostitución y mendicidad en la ciudad de Barcelona a finales del siglo XIX. Una comparación con la actualidad', *Scripta Nova. Revista Electrónica de Geografía y Ciencias Sociales*, 94 (103)
- Aparici, I. (2001), 'Todos los colores en el gris. Inmigrados en el espacio público del Raval barcelonés', *Scripta Nova. Revista Electrónica de Geografía y Ciencias Sociales*, 94 (44)
- Aparicio, R. (2007) The integration of the second and 1.5 generations of Moroccan, Dominican and Peruvian origin in Madrid and Barcelona, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 33(7), pp.1169-1193.
- Aramburu Otazu, M. (2002), 'Etnografía del discurso autóctono sobre el 'inmigrante' en Ciutat Vella de Barcelona', in F. J. García Castaño & C. Muriel López (eds.), *La inmigración en España: contextos y alternativas (vol. II)*, 395-406. Granada: Laboratorio de Estudios Interculturales
- Aramburu Otazu, M. (2002), *Los otros y nosotros. Imágenes del inmigrante en Ciutat Vella de Barcelona*. Madrid: Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte; Secretaría de Estado de Cultura
- Aramburu, M. (2001), 'El mito de la "huida" autóctona. El caso de Ciutat Vella, Barcelona', *Scripta Nova. Revista Electrónica de Geografía y Ciencias Sociales*, 9 4(63)
- Ballesteros, A.G., Basco, B.J., González, Á.R. (2009) Latin-American immigration in Spain in the 21st Century [La inmigración latinoamericana en España en el siglo XXI] *Investigaciones Geográficas*, 70, pp.55-70.
- Bayona i Carrasco, J. (2005), 'Pautas de distribución espacial de la población de nacionalidad marroquí en Barcelona, 1991-2005', *Cuadernos Geográficos de la Universidad de Granada*, 36
- Bayona i Carrasco, J. (2007), 'La segregación residencial de la población extranjera en Barcelona: ¿una segregación fragmentada?', *Scripta Nova. Revista Electrónica de Geografía y Ciencias Sociales*, 11 (235)
- Bayona-Carrasco, J., Gil-Alonso, F. (2012) Suburbanisation and international immigration: The case of the barcelona metropolitan region (1998-2009) *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, 103 (3), pp. 312-329.
- Bejarano Rodríguez, L. (2007), 'La migración de colombianos de clase media y alta hacia Europa en contextos de globalización y modernidad contemporánea. El caso de Toulouse y Barcelona', *Papers: Revista de Sociologia*, 85: 223-227
- Benach, N. & Tello i Robira, R. (2004), 'En los intersticios de la renovación. Estrategias de transformación del espacio y flujos de población en Barcelona', *Revista de geografía*, 3
- Benhammou, F. (2002), *Amb veu de dona. Veus de filles de famílies magribines a Barcelona*. Barcelona: Fundació Jaume Bofill

- Bianka Pires, A. (2007). *De la integraci3n deseada a la integraci3n vivida: la experi3ncia de adolescents brasile3os en escoles de Barcelona*. Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona
- Boj, I. (2007) The Museum of Immigration History of Catalonia, Barcelona, Spain [El Museo de Historia de la Inmigraci3n de Catalu3a (MHIC), Barcellona, Spagna] *Studi Emigrazione*, 44(167), pp.597-599.
- Boronat, L. (2004), 'Entrevista a: Juana Mart3n, Cap del Programa d'immigraci3 de C3ritas Diocesana de Barcelona " Hem d'evitar caure en la confrontaci3 pels recursos destinats a la poblaci3 pobra i els immigrants"', *RTS. Revista de Treball Social*, 173: 64-70.
- Bruquetas-Callejo, M.; Garc3s-Mascare3as, B.; Mor3n-Alegret, R.; Penninx, R.; and Ruiz-Vieytez, E. (2011) "The case of Spain", in Zincone, G.; Penninx, R.; and Borkert, M. (eds.) *Migration Policy-Making in Europe*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Cabr3, A. (2003), 'Barcelona i el sistema catal3 de reproducci3', *L'Avenç*, 277: 28-31
- Cama3o Urrutia, L. (2003), *Conductas delictivas de un grupo de menores inmigrantes no acompa3ados que cumplen medida judicial en el centro de Justicia Juvenil l'Alzina en Barcelona*. Barcelona: Fundaci3 Jaume Bofill
- Canet, M. (2004), 'Dificultades de atenci3 a las personas inmigradas en el Servicio de atenci3 primaria de salud del distrito de Ciutat Vella de la ciudad de Barcelona', *RTS. Revista de Treball Social*, 176: 70-83
- Canet, M<sup>a</sup> M. (2004), 'Breus/ Dificultats d'atenci3 a les persones immigrades en el servei d'atenci3 prim3ria de salut del districte de Ciutat Vella de la ciutat de Barcelona', *RTS. Revista de Treball Social*, 176: 70-83
- Carrasco Pons, S., Ballest3n Gonz3lez, B., Herrera Arag3n, D. & Mart3nez Oliv3n, C. (2002), 'Sobre infancia e inmigraci3n: consideraciones te3ricas y metodol3gicas desde un informe de la situaci3n en Barcelona', in F. J. Garc3a Casta3o & C. Muriel L3pez (eds.), *La inmigraci3n en Espa3a: contextos y alternativas (vol. II)*, 601-614. Granada: Laboratorio de Estudios Interculturales
- Carrasco, S.; & Soto, P. (2002), *L'alumnat estranger i minoritari a les escoles de Barcelona. Origen sociocultural i concentraci3 escolar als centres p3blics municipals i de Ciutat Vella*. Barcelona: Observatori Permanent de la Immigraci3 a Barcelona
- Casas Casta3e, M. (2001), 'Identitats de les segones generacions d'immigrats marroquins a Barcelona a trav3s del seu discurs', *Scripta Nova. Revista Electr3nica de Geograf3a y Ciencias Sociales*, 94 (55)
- Cod3, E. (2011) Regimenting discourse, controlling bodies: Disinformation, evaluation and moral categorization in a state bureaucratic agency, *Discourse and Society*, 22 (6), pp. 723-742.
- Cod3, E., Garrido, M.R. (2010) Ideologies and practices of multilingualism in bureaucratic and legal advice encounters, *Sociolinguistic Studies*, 4 (2), pp. 297-332.
- Cohen, A. (2004), 'Movilidad y migraciones en la construcci3n europea: introducci3n a una sesi3n del XVIII Congreso de la Asociaci3n de Ge3grafos Espa3oles (Barcelona, 24-27 de septiembre de 2003)', *Scripta Nova. Revista Electr3nica de Geograf3a y Ciencias Sociales*, 8 (157)
- Consorci d'Educaci3 de Barcelona (2010) *L'escolaritzaci3 a la ciutat de Barcelona. Curs 2009-2010*. Recull estad3stic. Abril de 2010, Generalitat de Catalunya, Ajuntament de Barcelona.
- Coser, L. (1956) *The Functions of Social Conflict*, Glencoe, IL, USA: The Free Press.

