



Concordia Discors.

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

Turin Final Report

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Turin, October 2012

With financial support from the European Commission



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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 eleven quarters of five European cities, each of which has been investigated by one research partner: Barcelona by the Migration Research Group of the Autonomous University of Barcelona, Budapest by TARKI, London by COMPAS of the University of Oxford, Nüremberg 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

In Turin we have analysed the urban, social and economic dimensions of the specific sub-municipal units called *Quartieri* (quarters). In Italy, sub-municipal units were created by the national law no. 278 of 1976. However, when that national law was enacted, the Municipality of Turin had already given recognition to *Quartieri* thereby taking on board a strong demand of decentralisation and civic participation which was then coming from the civil society. Nowadays the *Quartieri* still act as important reference for the identity of residents, but they are no more significant administrative units since in 1984 the 23 *Quartieri* in which the city was divided were merged in 10 larger *Circoscrizioni* (Districts).

Fig. 1.1 The two target quarters



More precisely, the quarters selected for the research study are Barriera di Milano, which belongs to *Circoscrizione* 6, and San Paolo and Cenisia, which are part of *Circoscrizione* 3. San Paolo and Cenisia are considered together both due to their small dimensions and because their territory is normally perceived as a single quarter by city residents.

As we explained in the Preface, we have investigated these two quarters from multiple perspectives (residents, local media, local policy communities) and with different methodologies, both quantitative and qualitative. Given this complexity we will provide a more detailed description of the specific methodological tools employed at each research stage at the beginning of the following chapters (ch. 2, 3, 4).

1. Quarter as contexts of social interaction: indicators and perceptions compared

1.1 Quarters as urban contexts

The two target quarters, Barriera di Milano and San Paolo-Cenisia, were initially constructed and developed along similar paths, since they expanded from the beginning of the XX century and especially in the 1950s-60s because of industrialisation and internal migration. Therefore, they are both working class and former industrial quarters, originally situated out of the city duty boundary, which progressively became part of the city, located neither too far from the city centre, although Barriera di Milano is closer to it than San Paolo (see Figure 1).

Besides being former industrial quarters, we must add that commercial services are in general very numerous in the two target quarters compared to the whole city (see Table 1.1).

Tab. 1.1 Density of enterprises (2010)

AREA	Number of enterprises/Kmq
Barriera di Milano	1,426.78
San Paolo - Cenisia	1,934.84
City average	751.57

Source: our analysis on data provided by the Chamber of Commerce of Turin

Nevertheless, economic activities, including construction and commerce, are facing difficulties due to the current economic crisis. Furthermore, a replacement process is occurring: part of traditional small shops and crafting activities are closing and replaced by ethnic business, especially in Barriera di Milano.

Although the two quarters have a lot in common, the de-industrialisation process which has taken place since the end of the 1970s has drifted apart their trajectories both from an urban and social perspective.

In San Paolo, in the 1990s, the abandoned industrial buildings started to be torn down, and replaced by housing, commercial and service complexes. The two main areas concerned by this transformation are the so-called "North Pole" ("*Polo Nord*") and *rione* Lancia, which were reconverted into residential units, commercial outfits (shopping mall) and public offices and services, such as the Health Unit, Social Services and the SPA Gardens, equipped with facilities for children, teenagers and elderly people (playgrounds, basketball courts, football pitches, places for playing balls and a Meeting Centre for Elderly People, well known and popular among the residents of the area). In this area, former factories were also reconverted into cultural sites such as Fondazione Sandretto Rebaudengo for contemporary art and the Urban Ecomuseum. Finally, Ruffini Park, the biggest green area in *Circoscrizione* 3 hosting a sport complex and outdoor fields, although located outside San

Paolo-Cenisia, it is just opposite to *rione* Lancia. We must add that in San Paolo-Cenisia services, meeting places and green areas are evenly distributed, since they are located not only in the newly constructed areas but also in the older heart of the quarter.

The urban and housing growth of *Barriera di Milano* in the 1950s and 1960s was more disorganised and produced, on the contrary, an underdevelopment of services and public spaces (Beraudo, Castrovilli, Seminara 2006). Furthermore, compared with other de-industrialised quarters of the city, in *Barriera di Milano* the urban regeneration during the deindustrialisation process has been limited. The result is widespread urban blight, low quality housing stock and unevenly distributed welfare services. These processes have also produced a lack of meeting spaces and premises for non profit organisations and cultural and recreation activities (Ascolto Attivo and Zaltron 2010). Open-air meeting places are inadequate too, since the largely unplanned urban development has severely limited the number of squares and green areas. Furthermore, rather wide spread drug-selling hampers the use of public spaces. In the light of this situation, some open markets, such as the one in *piazza Foroni*, have become relevant meeting places in the quarter. Finally, internal mobility is hampered by urban fabric due to many infrastructure obstacles (line 4 of ground metro, dismissed factories, etc.), a web of small and trafficked streets, on the one hand, and oversized and quite deserted roads, on the other hand.

It is crucial to add, however, that the dismissed industrial areas of the quarter are now object of the most important plan of urban transformation ever implemented in Turin (a combination of two distinct programmes, commonly known as “Urban 3” and “Variante 200”), to be realised with the purpose of expanding tertiary sector and housing stock, developing green areas, road and public transport networks (the second city underground line) and improving spaces for civic society activities. Nevertheless, the current vast urban transformation arises some risks, such as the possibility that population attracted by new housing stock grows more rapidly than services. Therefore, the fast transformation process seems to rise both expectations and fears among residents.

The abovementioned developments and differences between the two quarters are reflected in the residents’ perceptions gathered during the ethnographic fieldwork. Although closer to the city centre, *Barriera di Milano* is perceived by its residents as a peripheral area due to its urban decay and social weakness, even if this does not exclude that part of the residents are strongly attached to the quarter. The areas regarded as most deprived are the older ones with a low quality housing stock and a high share of immigrant residents. Another perceived feature is the lack of cohesion, i.e. the internal urban and social fragmentation, consistently with the actual internal heterogeneity of the quarter.

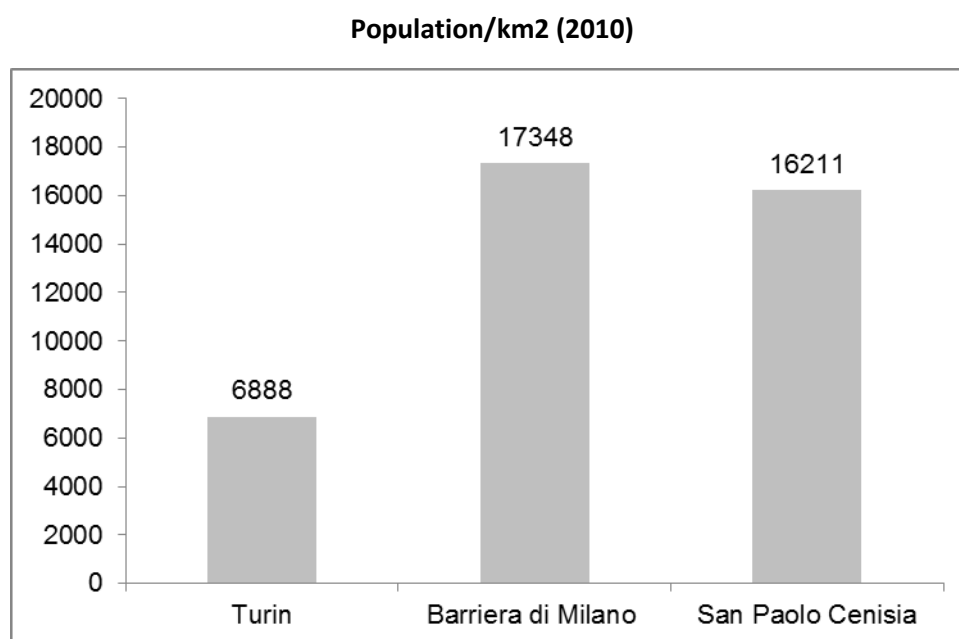
On the contrary, residents of San Paolo-Cenisia consider their quarter as quite, clean, well connected with the rest of the city by public transport, rich in services, green areas and meeting places, safe and free from severe problems of social marginality and deviant behaviours. This picture is further reinforced when residents compare it to other Turin quarters such as *Barriera di Milano*.

To conclude, San Paolo-Cenisia can be described as a quiet area, with a good functional mix, in contrast with *Barriera di Milano* where an appropriate supply of services and recreational spaces are supposed to be part of the future rather than the current quarter.

1.2 Quarters as social contexts and as migrant destination

As we said, both Barriera and San Paolo-Cenisia are working class quarters. However, their trajectories have diverged especially during the de-industrialisation process, so that nowadays Barriera di Milano is socially weaker, as we mentioned above.

The socio-economic features of San Paolo-Cenisia are similar to the city average values, except for the density of population: it is more densely populated than the rest of the city¹, like Barriera di Milano.

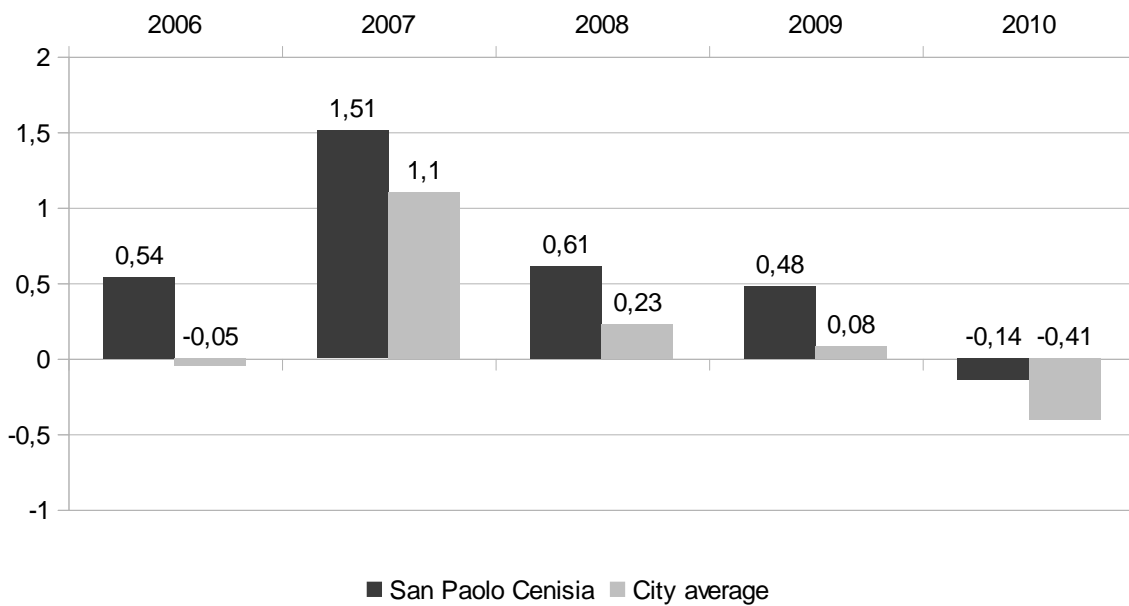
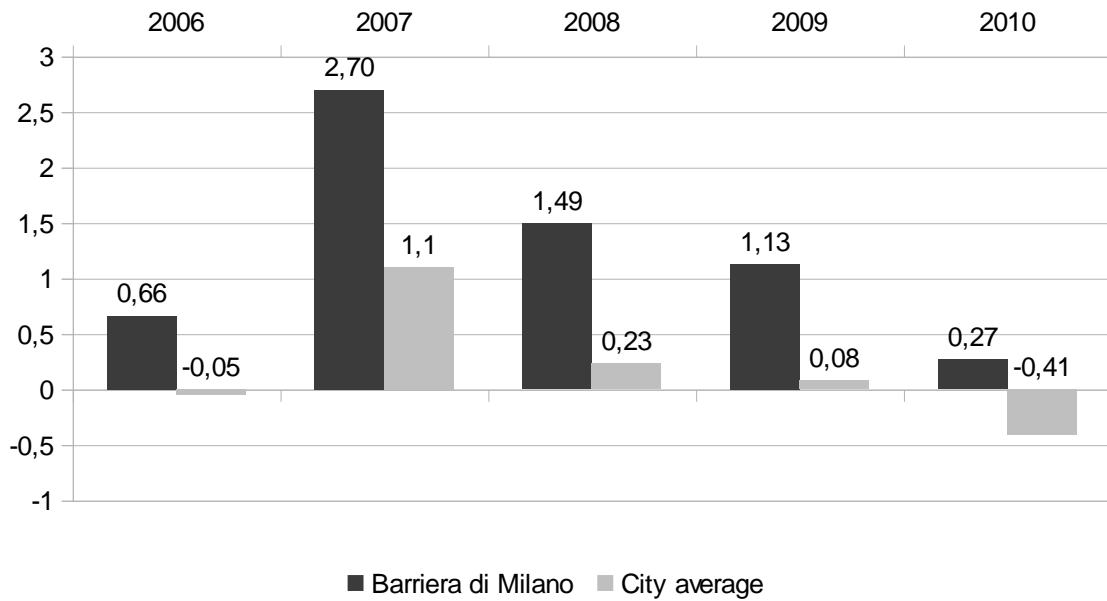


Source: our analysis on data provided by the City of Turin

Furthermore, differently from the whole city, in the last few years Barriera di Milano and San Paolo-Cenisia have increased their population, although this trend has recently slowed down and even changed direction in 2010.

¹ We must, however, consider that the average city density is strongly influenced by the presence of a vast hill area in the East part of the city with a very low density.

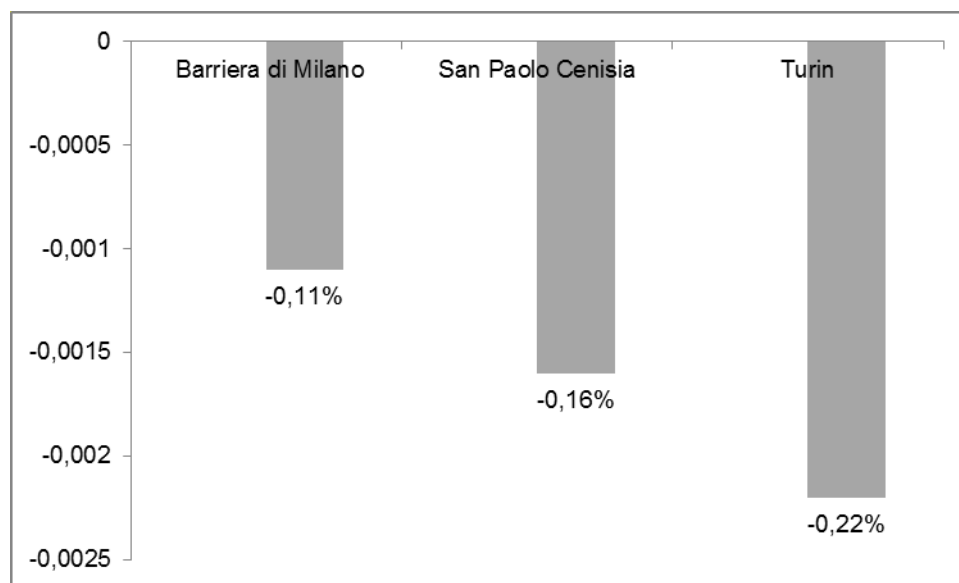
Graph. 3.1 Demographic balance of total population (31 December 2010)



Source: our analysis on data provided by the City of Turin

The increase of population is only due to foreigners whose natural balance as well as migratory balance are far higher than for the rest of the population.

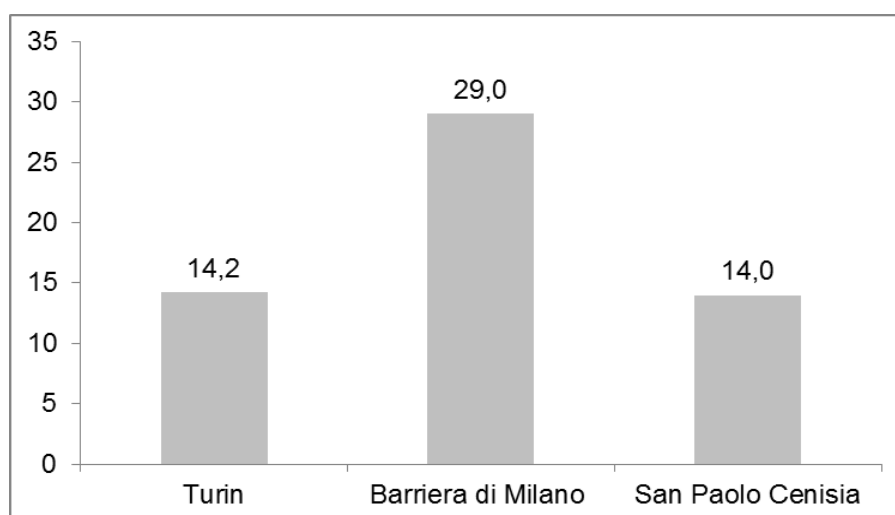
Migratory balance rate (2010) (%)
 $[(\text{immigrants} - \text{emigrants}) / \text{total population}] * 100$



Source: our analysis on data provided by the City of Turin

At the beginning of 2011, in the quarter of San Paolo- Cenisia the share of foreign population was around 14.0%, similar to the city average, while in Barriera di Milano was 29% of the total residents. In order to frame these data, it is important to consider that Barriera borders the area of Porta Palazzo (located in *Circoscrizione 7*), a traditional receiving area for immigrants.