- Creswell, T. (1996) *In Place / Out of Place. Geography, Ideology, and Transgression*, London / Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Cugliari, M. (2006), 'La ciutat imaginada i la ciutat real: la comunitat argentina a Barcelona', *Revista d'Etnologia de Catalunya*, 28: 129-130
- Checa, M., Serrano, I. & Serra, J. (2005), 'Immigrants a la perifèria: la barriada de la Trinitat Vella de Barcelona', *L'Avenç*, 298
- Domingo, A. et al. (1995) *Condicions de vida de la població d'origen africà i llatinoamericà a la Regió Metropolitana de Barcelona*, Barcelona: MMAMB, Diputació de Barcelona, IEMB.
- Domingo i Valls, A. & Bayona i Carrasco, J (2002), 'Habitatge i assentament de la població de nacionalitat estrangera als barris de Barcelona, 1991 i 2001', *Qüestions d'habitatge*, 8: 3 - 23
- Domingo, A. & Bayona, J. (2004), 'Concentració i segregació al municipi de Barcelona, 1991-2002', *Papers de Demografia*, 245
- EcoConcern, Escenaris de Participació Ciutadana (2003), *Participació i immigració en contextos pluriculturals*. Barcelona: Fundació Jaume Bofill. <http://www.fbofill.org/php/publicacions/>
- Elias, N.; Scotson, J.L. (1965 / 1994) *The Established and the Outsiders*, London: Sage.
- Franch, X.; Domingo, A.; Sabater, A. (2011) Rooting immigration policies from a municipal perspective. the case of the province of Barcelona, 2006-2009 [Perspectiva municipal del arraigo en la provincial de Barcelona, 2006-2009] *Documents d'Anàlisi Geogràfica*, 57(3), pp.517-547.
- Frekko, S.E. (2009) Signs of respect: Neighborhood, public, and language in Barcelona, *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, 19(2), pp.227-245
- Gallart Fernandez-Puebla, A. (2007), *Sobrecarga del cuidador inmigrante no profesional formal en Barcelona*. Barcelona: UIC
- Garcia i Jorba, D. (2003), *L'auto-ocupació d'immigrants a l'àrea metropolitana de Barcelona*. Barcelona: UAB, Fac. Ciències Polítiques i Sociologia, Dep. Sociologia
- Garzón Guillén, L. (2006), *Trayectorias e integración de la inmigración argentina y ecuatoriana en Barcelona y Milano*. Bellaterra: UAB.
- Garzón, L. (2007), 'Argentinos y ecuatorianos en Barcelona y Milán : trayectorias, dimensión urbana y capital cultural', *Papers: Revista de Sociologia*, 85: 195-199
- Goldberg, A. (2004), *Ser inmigrante no es una enfermedad. Inmigración, condiciones de vida y de trabajo. El proceso de salud/enfermedad/atención de los inmigrantes senegaleses en Barcelona*. Tarragona: URV
- González Lobato, J. (2002), *El papel de los medios de comunicación en el proceso de integración sociocultural de los inmigrantes latinoamericanos en Barcelona*. Bellaterra: UAB, Fac. Ciències de la Comunicació
- Grassilli, M. (2001), 'Festas, ferias and hip-hop: images of multiculturalism in Barcelona', in R. King, *The Mediterranean Passage. Migration and New Cultural Encounters in Southern Europe*, 66-94. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press