Proportion of foreign residents



Source: our analysis on data provided by the City of Turin

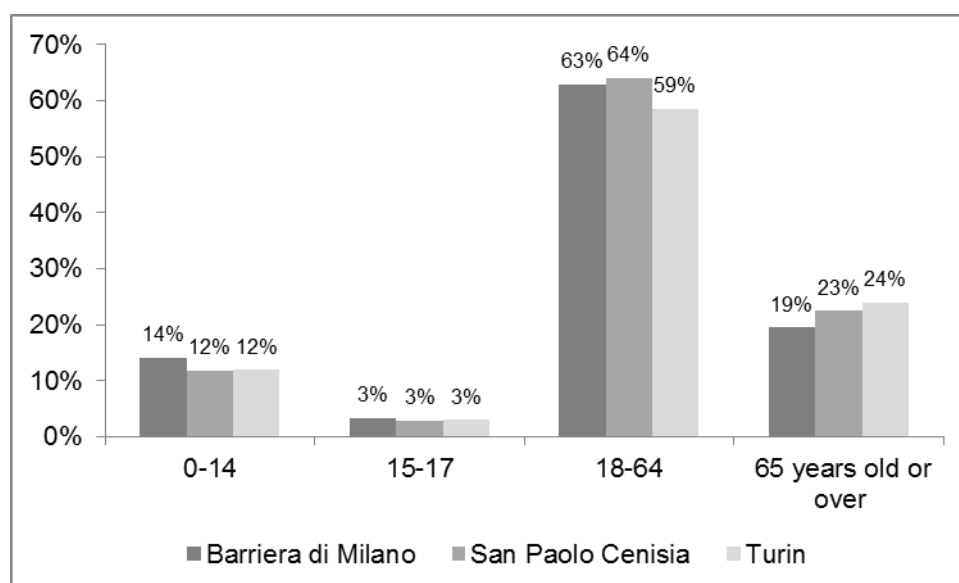
The share of foreign families is higher in the older areas of Barriera di Milano where houses are of lower quality and cheaper (Ciampolini 2007). Here, the migrants' share overtook the threshold of

30% in 2009 (Municipality of Turin), with consequent sharply increasing ethnic segregation trends. A substitution process is actually taking place in both quarters: natives are moving from the older core of quarters towards the newly constructed areas, being replaced by immigrants who rent and often buy older houses.

As for their nationalities, the main ones are almost the same as in the rest of the city (Romanian, Moroccan, Peruvian, Chinese, Albanian). However, in *Barriera di Milano*, Moroccans, Chinese, Nigerians and Senegalese seem particularly concentrated being the share on residents three or four times the city average. Instead, a peculiarity of *San Paolo* is the presence of a large Peruvian community, the most numerous in the city. People who come from Latin America (Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia, Brazil, Argentina, Colombia) have been traditionally represented by women, employed in domestic or care work and well integrated. On the contrary, their children have difficulties in this regard, which however seem to be mainly related to the identity challenges second generations must cope with, and sometime are expressed through isolation from teenagers of different origins and risk of marginalisation (eg. abuse of alcohol, school dropping out, etc.). This phenomenon is quite felt at quarter level, but it is not widespread and has not become a city issue, unlike other Italian cities like Genoa.

The different dimension and features of the immigrant population in the target quarters produce diverse age and family structures. Whereas in *San Paolo-Cenisia* elderly people over 65 strongly prevail over minors, *Barriera di Milano* is strongly younger than the city average. Probably, this difference is due to the fact that in the latter immigrant residents, who are younger than natives, are much more than the city average.

Composition by age



Source: our analysis on data provided by the City of Turin

For the same reason, while in *Barriera* large families prevail, in *Circoscrizione 3*, to which San Paolo-Cenisia belongs to, 42.4% of families are made up of only one person (often old women) against the city average of 41.7% (*Circoscrizione 3 2010*).

Besides these demographic features, the two quarters have different social profiles. According to the latest available census (2001), *Barriera di Milano* is among the city quarters showing the worse social profile and coping with multiple social weakness. The situation has got even worse since the 1990s, when this once strongly industrial area has suffered greatly from the transition from fordist to post-fordist economy (Conforti and Mela 2006). The quarter is indeed characterised by higher-than-city-average rates of low educated people, school drop-outs, low-skilled workers, unemployed young people seeking for the first employment, especially in the Eastern area where social housing complexes are located, and in the older area (Ascolto Attivo and Zaltron 2010, Conforti e Mela 2006).

On the contrary, the socio-economic profile of San Paolo-Cenisia is not particularly worrying and, for some respects, it looks even better than the city average, such as for education levels (*Circoscrizione 3 2010*; Istat). However, according to the 2001 Census, San Paolo-Cenisia shows a higher concentration of problems concerning employment (higher share of unemployed, young people seeking for the first job, low qualified workers) compared to the city average. This is probably because it has suffered more from the economic transition from manufacturing to services, being a traditionally industrial area, like *Barriera di Milano*, although the socio-demographic situation is far better than in the latter (Conforti and Mela 2006).

Finally, the social situation in *Barriera di Milano* is worsened by higher than city-average crime rates. In particular, in 2007 the older areas of the quarter (*Montebianco* and *Monterosa*) were the statistical zones in Turin with the highest frequency of predatory crimes (Municipality of Turin).

Despite these differences, both the quarters seem to take advantage from the strong identity and social cohesion developed during the industrial development. Indeed, in both areas, the social composition of the resident population, mostly made up by workers, fostered the development of a common cultural and social background, promoting a strong sense of belonging to the quarters.

Nevertheless, the kind of social capital seems to be changing. In the past, the factory was a key producer of social capital which was mainly bonding, since it was based on the common belonging of residents to the working class and it was strengthened by the connection of working and living places. This has produced strong quarter identities and intense civic participation such as the well known struggles fought by trades unions, left-wing parties and residents' organisations in 1960s and 1970s, whose legacy on activism by local institutions and civil society is still evident. That social capital also played a bridging function since it fostered the integration of internal migrant from other Italian regions into the quarter social texture. However, nowadays, the factory is no more the heart of quarter life and it has not been replaced by as much powerful socialising institutions so that quarters identities and social capital are challenged.

Despite these common trends, it is evident that international immigration in the two quarters has interacted with two different contexts and endowments of social capital and, on the other hand, different contexts and endowments have produced different immigration inflows. Urban blight, being more marked in *Barriera di Milano*, attracts more immigrants who look for cheap apartments, thus de facto favouring segregation processes - although the very presence of migrants is often

regarded by part of natives as the cause of urban blight and not the other way round. The economic decline of *Barriera di Milano* has speeded a replacement process and traditional small shops and crafting activities have been rapidly substituted by ethnic business, contributing to the spread of a 'sense of invasion'. Finally, old and new residents have few chances to get in contact due to the shortage of meeting spaces, green areas, locations for recreational activities (par. 1.2) and sometimes have to compete for them, as we will see in the paragraph on intergroup relations. As a consequence, that immigration is a hot issue of public debate in *Barriera di Milano*, although till now parties with openly anti-immigration stances have not been successful in taking electoral advantage of this situation, even because the left-wing parties have traditionally been strongly rooted.

On the contrary, in *San Paolo*, the maintenance and reproduction of social cohesion and identity, although facing difficulties, seems to be fostered by smaller inflows and turnover of residents and a greater availability of meeting places and recreational activities organised by local associations that provide opportunities to meet and can play the role of mediators.

To sum up, over the last twenty years *San Paolo* and *Barriera di Milano* have become multi-ethnic and multi-cultural. It is however evident that international immigration in the two quarters has interacted with two different contexts and has produced different consequences, thus intergroup relations should be different, as we will see in next paragraphs.

2. Quarters as media images: narratives on places and narratives on people

In this chapter we examine the news produced by local media about the two Turin quarters studied over a ten-year period (2001–2010). The news analysed are those provided by the regional TV News Channel (TgR) and the local pages of two widely distributed national daily newspapers: *La Repubblica* (whose headquarters are in Rome) and *La Stampa* (which is the historical Turinese publication). Here below we briefly summarise methods of sampling and analysis agreed with research partners.

We considered all the news about the quarters produced by TgR; for the printed papers we performed a systematic sampling, every five days, on the online archives of the newspapers. In a keyword search of the online database and on the repository of RAI of Turin (for TgR), in addition to the names of the quarters, we used the names of the main squares and streets, parks, markets and other places of interest². In encoding the data, we first noted certain aspects of the accounts in the media: we organised the variables by whether their value is attributed to the quarter in the context of the narrative, by the sources of news or by the opinion leaders. These aspects are covered in the first section.

In the second section we take into account analyses of the percentage of articles that mention the presence of foreign immigrants in the total number of articles produced about the quarters. A further question to which we have responded is that of what changes in this representation have taken place over time. We then posed the following question: In the articles that refer to the presence of foreigners, what aspects are recalled? We therefore distinguished between a social and a political dimension. Within each dimension, we then identified the news frames. For the social dimension the two frames are those of conflict and cooperation.³ For the political dimension there are three frames: one with an absence of policies (e.g. news where the political dimension is recalled but only to confirm or denounce the inadequacy of interventions), one with a context of restrictive or repressive measures and one in which there are interventions to promote successful integration.⁴

Finally, in the third section we discuss findings that emerge from the ethnography, questioning how the journalistic representations of the two districts were perceived by local residents.

² We then selected the reports and articles by removing from the tally all the news features where the name of a street within the quarters studied appears briefly in lists covering several locations in the city, when there is no relevant focus on that road in particular.

³ The two frames of conflict and cooperation are considered classic frames in the analysis of the news. They were subjected to various analyses both on the frame building and on the frame effects. See in this regard, the volume edited by Paul D'Angelo and Jim A. Kuypers entitled *Doing News Framing Analysis*, Routledge 2010.

⁴ In news broadcasts and in newspaper articles, policy interventions are sometimes described, sometimes evoked by journalists, sometimes evoked or declared by political representatives. For the purpose of the research conducted here, no distinction is made to that effect. If, for example, the content of a newspaper article focuses on repressive policies, this is considered the dominant frame for analysis, regardless of whether the article describes the implementation of such policies or only evokes it.

2. 1. Quarter in the media

To begin with, we look at the level of description of a quarter in the framework of the news. There are reports that would not be traced back to the quarter if not for the mention of the name of the quarter or a street, which is part of the duty of a reporter. There are reports that are traced in a clear manner to the quarter, sometimes becoming an occasion to label the place; for example, by arguing that a quarter is a drug market, or that a quarter is a symbol of coexistence; a violent quarter or one of solidarity. We call such descriptions "tagging the quarter," whether they are penned by the journalist, or whether they are in quotes, taken from the comments of third parties reported and highlighted by the journalist. Accounts that are free of such descriptions we call "stories in the quarter", and those that contain them we call "stories about the quarter." And here is the first point: the vast majority of "stories about the quarter" regarding *Barriera di Milano* emerge within the framework of news that refers to foreigners (72%). These stories describe *Barriera di Milano* as a "problem area", "tough quarter", "poor quarter", "robbery district", "quarter with many illegal immigrants," "drug dealing and theft area", "unsafe place"; "slum", "neglected area", etc. The descriptions labelling the quarter seem to have a direct link to the theme of news sources. These descriptions are in fact derived, in most cases, from the so-called "people's voices"⁵, mostly members of quarter committees, and the association of merchants, in every case native citizens. In a smaller but significant proportion these are journalistic comments, mostly aimed at synthesising the findings from meetings in which statistical summaries are presented, or crime statistics, provided by the Prefecture. Only in rare cases are these comments by politicians. It is interesting to note how, in a quarter that produces a proportionately high number of news articles regarding foreign citizens, the voices of immigrants are almost entirely absent from the stories in the media. In the rare cases where immigrants are given a voice, the stories about the quarter start to look very different, such as in the case, among few others, of an article in *La Repubblica* of 6 February 2005, an interview with Sued Benkhdim, a Moroccan-born resident of Turin, president of an association. Asked by the journalist Niccolò Zancan "Where can one see multiethnic Turin?", she replied, "In *Barriera di Milano* they are doing a beautiful job. Families who live decently and children well placed in school." Not only immigrants have very little voice in the local media, even associations are scarcely represented, nor do emerge in the news the voice of opinion leaders capable of taking on a clear advocacy role for minorities in the quarter or simply to express in the local media stories of successful integration. After the police and the Italian "native" citizens, often speaking on behalf of committees, the voice most often heard is that of Caritas. In this last case their main argument is that of the alarming levels of poverty that occur among residents in the quarter: the occasions are presentations of reports on the suburbs of Turin. Among all the news sources, the only voices that have provided the local media with images of successful integration with some frequency are that of Eleonora Artesio, as a councillor to the suburbs and as chairman of District 6; and in *La Stampa*, that of the director and the teachers of the "multiethnic" Gabelli school, to which this newspaper has devoted six articles. Voices such as these are entirely absent from the broadcasts of TgR.

⁵ See in this regard the article by Marcello Maneri, 'La construction d'un sens commun sur l'immigration en Italie. Les "gens" dans le discours politique et médiatique'[Construction of a common understanding of immigration in Italy. The "people" in political and media discourse], in *La Revue Internationale et Stratégique*, no. 50, pp. 95– 104.

Another aspect that deserves attention is the absence of a historical discourse that frames the quarter in light of its industrial and working-class past, which, however, as we shall see shortly, is central to the narrative constructed by the media for the San Paolo Cenisia quarter. In the case of Barriera di Milano there are no celebrated heroes or remembered events with historical significance relevant to the city. The only historical name that comes up in broadcasts and articles is that of a bandit from the 1960s, Pietro Cavallero, coinciding with the release of a film and an exhibition dedicated to him. Reading articles about Barriera di Milano over the decade under consideration, the impression is of a place with no significant stories -- those able to establish a shared memory and, ultimately, an image recognised by residents and recognisable to others. The past exists only as a vague nostalgia that fuels discontent, not as history that can shed light on the present.

Then there is the question of territorial boundaries. Many broadcasts/articles on Barriera di Milano actually refer to places outside the quarter, such as Stura Park, known as Toxic Park, Lungo Stura and the Arrivore Roma camp. These places, characterised in terms of problems and marked by the presence of foreigners (Roma, African drug dealers, etc.) are the subject of news stories that are presented as news about the quarter. This happens for 7 articles in *La Repubblica* and 17 articles in *La Stampa* included in our sample and for 27 broadcasts of the TgR. For this last medium, between 2006 and 2007 there were 15 broadcasts that fall into this category. These revolved around a story of violent clashes that occurred at Stura Park between police and a group of African drug dealers. Sensational videos of these fights were produced which explains in part the high number of broadcasts dedicated to this event on the television news. These images were presented on TgR as part of broadcasts that created a close link between drug dealing, widespread crime and the strong presence of undocumented immigrants. Moreover, these broadcasts have made Barriera di Milano into the epicenter of the city's "security problem". This vision has also obtained an institutional seal, in the words of then-mayor of Turin, Sergio Chiamparino, reported in *La Stampa*. After citing Barriera di Milano and Porta Palazzo as the most problematic quarters, Chiamparino said: "I am aware that the problem of insecurity is linked to illegal immigration and drug trafficking."⁶ The "stories about the quarter" of San Paolo Cenisia are very different from those of Barriera di Milano. First, these are, in 96% of cases, the result of news that does not mention the presence of foreigners. Second, many news stories about this quarter produce a historical narrative, both in memorials/celebrations (of Liberation, Resistance and the young anti-fascist hero Dante Di Nanni), and through constant references to the past, evoking the industrial period. The quarter is described as a working-class district, a cradle of values among which solidarity stands out. In the case of San Paolo, the small scale of the quarter with respect to the much larger city is a proportion that appears to be overturned at the symbolic level. Turin is found in the image of the quarter which best presents certain values. The inauguration of the Sandretto Re Rebaudengo or Merz Foundation cultural events, in the former Lancia car factory, are all journalistic opportunities to write and talk about the projects for change in Turin, from industrial city to a city of culture and tourism. At the same time, the historical events that Turin claims with pride seem to find in this quarter an ideal location for the narrative. In Ruffini Park there is also an annual celebration for left-wing parties, another moment of celebration of a story that unites some of the residents and, foremost, for administrators who for years have succeeded in leading the city and the district in which the quarter is located. San Paolo

⁶ *La Stampa*, 18 April 2008, Cronaca di Torino, page 69.

thus becomes a location made up of places that transcend it. A symbol is created which continually leads the quarter beyond its borders. In this framework the presence of immigrants remains marginal in the "stories about the quarter" (only 4%) and, when they appear, it is in the course of moments of celebration, such as the Feast of the Peruvian community.

For *Barriera di Milano* the journalistic tendency is to interpret events concerning deviant behaviours as situations that have arisen within the quarter, while in *San Paolo Cenisia* the origins of the problem situations are almost always described as external: muggers and drug dealers who do not live in the quarter but who periodically "target" it. Then there are the cases that concern the quarter, but instead of just being narrated as a problem in the quarter, they are immediately raised to the city or national level, or even recounted in terms of broad social issues. This happened for example following a serious incident of bullying in November 2006 at the Steiner School, which was immediately framed as a cultural construct on at least a national scale, as well as the case of African refugees (from Somalia, Ethiopia and Eritrea) who in 2009 occupied the former San Paolo clinic. The frame of the local conflict did not find significant space in the news media we analysed as emphasized by the fact that subjects invited to express their opinion in the media were usually the councillors and the mayor of the City of Turin.

Whereas the opinionists are not subjects of the quarter, the local news sources are usually the quarter's stakeholders (District councillors, NGOs, service providers, etc). The hypothesis is that in *San Paolo Cenisia* the presence of local opinion leaders and greater political attention to the image of the quarter have helped give voice to the quarter, well beyond the ordinary collection of brief comments of bystanders which is often the journalistic solution to the absence of local voices, which is evident in the case of *Barriera di Milano*. The result, in the newspapers and broadcasts of TgR was a low diversity of voices and comments in opposition to each other and consequently a low number of news stories.

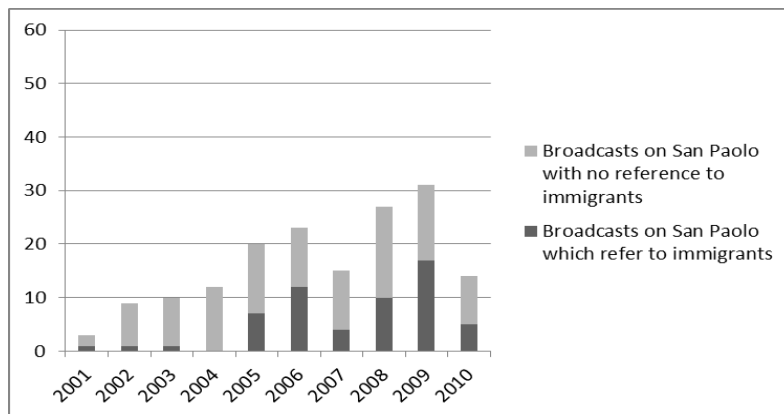
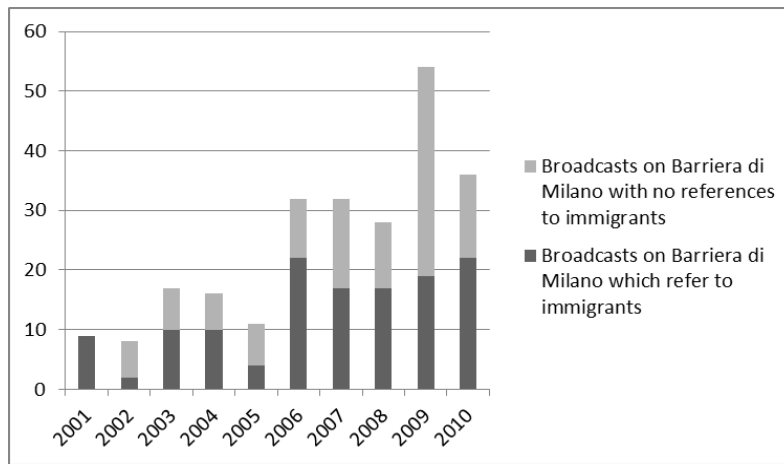
2.2. Immigration in the quarters

2.2.1. Frequency of news stories

Tracing a broad outline of the images that emerge from the media storytelling, we now look at data on the frequency of news stories. The following graphs (Figs. 1 and 2) show the total number of reports about the quarters, year by year, for the period 2001–2010. The graphic representation makes a distinction between news stories that do not refer to foreigners and those that include a reference to foreigners.⁷ We begin this analysis with TgR.