- Halfacree, K.; Boyle, P. (1993) The challenge facing migration research: the case for a biographical approach. *Progress in Human Geography* 17 (3), 333-358.
- Holgado Fernández, I. (2001), 'Las nuevas retóricas de la inmigración femenina: la prostitución en las calles de Barcelona', *Scripta Nova. Revista Electrónica de Geografía y Ciencias Sociales*, 94 (100)
- Lahoz Ubach, S. & Fons Santacana, M. (2004), 'Análisis de las estrategias de afrontamiento, el soporte social y la salud en una muestra de inmigrantes extracomunitarios residentes en Barcelona', *RTS. Revista de Treball Social*, 176: 6-21
- Llosada Gistau, J.; Vallverdú Duch, I.; Miró Orpinell, M.; Pijem Serra, C.; Guarga Rojas, A. (2012) The access to health services and their use by immigrant patients: The voice of the professionals [Acceso y uso de los servicios sanitarios por parte de los pacientes inmigrantes: La voz de los profesionales] *Atencion Primaria*, 44(2), pp.82-88.
- López Gay, A. (2007), *Canvis residencials i moviments migratoris en la renovació poblacional de Barcelona*. Bellaterra: UAB
- Magrinyà Torner, F. & Maza Gutierrez, G. (2001), 'Inmigración y huecos en el centro histórico de Barcelona, 1986-2000', *Scripta Nova. Revista Electrónica de Geografía y Ciencias Sociales*, 94(62)
- Martori, J. C. & Hoberg, K. (2004), 'Indicadores cuantitativos de segregación residencial. El caso de la población inmigrante en Barcelona', *Scripta Nova. Revista Electrónica de Geografía y Ciencias Sociales*, 8 (169)
- Martori, J.C., Apparicio, P. (2011) Changes in spatial patterns of the immigrant population of a southern european metropolis: The case of the Barcelona metropolitan area (2001-2008), *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, 102 (5), pp.562-581.
- Masabeu, J. (2007), 'Immigració i cohesió social: el gran repte per a Europa. Una experiència reeixida al Raval de Barcelona', *Revista de Catalunya*, 225.
- Mayhew, S. (2004) *Oxford Dictionary of Geography*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Miret, N. (2001), 'Las aportaciones de la inmigración al proceso de metropolización: el caso de Barcelona', *Scripta Nova. Revista Electrónica de Geografía y Ciencias Sociales*, 94 (72)
- Monnet, N. (2001), 'Moros, sudacas y guiris, una forma de contemplar la diversidad humana en Barcelona', *Scripta Nova. Revista Electrónica de Geografía y Ciencias Sociales*, 94 (58)
- Monnet, N. (2002), *La formación del espacio público. Una mirada etnológica sobre el Casc Antic de Barcelona*. Madrid, Barcelona: Catarata, Institut Català d'Antropologia
- Monnet, N. (2007), *Ciudad, instrucciones de uso, La. Esbozos barceloneses*. Barcelona: UB
- Morén-Alegret, R. (2001), 'Tuning the channels. Local government policies and 'foreign immigrants' participation in Barcelona', in A. Rogers & J. Tillie, *Multicultural Policies and Modes of Citizenship in European Cities*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishers
- Morén-Alegret, R. (2002a), 'Gobierno local e inmigración extranjera. Aproximación a los casos de Barcelona y Lisboa durante los años 90', *Migraciones*, 11: 25-91

- Morén-Alegret, R. (2002b) *Integration and Resistance. The relation of social organisations, global capital, governments and international migration in Spain and Portugal*. Aldershot (UK) / Burlington, USA: Ashgate Publishers.
- Morén-Alegret, R. (2006) "Foreign Immigrants' Integration in Spain", *Canadian Diversity / Diversité Canadienne*, 5: 1, pp. 80-85
- Moreras Palenzuela, J. (2002), 'Islam y ámbito político local: Una lectura desde la antropología política', in F. J. García Castaño & C. Muriel López (eds.), *La inmigración en España: contextos y alternativas (vol. II)*, 277-290. Granada: Laboratorio de Estudios Interculturales
- Moreras Palenzuela, J. (2002), *Los espacios vinculados con el culto musulmán en la provincia de Barcelona. Aportaciones a la gestión de la diversidad*. Barcelona: CRID, Diputació de Barcelona
- Ortiz i Guitart, A. (2005), 'La Construcció quotidiana i col·lectiva del sentit de lloc als barris de Prosperitat, el Verdum i el Raval de Barcelona', *Treballs de la Societat Catalana de Geografia*, 60: 87-108
- Pàmies Rovira, J (2006), *Dinámicas escolares y comunitarias de los hijos e hijas de familias inmigradas marroquies de la Yebala en la periferia de Barcelona*. Bellaterra: UAB
- Pareja-Eastaway, M. (2009) The effects of the Spanish housing system on the settlement patterns of immigrants  
*Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, 100 (4), pp. 519-534.
- Parella Rubio, S. (2004), 'Reclutamiento de trabajadoras inmigrantes en las empresas de servicios de proximidad en el Área Metropolitana de Barcelona', *Revista Española de Investigaciones Sociológicas*, 108: 179-198
- Pascual, À.; Cardelús, J.; Solana, M. (2000) "Recent immigration to Catalonia: Character and Responses", in R. King et al. (eds.) *El Dorado or Fortress?* London: Macmillan.
- Pedone, C. (2002), 'El potencial del análisis de las cadenas y redes migratorias en las migraciones internacionales contemporáneas', in F. J. García Castaño & C. Muriel López (eds.), *La inmigración en España: contextos y alternativas (vol. II)*, 223 – 236. Granada: Laboratorio de Estudios Interculturales
- Però, D. (2007) Migrants and the politics of governance. The case of Barcelona, *Social Anthropology*, 15(3), pp.271-286.
- Pimentel, A. (2001), 'Inmigrantes dominicanos en la ciudad de Barcelona', *Scripta Nova. Revista Electrónica de Geografía y Ciencias Sociales*, 94 (65)
- Requena Hidalgo, J. (2001), 'Inmigración, ciudad y policía', *Scripta Nova. Revista Electrónica de Geografía y Ciencias Sociales*, 94 (1)
- Rizo García, M. (2004), *Prácticas culturales y redefinición de las identidades de los inmigrantes en El Raval (Barcelona): aportaciones desde la comunicación*. Bellaterra: UAB
- Rodríguez, F., Williams, J. (2011) Socio-discursive representation of the actors involved in the attack against a young Ecuadorian girl on a suburban train in Barcelona: A case study [Representación socio-discursiva de los actores implicados en el ataque a una joven ecuatoriana en un tren de cercanías de Barcelona: Estudio de caso *Revista Signos*, 44(77), pp.275-294.