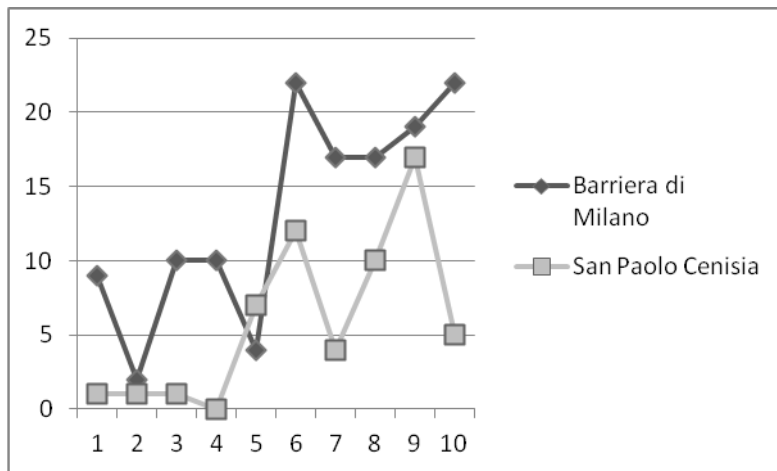
⁷ When we refer to the frequencies, we use the two terms "references to foreigners" and "references to immigrants" interchangeably, to understand all of the news stories dealing with the issue of immigration, or relating to people of foreign origin.

Fig. 1 and 2: The frequency of broadcasts on TgR about the two quarters (with and without reference to immigrants)



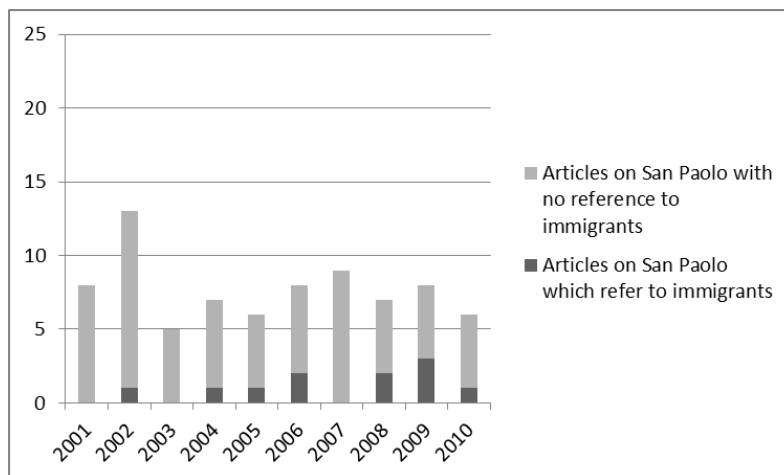
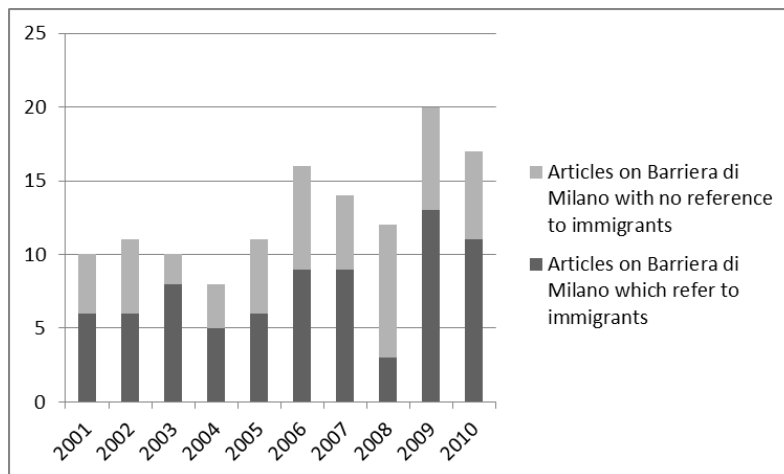
There are 244 broadcasts about Barriera di Milano, of which 133 refer to immigrants (54.5%) and 164 broadcasts about San Paolo Cenisia, of which 58 refer to immigrants (35.4%). The relationship between the stories that refer to immigrants is therefore 1 to 2.8. The following graph (Fig. 3) illustrates this gap and its evolution over time. If we consider the broadcasts without reference to immigrants, the ratio is 1 to 1.04. This means that the overall difference in the total number of stories dedicated to the two quarters from TgR over the 10-year period rests entirely on the news stories that make explicit reference to foreigners.

Fig. 3: Comparison between quarters of TgR broadcasts which refer to immigrants



Looking at the sample of articles from the local pages of *La Repubblica*, we find an even more evident gap in the direction described. In this case, we also start from graphs of their frequency.

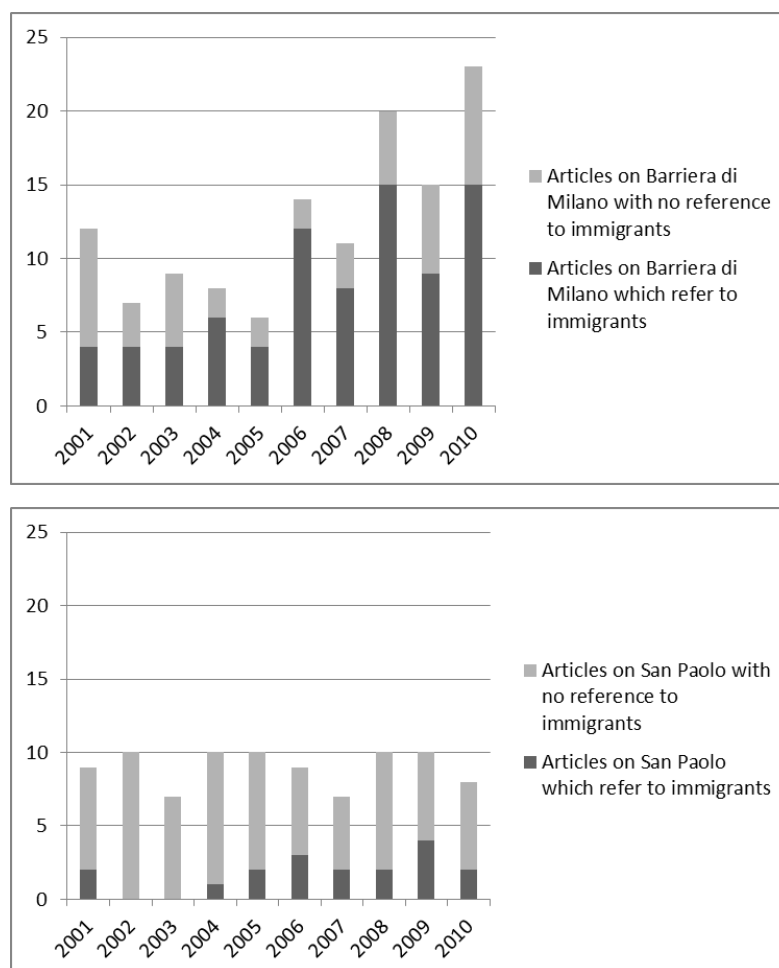
Fig. 4 and 5: The frequency of articles in *La Repubblica* on the two neighbourhoods (with and without reference to immigrants)



Our sample includes 76 articles with references to immigrants out of a total of 129 articles for Barriera di Milano (58.9%, a percentage slightly higher than that recorded for the TgR) and 11 articles out of 77 for San Paolo Cenisia (14.3%). This is the more striking statistic compared to broadcasts of the TgR: the percentage of articles that refer to immigrants of the total number of articles related to San Paolo Cenisia, which was 35.4%, decreases to 14.3% in *La Repubblica*. In this newspaper there are about seven articles discussing immigrants in Barriera di Milano for every article that talks about immigrants in Cenisia. If instead we consider the articles that do not refer to immigrants, the ratio is 1 to 0.8 in favour of San Paolo: there are even more stories about San Paolo Cenisia than there are about Barriera di Milano.

We now look at the data on the frequency of the news in the local pages of *La Stampa*.

Fig. 6 and 7: The frequency of articles in *La Stampa* on the two quarters (with and without reference to immigrants)



Analysing the sample of articles from *La Stampa*, we find 81 articles out of 125 about Barriera di Milano (64.8% of articles about the quarter include references to immigrants) and 18 of 90 articles about San Paolo Cenisia (20.0%). The ratio between the two quarters, considering the number of news articles referring to immigrants, is in this case 1 to 4.5, more or less a middle ground between

the other two news titles. If we consider the articles with no references to immigrants the ratio is 1 to 0.6. Compared to the other publications, we see here an even greater number of articles on *Barriera di Milano* discussing immigrants compared to the overall number of articles about the quarter: nearly 65%. Despite some differences between print and television news, it should be noted that the trend is the same for all. In fact, for the TgR as well as the two newspapers studied, these two figures apply: more than half of the broadcasts/articles related to the *Barriera di Milano* quarter refer to foreign individuals (ranging from 54.5% to 64.8%); in less than half of the broadcasts/articles related to *San Paolo Cenisia* is this reference found (ranging from 14.3% to 35.4%).

2.2.2. Dimensions and the news frames

We now consider only the news stories that refer to foreigners and see how these news are distributed over two dimensions, the social and political, and what the prevailing frames are for each dimension considered. Regarding *Barriera di Milano*, we have the following results: for TgR, the social dimension covers 89 articles, while politics is invoked in only 43 cases; in *La Repubblica*, the ratio is 45 to 31; in *La Stampa* it is 46 to 35. In proportion, therefore, the print media seem to give more weight to the political dimension than does the audiovisual news. Even here, however, one general fact emerges: social dimension takes centre stage in local news. For the quarter of *San Paolo Cenisia* the gap is even wider, both for the broadcasts of TgR (43 of them recall the social dimension and only 15 the political one), as well as for the local pages of *La Stampa* (14 versus 4).

2.2.2.1. The frames of the social dimension

Let consider now the two frames of the social dimension: conflict and cooperation. For *Barriera di Milano*, the ratio is one broadcast/article that corresponds to the frame of cooperation for every four broadcasts/articles that correspond to the conflict frame, both for TgR and for *La Repubblica*. It is one out of every two with regard to *La Stampa*, which gives more space to news events that reflect cooperative events or social solidarity. If we look at trends over time, we discover that the news titles respond differently. On TgR, the two frames both rise almost exponentially from the first to the second five-year period and the proportions between the two remain substantially unchanged (cooperation is only one-fifth of conflict in the first five years and one-quarter in the second). A similar trend can be traced in *La Stampa*, where there is, however, a more substantial increase (in relative terms) of the cooperation frame which is less than half of the conflict frame in the second five years. In *La Repubblica* news stories in conflict frames are actually declining, while there is a discernible increase in the cooperation frame (but the deviation between the two frames is higher than in *La Stampa*). Therefore there is a proportional reduction in rate of conflict reports, but, with the exception of *La Stampa*, the gap between the two frames is significant and conflict retains its dominant position in the news.

For *San Paolo Cenisia*, considering the whole decade of reference, the difference between the two frames is much less significant: the ratio is of one broadcast in a cooperation frame for every one and a half conflict frames on TgR; one in every two in *La Repubblica*; and cancels out in *La Stampa*. Consider, then, that on TgR, except for 2005 and 2006, which are characterised by 15 broadcasts

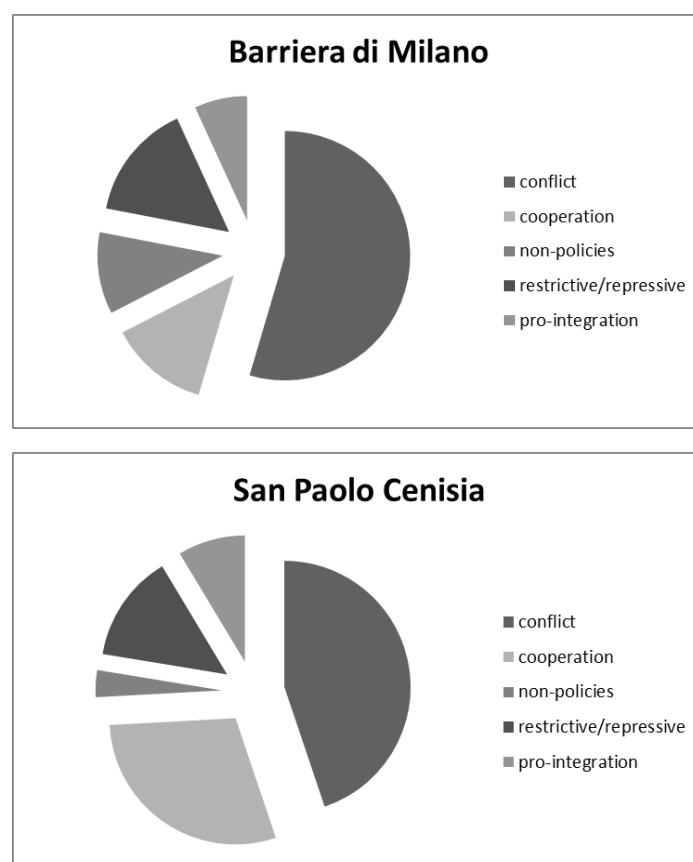
with the conflict frame and none with cooperation, the relationship over the other eight years is reversed, and the same is true for *La Repubblica* (but here the two-year "conflict" frame is in 2009/2010). Thus, while it is true that conflict is in absolute terms the predominant news frame, a significant difference can be noted in the treatment of the two quarters. Not only does the presence of foreign individuals weigh very differently on news stories in *Barriera di Milano* than on those of *San Paolo Cenisia*, as we saw above, but there is also a clear tendency to report on the foreign presence in news that alternates over time between conflict and cooperation in clearly dissimilar proportions. For *Barriera di Milano* the conflict frame prevails over that of cooperation in nine years out of ten on TgR and in *La Repubblica*, and in eight out of ten for *La Stampa*; for *San Paolo Cenisia* the conflict frame prevails for four years out of ten on TgR (for five years cooperation prevails); for two years out of ten (cooperation prevails for one) and for three years out of ten for *La Stampa* (for three cooperation prevails).

We must then ask ourselves another question: when we speak of conflict, which social groups are we referring to? In the case of *Barriera di Milano*, the conflict is mainly (in about 70% of cases) a conflict between natives and immigrants (theft and robbery, protests by Italian residents against African drug dealers, etc.). In the case of *San Paolo* on the other hand, the conflicts reported in the media are, in over 50% of cases, conflicts between members of the same ethnic group (South American brawls, domestic violence, etc.).

2.2.2.2. The frames of the political dimension

Now we take a quick look at the frames of the political dimension. Of the three frames considered (absence of policies, restrictive/repressive policies, policies for integration) the most common one in *Barriera di Milano* is restrictive/repressive policies, whose relative weight is 51.4% in *La Stampa*, 46.5% in TgR and 32.3% in *La Repubblica*. This frame is followed closely by that of an absence of policies, often expressed in the form of complaints from residents feeling abandoned by local politicians. The frame of integration policies is well-represented on TgR and is still found on the pages of *La Stampa*, so that its relative weight is 20.1% on TgR and 11.4% in *La Stampa*. If we pay attention to the evolution of these frames over time, we note that the absence of politics increases during the second five years more than the other frames, whether in *La Stampa* or on TgR. On the latter, the absence of policies frame becomes the predominant policy frame in the second five years. For *San Paolo Cenisia* the numbers related to the political dimension are too small to provide percentages. However it is interesting to note that here the absence of policies frame is virtually nonexistent, while the other two frames have converged to similar absolute numbers, with a slight predominance of the restrictive/repressive frame on TgR and *La Stampa* and a predominance of policies for integration in *La Repubblica*. The two graphs below (Figures 8 and 9), directly compare the weight of the frames on the two quarters, limited to the broadcasts of TgR, for the period 2001–2010.

Fig. 8 and 9: The distribution of the frames of two Turin quarters in broadcasts by TgR (2001–2010)



2.3. Media seen from below: the perspective of the residents

In this brief section we pay attention to the views of the so-called "media public", collected in the two quarters. We rely, therefore, on ethnographic interviews. These interviews were undertaken with the intention of inviting comments and opinions of residents and other quarter witnesses on the issue of journalistic representation. From analysis of the interviews and ethnographic accounts of some topics certain arguments emerge, as shown below.

2.3.1. Barriera di Milano

In the first place, it appears that memories of the events represented in the local media are generally very limited. When respondents are asked to recall the newspaper stories that came out about their quarter, the answers are mostly vague and elusive, and only in very rare cases are examples provided. In this regard it is useful to note that one of the few events recalled by the respondents in Barriera di Milano was that of the clashes in Stura Park (known as Toxic Park) between a group of police officers and a group of Africans during an anti-drug operation. We have already described the televised repetition of this news because of the availability of sensational images. The interviewee speaks of it as an occurrence in the quarter, even though Stura Park is an external location, which in this sense is precisely the *modus operandi* of the media: the tendency to include in the "stories about

the quarter" sites external to it, which are contiguous geographically and, perhaps especially, cognitively. It should also be noted that this event has attracted the attention of the national media, moving beyond the spaces of local journalism. In this sense, the example in question is linked to many small examples that respondents have identified, all national (the immigrant landings, for example), although they were invited to discuss the situation in their quarter. This leads us to hypothesise that the media have an influence on local perceptions (the repetition of the invasion frame is one example) and that this influence is not limited to the image of their quarter of residence, nor to that of its city, but rather functions as a provider of emotional images and frames. It would be up to the "media public" to translate these national stimuli into discourses which are also valid locally. We have supposed that it occurs especially when the quarter does not produce its own narratives, as it happens in *Barriera di Milano*, leaving the ground to local and national media's narratives on the quarter.

There seems to exist a polarisation of opinion in *Barriera di Milano* between those who believe that the media only show the worst aspects and provide a distorted "negative" image of the quarter and those who argue the opposite, expressing the fear that the media do not go far enough, silencing the discontent. In the first case, criticism is directed at journalists' need to sensationalise in order to satisfy the typical reader, and the free press and "Chronicle of Turin" are their sights; in the latter case, criticism is directed at the combination of media and (local) politics. According to this reading, the media (and here we are talking primarily about *La Stampa*) would obey the request of their directors to silence problems for electoral convenience.

2.3.2. San Paolo Cenisia

The majority of respondents said that the suburb of San Paolo had little media coverage because, being a quiet quarter with few problems, not many news events occurred. It is a generally accepted fact that the media focus solely on crime, criminality and other situations of conflict which rarely involve the quarter residents. Thus there is a general perception of benign neglect, which is broken only by the memory of the event of refugees from Africa in the "former San Paolo clinic". On this matter citizens of San Paolo seem to support the thesis that the media had "forced their hands", without, however, influencing the residents' vision.

In several interviews there is a close relationship between the residents of San Paolo and the media. Journalism is seen as an accessible institution, or as a tool to raise awareness and reach those who have decision-making power. An example is when the free internet hotspot was in danger of closing due to lack of public funds. An interviewee said: "When we heard about the lack of funds we contacted a journalist from *La Stampa* who wrote some articles about it. We wanted to raise awareness and draw attention of the politicians to the project of the free internet hotspot and we succeeded probably with the assistance of the media" (T-SP-I-22—student—26 years old). This interview excerpt recalls, in contrast, interviews with residents of *Barriera di Milano*, speaking of the media with suspicion, suggesting a wide distance between journalism and civil society. In that quarter a couple of respondents (a priest and a police officer) explicitly stated that one must be very careful when journalists ask for an interview, because the risk of exploitation is great.

Therefore, local cohesive communities, as it happens in Borgo San Paolo, seem to be able to influence and use local media to convey their own images of the quarter and pursue their goals.

3. Quarters as contexts of intergroup relations: representations and interactions

This chapter will present the findings of ethnographic research done in the two selected Turin quarters.

In the two quarters, we observed various uses of public and private spaces. There are spaces where public interactions are dominant, such as public parks, market squares, shops. There are spaces where private interactions are dominant, such as the interiors of apartment buildings, and spaces with frequent “parochial” interactions, like cultural centres or association headquarters. The latter may be defined as “zones of encounter” (Wood and Landry 2007), where deeper and more enduring interactions between people engaged in shared activities and common goals can occur.

In this project study we have chosen a definition of space that refers not only to physical structures, but also to the ways implemented by residents to make places their own. In the eyes of their inhabitants, the space gets a double meaning. It has an impact on people’s behaviour if it makes easy their encounter. At the same time, the control of space is an important material and symbolic asset that may generate conflicts and collective mobilization of various intensity. In our research study we have considered both these two meanings of space as relevant.

Each interaction milieu was studied within a thick net of relationships and interdependences. A flat is a location inside a condominium, the condominium belongs to a quarter and that belongs to a city and so on (Leeds 1968).

Like in the other cities investigated in the project, the research study was conducted through qualitative interviews (see Annexes 1 and 2) and participatory observations done in selected areas of the two quarters. Key informants were interviewed on a first stage of research. Such informants were selected on the basis of their specific knowledge about the history of the quarters and of their social dynamics: teachers, policemen, elected members of local associations, public administrators. Such interviews have given us the information needed to focus on the most relevant aspects of intergroup relationships between natives and immigrants, and to select the interaction places where to conduct the participatory observation and where to carry out the detailed interviews.⁸ The interviewed individuals’ sample was drawn taking into account their gender, nationality, age and role played in the quarter, making a distinction between those who live in the quarter and those who work in it.

Participatory observation was carried out in different moments of the day and in different days of the week in order to detect the various uses of spaces.

The interviewers took part to public gatherings, such as the quarter feast days, religious processions, concerts, and opening ceremonies of business activities.

⁸ One hundred and two (102) qualitative interviews were done to individuals that are present for working or living reasons in the two quarters (56 in Barriera di Milano and 46 in San Paolo), in addition to the 29 interviews to key informants (11 in Barriera di Milano and 18 in San Paolo) and to several occasional conversations.

3.1. Barriera di Milano

3.1.1. Intergroup representations

The groups observed in the quarter are not rigid entities that exist and reproduce themselves in time, rather they are the product of continuous reproduction of symbolic and material borders that change in relation to specific context (Barth, 2000; Lamont e Molnar, 2002; Wimmer, 2008; Brubaker, 2009).

The most important aspects defining such symbolic borders between natives and immigrants are: nation of origin, area of origin, time length of residence in the quarter, age.

Although the native residents in Barriera di Milano are from various regions of origin, when they talk about the immigrants, they tend to hide their past history of migration.

Arrived in Torino in the post- 2nd world war period, many accentuate their cultural and social contribution to the city and declare to have become part of a collective identity, the quarter inhabitants, that are now threatened by the new immigrants. Often, the most negative accounts on the immigrant are those of elderly people from Southern Italy: the difficulties encountered in the past process of integration do not help them understand the situation of new immigrants in present time.

When talking about immigrants, the native residents use two metaphors:

- invasion of the territory from “outside”, from other quarters with higher percentages of migrants;
- invasion from “inside” , because, they say, immigrants are more prolific and so this creates a demographic unbalance.

The immigrants are often depicted as an obstacle in accessing the welfare and public services. In addition the immigrants are stigmatized as those who do not abide by the rules in their daily lives: order, neatness, respect to night hours silence, traffic laws. But, in reporting law breaking, the most recurrent topic in the native inhabitants accounts is the link between immigrants and crime, especially small thieves, pick pocketing, drug pushing. Drug pushing is the episode that gives a representation of urban decay and a feeling of neglect among the inhabitants that will concentrate their resentment against the immigrants being more discernible and easily identifiable. As a matter of fact the pushing work is done by young immigrants, in particular from Africa, while the criminal nets are under the control of native power groups.

The natives subdivide the immigrants into several groups according to ethnic origin, and to each group they attach specific attributes on the basis of which they define higher or lower degree of integration into the quarter.

Individuals from Morocco, notwithstanding their much older presence in the quarter, are blamed for being a totally closed and impermeable community, reluctant to create relationships and cooperation with other residents. Islam is one aspect that troubles and is seen as threatening by the majorities, although no religious aggregation place is present so far in the quarter. Moreover the interviewed natives underline the fact that people from Morocco have difficulties in integrating themselves because of they way they conceive gender differences. Natives often make confusion

when they assign people to various categories: religious identity (being a Muslim) is used interchangeably with the national belonging (being a Moroccan) and language (Arab speaking). Nigerians are described as particularly aggressive and less attentive to respect common living rules. Negativity toward this group is related to their visibility in public spaces (many women are street prostitutes) and to the scarcity of interaction opportunities. Nigerian residents are mainly young singles ; there are few families and few Nigerian kids go to school with natives. Little is known and told of the Chinese immigrants: wide spread is the perception that they live in separate worlds, impenetrable both from the cultural and social point of view. The small shop owners are the most concerned of the presence of Chinese immigrants and they tend to accuse their silent infiltration and often they blame them for the present economic crisis (FIERI e Camera di Commercio di Torino 2011). There are other immigrant groups that natives characterize in a less hostile manner. Immigrants from Senegal, for example, are considered as quieter, open to interactions and deferent. More intercultural relationships exist with Senegalese immigrants because of their involvement with street retailing activities. Moreover there are mixed marriages of Senegalese men with native women contrary to other African immigrants that show a higher degree of endogamy.

A variety of descriptions are given of Romanian immigrants, the largest foreigner community in *Barriera di Milano*. Their similarity in cultural terms with the majority group is often underlined. However they are also charged of aggressive behaviour and of superior manners. Often these characteristics are appealed to because of a perception, present among many natives, of being socially and economically bypassed. Many Romanians have rapidly and successfully included themselves into the local economy, reaching high consumption levels, often higher than those enjoyed by natives.

The differences among the groups are portrayed not only on the basis of ethnic origin, but they are also linked to the residency time length in the quarter. The first immigrants arrived in the quarter are the most accepted. It is told that they are best adjusted to a specific model of social order, an urban way of life based on control, decency and work ethics, as pointed out by Wimmer in his research on two Swiss neighbourhood (Wimmer 2004). The latest arrivals, instead, are told to be very distant from this social order model and so they are perceived as people that cannot be integrated. So the Moroccans arrived at the end of the nineteen seventies are depicted as honest and hard working people, meanwhile the young recently arrived Moroccans are depicted as menacing, lacking in moral rules and unscrupulous.

In *Barriera di Milano* the most negative accounts with respect to foreign immigrants can be found among those natives with lower cultural endowments and in more precarious social conditions. This fact positively seems to confirm the hypothesis that the minor levels of prejudice found in the richer classes is due to the occurrence that they have less opportunities of running into/confronting with people of lower social conditions , in particular with immigrants (Braun, Koopmans, 2010).

The opinion of immigrants is very much different from that of the majority group. The moving into the quarter for many immigrants is described as a natural answer to the expulsion from other city areas due to the process of on going gentrification. Moreover *Barriera di Milano* is also seen by many immigrants as a quarter where they have chosen to come in: it is a place where you can root yourself, where you can have a good services supply and where you have the possibility of meeting with individuals to whom you can speak your native language and of keeping your own habits. The

immigrants speak with the most animosity of the elderly people, who are depicted as very conservative, little available to an exchange of ideas and frightened by cultural diversity.

Even the immigrants classify themselves according to ethnic basis. They show that they have absorbed the dominant narratives present among the natives. The symbolic distancing from other ethnic groups often happens for underlining the closeness with the majority group. For example, East European immigrants often emphasize their cultural closeness to the natives and make racist narratives with respect to other immigrants, mainly with respect to North Africans. They highlight the cultural inferiority of Moroccans and see it as an obstacle to living together. At the same time many Moroccans criticize the privileged legal and social status of Romanians, European citizens, meanwhile they are discriminated, in particular because of religion, even though they have arrived a long time before. Even the immigrants classify themselves according to the period of arrival in the quarter. The first comers depict themselves as more open to interactions and less problematical: they differentiate themselves from the last comers, to whom they attribute behaviours more dissimilar to the established social order. A meaningful example is found in the Senegalese community: the first comers emphasize the work ethic and the rigid compliance with religious norms of the Mouride Brotherhood, whom all they belong to (Castagnone *et al.*, 2005) and they highlight the fact that such norms have been abandoned by the young countrymen, who, in some cases, are involved in drugs pushing.

Generational dimension is important in the definition of belonging. This does not apply only to distinguish natives from immigrants but also from other natives. In Barriera di Milano several elderly residents lament the communication difficulties with the new generations even for what is related to the transfer of empirical know how and skills that once were one of the quarter assets.

3.1.2. Intergroup interactions

Interactions site 1. The public gardens

The public gardens are a very much used resource by the inhabitants; but being a scarce resource it is a place where conflicts develop.

Public gardens have been, in the city history, essential spaces for creating social cohesion, because accessible to all inhabitants and open to the most diverse uses. Essential requirement for keeping such a role is a spaces management able to mediate the inevitable conflicts among the various users and to maintain the cultural and social diversity (Low, Taplin and Scheld, 2005). The space of public gardens becomes stake of conflicts between different users who have different needs.

Ethnographic observations have been carried out in the two available structured public gardens: one, named Peppino Impastato, is located in the northern part of the quarter and the other, the Montanaro public garden, is a much smaller park located at the edge of a very busy street that cuts the quarter from north to south.

Public gardens users have changed in the last few years. Quarter's inhabitants from all social classes used to go the park in the past and also there were a higher and popular use of public spaces. Nowadays you find in the parks only those inhabitants that cannot move outside of the quarter for

recreational purposes for lack of time, mobility and/or economic resources. They are elderly people who do not own a car or cannot autonomously drive far from the quarter. Or immigrant mothers with young children, who live in small flats without courtyards and for whom going to the park is the only leisure opportunity. The elderly people usually go to the park in the morning or in the afternoon until sunset. It is a daily ritual, an important socializing practice with people of the same age being the only alternative to stay alone at home. However these elderly persons show a discomfort and often their disorientation unfavourably compares with a striking self-confidence of the immigrants. Mostly such a discomfort didn't develop into open conflicts; rather there is a pacific coexistence.

Mothers with children move in the park mainly in the afternoon. Most of these women are immigrants, largely Moroccans and Rumanians; there are also a few native mothers. They usually are seated on their own, or with a friend. Foreign women move in groups of 5 or 6 and they chat excitedly whilst the children play. Young people appear in the late afternoon. There are mixed groups of teenagers, natives and immigrants; also appear mono ethnic groups such as those of Rumanians or Peruvians.

Problems over which they have major conflicts are those related to the use of spaces, mostly in the Montanaro, the smallest park. The elderly people always ascribe rubbish and filth to uncivil behaviour of immigrants. Mostly rubbish is made of food leftovers or food paper packaging. Few trashcans are available in comparison to the quantity of litter. Also the old persons blame immigrants for the habit of urinating at the edges of the park. A social worker ascribes this phenomenon to a nonattendance of the public administrators in supply answer to a legitimate need:

“ Here we used to have a building where there were toilets open to the park users, but now it is closed. They were afraid of opening a new public toilet because of drug addicts using it for doping themselves. However if you do not make available a toilet, people do not know where to go for urinating, especially children. So the natives are irritated by the fact that immigrants allows kids to urinate on the street...” (T-BM-I-38- social worker- 35 years old).

Another aspect that generates ill feelings and rivalry among the park users is the access of the children to the playground. Most often the native and immigrant mothers do not talk to each other but they come in contact only when they need to solve conflicts among their children. A native mother complained about Moroccan mothers for not censuring their children leaving them to take over in the use of the swing. The young children however, contrary to their quarrelling mothers, do not pay any attention to the differences among themselves and keep enjoying their common games.

A third aspect that creates some social distress is the presence of groups that takes over parts of the park for their exclusive use. There is also a turnover in exclusive use of certain parts of the park: for example an area dedicated to table tennis used to be an encounter place exclusively for young natives; in sequence was taken over by the Moroccans and finally by a Romanian group. Among young teenagers there are information exchanges as well as the development of small informal businesses. Some residents have asked for police checking on charges of illegal drug dealings, even though the Romanian youngsters there were not carrying out any illegal activity.

Drug pushing is one the most considered problem in the parks. Immigrants are always blamed for it. Drug pushing has been the motivating issue for the mobilization and the organization of self-defence activities. Some pensioners have formed a civic committee and, almost each night, take to

the street and stroll in small groups with the objective of intimidating the pushers, yelling to them and threatening to call in the police. These elderly men belong to different social classes - they have worked as managers, union organizers, plumbers – and also they profess different political loyalties. The committee members blame the other inhabitants for having deserted the territory, by acquiescence. They censure the other elderly individuals for doing anything else than complaining or shutting themselves at home. They also criticize the young natives :

“ The young also don't take part to the committee work, because they have different ideas , they have only the desires to go and entertain themselves. We are all elderly people! Now the young persons either stay at home, either they get drunk and do not participate” (T-BM-I-32-resident- 64 years old).

It is evident a huge generational cleavage: the elderly individuals assert themselves as deeply rooted in the quarter, to the point of taking to the street for defending the territory; they charge their sons and grandchildren to be totally passive and unconcerned.

Notwithstanding such a conflict situation in the parks you can also find examples of limited cooperation which makes individuals with different age and national origin to get closer. But mostly such a cooperation or friendship relations are limited to individual basis. The immigrant presence has been the opportunity for some elderly native men to meet women and, in some cases, to develop sentimental ties. A sixty years old pensioner, a frequent park user, has met in the park his present companion, a fifty year old Moldavian lady that works as housecleaner in the area..

Conflicts are solved easier if there are around social actors for brokerage. In the Montanaro park there is a cooperative giving employment to mentally ill persons: gardening, park cleaning, children animation. Mothers, native and foreigner, entrust them the task of overseeing their children while they play. Even the elderly persons have taken this group as a reference for problems arising in the park use. Regularly people go to these tutors even only to talk about their personal daily problems, family difficulties, misunderstanding with neighbours.

The neutral position of this group, being outside of established social borders, makes it a very useful tool for conflict resolution.

Interaction site 2. Foroni Square and the market.

Foroni Square is located not far from Montanaro park, in the hearth of the oldest area of *Barriera di Milano*. This square is particularly interesting for studying the inter group relationships because, in different hours of the day and of the week, it attracts users with very different characteristics: market operators and buyers in the morning, parents and students of the local school in the afternoon and inhabitants of the nearby buildings. Three coffee bars and several food shops are located in buildings facing the square: many of them are owned and managed by Southern natives, such as a shop of typical Apulian products, a sign of the past immigration wave from Southern Italy.

The open air market is important in defining the identity of the square and of their regular users. It is a traditional open air market with stands for food, wear, accessories and house wares. The stands that have a fixed location often belong to native of southern origin; they have been inherited from fathers to sons. The flats in the buildings surrounding the square have been inhabited, little by little

from 1950's, by families coming from Apulia, Calabria and Sicily. The immigration history common to the native market operators and the family ties that most often link them, have created a strong sense of belonging to this place. In many occasions, such a situation has facilitated the participation to joint activities in defence and promotion of the open air market. This small community with a strong and solid identity, created over many years has played an important role in mediating conflicts and in facilitating the cooperation among the various social actors in the square (residents, market customers...). The local market operators' association plays a similar role to that played by the members of the cooperative in the Montanaro park .

This small community are now facing the increasing presence of immigrant commercial operators. Everybody are aware that this new presence is slowly changing the market characteristics.

Immigrant operators in the food sector are still a minority although their presence is much higher in the garments and house ware sectors, where they represent about one third of the total. The foreign operators are sometimes charged of unfair competition because they are assumed of not paying taxes: a fact that would allow them to lower their selling prices. Another accusation is that the foreign operators are supplying lower quality commodities downgrading the market to lower standards. The operators without a fixed location stands are the most blamed and also those that have appeared most recently, such as the Chinese with their garments stands are the most stigmatized. The Moroccans, earlier immigrants, who are operating food stalls are described as well integrated with the native operators. Usually they have achieved to own a stall after having played inferior roles, such as loaders and manual assistant to native operators.