- Rodríguez Villaescusa, E. (2003), *Inmigración y política urbana en la región metropolitana de Barcelona*. Barcelona: Fundació Carles Pi i Sunyer d'Estudis Autonòmics i Locals
- Rognoni, I. (ed.) (2001), *Menors i joves del carrer: visió sociojurídica*. Barcelona: Fundació Jaume Bofill
- Sabater, A., Domingo, A. (2012) A new immigration regularization policy: The settlement program in Spain *International Migration Review*, 46 (1), pp.191-220.
- Sánchez Martín, R. (2010) City policies, immigration and culture: Sports in Barcelona [Políticas ciudadanas, inmigración y cultura: El caso del deporte en la ciudad de Barcelona] *Revista de Dialectologia y Tradiciones Populares*, 65 (2), pp. 337-357.
- Sanz Parera, M. (1988) *El Pla de Barcelona. Constitució i característiques físiques*, Sant Cugat del Vallès: Els Llibres de la Frontera.
- Sepa Bonaba (Kopesesse), E. (1993) *Els negres catalans*, Barcelona: Altafulla/Fundació Serveis de Cultura Popular.
- Sodepau, F. (2003), *Informe sobre discriminació a la població immigrada en l'accés a l'habitatge de lloguer a Barcelona*. Barcelona
- Suero Bodas, M. (2002), *Third Sector-Welfare Provision to Immigrant Women: A Comparative Analysis between Spain and the United Kingdom*. Bath: University of Bath (Institute for International Policy Analysis)
- Tabakman, E. (2001), 'El Casc Antic de Barcelona: actuación urbanística o 'limpieza social'?', *Scripta Nova. Revista Electrónica de Geografía y Ciencias Sociales*, 94 (67)
- Tatjer, M. (2003), 'L'ampliació del camp migratori barceloní', *L'Avenç*, 277: 32-37
- Unamuno, V. (2011) Entre iguales: Notas sobre la socialización lingüística del alumnado inmigrado en Barcelona [Among peers: Notes on linguistic socialization of pupils of immigrant origin in Barcelona] *Sociolinguistic Studies*, 5(2), pp.321-346.
- Varela, A. (2009) Residency documents for all! Notes to understand the movement of migrants in Barcelona, *Refuge*, 26(2), pp.121-132.
- Veleda da Silva, S. M. (2001), 'Desplazamientos y relación con los lugares: un estudio cualitativo', *Scripta Nova. Revista Electrónica de Geografía y Ciencias Sociales*, 94 (102)

### Some references on the studied quarters

#### **Sagrada Família:**

- Ajuntament de Barcelona (2010) *Acta Consell de Barri de la Sagrada Família* (<http://w3.bcn.es/fitxers/eixample/actacsbsagradafamília15dabril2010.891.pdf>)
- Ligüerre i Gil, J. (2007) *Evolució del barri fins els nostres dies* (on-line access: <http://anticweb.avvsagradafamília.net>)



Méndez, B.; Ardévol, E. (2010) “Los locutorios: una aproximación etnográfica al uso de las tecnologías de la comunicación entre la población inmigrada del barrio de Sagrada Família de Barcelona”, Barcelona: UOC.

Palou Rubio, S. (2006) “La ciudad fingida. Representaciones y memorias de la Barcelona turística” *Revista de Turismo y Patrimonio Cultural*, 4 (1), 13-28.

Peña, A. (2010) “Entrevista con el agente antirumores: Sergio Toldi: «Incluso yo me equivoco con los inmigrantes»,” *El Periódico de Cataluña*, 8 December 2010, p. 36.

Pla Comunitari del Barri de Sagrada Família (2008) *Diagnòstic comunitari del barri de la Sagrada Família. Idees i propostes principals*, Barcelona: Associació de Veïns de Sagrada Família, Coordinadora d'Entitats de Sagrada Família, Pla Comunitari del Barri de Sagrada Família ([http://placomunitari.barrisagradafamilia.org/sites/all/files/Diagnostic\\_Sagrada\\_Família\\_i\\_linies\\_del\\_Pla.pdf](http://placomunitari.barrisagradafamilia.org/sites/all/files/Diagnostic_Sagrada_Família_i_linies_del_Pla.pdf))

### **Poble Sec:**

Badenas i Rico, M. (2006) *Fets i gent del Poble Sec i El Paral·lel d'abans. Records i enyorances d'un xicot del barri*, Barcelona: Editorial Ajuntament de Barcelona.

Borrás Tissoni, O. (2008) “Deporte y reconstrucción de un espacio público: el caso de las redes transnacionales cochabambinas en Montjuïc” ([http://www.educaciofisica.com/omar\\_reconstruccion\\_espacio\\_publico\\_monjuic\\_oct2008.pdf](http://www.educaciofisica.com/omar_reconstruccion_espacio_publico_monjuic_oct2008.pdf))

CEA (2009) *Informe del projecte Estratègies de participació normalitzada de les persones nouvingudes en espais ciutadans barcelonins: Projecte pilot al barri del Poble-sec*, Barcelona: Centre d'Estudis Africans, CEA, 21 de desembre de 2009 (pp. 39-41, 55 – 56).

Izquierdo Cancho, J.A. (2011) “Alí y sus amigos: nueva vida pakistaní en Barcelona” *Prisma Social: revista de ciencias sociales*, nº. 6, págs. 63-118

Marzorati, R. (2011) “Conflictos en el espacio público y construcción de la alteridad: una comparación entre barrios en Milán y Barcelona”, *ACE: Architecture, City and Environment = Arquitectura, Ciudad y Entorno*, Año 6, núm. 17 Octubre. P. 293-316.

Ojeda Mata, M. (2009) “Una primera aproximació a la comunitat jueva dels Encants del Mercat de Sant Antoni de Barcelona, 1882-1939” ([http://www.upf.edu/grimse/\\_pdf/Ojeda\\_3.pdf](http://www.upf.edu/grimse/_pdf/Ojeda_3.pdf))

Pedone, C. et al. (2010) “Migraciones y género en la ciudad. Sobre las diversas formas de pensar y habitar el espacio urbano” in *X Jornadas Nacionales de Historia de las Mujeres y V Congreso Iberoamericano de Estudios de Género: “Mujeres y Género: Poder y Política”*, Universidad Nacional de Luján (16, 17 y 18 de septiembre del 2010).

RGUB (2010) “El barri necessita la unió dels serveis municipals”, *Revista de la Guàrdia Urbana de Barcelona*, nº37, p.30, octubre 2010;

RGUB (2010) “La tasca de reeducació és essencial al Poble Sec”, *Revista de la Guàrdia Urbana de Barcelona*, nº37, p. 31, octubre 2010.

Ribas, C. (2010) "Neix la taula de convivència del Poble Sec per frenar els conflictes socials", *El Punt*, 9 February 2010;

Zegrí, M.; Navarro, J.M.; Aramburu, M. (2006) "El encaje de los comercios extranjeros en el tejido comercial de acogida. Análisis de una experiencia de mediación comunitaria en Barcelona", *Revista Migraciones*, nº 20, Madrid.

## Annex 1. List of interviewees in SAGRADA FAMÍLIA and neighbourhood forum participants quoted

Code CD	Area of relevance	Organisation(s) / Position	Category	Name and Surname	Sex	Age	Origin
B-SF-I-01 (shop keeper & traders' association, 51)	Site of interaction 2	Jewellery boutique & traders' association	Economic actors / civil society organisations	M <sup>a</sup> Amor García	F	51	Spanish
B-SF-I-02 (marketplace's grocery trader, 55)	Site of interaction 2	Grocery stall at the local marketplace	Economic actors	Carmen Mendoza	F	55	Spanish
B-SF-KI-03 (socio-cultural activist, 28)	Quarter	Major street festival & <i>Ateneu Popular</i> (social-cultural organisations)	civil society organisations	Alvaro Parra	M	28	Spanish
B-SF-KI-04 (physician and health centre coordinator, 52)	Quarter	Health Centre (CAP)	street level bureaucracy / civil society organisations	Carlos Romero	M	52	Spanish
B-SF-I-05 (shop keeper & traders' association & NGO activist, 50)	Site of interaction 1	Jewellery boutique & traders' association & NGO <i>Help for Ukrainian children</i> (Italian father & German mother, born in BCN)	Economic actors / civil society organisations	Marisa Jeggler	F	50	German & Italian
B-SF-KI-06 (social organization's technician, 34)	Quarter	Espai 210 & Pla Comunitari & GIM (social organisations)	street level bureaucracy / civil society organisations	Yolanda Soriano	F	34	Spanish
B-SF-KI-07 (social organization's technician, 34)	Quarter	Espai 210 (social organisation)	street level bureaucracy / civil society organisations	Cristina Barriach	F	30	Spanish
B-SF-KI-08 (shop keeper,	Quarter	Pakistani immigrant, Telecommunication point ("locutorio")	Economic actors	Not Disclosed (ND)	M	aprox. 35	Pakistani

aprox. 35)							
B-SF-KI-09 (cultural organisation activist, 52)	Quarter	Castellers de Sagrada Família (cultural organisation)	civil society organisations	N.D.	M	52	Spanish
B-SF-KI-10 (sports instructor & cultural organization's member, 24)	Quarter	Claror Sport Centre & Castellers de Sagrada Família (cultural organisation)	street level bureaucracy / civil society organisations	N.D.	M	24	Spanish
B-SF-I-11 (shop keeper & traders' association, 41)	Site of interaction 2	Peruvian entrepreneur, Movistar shop & traders' association	Economic actors / civil society organisations	Norfa Aredo	F	41	Peruvian
B-SF-I-12 (shop keeper, aprox.50)	Site of interaction 2	Chinese entrepreneur, Bar run by Chinese entrepreneur	Economic actors	Amin	M	aprox. 50	Chinese
B-SF-I-13 (socio-cultural organization, aprox.60)	Site of interaction 2	<i>Centre Excursionista</i> member	civil society organisations	N.D.	M	aprox. 60	Spanish
B-SF-I-14 (environmental organization technician, 37)	Site of interaction 1	Aula Ambiental (Environmental Classroom) Technician	street level bureaucracy / civil society organisations	Thais Lleó	F	37	Spanish
B-SF-I-15 (retired, 80)	Site of interaction 1 / Site of interaction 3	Neighbour	retired	Jose	M	80	Spanish
B-SF-I-16 (library employee, aprox. 40)	Site of interaction 2	Librarian, Biblioteca de la Sagrada Família	street level bureaucracy / civil society organisations	Anna Sust	F	aprox. 40	Spanish
B-SF-I-17 (language school teacher, aprox. 35)	Site of interaction 2	Teacher in English school	street level bureaucracy	Jurek	M	37	Polish