Immigrant stand owners, operating by many years, describe the Foroni square market as a place where everybody knows each other, like the hearth of a small village, without those characteristics of confusion of other larger markets such as that nearby of Porta Palazzo.

There are some animosities between native and foreigner operators of foreign origin but they have not ever exploded in open conflict. More often conflicts are overcome through the use of jokes and of scoffing each other. There is even cooperation between immigrant and native operators especially among those with a fixed stand of the fresh produce, in the market for many years.

In cases one doesn't have the requested good, the customer is addressed to the stand close by; if the nearby operator needs to be away for a short period, the next to him operator would watch the stand for him; even they would cooperate in dismantling the stand in case of need.

Customers of Foroni square market are made of elderly male, natives and immigrant women during week days, on Saturday even by young males. Coming to the market is an important socializing modality for elderly people. Foroni square market means continuity with the past, an important attachment to the territory. Foroni square market is more reassuring than other larger markets such that of Porta Palazzo, precisely because of the mutual acquaintance between sellers and buyers , due to a lower turnover of the operators. A thick net of social relationships has been built around the market, involving both native and residents of foreign origin. For example Maria is a fifty years old Peruvian who lives in a small flat in a building surrounding the square. Coming frequently to the market, she has developed a close friendship with an elderly seller of pyjamas. She has taken native language lessons from him; she repays by helping him in loading and unloading of the goods whenever needed.

The market is an important opportunity for meeting other people, coming to know them, developing social networks that are beyond the ethnic belonging.

During the afternoon hours when the market is over, life in the square radically changes with minor presence of people; in the evening the square is almost desert.

In the last few years there have been some specific activities directed to promote a use of the square even in the evening times for inclusion of inhabitants of different ethnic origin and different ages. An interesting example is the summer open-air screening of movies in their original language. This activity was successful in bringing to the square very diverse people: elderly natives and a many immigrants.

Froni square may be defined an isle in the quarter. A number of factors, among which the urban layout, the presence of the market and the very active group of market operators, a strong communal and cooperative spirit that is specific to a number of native residents, has made so that in it interethnic cooperation prevails over conflicts. Notwithstanding the square hasn't received as yet any renovation neither the Municipal authorities have promoted major investment in it. However there is an on-going Municipal urban and social development project for the quarter that regard the square as a focal point (par. 1.1).

Interaction site 3. The houses of the quarter

The interiors of buildings are the most interesting spaces where to observe the intergroup relationships. A first aspect, which is common even in other situations, is the limited amount of information that neighbours have of each other because the relationships are restricted to sporadic encounters on landings or in common spaces. This applies not only to the relationships among majorities and minorities but also among the majorities. If you add ignorance about cultural differences to the lack of personal knowledge, social imaginaries on the "different" become strong, supported by false representations and clichés.

Information on your neighbour are less in those living accommodations where there is higher mobility, very common in *Barriera di Milano*. There are buildings where there is a high turnover of tenants that prevents the more permanent residents to develop some form of acquaintance with them. It is a situation of "transition flats" where new young immigrants stay together and share the cost waiting to improve their economic situation and to move elsewhere. There are many of such buildings in *Brandizzo street*, where we have carried out our ethnographic observation. If people stay in a given area only for short periods they do not have enough opportunities for knowing the territory and they don't make material neither relational investments. The absence of intergroup lasting relationships is the final result.

The move to unshared flats, individually managed, gives evidence to the desire for privacy common to both natives and immigrants. Both for natives and immigrants the apartment is the shelter where to take refuge from the chaos and insecurity of the outside world. Many collective ceremonies that used to be performed outside, such as watching the football game in a bar, have become individual entertainment inside home.

Conflicts often deflagrate in relation to the use and management of common spaces. Frequently,

foreigner inhabitants are blamed for not abiding to the rules related to time and forms of using courtyards and stairways and for not taking responsibilities on stairways cleaning. Even the children plays are often the reason for conflicts among the inhabitants; usually the immigrants children are blamed.

The internal courtyard use is often a reason for disputes, especially when there are craftsman shops. Such a situation was very common in *Barriera di Milano* in the past since small craftsman shops were located in the ground floor of the buildings, such as an automobile repair shop or a carpentry. Nowadays you can still find few of such a situation but often they are run by immigrants. Conflicts of this nature are not limited to majorities vs. minorities. In the course of our research, for example, we witnessed a furious row between two native residents on the question of keeping shut or open the entrance gate to the courtyard. The owner of a local tool shop used to leave open the gate for facilitating the loading and unloading of commodities. The other resident was claiming that the condominium rules were stating to always keep shut the gate.

The greatest conflicts are always present in lower quality buildings where flats are smaller and where the dividing walls are thinner. Analysing data obtained from the local policeman station, we have found that the majority of reports to the station were related to “condominium conflicts” and usually from those apartment buildings with lower construction standards. The chief of the local police station so comments:

“ A great deal of reports of obnoxious noises come from buildings of years 1950-'60-'70ies where the walls are paper thin and so you can hear every noise made by the neighbours. The problem arises even in those cases where the noise comes from late coming home due to labour night shifts. Over 1.000 reports received in 2010, city at large, 750 reports are of obnoxious noises” (T-BM-KI-7-policemen – 50 years old)

The most serious conflicts deflagrate where there aren't third subjects with conciliation roles. Quarrels on communal spaces cleaning arise where there are not either a building caretaker or a cleaning firm.

The immigrants with larger families and more exposed to the economic crisis are often the first to be in difficulty in paying the condominium expenses. Serious conflicts have been experienced whenever neighbours are families with large differences in age or in socio-economic conditions. This problem arises mainly where there are elderly people living alone close to young immigrants groups sharing the same flat.

Notwithstanding strains and conflicts are recurrent in the buildings, there are cooperative situations among neighbours belonging to different ethnic origins. This happens when the children are of the same age and go to the same school. In one of the buildings we found that Moldavian and Italian parents frequently associate, they entrust their children to one another and they visit regularly in their flats. For the native mother:

“It is normal to help one another. Here in the building the other families with children are all foreigner. We all work outside, and if one mother happens to be at home, it comes natural that she is entrusted to watch over even to other families kids.... I don't share anything with the forty years old man who lives alone in the second floor”

Such cooperative attitudes are found when people have something in common: same gender, same

stage in the life course.

Interaction site 4. The public baths

The public baths of Aglié street, the fourth interaction site, is a micro public site where friendship relations, more or less intense, develop.

The site is peopled by individuals with very different age and cultural and social backgrounds; in this place diversity is not a source of conflicts but produces innovative and positive experiences for the quarter. In this site there are codified rules for using it, because people go there for doing activities together; in this site there are ties that cut across consolidated social boundaries.

This brick wall building was put up by the Turin Municipality in 1950 to supply the residents with a shower service. Following the construction of new public housing building in Barriera di Milano and the renewal of old flats, the public baths have been gradually deserted and finally closed at the end of 1980s. The Municipality open again the public baths in 2004 handing over the management to a social cooperative. Many young immigrants, chiefly Moroccans, resident in the older flat of the quarters are using the public baths. Initially the public representation of the baths is one of social deviance, to the point that the residents complain at the reopening news. However as the word of the offered services spreads around, immigrant mothers with their children and even elderly residents start to use the baths. Such heterogeneity of users has contributed to improve the baths image. Immigrant users are chiefly gypsies, people from Maghreb and Senegal. Some users, such as the young men from Senegal, go to the baths for the ritual cleaning, before going to the Mosque for praying: they enter the baths with their work clothes and they exit wearing the long religious gown.

The use of the public baths is not tied to economic or social precarious situations. However bath attendance may become the opportunity, for those experiencing difficult times, to approach other individuals belonging to stronger social nets. Baths management personnel listen to the users and give useful contacts for job hunters. Native users are chiefly elderly residents that cannot make use of their house services for a number of reasons: lost mobility that make impossible the use of traditional bathtubs, or extreme poverty.

Since baths users presented additional needs, new services have been added such as a laundry and a tailor shop. In spring 2011 a Senegalese tailor (Ma.) has opened the shop in a room facing the entrance: Ma. mends gowns and pants but he also under order creates new original dresses. Ma. is supplying an answer to a need that is present in the quarter to which the few elderly tailors cannot give answer any more.

In the first floor a service for job seeking people has been open and in the 2nd floor there are exhibitions spaces and the headquarters for various associations either of immigrants or mixed, natives and immigrants.

Such new places are a resource for the quarter particularly deprived of civic associations. As a matter of fact a particular social group has been attracted: highly educated young persons coming from affluent families from other city areas. These are persons on their twenties or thirties who usually socialize in the centre of town, where the University and other cultural organizations are located. This generation would have the potential resources and capacity to invest in the quarter.

In the public baths there are activities aiming to recompose the intergenerational fracture. Some

elderly residents are participating to the planned activities and recreational performance. There are young rappers meeting in the second floor. They are about thirty person, first and second-generation young immigrants who had met in the squares and in the public gardens of the quarter. They come from different social milieus and are bound by a common craze for music; some are working, others are studying, some live alone and others are still living with their families. In the baths they have access to free of charge rooms for rehearsing. The responsibility of the rehearsal rooms has been given to some of these young men thanks to the good relationships developed with the public baths managers.

In such a way a group of young men, usually judged as particularly do-nothings and aggressive, has achieved a better status among the residents, decreasing distances. Friendships have developed and cooperative activities have been carried out where elderly people and young immigrants have joined for organizing communal events, such as the annual quarter street feast.

3.2. Borgo San Paolo

3.2.1. Intergroup representations

Borgo San Paolo has handled better than *Barriera Milano* the various waves of immigration; as a result the residents relate a much less conflictive environment.

The majority of the key informants state that immigration has never been the source a major problems. Such a rhetoric of reception and opening towards new arrivals is pointed up as a continuity with a working class past where strong solidarity was real.

However in Borgo San Paolo there are social groups that are tetchier to the changes brought by new immigrants. Shopkeepers and elderly persons are the most concerned by the new waves of immigrants. A feeling of insecurity and the risk of higher competition in economic activities are the major aspects underlined in the narrations. The feeling of insecurity expressed by the elderly residents comes from a perception of a limited number of law enforcing agents and an unsatisfactory severity in pursuing the offenders. Those issues, hence, go beyond the specific aspects of immigration and interethnic relations. As a matter of fact elderly people show a feeling of suffering injustice and the worry for not being adequately protected by the State laws more than fear of foreign immigrants.

Majority groups classify minorities according to their ethnic and national origin, the same categories applied in *Barriera di Milano*. The Moroccans are the group on which there are more accounts. Contrary to what is told in *Barriera di Milano*, there the residents say that the Moroccans earlier arrived were more inclined to law offence. Meanwhile the new arrivals are considered to be individuals that look for legalizing their situation and to include themselves in the hosting community through legal networks. However, like in *Barriera di Milano*, the Moroccans are seen as the group of immigrants less interested in inclusion processes and more reluctant to adopt culture and lifestyles of the hosting country.

Accounts about the Rumanians community often underline their positive characteristics: hard workers, honest and deferential to family values. However it has to be mentioned that, even in the

less conflicting environment of Borgo San Paolo, an increase of distrust of this group has been recorded in the most recent years, chiefly because it is felt as a real threat to natives in the labour market, like in Barriera di Milano.

The residents in Borgo San Paolo have been able to elaborate accounts on immigrants that show them as less conflict prone group even when ordinary relationships have been modified by unusual events, such as the squatting of a 300 group of political refugees from the Horn of Africa into an abandoned hospital (ch. 2).

The neighbours reacted very well to such an event, according a public officer:

“ the standpoint was neither inclusive neither exclusive but highly balanced and intelligent. In essence the Borgo San Paolo residents have helped and supported the squatters according to their possibilities waiting for public institutions to find a proper solution “ (T-SP-KI-2- public officer- 40 years old).

Even the interviewed immigrants depict interethnic relationships as normally good or, at least, little conflictive, although such accounts tend to differ according to the site where they are made, to the age, to social and cultural origin, and to the migratory experience of each of the interviewed person. Several immigrants have declared that Borgo San Paolo is the chosen quarter where to definitely root by buying a house, chiefly because of the weaved good relationships with majority population.

The most serious conflict prone situations have been recorded inside the apartment buildings. Close living in places charged by emotional ties, such as your own house, more easily can generate conflicts. Both the natives and the immigrants have given accounts of an increase of conflict relations in living and private spaces. In such spaces the differences in customs, traditions and life styles become more noticeable, with respect to public spaces, been those a market, a square, a public garden or a street. However conflicts in the apartment buildings have not been as serious as those observed in Barriera di Milano.

A separate account shall be done of the Peruvian community on which detailed but contradicting representations have been given. In San Paolo, the highest concentration of Peruvian immigrants in Turin can be found (par. 1.2). Such a situation has been facilitated by the presence of the Peruvian Consulate, a number of catholic religious institutes, the cultural centre Mi Peru which have helped in assisting the new comers both for first period reception and in finding housing and work. It is to be noted that Borgo San Paolo presents a high concentration of elderly residents who has contributed to generate care work to Peruvian women. The Peruvian immigrants for a long time have been made almost exclusively by women, establishing an image of an a-problematic community. In the last few years the immigrants composition has been changing because of the arrival of husbands and sons, transforming the public image of the group. Men have more difficulties in getting stable jobs, so remaining financially dependent from their wives. What is missing is a family enlarged network capable to absorb tensions by cushioning potential conflicts. Grandmothers and aunts rarely join in to help in children rearing, in housework and in facing difficulties. Peruvian teenagers, left behind by their mothers in Peru, when arrive in Turin are seen as closed group, arrogant and not available to mix with others of their age. Peruvian teenagers also lament their isolation and solitude “we only intermingle with Peruvian teenagers; with Italians we have relationship only in school”.

Unstructured gathering of these young persons in public spaces have been perceived as a menace to

the quarter's tranquillity. Such informal groups have been accused of drugs use, intergroup fights, creating in the collective imagination and in the press the fear of the so called "baby gangs" but in point of fact " those informal young groups of individuals are not baby, and often neither gangs" (Queirolo Palmas, 2010, p.21).

Public Institutions have answered to this social alarm by involving in discussion group Peruvian associations, the consulate, schools, religious institutions, obtaining to substantially reduce tensions.

3.2.2. Intergroup interactions

Interaction site 1. The Racconigi street market

Racconigi open air market is the second in size in Turin, second only to that of Porta Palazzo. It is the longest market in Europe reaching on Saturday almost 2 Km and having 377 stands. The market is divided into 4 well organized sectors for different type of sellers: sellers with fixed stands, sellers for stands to be occupied only if vacant, sellers called "battitori" who can put their stand alternatively every other week, and farmers.

Among the sellers, like in Foroni square, there are many southerners who are selling typical products from South Italy.

The number of immigrant sellers (Chinese, Moroccans, Romanians, Albanians) has greatly increased in the last 10 years: they chiefly rent their stand although more recently there have been immigrants buying the stands. Foreign sellers presently are 41%. Moroccans are the larger component among them. Chinese immigrants are also present in large numbers specializing in garments.

Customers are of different type: natives, chiefly workers and pensioners, and immigrants, mainly women from Maghreb, Peruvians, Romanians and Albanians.

Small retail trade is in the middle of an economic crisis that, according to the interviewed local market sellers, is originated by the competition from the increasing openings of shopping centres which modify customers habits. The relationships between native and foreign sellers are basically polite and friendly even if many natives maintain that the foreign sellers competition deteriorate their selling capacity. Some native vendors, indeed, maintain that the immigrant vendors are selling low quality products worsening the overall image of the market. Others maintain that the selling of stand licenses made by the old vendors to immigrants creates an unfair competition because the immigrants often don't pay taxes.

However many native market customers underline that the presence of immigrant vendors have improved the supply quality.

"The traditions from Maghreb, very careful in decorating the stand and in the products layout, have been influential in the product exhibition of all the market vendors making it more orderly and pleasant. In short the market is prettier than in earlier times" (T-SP-I-7-lady police agent – 40 years old).

Next to the open air market of Racconigi street, you find an underground covered market. Such a market, initiated in 1930ies, was re-erected underground after a devastating fire had destroyed in 1989. The two markets in Racconigi street complement each other because, as one key informant

says:

“ in the covered market you find high-status and very high quality products stands, meanwhile in the open air market lower prices products are sold. The covered market lifts up the product quality level of all the area” (T-SP-KI-2- public elected officer- 40 years old).

The covered market contains almost forty food stands, chiefly specialized in selling meat and cheese. The vendors majority is made up by natives but there are 8 stands managed by Romanians (butcher shops and delicatessens). Romanians have a special gastronomic tradition in smoked meats that are very much appreciated by the customers. A community atmosphere and limited competition among stands are a characteristic of this market. A stand owner asserts:

“ Here we act as in a large family and the newly arrived Romanians are perfectly integrated with us” (T-SP-3- butcher shop owner- 55 years old).

The economic crisis has caused a large sales decline, according to the vendors; however the explanation you can hear among the vendors about the causes of such a decline differ between the two markets. In the open air market often the vendors list, among the various causes of the crisis, the immigrant vendors and their practices of unlawful and unfair competition, in the covered market no one of the interviewed stand owner would name the presence of immigrants as a cause of the declining sales. The less competitive and cooperative atmosphere among native and immigrant vendors is generated by two facts: a high value specialized meat market and vendors with permanent stands.

The site of Racconigi open air market is not only a place for economic relations but also a encounter and aggregation space thanks to the benches located on the side all along the avenue. The pensioners, in the morning, the family mothers in the afternoons and the teenagers in the evenings use this place as a reference and meeting point in the quarter.

The open-air market is so a place for political debates and social exchanges, particularly used by the local associations. Various political parties have set up stalls during the electoral campaign for the city council. The cultural association “Pinkopallo” puts up on Saturdays in such a site an information stand for claiming a free internet point. There you can find a stand of the “Bibliomigra” association that loans books in native languages and a small bicycle repair shop “Ciclo Officina” that beside repairing bikes, intends to sensitize public awareness of cycling in town.

Therefore, the market is so a site where cultural and political exchange takes place besides being a encounter, aggregating and socializing area for the quarter residents.

Differences between trends registered in Racconigi street and Foroni square markets have been observed. The social life main actors in Foroni square are the native vendors who have managed to include also the longer time immigrant vendors. The same vendor community promotes cultural and sport events for other residents. There are very few associations operating in Foroni square, indicating a poorer social fabric in the Barriera di Milano quarter. On the contrary, encounters and socializing events Racconigi street quarter develop autonomously from the commercial operators. Such socializing processes have been facilitated by a careful rehabilitation of the market area and street furniture, such as the benches setting up.

Interaction site 2. Pedestrian area of Di Nanni Street.

The pedestrian area of di Nanni street, known as the historical centre of the quarter, include the space between San Bernardino church and Sabotino Square. There are many old and degraded apartment buildings with external entrance balconies; this is the area where higher concentrations of immigrants are found (par. 12.). When requested, shop owners and elderly people indicate this area as the most dangerous and degraded in the quarter; they also blame the urban degradation on the increased number of foreign residents.

“In the last five years there have been many changes in the area, nowadays is very much down rotten. Shops close shortly after opening, meanwhile people move out for want of safety feelings and that social order of which we used to be proud. The streets near by to the market of di Nanni street are the worst one in the Borgo San Paolo quarter; always you can find groups of immigrants who are drinking, drug peddling, litter and fight.” (T-SP-KI- 17- shop owner –45 years old).

These accounts are somewhat exemptions to the more frequents accounts in Borgo San Paolo quarter. The large majority of the interviewed persons maintain that the large number of immigrant residents make them “visible” and it is obvious the fact they populate the streets and they daily use those spaces.

“In the apartment building with the open air entrance balconies facing very narrow streets there are many immigrant residents. There you can find ethnic shops such as halal butcher shops, south American delicatessen, a Greek restaurant owned and managed by an Albanian family, Arabian phone centres... those are the places where they have their home, do the shopping, they encounter each other and they entertain themselves “ (T-SP-I-9- market vendor- 35 years old).

The uneasiness of the natives is not caused by any particular criminal activity, such as drug pushing in *Barriera di Milano*, but rather by the immigrants behaviour in public spaces. Often Moroccans and Rumanian men groups meet in the bar “dehors” making noises and nuisances:

“ The most recurrent reports to the local police come exactly from that area. Elderly people usually call out of irritation because in summer nights it is difficult to sleep. However the situation, frequently monitored, is not particularly worrying: you cannot speak of social emergency but rather of shouts and breach of the peace “ (T-SP-KI-10- local policeman- 55 years old).

In the area, beside the numerous halal butcheries and ethnic delicatessen (from Maghreb and Peruvians) there is a small open air market, recently restored, operating every mornings during weekdays and all day on Saturday. This market offers less competitive prices than the one in *Racconigi street*, but draws chiefly elderly people who consider it a socializing place. The intergroup interactions among majorities and minorities are scarce because there are few immigrant people , both among vendors and customers.

The formation of the pedestrian area, contrary to other rehabilitation works carried out in Borgo San Paolo, has not improved the area. The area continues to have a conflictive image related to immigration. Chiefly it is due to the urban layout: low income estates and very narrow streets give an idea of “underworld slum”. The most worried accounts are related to evening and night hours. Actually, during night time the pedestrian area, even though closed to traffic, becomes an informal parking lot making it difficult to use it for meeting or strolling along.

Interaction site 3. “Laboratorio territoriale” and internet point

There is a free access internet point in Vigone street, at the corner with the open air market of Racconigi street. The small room sits inside of a building called “Laboratorio Territoriale”, managed by the Municipal administration. The building and its small courtyard houses the internet point together with the headquarters of ten cultural association lead both by natives, such as *Archimente*, *Eufemia* and *Pinkopallo*, and by immigrants such as the Romanian association *Bucovina*, the Peruvian associations *America Latina* and *Hatun Wasi*.

The objectives of the “Laboratorio Territoriale” were twofold : to organize a meeting, discussion and aggregation place to answer residents needs; to facilitate relationship among the various associations and organizations that are operating in the quarter. In actuality, very few project are jointly carried out by the associations and the networks and cooperative relationships are meagre. S., a member of the *Archimente* Association grieves a certain separation among the various associations, even though they share communal spaces.

“The “Laboratorio Territoriale” doesn’t have enough room to obviate to the lack of aggregation spaces in the overall quarter. More, the various associations tend to work alone carrying out their own project without involving members of other associations. Very rarely there are collective meetings where to evaluate on going projects. I do not say that there is competition among organizations but certainly you cannot speak of cooperation” (T-SP-KI-12- association chairman- 35 years old).

The association *Pinkopallo* manages the internet point that offers 5 computers to be used free of charge for a period of 45 minutes, every afternoon from 3 to 6 PM Monday thru Friday. Users are various and disparate: there are young native and immigrant students who go in for school researches, unemployed individuals that are using internet for job seeking, pensioners or friends groups that meet there for music listening, watching videos or buying tickets for concerts or other events. Even the nationalities are varied: there are Moroccans, Egyptians, Rumanians and Albanians besides natives.

The heterogeneity of social and cultural background is not a cause of conflict in this small room; rather it is a starting point for positive and cooperative experiences and interactions. B. tells the history and evolution of this project:

“We started to work in “Laboratorio Territoriale” in 2005 operating only the free of charge internet point, which is greatly evolved over the years. It was born as a space where to make internet connections, nowadays it is true encounter and aggregation point” (T-SP-I –21- office worker- 24 years old).

The *Pinkopallo* association organizes also discussions and educational intercultural exchanges among young people: we have had the opportunity to be in a meeting focused on sexuality and we witnessed that the participants were chiefly Moroccan, Egyptian and Italian teenagers.

Relationships among users are good and almost friend like: many young people attend the structure not for computer use but for meeting other young people. Only one confrontation has been registered over the years between Moroccan and Albanian youngsters. The conflict causes related to the computer use and the space management. The Albanian youngsters were used to occupy the internet point before the arrival of the Moroccans. When the new arrived Moroccans started to

make more frequently use of the computer room, the Albanian group has attempted to keep out the newly arrived from the use of the computers. The association members, responsible for the computer unit, have attempted to cool off the clashes by trying to know personally each young man, by making relations very personal, by avoiding that each person would withdraw into his own group and by enhancing the qualities of each person. However the Albanian youngsters, after this conflict, have progressively abandoned the internet point.

No Peruvian youngster goes to the Internet point confirming the abovementioned tendency to not interact with other groups. The structure houses however two important and well known Peruvian associations. These associations only offer legal and job seeking assistance to the Peruvian immigrants but they do not put forward any socializing activity with the other space users.

Interaction site 4. 'SPA' public gardens

Numerous green spaces, public gardens and playgrounds are available in Borgo San Paolo, contrary to the Barriera di Milano quarter. Borgo San Paolo residents talk of these public areas as one of the best features of the quarter, distinguishing it from the rest of the city. The public gardens of Spalato street are named by all quarter residents "Gardens SPA". These gardens are located southwest of the historical centre, close to the so called "Polo Nord". This area is one of the subareas most touched by the rehabilitation projects that presently are being carried out in the quarter since the 1980s (par. 1.1). Contrary to the city centre here there are not historic buildings but almost all building of 1960 or even more recently built. It is a chiefly residential area with fewer shops. Residents are almost exclusively native. Close to the green area there are the social services headquarters, the ASL headquarters and the elderly people centre. The SPA gardens, clean, safe and very much used by residents, are not very large but they are well set: there a playground, two basket ball fields, tables to play cards, an area for dog use and a small stand selling snacks and beverages.

The different users groups manage and divide among themselves spaces. Elderly persons are chiefly the morning hours users. Usually they gather sitting in the same benches to talk and make commentaries on the newspaper news. In the afternoon native and immigrant mothers with children occupy the playgrounds, meanwhile the elderly people keep using "their" benches. Relationships are very cordial and mothers of different national origin mix and talk without paying attention to the various origins. M. a Romanian mother says:

" we know each other since long time. We don't pay attention to ours origins, more so because our children play together without thinking where their parents come from" (T-SP-I-28- office worker-39 years old).

Such mothers' behaviour contrasts positively with the mistrust and indifference observed in the public gardens of Barriera di Milano. In Borgo San Paolo there are fewer conflicts over spaces because public gardens and green areas are plentiful and well set up. Moreover the project " more space more time", supported by the Municipality of Turin and the private foundation Compagnia di San Paolo, has promoted and carried out many events and recreational and aggregating activities in these same gardens, facilitating acquaintances among mothers.

The basketball fields are very much attended by young people, chiefly Moroccans, Romanians,

Egyptians and Albanians; even young Chinese are present. P., a social assistant, comments:

“Sport is an excellent means for establishing relations and for integrating different groups. You may argue over the ball or over received faults but never over other issues” (T-SP-KI-14- association chairman –30 years old).

A., a Moroccan youngster arrived in Turin in 2004 relates :

“ I always attend the “SPA” gardens in the summer and occasionally I go to the Ruffini park to play soccer. No drugs neither similar illegal activities are going on in the Ruffini park or the SPA gardens. Those are quiet places and always full of people” (T-SP-I-30-student- 19 years old).

Elderly people use tables to play cards or chess; in the evening or in the week ends you can find Romanian men drinking beer.

The relationship among pensioners and Romanian men are limited but friendly, according a pensioner account:

“We all live around this area and the available spaces should be open to all. Essential I paying deference to one another and taking care of the public spaces. Moreover, as anyone knows, there aren’t many green spaces in town and those available should be open to all without race distinctions” (T-SP-I- group 2- pensioners)

In the evening the garden is attended almost exclusively by young people. The different ethnic groups occupy different areas. Each group maintains the same bench or table as a reference from which rarely departs. So the groups rarely speak to each other. No fights, neither clashes or scimmages have ever happened in this place and the contacts among groups, even occasional, are usually described as peaceful and friendly. The exclusive occupancy of certain spaces has not raised fears or negative images from the part of other users, as happening in *Barriera di Milano*. The absence of drug pushing and other micro illegalities creates a climate of more self-confidence among the resident users even when certain areas are exclusively occupied by the same group.

3.3. When places matter

The analysis of intergroup representations and interactions indicates that there are major differences between the two quarters, *Barriera di Milano* and *Borgo San Paolo*. Such differences can be correlated to a different organization of the urban fabric. In *Borgo San Paolo* the urban fabric is less disjointed and fragmented. This is mainly due to the fact that in *San Paolo* urban regeneration schemes have been planned and carried out (both through renovation of dismissed industrial sites and through improvement of existent housing assets) earlier and to a larger extent than in *Barriera di Milano* (par. 1.1).

In *Barriera di Milano* degraded areas, newly built areas and deserted areas are next to each other. The deserted areas form a sort of vacuum that creates barriers to social interactions.

Such fractures in the urban fabric are strongly felt by the *Barriera di Milano* residents and they have clear repercussions on the quality of relationships with other residents, chiefly with immigrant residents. Residents have a widespread belief that they have been abandoned by the city public authorities. They strongly feel that their quarter has been for many years left out from urban

renovation and that, partly for this reason, it has become a catalyser of negative media representations.

Barriera di Milano and Borgo San Paolo are two quarters that have in common a past working class history (par. 1.2). Immigrants from Southern Italy, arrived in these two quarters during the post-war industrial boom and they have been the main characters in social transformations at local level in past decades. The “we” Southerners is an identity affiliation that is underlined by the residents when they face the new arrivals. The identity affiliations are evoked by the native residents in Barriera di Milano in a competitive fashion: fearing to lose the social status achieved with a lot of difficulties, southern immigrants tend to contrast their positive integration experience with the totally negative one of foreign immigrants. On the contrary, the “we” Southerner immigrants in Borgo San Paolo is used in the framework of a social inclusion rhetoric; old internal immigrants in San Paolo tend to draw analogies between their own migratory experience and that of more recently arrived international migrants.

Immigration is indicated by the natives of the two quarters as the most significant element of social change at local level. More emphasis is given in Barriera di Milano to the integration problems and often the cultural characteristics of the others are considered irreconcilable with their own. A recurrent differentiation in Barriera di Milano is the one dividing the earlier immigrants, who had been able to adapt themselves to the established moral order of the quarter, and the newly arrived, blamed for living in separate worlds and following their own rules. Such a differentiation rhetoric belongs even to immigrants themselves: the first comers tend to distance themselves from the late comers both in symbolic and in relationship terms.

The image is turned upside down in Borgo San Paolo: the more recent immigrants are seen by many residents as having firmer project than earlier immigrants. It may be that the time gone by has allowed an increase of information on each others and so higher confidence.

There is in Barriera di Milano another very visible fracture based on age, dividing elderly people from young population, both native and immigrant. The elderly see themselves as a “group” by default contrasting all other groups: there is a weariness among them and lack of will to mediate the conflicts over the available public spaces. Even in Borgo San Paolo elderly residents are troubled by immigrant presence although the importance of the age variable in intergroup tensions is less evident.

Fractures and conflicts among majority and minority groups are obviously more visible where there is a shortage of public resources which generates competition in their use. Public gardens are an appropriate observation point: there are different categories of users, each with different needs and habits, such as elderly people and immigrant mothers with children. These different groups of users face each other and compete for the scarce spaces. As a matter of fact conflicts frequently arise in Barriera di Milano because infrastructures are degraded, there are deserted buildings and no toilets in the public gardens.

Open air markets facilitate residents in meeting each other and in integrating various groups in both quarters. The most telling example is the Foroni open air market in Barriera di Milano where intergroup contacts originated for commercial reasons often evolve into more complex relationships. Actions directed to rejuvenate and improve these market areas have a positive impact on the social

relationships. A good example is the requalification of the Racconigi street market site which is now an activity hub for various social groups.

Meeting places in both quarters have been interesting observation points because of the deeper and more stable relationships that are established among persons sharing activities or having common interests. Although in general there are more meeting places in Borgo San Paolo than in Barriera di Milano, the public baths in Barriera di Milano are a particularly interesting example: residents go there for satisfying similar needs, not only of hygienic but also cultural and social nature. One can perceive that – in that particular context - curiosity for what unites rather than for what divides is prevailing. The same appears to be the case for the Internet point in Borgo San Paolo, besides offering a service, has become a centre of social and recreational activities. Such places facilitate the meeting of persons belonging to different social groups usually very apart from each other: elderly people, teenagers, immigrant women.

Conflicts among different groups in Barriera di Milano rarely evolve into more cooperative relations. However such a development is possible whenever there are actors, such as voluntary associations, which can play an intermediary role between conflicting parties. The potential effectiveness of such activities, although still sporadic, is confirmed by the reported experiences.

The immigrants-natives cleavage is more evident in common spaces within houses, where life styles, and everyday behaviours are more manifest and can become misunderstanding causes. In this area too, conflicts are more frequent in Barriera di Milano where cohabitation of persons with different socio-demographic profiles is more widespread. As a matter of fact, in Barriera, tensions in semi-public spaces appear as a frequent cause for the decision of older residents to move out of the quarter, whereas such dynamics are less frequent in Borgo San Paolo where conflict more often turns into an opportunity for reciprocal recognition.

4. Quarters as institutional setting and policy objects: frames and outcomes

In this section, the research project focuses on the narratives and interpretations of the actors involved in local decision-making processes. We investigate the way they represent and evaluate the social situation of the quarter, the relations among institutions, organizations and citizens, and how they see the policies implemented in order to improve integration and intergroup relations within the quarter.

The fieldwork and interviews also allow some general considerations on the features and quality of local policies and on the influence that these may exert on the quarters. The two quarters observed (Barriera di Milano and San Paolo) differ in a significant way not only for their socio-economic structure (ch. 1), but also, as we will see, for the perception and the level of cohesion of the policy community and for the narratives that come with the policies. Even if they have their own defined identity (often recognized by people and policy makers) the two quarters are not administrative units by themselves (ch. Introduction). On an administrative point of view, they are part of two different districts (*circoscrizioni*), whose borders are broader than those of the quarters. Each district is provided with a president and a council, both elected by citizens and not appointed by the municipality. They constitute the lower level of government, and therefore they are often responsible for promoting policies and interventions at quarters level.

The interviewees (see Annex 3) within each quarter belong to different categories: administrators and politicians at district level (both majority and opposition) represented the core of our sample, but also members of different associations have been considered, together with teachers and social workers⁹. The objective of this sample selection is to convey the voices of all the different “souls” of the policy community.

The adopted theoretical and methodological approach stresses the role of the context in shaping and strengthening actors’ narratives. In this section, we refer to contexts with regard to two dimensions: a) the socio-economic features of the quarter and b) the social basis of the policy community, i.e. the people and organizations involved in integration and intergroup relation policies. Therefore, we have tried to develop the actors’ point of view as much as possible, by adopting their own definitions and the categories emerging throughout the interviews, in order to avoid losing the richness and specificity of their analysis.

Therefore, the identification of the most significant policy areas in terms of intergroup relations is based on the categories used by the interviewees themselves rather than on pre-defined interpretative schemes. Even if it may weaken the potential of a comparison between the two quarters, this choice avoids the narrowing of the scope of the analysis and the risk of being excessively synthetic in the account of the fieldwork.

The overview of the policies presented below is based on common questions and goals for the two quarters, and derives from the same observation instruments. However the two reconstructions are different, underlining once again the differences between the two quarters and between their policy communities. In particular, the policy areas in which interventions are clustered are not fully

⁹ Policy community is referred to actors which are involved in policymaking regardless of their legal status, i.e. public, non profit and profit organization and well as housing associations, spontaneous groups of residents, etc.

coincident. Moreover, it is important to underline that the policies described below are strictly those cited by the interviewees, while non mentioned actions have been left aside.

Every interview has been divided in two different sections, starting from particular and concrete aspects of policies and moving to more general considerations. In the first section interviewees were asked to choose, describe and evaluate the most relevant (in their opinion) interventions aimed at shaping intergroup relations and favouring integration within the quarters. In the second part the conversation mainly focused on the features of the policy community and the potential and weaknesses of “proximity policies”.

4.1 Barriera di Milano

4.1.1 Policies seen from above: the perspective of the policy community

Interviewees’ accounts reveal a complex and heterogeneous set of policies, in which “heavy” interventions in terms of resources, duration and actors involved, go along with more specific, “lighter” and more narrow-focused actions. We divided this set in three different policy areas and, as we said, named them after the definitions given by the actors. These areas are: contrast and prevention of youth distress; integration, culture and inter-culture; urban regeneration and security.

Contrast and prevention of youth distress

This first area consists of specific measures aimed at contrasting crime and exclusion among the youngster, but also of a larger set of actions which are considered useful in preventing distress and social vulnerability. This is by far the most prominent area in policymakers’ analyses, and a central theme in the actual and former district government programs. Interviewees tend to place a wide range of policies and actions in this area, in many cases not closely related with situations of concrete vulnerability or exclusion, coherently with the importance given to prevention.