B-SF-I-18 (shop owner, 30)	Site of interaction 1	Polish shop co-owner	Economic actors	Emilia	F	30	Polish
B-SF-I-19 (homeless, aprox. 40)	Site of interaction 1	homeless		Arek	M	aprox 40	Polish
B-SF-I-20 (self-employed, 61)	Site of interaction 3	Self-employed runs a family business	Economic actor	Angela Alis	F	61	Spanish
B-SF-I-21 (retired & sport organization, 65)	Site of interaction 3	President of Petanque association	civil society organisations, retired	Vicente Cerdan	M	65	Spanish
B-SF-I-22 (retired & sport organization, 72)	Site of interaction 3	Local activist, Vice-president of Petanque association	civil society organisations, retired	Alfonso Sánchez	M	72	Spanish
B-SF-I-23 (teacher, 50)	Site of interaction 3	Encants Primary School, Head of Studies	street level bureaucracy	Elisenda Vilà	F	50	Spanish
B-SF-I-24 (Self-employed & local activist, 38)	Site of interaction 3	Encants Primary School Parents' Association (AMPA) member & activist for the development of Glories area	civil society organisations, self-employed	N.D.	M	38	Spanish
B-SF-I-25 (The social rights assembly of Eixample District, 30)	Site of interaction 3 / Site of interaction 1	Social rights assembly of Eixample District	civil society organisations	David Fernández	M	30	Spanish
B-SF-KI-26 (Policymaker, 56)	Quarter	ICV, political coalition	civil society organizations / street level bureaucracy	Isabel Giralt	F	56	Spanish
B-SF-KI-27 (Policymaker, 27)	Quarter	CiU, political coalition	civil society organizations / street level bureaucracy	David Abelló	M	27	Spanish
B-SF-KI-28 (Policymaker, 32)	Quarter	PSC, political party	street level bureaucracy / street level bureaucracy	Joan	M	32	Spanish
B-SF-KI-29 (Policymaker, 65)	Quarter	ERC, political party	civil society organizations / street level bureaucracy	Trinitat Capdevila	F	65	Spanish

B-SF-KI-30 (Policymaker , aprox. 30)	Quarter	Popular Party, political party	civil society organizations / street level bureaucracy	Miguel Torrubiano	M	aprox . 30	Spanish
B-SF-NF-31 (social organization member, 64)	Quarter (NF quotation)	Multicultural Interaction Group, GIM	civil society organizations	Alexis Caridad Méndez	F	64	Cuban
B-SF-NF-32 (other professional situation, 45)	Quarter (NF quotation)	Neighbour	other professional situation	Myriam Naveda	F	45	Peruvian
B-SF-NF-33 (unemploye d, 57)	Quarter (NF quotation)	Neighbour	unemployed	Victoria Jerez	F	57	Argentinea n
B-SF-NF-34 (social organization member, 44)	Quarter (NF quotation)	Mothers and Fathers' Association (AMPA)	civil society organizations	Marc Salvador	M	44	Spanish
B-SF-KI-35 (Policy- maker, 46)	Quarter	Barcelona City Council, Eixample District	street level bureaucracy	Olga Bastidas	F	46	Spanish

## Annex 2. List of interviewees in POBLE SEC and neighbourhood forum participants quoted

Code CD	Area of relevance	Organisation / position	Category	Name and surname	Sex	Age	Origin
B-PS-KI-1 (public equipment worker, 31)	Quarter	Co-director of Centre Cívic El Sortidor / Castellars del Poble Sec member	civil Society organisations / street level bureaucracy	Héctor Iburo	M	31	Spanish
B-PS-KI-2 (neighbours association, 58)	Quarter / site of interaction 1	President of Poble Sec neighbours' association	civil Society organisations	Lluís Martínez Martínez	M	58	Spanish
B-PS-KI-3 (association member, 28)	Site of interaction 2	Member of the organic consumer's cooperative 'El Carretó' / Participant in the Poble Sec Development Communitarian Plan	civil Society organisations	Not Disclosed (N.D.)	F	28	Spanish
B-PS-KI-4 (association member, 30)	Site of interaction 2	Member and worker of the theatre association Marabal	civil Society organisations	N.D.	M	30	Spanish
B-PS-I-5 (quarter resident, 36)	Quarter	Israeli neighbour	Resident in the quarter	N.D.	M	36	Israeli
B-PS-KI-6 (business owner, 38)	Quarter	Owner of a guest house and restaurant	economic actor	N.D.	M	38	Spanish
B-PS-I-7 (grocery shop owner, 46)	site of interaction 1	Owner of Grocery store	economic actor	N.D.	M	45	Pakistani
B-PS-I-8 (waiter, 25)	site of interaction 2	Worker of a bar in Sortidor square	Economic actor	N.D.	M	25	Spanish
B-PS-I-9 (grocery shop owner, 41)	site of interaction 1	Owner of a grocery store	economic actor	N.D.	M	40	Pakistani
B-PS-KI-10 (social association worker, 28)	Quarter / site of interaction 2	Former communitarian technician of the Poble Sec Development Communitarian Plan	civil Society organisations / street level bureaucracy	Noelia Sotus	F	28	Spanish
B-PS-KI-11 (association member, 50)	Quarter / site of interaction 1	President of <i>Coordinadora d'Entitats del Poble Sec</i> (umbrella organisation)	civil Society organisations	Amadeu Quintana	M	50	Spanish
B-PS-KI-12 (political party representative, 60)	Quarter	Representative CiU political coalition	civil society organizations / street level bureaucracy	Albert Martínez	M	60	Spanish
B-PS-KI-13 (political party representative,	Quarter	Representative ERC political party	civil society organizations / street level bureaucracy	Antoni Lasheras	M	65 aprox.	Spanish