More in detail, around ten different actions are mentioned, consisting in school-related and extracurricular activities, socialization and entertainment programs, sports and culture. In many cases, interventions combine two or more of these actions.

As for the targets, in hardly any of these actions there is a specific focus on immigrants or strangers, the main trend being that of indistinctly addressing the whole youth population. In this sense, Barriera di Milano offers an interesting perspective on the cleavage between migrant-specific vs. generalist or universalistic policies. The choice, as a matter of fact, derives only partially from a political guideline, while it mainly depends on the strong (and increasing) presence of immigrants, who can no longer be considered a specific or residual part of the population.

All the actors involved in this kind of policy interventions underline the centrality of the role of associations, voluntary organizations and other civil society actors. As a matter of fact, the limited amount of resources available for district administrators makes it almost impossible for them to implement measures managed and financed exclusively by the public sector. Therefore, the district administration role is in many cases reduced to that of coordinator or even just supporter of civil

society activism. Such institutional support can take two different forms: the one defined by the actors as “direct”, consisting in financial help to associations or organized groups, and the “indirect” one, mainly consisting in the concession of public spaces or in the promotion or sponsorship of specific events and activities. The subjects in charge of delivering services or concretely carrying out initiatives may be various actors such as sport associations, parishes, cooperatives, cultural associations and other voluntary organizations.

As for the outputs and the amount of interventions and beneficiaries, it is very hard to trace a detailed profile on the basis of the policy makers’ account. While there is a widespread consensus and a high degree of satisfaction about the participation of the young people to the various initiatives, the evaluation of their impact is not unanimous, and many argue that the most marginal social groups are not reached by these kind of interventions.

Integration, education, culture and inter-culture

This second policy area has the same degree of heterogeneity of the previous one, since it deals with a large variety of topics. It is the widest of the three areas, in which fourteen interventions are mentioned by interviewees, ranging from adult education to cultural activities.

Within this area a central role is played by language courses for foreigners and in particular for women. Language training reaches hundreds of people and is organized by many different actors. As it is for the youth policies, the activities are, in most cases, managed and organized by non-profit organizations, while the public sector mainly supports them by allowing the use of public buildings or by giving a support for the promotion of the activities. However, the public sector also directly provides education and training for adults – not only in the field of languages - through the CTP (Permanent Territorial Centre for Adult Education). Language courses are considered of primary importance in favouring integration and intergroup relations by all the members of the policy community, both belonging to public and non-public sector. Nevertheless, this kind of action seems to develop mainly “from below”, following the initiative of associations, rather than being promoted by the district administration.

The evaluation of the outputs and the effects on integration is generally positive, both with regard to the levels of participation and, more broadly, to the capacity to foster new relations, especially among the course attendants. The main reported difficulties arise from the difficulty by many course participants to ensure a constant attendance, due to job and family constraints.

This policy area also includes actions consisting in cultural activities, many of which focus on the promotion of particular ethnic traditions through exhibitions, cooking workshops, movie festivals or the like. It is interesting that one of the goals of these activities is to subvert stereotypes by showing migrants in the unusual role of “experts”, as various actors mention. According to them, the results obtained are often interesting.

Other relevant actions are carried out within the school system and try to involve not only the children, but also their families. This kind of activities enjoys the most positive evaluation among the policy makers interviewed, who almost unanimously refer to schools as the most fertile ground for the enhancement of intergroup relations.

Urban regeneration and security policies

Within this policy area, the so-called *Urban 3* project is the most prominent intervention that is taking place in the quarter (par. 12.). This policy initiative is different from the ones described until now for a number of reasons. First, this large project aims at regenerating the urban setting and does not have neither an exclusive nor perhaps prevalent “integration” dimension. Second, *Urban 3* has a relatively long duration (2011-2014). Finally, it is a large project also in financial terms, with an estimated budget of over 30 million euros, mostly coming from EU funds. The project has a multi-sector and integrated approach, with more than thirty different actions, going from urban legacy to social activities, from job creation to entrepreneurship support. In line with the importance attached to the project, the launch of *Urban 3* represented a crucial moment both for the local policy community and for the potential beneficiaries. *Urban 3* introduces new actors within the process of policymaking and becomes the reference for any other policy-related decision to be taken within the quarter.

Aside from *Urban 3*, which catalyzes most of the attention and expectations of the policy community, some of the interviewees mention the relevance of more traditional security policies, in particular the ones aimed at fighting against drug-dealing in the area. As many actors explicitly acknowledge, the drug trade is (at least in the last steps of the process) mainly managed by foreigners, thus contributing to reinforce the idea in the native population that crime comes together with immigration. While explaining the relevance of police operations, district policymakers underline two different aspects. On the one side, active police strategies can concretely help in reducing the traffics, thereby helping the creation of trust within the quarter. On the other side, they have a symbolic value: they show that institutions are able “to part criminals from those willing to integrate”, punishing the first and supporting the second. However the evaluation of outputs is not unanimous and there is a widespread conviction that targeted policing may ultimately just “move” the problem to another area instead of solving it.

Outcomes evaluation and frames in Barriera di Milano

The general evaluation of the policy community about the actions considered above is controversial, and often more related to personal impressions than empirical evidences. The common starting point of all narratives is the lack of resources for district intervention, which severely reduces the very possibility to influence intergroup relations. Nevertheless, some of the actors consider that district-level actions, although limited in the scope, prevented a social break-up in the quarter that would otherwise have been possible. Other narratives, on the contrary, are centred on the impossibility of influencing an environment crossed by social dynamics that are too complex to be faced by policies planned and implemented at a quarter level. Consequently, they seem to entrust interventions “from above” such as the already cited *Urban 3* project.

Another debated issue is the linkage between the actors involved in the local governance of integration and intergroup relations, and in particular the issue of cooperation between the public sector and civil society associations. The evaluation of this relationship is generally positive. The existence of a common line of intervention and a growing ability in coordination is generally acknowledged. And this is deemed of growing importance in times of dwindling financial resources.

Although contextualized in a generally positive frame, civil society actors' critiques mainly deal with the rigidity and lack of initiative on the part of institutions, whilst public policymakers lament the attitude spread among the third sector actors to consider the Public Administration as a mere funder and not a full-fledged partner.

As for the frames and representations prevailing among the policymakers, there is a high level of consistency and homogeneity with regard to the description of the quarter and its social reality, while there is more diversity of opinions concerning integration and intergroup relations. *Barriera di Milano* is depicted as a "borderland", affected by many difficulties and too often forgotten by the Municipality. Nevertheless, evidences (or sometimes clues) of an emerging sense of belonging are noticed by many actors, together with a positive "social potential" for the coming years. It is important to notice that in giving this interpretation, which is coherent with the portrait emerged through the ethnography, the quarter's policy community seems to play its role of proximity, frequently referring to interaction with citizens and to precise facts and issues.

The strong presence of immigrants and the problem of intergroup relations engenders frames which appear to be less linear and more controversial, derived from a complex interaction between national debates and political rhetoric on the one side, and the quarter reality on the other. This problem does not seem to affect the Centre-Right district opposition, which is more aligned on a description of immigration as a pervasive threat, closely linked to urban degradation and criminality. On the contrary, the Centre-Left majority and many civil society actors share a political culture which frames immigration as a resource, that often, in the case of *Barriera di Milano*, seem to collide with the reality of the quarter. If they talk in general about foreigners presence as a potential for the area, they cannot avoid acknowledging the separation and conflict that exist among the population. This sometimes ends up by legitimising securitarian discourses. The narrative way out to reduce this bias is separating (sometimes in a superficial way) "criminal" from "honest workers", only the latter being those who fit the portrait of immigrants as a resource for the local community.

4.1.2 Policies seen from below: the perspective of residents

Among the citizens' representations of the policies implemented in their quarter, the most relevant one deals with the neglect *Barriera di Milano* suffered over the last twenty years if compared to other areas of the city, because of the alleged mismanagement by the Municipality. One of the most frequently mentioned examples of this behaviour is the celebration of the 2006 Winter Olympic Games. During these celebrations, investments were concentrated on the city centre and few other selected quarters. As a citizen notices:

"*Barriera di Milano* has always been abandoned, this is where they threw the dust. In the city centre they put flower boxes paid off by the people of *Barriera* through municipal taxes".

Among the explanations for this lack of political attention, citizens mention the weakness of the quarter's community in influencing public choices, due in particular to the lack of organized groups devoted to lobbying. As suggested by one of the interviewees

“The quarter would not be as it is, if important persons able to talk where the power is lived here. If a lawyer, a doctor or an architect living in the centre starts complaining, the Municipality solves his problems for sure ...”.

The most urgent problems that, according to the people, require an intervention from above are linked with the urban structure: renewal of old buildings, streets maintenance, improvement of the green areas are the needed interventions. Investments in inter-group relations and intercultural mediation are not perceived as such as necessary.

Disillusion toward political parties, whose role has in the past been central in organizing the social reality, is strong and widespread. This feeling is mainly addressed to the left-wing parties, that have been very strong in the past years, but also towards relatively new right-wing political movement such as the Lega Nord. A widespread opinion is that none of them can really be considered as rooted in the quarter, and that no political party is able to give concrete answers to the “real” problems of the people. At a closer look, however, this critique seem to be addressed more to the Municipality level than to the district administration. Some residents indeed acknowledge that district-level actors make more serious efforts and are closer to the real issues. In this representation, the Municipality (though belonging to the same political area) becomes a sort of opponent of the district administrators, since it is held responsible for the shortage of resources. A minority of interviewees also denounces that the lack of political will is associated with the intention of favouring strong external economic interests in the future use of industrial dismissed areas.

Disenchantment and disillusion are therefore the main feelings reported when the likelihood of improvement is voiced, and the same attitude is endorsed when it comes to the will of institutions. This perception is particularly rooted among the elderly, who often underline the raise of conflicts among the residents and the lack of communication about the political strategies undertaken by the Municipality or the expected outcomes of big projects such as *Urban 3*. The youngster on their side, both Italian and foreigners, seem to be more active and willing to play their role, also as a consequence of the weakness of political intervention. Those who are most active, however, often complain about the difficulties of networking and the lack of coordination among various actors, a situation which strongly limits the possibility of intervention.

4.2 Borgo San Paolo

4.2.1 Policies seen from above: the perspective of the policy community

In San Paolo, the vast range of reported policy initiatives and measures which impact on intergroup relations is classified by the interviewees according to criteria which are different from those used by their homologues in *Barriera di Milano*. The three policy areas which emerge in this case are the following: a) interventions aimed at improving the integration and autonomy of immigrants; b) measures aimed at the prevention of distress, exclusion and criminal behaviours, and c) support to associations operating on the territory. The order in which they are presented reflects the importance attached to them by the interviewees.

Promotion of immigrants' integration and empowerment

Interventions in this area mainly deal with intercultural mediation, linguistic education and support in the job search. Apart from mediation services, the target is composed by both immigrants and native residents: job search and education, as a matter of fact, are common activities to Italians and foreigners. Actions are coordinated by many different subjects belonging to public sector, civil society, schools and private organizations. None of them seems to be willing and able to impose its own leadership, on the contrary there is a shared and often underlined effort in networking, aimed at finding agreed solutions to emerging problems, and promoting actions in which everyone participate according to one's skills and possibilities.

The outputs of this policy area are easy to evaluate. The evaluation sector indeed distinguishes between a good performance in terms of students finishing courses and, above all, in levels of learning of the Italian language. Intercultural mediation and job finding are also evaluated in a positive way by the interviewees, basing their evaluation on the number of people creating a stable and satisfying relation with services.

More in detail, three specific actions can be situated within this policy area. The first one deals with the constitution of a sort of multi-agency steering group coordinated by the CTP (Permanent Territorial Centre for Adult Education) where all the organizations providing courses of Italian language for foreigners are represented. The goal of the initiative is to coordinate the supply of this particular service in order to better answer to an expanding demand, but also to give every teacher the same training and to level the service given to students. Funding for this initiative are provided by the public sector.

The second initiative is the creation of a "Foreigners Front Office" by the district administration, which employs, among others, intercultural mediators. This service offers a closer and allegedly more effective information service than the one offered by the foreigners office established at municipal level.

The third and last action is another front office, specifically devoted to supporting those in search of a job. This kind of activity does not usually fall under the competencies of the district level administration, but in this case there has been a strong political will to proceed in this direction, that ended up in attracting specific public funding as a consequence of its positive results.

Youth distress and crime prevention

The second policy area identified by the interviewees groups together interventions aiming at preventing youth distress and criminal behaviours. In this area only few actors intervene, but this cluster of policies plays a central role in the narratives of the policy community, even if, by their own recognition, the quarter has low crime rates and there is no spread feeling of insecurity related to the presence of immigrants.

Part of the actions takes place in the schools, and is mainly made up of workshops during school-time and extracurricular activities supporting students in studying and doing their homework (the so-called "after-school" activities). While actions carried out during school-time are addressed to all

students, extracurricular activities are characterized by a strong presence of foreigners with language problems.

Another set of actions, more properly related with crime prevention, are addressed to young people, both Italian and immigrants, considered at risk because of their belonging to particular groups or simply because of the lack of family support. Among the others, the case of Latin American gangs can be considered particularly illustrative. Following a report of the Attorney's office, the district administration immediately created a discussion group joined by all the organizations which could somehow affect the phenomenon: schools, social services, associations, police forces and even consulates. Shortly after, these actors set up an operational network aimed to enhance the comprehension of the problem and to prevent its insurgence and growing. Far from adopting a repressive attitude, they tried to work on grassroots causes in order to eradicate them.

The network operating in the schools is different. In particular in the extracurricular activities a relevant contribution is given by the quarter parishes, which enjoy in some cases public financial contribution. This kind of school-related interventions also attract the collaboration and the appreciation of the social services, that consider them a strategic activity, being schools not only a place of education, but also a primary socialization agency for boys and girls at risk of marginalization.

This appreciation reverberates on the evaluation of outputs: this kind of intervention is often indicated as one of the reasons of the success of prevention policy and contention of disease, as well as one of most fruitful ways to support integration.

Support to local associations and direct intervention

Policy makers' accounts about this policy area reveal a variety of different interventions, and underline the support given by the district administration to associations, voluntary organizations and civil society actors, mainly consisting in granting spaces within public buildings. Together with this kind of activity, interviewees also report about some minors intervention directly operated by the district in particular in the field of awareness-raising on integration issues, aiming at overcoming stereotypes that jeopardize the relation between native residents and immigrants.

The support given to the associations operating at a quarter's level can be distinguished on the basis of the level of involvement of the district administration. On a first level, characterized by the lower grade of effort, is the rental or the concession of public buildings and offices to civil society organizations. On a second level, we find the "free patron" of initiatives and events, consisting in a symbolic support without any economic involvement. A third level consists in the building of public-private partnership for joint participation to EU level or national tenders, where the district administration usually occupies a side role, contributing to enhance the quality and the reliability of the proposal. At a fourth and last level there is the direct economic contributions to civil society actors. In this case, the public sector pursues a double goal. On the one side, it helps keeping alive services that are considered useful and endangered by the shortage of resources. On the other side, the public sector can play a direct role in shaping the financed actions by setting the operative guidelines or defining the target population. The public-private partnership is often made necessary

by the lack of resources of the public sector: for this reason direct intervention, when it takes place, is limited in the scope and mainly devoted to provide basic services.

4.2.2. Outcomes evaluation and frames in San Paolo

The accounts provided by interviewees trace the portrait of a cohesive and organized policy community, able to produce homogeneous and coherent description of the reality of the district, and to correctly assess its role and responsibilities as well. The immigrants are seen as a resource, and many claim that they reached such a level of integration that allows a mature and pacific sharing of territory, services and resources. Within this general frame, conflicts are not excluded, but are described as the “natural consequence” of a quarter densely inhabited by both Italian and immigrants, far from racist or “defensive” terms. The quarter is represented as popular in its origins, historically welcoming, able to produce solidarity, and therefore capable of managing and solving tensions by itself. Integration does not appear to be a key issue, and interviewees often rapidly shift to other problems concerning citizenship in general, such as the supplying of services or the need of an intervention which often falls within the competence of the Municipality. Talking about these aspects, decision-makers rarely refer to immigrants as a specific group.

The possibility of counting on citizens’ associations for service delivering and cooperation with the district administration is mentioned by the policy-makers as a crucial aspect. A diffuse sense of solidarity and an urban legacy which favours social relations and a vibrant civil society are said to be the factors facilitating the expression of needs on the part of the citizens and helping the administration in finding solutions. The ability of networking among all these different actors is often referred to during the interviews as a resource and as an evidence of the positive role played by the district administration. Policy-makers are particularly proud and enthusiastic about this. Above all, they say, networking multiplies the resources because every actor of the network is empowered through working cooperation. By doing things together, the policy-makers agree, it is possible to win over challenges that is not possible to win when you stand alone.

Another pressing policy-makers’ concern is to show themselves able to effectively counter popular fears about immigrants’ competition in the access to social services. This stereotype is well established in the Italian public discourse, and in this quarter it sometimes translates the ‘immigrants’ with the ‘new comers’, namely those people who are not historically connected to Borgo San Paolo’s history and whose arrival in the quarter is linked to the recent house building in the peripheral areas of the quarter.

Among the policy-makers community, the relationship with the central Municipality is said to be a difficult one. The Municipality’s role is judged as politically poor, and it is not perceived as an important actor. The Municipality is not even named in the interviews, and it becomes an issue only if asked. There is only one dimension in which the Municipality plays a relevant role, namely in the cases of financial support for the activities organized by the district administration. Concerning all the remaining cases, the central Municipality is judged as invasive and compared to an obstacle.

Despite the important role played by the district’s policy-makers community, the success of the integration policies is not attached to their ability or to their positive management. Instead, the

people and the residents of the quarter are defined as the most important agents of integration, being 'open to solidarity', 'popular', thus able to absorb the 'newcomers' and the conflicts they may bring. The urban legacy is also pointed out as favouring integration, because mainly composed of small buildings, which create the conditions for encounters and proximity.

4.2.3 Policies seen from below: the perspective of residents

The majority of interviewed San Paolo residents states that the district administration is quite attentive to their needs and demands. One of the quoted examples is the organization of a working group to contrast the perceived rise of "Latin-American baby gangs" by involving local institutions, cultural association and similar civil society actors. The phenomenon of baby-gangs turned out not to actually exist (par. 3.2.1.), but the quick and attentive way in which the district administration reacted to the issue is evaluated as a proof of reactivity to citizens' concerns.

It is worth of attention the fact that, among the individuals interviewed, no native expressed neither dissatisfaction nor strong criticism about the district administration's work. The prevailing attitude is to propose additional initiatives, rather than criticising the existing ones.

Coming to the demands of the population, these revolve around three issues: housing facilities, job security and the concern about the lack of a future for the younger generations. Indeed, over the last few years, the priorities expressed by the citizens have changed. "Public order and social security are no more the priorities. Instead, the crucial concern is the access to social services and welfare".

Beyond the growing demands for welfare and social services, a number of interviewees have made the argument that the district administration should devote more efforts in restoring urban legacy and in particular road and green areas maintenance. Many residents are not satisfied with the policy of garbage recycling, since only few garbage bins for recycling are provided. Concerning this topic, only a portion of the whole quarter is involved in the recycling policy, which is completely absent in another sector of the quarter. In general terms, the main focus of policies in San Paolo is definitely more on strengthening the quality of life, rather than on facing perceived emergencies.

Despite the widespread positive evaluation of local policies, also critical voices may be heard, mainly dealing with the high number of policies devoted to elderly people, and the consequent lack of attention to the younger people. This, some say, can weaken the overall integration process, because: "if you don't integrate younger people, forget about the adult".

However, in general terms, when dealing with integration policies the district administration is often perceived as attentive and devoted to the common good. Nevertheless, many individuals have voiced their discontent towards the Municipality, especially due to the difficulties that citizens' associations and other civil society actors experience in having access to public facilities. Many migrants associations therefore suffer for the lack of facilities, which hampers participation and reduces their capacity to elaborate projects and attract funds. In line with this dissatisfaction, members and workers from other associations have claimed a greater involvement of ethnic organizations in the elaboration and implementation of joint projects.

4.3. When policy matters

An important working tool in the hands of the district administrations is the knowledge of the quarters and the rootedness in the social life of the quarter. Such quality becomes particularly valuable when the District administration collaborates with the Municipality and higher institutional levels. In this case the micro-level of the quarter seems to be able to convey an image of the problems and needs of the people closer to the residents' ones. On the contrary, in the case of tense relations among the different institutional levels within the context of a multi-level governance, such a deep knowledge of the quarter turns into an element that generates conflicts among the actors. It is indeed granted as a superior expertise, on which basis the quarter policy community claims a prominent role, and tries to contrast intervention "from outside", not supported by the necessary knowledge.

Obviously, the assessment of district-level policies is tightly connected to its financial capacity. Floating asset is indeed a crucial element within policy-making, which does not only influence the extent of the initiatives, yet also the process of decision-making. The lack of resources is a shared and common point within the policy community, and often becomes central in narratives and considerations about this level of intervention.

The growing scarcity of financial resources over the last decade influences the contents of the policies as well, since the less expensive initiatives (which often are the less innovative and challenging) are preferred. Within a model of multilevel governance, therefore, district administrations appears as increasingly peripheral actors. Such marginal condition is reinforced by the ever more prominent role undertaken by the Municipality.

The borders of the policy community are often fuzzy: some association for instance reside within the quarter but elaborate and implement policies which target recipients outside it. Other actors and associations collaborate with actors outside of the quarter and are strongly influenced by the latter in their actions. Still other actors come from outside the quarter, such as the Municipality offices, but implement actions and policies within the quarter.

Beyond the already described institutional and financial constraints, the policy community of the quarter is characterized by its own distinguishing traits, it does implement policies and it coordinates different actors' actions. The community carries demands and claims, and has the ambition to become more relevant to the management of the quarter. In some administrators' narratives, especially in San Paolo, this institutional identity is strong enough to overcome or at least mitigate the perception of dramatic scarcity of financial resources.

The ability to manage networks and strengthen collaborations is however the most relevant and successful capacity of the district administration. It has the positive consequences of enhancing economies of scale, financial savings and related virtuous mechanisms of participation and cooperation. The role played by the district administration is not however purely managerial. It also helps the understanding of social and political problems related to integration by creating a proper theoretical framework of interpretation which is referred not only to the district administration but to whole of the municipal policies. This capacity is however a quite direct consequence of the nature of the local administrations in general, since political roles are closely related to more operative

duties: therefore, the gap between the political elaboration of the policies and their practical implementation is easily bridged.

Though sharing the problems and the potential of this administrative level, the differences between *Barriera di Milano* and *Borgo San Paolo* are, as said many times, rather numerous and cannot be avoided in a conclusive thinking about the relevance of the district and quarter policies. Distinctions are linked to different social and urban constituencies as well as to the different migrants' settlement models. In *Borgo San Paolo*, migrants reside permanently whilst in *Barriera di Milano* they don't. This latter is normally defined and conceived as a 'transit zone' or 'border land'. The two urban areas are characterized by different levels of conflict in the inter-groups relations and of migrants' wealth or exclusion. Furthermore, *San Paolo* seems to have kept a dialogue with the central Municipality. Though not constant and sometimes critical, this relation has given important results. This dialogue is harder to find in *Barriera di Milano*, which is on the contrary the 'left behind area' *par excellence*. Following from this, the issue of integration and inter-group relations has a different importance to the quarter as a whole. *Barriera di Milano's* policy community shares the idea that this is a crucial issue, the hot point of the quarter policies, in correlation with the problem of crime and distress. In this sense, the issue of integration and inter-group relations is a pervasive issue which, in the policy community narratives, explains all the problems of the quarter. On the contrary, *Borgo San Paolo's* policy community does not consider this issue *the issue*, and the equivalence between foreigner and crime is not diffused and does not feature as a shared opinion. This is because of a less extensive presence of crime within the quarter and because of the success of a long process of integration.

Not surprisingly, the population of the two quarters have divergent opinions about policies and policy-makers. In *Borgo San Paolo*, where the social situation is in general "easier", the population is aware of and legitimizes the local district administration. In *Barriera*, on the contrary, the high dissatisfaction with the 'institutional system' and a negative attitude towards the world of politics do not allow the population an attentive look at the implemented policies.

Moreover, the two quarters also differ because of the level of cohesion within the policy community, that somehow mirrors the fragmentation of the social fabric. In the case of *Barriera di Milano*, district administration and civil society actors collaborate and exchange information but do not engender a process of coordination, which is evaluated as missing by the actors themselves. On the contrary, in *San Paolo* coordination efforts are more intense and at the top of the policy agenda: thanks to this, the policy community shares goals, discourses, interpretations of problems and solutions. The common 'vision' is the outcome of the way the actors collaborate, sitting and discussing around a table all together.

5. Conclusions

Here below we summarise the main conclusion trying to bring together the various perspectives analysed in the previous chapters (residents, local media and policy communities).

Unconnected quarters hamper intergroup interactions

The lack of “connecting opportunities” (e.g. meeting places, organised activities, etc.) tend to generate fragmented social texture and less cooperative intergroup relations. This is the case for Barriera di Milano, where public gardens and squares are really few and large dismissed industrial areas have not been completely reconverted. Residents have thus few chances to meet and know each other. Furthermore, since recreational spaces are scarce they sometimes turn from meeting opportunities to objects of competition.

On the other side, the rather large availability of gardens and squares in San Paolo seems to foster contacts and positive interactions among groups or, at least, to limit conflicts.

Clear rules of space use prevent intergroup conflicts

Within the quarters different places produce different interactions. This relation mainly passes through the rules of the use of spaces which may be produced and defined in different ways.

First, these rules can be embedded in spaces. Sometimes the organisation of space suggests the ways in which it should be used, limiting negotiation and preventing conflicts. This is the case for the SPA and Ruffini gardens in San Paolo where we find playgrounds for children, sport fields for teenagers, benches for elderly people.

The second element which can help to identify common rules for the use of places preventing conflicts are formal or informal mediation activities played by organised actors. It is the case of piazza Foroni where the vendor community promotes cultural and sport events or the case of Montanaro gardens where an association which employs people with mental problems has gained trust of garden users and then plays a role of conflict mediator.

Embedded nature of integration

Inside each quarter cooperation is easier in the so called “zones of encounter” (Wood and Landry 2007), where deeper and more enduring interactions between people engaged in shared activities and common goals can occur. Such places are, for instance, public baths in Barriera di Milano and Laboratorio Territoriale in San Paolo.

However, integration produced in these places is not completely transferable: often, the same groups develop different relations in different places, even within the same quarter, so that they cooperate in “zones of encounter” and fight in apartment buildings. Therefore, we could say that integration, beyond being an individual property, can be partially regarded as a space property.

Quarter and diversity matter differently in everyday life

In public spaces and even in “zones of encounters” we find a selected sample of quarter residents, mainly elderly people, migrant care workers, native and migrant young mothers with their children, teenagers and migrant singles, mostly men. They are the residents who cannot move outside the quarter for recreational purposes because of lack of time, mobility and/or economic resources. Since the different kinds of capital (economic, human, social) are usually strongly related, we can suppose that those groups of residents are even the ones with less human and social resources and then the groups who may have more difficulties in coping with diversities and finding out solutions to conflicts. Somehow, we can say that residents who must build “everyday multiculturalism” are probably the less equipped for this task, making this challenge even tougher.

Geographical origin, length of stay in the quarter and intergenerational cleavages as relevant grouping rationales

The cleavage between ethnic majority and minorities is among the main intergroup cleavages at quarter level. It is worth however saying that the larger the group is, the more precise the criteria of its identification will be. For instance, larger groups are often identified with their countries of origin, whereas smaller groups are identified with broader geographical areas. Latin Americans, for instance, are not distinguished by country of origin in Barriera di Milano, whereas they are in San Paolo, where they are far more numerous.

Even if less important, also the length of stay in the quarter seems to be a relevant grouping criterion, but its effects are far from being not obvious. For instance, first waves of Moroccans, settled in the 1990s, are considered more integrated than newer migrants from the same origin in Barriera di Milano, whereas they are viewed as less integrated and more involved in criminal networks and activities in San Paolo. Therefore, length of stay in the quarter is relevant in defining groups’ boundaries and images but its effects are not so predictable and must be empirically investigated.

Finally, intergenerational cleavages are registered in both quarters: elderly people usually portray both majority and minority young generations as those who do not take care of the quarter and actively participate. As for the length of stay, also age can then be a dividing and unifying rationale: it divides generations but can unify young people of different origins. We must however say that among young generations ethnic boundaries are not necessarily blurred. On the contrary, intergroup tensions can be strong, as it is for the Albanian or Peruvian young groups in San Paolo.

Integration difficulties may however concern natives too. Elderly people perceive themselves as a group and, surprisingly, they are perhaps the least integrated group among those investigated since they do not feel at home in their own changing quarter and look nostalgically at a mythical past now disappeared.

Collective narratives on quarters and cohesion of quarter policy communities influence intergroup relations

The two target quarters can be distinguished by the degree of density and coordination of local policy community. When this is quite high, like in the case of San Paolo, it seems to produce two consequences. First, it is easier to manage integration issues, limit conflicts and develop effective actions, considered as satisfactory by the organisations involved – and often by residents. Second, it is easier to shape media narrations on the quarter. More in general, when local stakeholders are strong and well organised, the quarter seems to be more autonomous and effective in producing actions and narrations by itself, and more resilient to exogenous dynamics (media campaigns, city or national political campaigns, etc.).

Furthermore, it is worth underlining that identity and even memories of quarters can be policy objects. It is clear for the case of past internal migration: in San Paolo, positive integration of internal migrants arrived in 1950s-60s is addressed as the proof of the openness and solidarity of the quarter and such a rhetoric of reception of new foreign migrants is pointed up as a continuity with a working class past where solidarity towards internal migrants prevailed over conflicts. The result is that the “we” Southerner immigrants in Borgo San Paolo is used by residents in the framework of a social inclusion rhetoric and old internal immigrants tend to draw analogies between their own migratory experience and that of more recently arrived international migrants. On the contrary, in Barriera di Milano past experience of migration and integration has not become an asset of current integration policies and the “we” Southerners is an identity evoked by the native residents in Barriera di Milano in a competitive fashion: fearing to lose the social status achieved with a lot of difficulties, southern immigrants tend to contrast their positive integration experience with the totally negative one of foreign immigrants.

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Annex 1. The list of the interviewees in BARRIERA DI MILANO

Code CD	Area of relevance	Organisation(s)	Category	Sex	Age	Origin
T- BM - KI – 01 (Civil servant, 55)	Quarter		civil servant	M	55	Italian
T-BM-KI-02 (socio-cultural activist, 67)	Quarter	Ecomuseo Urbano (social-cultural organisation)	civil society organisations	M	67	Italian
T-BM-KI-03 (socio-cultural activist, 76)	Quarter	Polisportiva Rivermosso (sport centre)	civil society organisations	M	76	Italian
T-BM-KI-04 (priest, 55)	Quarter	Parish recreation centre	civil society organisations	M	55	Italian
T-BM-KI-05 (shop keeper & traders' association, 50)	Quarter	traders' association	Economic actors / civil society organisations	M	50	Italian
T-BM-KI-06 (shop keeper & traders' association, 55)	Quarter	traders' association	Economic actors / civil society organisations	M	55	Italian
T-BM-KI-07 (policeman, 50)	Quarter	Policeman	Street level bureaucracy	M	50	Italian

T-BM-KI-08 (head mistress, 55)	Quarter	School « Gabelli »	School	F	55	Italian
T-BM-KI-09 (teacher, 55)	Quarter	School « Gabelli »	School	F	55	Italian
T-BM-KI-10 (socio-cultural activist, 32)	Quarter	“Via Agliè” public bath	civil society organisations	F	32	Italian
T-BM-KI-11 (socio-cultural activist, 30)	Quarter	Gruppo Abele	civil society organisations	M	30	Italian
T-BM-I-01 (retired, 65)	Site of interaction 1	-	retired	M	65	Italian
T-BM-I-02 (retired, 70)	Site of interaction 1	-	retired	M	70	Italian
T-BM-I-03 (news vendor, 34)	Site of interaction 1	-	economic actors	F	34	Italian
T-BM-I-04 (student, 23)	Site of interaction 1	-	student	M	23	Italian
T-BM-I-05 (retired,64)	Site of interaction 1	-	retired	F	64	Italian
T-BM-I-06 (student, 18)	Site of interaction 1	-	student	M	18	Romanian
T-BM-I-07 (housewife, 32)	Site of interaction 1	-	resident	F	32	Italian

T-BM-I-08 (shopkeeper, 5)	Site of interaction 2	Associazione commercianti Corso Palermo (trader's association)	economic actors / civil society organisations	F	54	Italian
T-BM-I-09 (shopkeeper,70)	Site of interaction 2	-	economic actors	F	70	Italian
T-BM-I-10 (retired & sport organization, 58)	Site of interaction 2	Polisportiva Rivermosso (sport centre)	civil society organisations, retired	M	58	Italian
T-BM-I-11 (house cleaner, 50)	Site of interaction 2	-	resident	F	50	Peruvian
T-BM-I-12 (musician, 28)	Site of interaction 2	-	resident	M	28	Senegalese
T-BM-I-13 (street vendor , 47)	Site of interaction 2	President of cultural association "I Barrieranti"	civil society organizations	M	47	Italian
T-BM-I-14 (street vendor , 48)	Site of interaction 2	Member of cultural association "I Barrieranti"	civil society organizations	F	48	Italian
T-BM-I-15 (barmaid, 56)	Site of interaction 2	-	Economic actors	F	56	Italian
T-BM-I-16 (craftsman, 76)	Site of interaction 3	-	Economic actors	M	76	Italian

T-BM-I-17 (shopkeeper, 34)	Site of interaction 3	-	Economic actors	M	34	Nigerian
T-BM-I-18 (worker, 52)	Site of interaction 2	-	worker	M	52	Moroccan
T-BM-I-19 (tailor, 52)	Site of interaction 3	-	Economic actors	M	52	Senegalese
T-BM-I-20 (musician, 21)	Site of interaction 4	-	musician	M	21	Moroccan
T-BM-I-21 (shopkeeper, 33)	Site of interaction 3	-	Economic actors/ civil society organisations	F	33	Italian
T-BM-I-22 (student, 19)	Site of interaction 3	-	student	M	19	Italian
T-BM-I-23 (barman, 54)	Site of interaction 3	-	Economic actors	M	54	Italian
T-BM-I-24 (photographer, 57)	Site of interaction 3	-	Economic actors	M	57	Italian
T-BM-I-25 (barman, 27)	Site of interaction 3	-	Economic actors	M	27	Albanian
T-BM-I-26 (unemployed, 54)	Site of interaction 3	-	Unemployed, resident	M	54	Italian

T-BM-I-27 (barber, 55)	Site of interaction 3	-	Economic actors	M	55	Italian
T-BM-I-28 (worker, 39)	Site of interaction 3	Membre of « Rivermosso » sport association	civil society organisations	M	39	Italian
T-BM-I-29 (worker, 39)	Site of interaction 3	-	resident	M	39	Italian
T-BM-I-30 (retired, 66)	Site of interaction 3	-	retired	M	66	Italian
T-BM-I-31 (baker, 56)	Site of interaction 3	-	Economic actors	F	56	Italian
T-BM-I-32 (retired, 64)	Site of interaction 1	President of “Barriera di Milano committee”	civil society organisations	M	64	Italian
T-BM-I-33 (unemployed, 39)	Site of interaction 1 / Site of interaction 2	-	Unemployed, resident	M	39	Moroccan
T-BM-I-34 (shopkeeper, 27)	Site of interaction 3	-	Economic actor	M	27	Romanian
T-BM-I-35 (retired, 68)	Site of interaction 1	.	retired	M	68	Italian

T-BM-I-36 (barmaid, 24)	Site interaction 1	of -	Economic actor	F	36	Chinese
T-BM-I-37 (social worker, 50)	Site interaction 1	of Association "Arcobaleno"	civil society organisations	M	50	Italian
T-BM-I-38 (social worker, 35)	Site interaction 1	of Association "Arcobaleno"	civil society organisations	M	35	Italian
T-BM-I-39 (house keeper, 48)	Site interaction 1	of -	worker	F	48	Rumanian
T-BM-I-40 (social worker, 50)	Site interaction 4	of "Via Agliè" public bath	civil society organisations	M	50	Italian
T-BM-I-41 (social worker, 29)	Site interaction 4	of "Via Agliè" public bath	civil society organisations	F	29	Italian
T-BM-I-42 (retired, 29)	Site interaction 3	of -	retired	M	67	