Code CD	Area of relevance	Organisation / position	Category	Name and surname	Sex	Age	Origin
65)							
B-PS-KI-14 (political party representative, 35)	Quarter	Representative ICV political coalition	civil society organizations / street level bureaucracy	Cristòfol Ortola	M	35 aprox.	Spanish
B-PS-KI-15 (political party representative, 43)	Quarter	Representative PP political party	civil society organizations / street level bureaucracy	J. Antonio Calleja	M	43	Spanish
B-PS-KI-16 (political party representative, 28)	Quarter	Representative PSC political party	civil society organizations / street level bureaucracy	Núria García García	F	28	Spanish
B-PS-I-17 (retired, 73)	site of interaction 3	Neighbour at Tres Xemeneies gardens and regular user of the park	Retired	N.D.	M	73	Spanish
B-PS-I-18 (skater, 28)	site of interaction 3	skater at Tres Xemeneies gardens	Usual visitors to the quarter	N.D.	M	28	Brazilian
B-PS-I-19 (skater, 19)	site of interaction 3	skater at Tres Xemeneies gardens	Usual visitors to the quarter	N.D.	M	19	Spanish
B-PS-I-20 (retired, 87)	site of interaction 2	neighbour at Sortidor square	Retired	N.D.	F	87	Spanish
B-PS-I-21 (domestic service worker, 35)	Quarter	Domestic service worker in different houses of the quarter	Economic actor	N.D.	F	35 approx	Ecuadorian
B-PS-I-22 (waiter, 21)	site of interaction 1 and 2	Poble sec resident, waiter	Economic actor	N.D.	M	21	Colombian
B-PS-KI-23 (social association worker, 27)	Quarter	Coordinator of <i>Àmbit Infància</i> in <i>Poble Sec per a Tothom</i> (social organisation)	civil Society organisations / street level bureaucracy	Maite Martín	F	27	Spanish
B-PS-KI-24 (social association worker, 30)	Quarter	Lawyer of <i>Poble Sec per a Tothom</i>	civil Society organisations / street level bureaucracy	Anna	F	30 approx	Spanish
B-PS-I-25 (immigrants association, 29)	Quarter / site of interaction 2	President of ASODOINCAT (Asociación de Dominicanos Independientes de Cataluña)	civil Society organisations	Ysidoro Hernández	M	29	Dominican
B-PS-KI-26 (social association worker, 30)	Quarter	Coordinator of <i>Pla d'Acollida</i> of <i>Poble Sec per a Tothom</i>	civil Society organisations	Marta Fontané	F	30 approx	Spanish



Code CD	Area of relevance	Organisation / position	Category	Name and surname	Sex	Age	Origin
B-PS-I-27 (immigrant association, 55)	site of interaction 2	President of Asociación Cultural Social Arte Culinario de Honduras	Economic actor / civil Society organisations	Jorge Irias	M	55 approx	Honduran
B-PS-I-28 (member of different associations, 25)	Quarter / site of interaction 2	Member of <i>Castellers del Poble Sec</i> , former co-director of <i>Centre Cívic El Sortidor</i> and worker of NGO <i>Bona Voluntat en Acció</i>	civil Society organisations / street level bureaucracy	Gerard Verdés	M	25	Spanish
B-PS-KI-29 (social association worker, 55)	Quarter	Member of <i>La Formiga</i> association	civil Society organisations	Gustavo	M	55 approx	Spanish
B-PS-KI-30 (social association worker, 33)	Quarter	Communitarian technician of the Poble Sec Development Communitarian Plan	civil Society organisations / street level bureaucracy	Esther Garcia	F	33 approx	Spanish
B-PS-I-31 (shop owner, artist, 33)	site of interaction 1	Co-owner of a jewellery shop and workshop	civil Society organisations / economic actor	N.D.	F	33	Spanish
B-PS-I-32 (shop owner, artist, 37)	site of interaction 1	Co-owner of a jewellery shop and workshop	economic actor	N.D.	M	37	Spanish
B-PS-I-33 (Bar owner, 47)	site of interaction 1	Owner of a bar-restaurant	economic actor	N.D.	F	47	Spanish
B-PS-I-34 (green point worker, 30)	site of interaction 3	Employee of a green point	street level bureaucracy	N.D.	M	30 approx	Spanish
B-PS-I-35 (association member, 28)	Quarter	Member of <i>Assemblea de Barri</i> . Expert in traditional and ethnic trade shops in Barcelona.	civil Society organisations	N.D.	F	28	Italian
B-PS-I-36 (car park worker, 52)	site of interaction 3	Worker of the Tres Xemeneies Car Park	Economic actor / street level bureaucracy	N.D.	M	52	Spanish
B-PS-I-37 (neighbour woman, 57)	site of interaction 3	Pensioner. Regular user of the Tres Xemeneies Gardens	Retired	N.D.	F	57	Spanish
B-PS-I-38 (association member, 39)	Quarter	Member of the association <i>El Troc</i> . Expert on migration.	civil Society organisations	N.D.	F	39	Peruvian
B-PS-NF-39 (Traders association president, 50)	Quarter (NF quotation)	Business owner and President of the Poble Sec Traders association	economic actor / civil Society organisations	Eudósio Gutiérrez	M	50 approx.	Spanish
B-PS-NF-40 (Traders association)	Quarter (NF quotation)	Business owner and member of the Poble Sec Traders association	economic actor / civil Society organisations	Ricardo Cruz	M	37	Dominican

Code CD	Area of relevance	Organisation / position	Category	Name and surname	Sex	Age	Origin
member, 37)							
B-PS-NF-41 (Business owner, 40)	Quarter (NF quotation)	Business owner	economic actor	José Miguel Sánchez	M	40	Dominican
B-PS-NF-42 (Traders association member, 38)	Quarter (NF quotation)	Business owner and member of the Poble Sec Traders association	economic actor / civil Society organisations	Ihsan Ul-Haq Mirza	M	38	Pakistani
B-PS-NF-43 (Business owner, 39)	Quarter (NF quotation)	Business owner	economic actor	Miguelina Núñez	F	39	Dominican
B-PS-KI-44 (Policy-maker, 57)	Quarter	Barcelona City Council, Sants-Montjuïc District	street level bureaucracy	Miquel Pulgarín	M	57	Spanish

### Annex 3. Neighbourhood Forums pictures

Pictures 1 - 7: Neighbourhood Forums posters displayed in various places of Sagrada Família and Poble Sec quarters.

**02.02.2012**

**FÒRUM** SOBRE  
**EL BARRI DE LA SAGRADA FAMÍLIA**

Des del GRM del Departament de Geografia de la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, estem organitzant un **fòrum** a nivell del **barri de la Sagrada Família**. Els objectius principals són:

- 1) Presentar alguns resultats preliminars del projecte **Concordia Discors** (estudi finançat per la Comissió Europea en el que es fa recerca a: Londres, Budapest, Nuremberg, Torí i Barcelona);
- 2) Debatre diverses qüestions relacionades amb la vida quotidiana al barri.

La participació és **lliure i gratuïta**, amb **inscripció prèvia**, i estan convidades totes aquelles persones que tinguin una vinculació directa amb el barri i que vulguin aportar el seu punt de vista al fòrum. Per tal de realitzar la **preinscripció** o demanar més informació, us podeu adreçar per email a [gr.recerca.migracions@uab.cat](mailto:gr.recerca.migracions@uab.cat) o bé per telèfon als números 935868064 i 644117080  **fins al dilluns 30 de gener** (aquest dia inclòs). L'aforament és limitat i s'acceptarà la participació per ordre de preinscripció.

**Programa provisional:**

18.30h	Inscripció, benvinguda i refrigeri (cal haver-se preinscrit abans)
19:15h	Inici. Presentació del projecte <i>Concordia Discors</i> i de resultats preliminars
19:45h	Grups de debat
20:30h	Descans (càtering gratuït disponible pels participants inscrits)
20:45h	Grups de debat
21.30h	Posada en comú i conclusions
22h	Cloenda

**Dijous, 2 de febrer 2012, 18.30h**  
**Centre Cívic Sagrada Família**  
(carrer Provença número 480, entre carrers Lepant i Padilla)

GRM  
Departament de Geografia  
**UAB**  
Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

With financial support from the European Commission





**11.02.2012**

# FÒRUM SOBRE

## EL BARRI DEL

# POBLE SEC

Des del GRM del Departament de Geografia de la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, estem organitzant un **fòrum** a nivell del **barri del Poble Sec**. Els objectius principals són:

- 1) Presentar alguns resultats preliminars del projecte **Concordia Discors** (estudi finançat per la Comissió Europea en el que es fa recerca a: Londres, Budapest, Nuremberg, Tori i Barcelona);
- 2) Debatre diverses qüestions relacionades amb la vida quotidiana al barri.

La participació és **lliure i gratuïta**, amb **inscripció prèvia** i estan convidades totes aquelles persones que tinguin una vinculació directa amb el barri i que vulguin aportar el seu punt de vista al fòrum. Per tal de realitzar la **preinscripció** o demanar més informació, us podeu adreçar per email a [gr.recerca.migracions@uab.cat](mailto:gr.recerca.migracions@uab.cat) o bé per telèfon als números 935868064 i 605080926  **fins al dimecres 8 de febrer** (aquest dia inclòs). L'aforament és limitat i s'acceptarà la participació per ordre de preinscripció.

**Programa provisional:**

- 10h Inscripció, benvinguda i refrigeri (cal haver-se preinscrit abans)
- 10:30h Inici. Presentació del projecte *Concordia Discors* i de resultats preliminars
- 11h Grups de debat
- 11:45h Descans (càtering gratuït disponible pels participants inscrits)
- 12:15h Grups de debat
- 13h Posada en comú i conclusions
- 13:30h Cloenda

**Dissabte, 11 de febrer 2012, 10h**  
**Centre Cívic El Sortidor**  
 (Plaça del Sortidor)

GRM  
 Departament de Geografia  
**UAB**  
 Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

With financial support from the European Commission

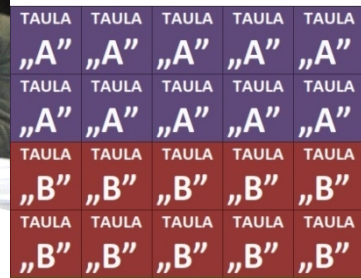


Pictures 8 - 12: The Neighbourhood Forums registration processes:





Pictures 16 - 20: Neighbourhood Forums' small-group discussions.





**Pictures 18 - 22: Neighbourhood Forum participants engaging in informal interactions during coffee breaks.**



**Pictures 21-22: NFs concluding sessions in Sagrada Família and Poble Sec**



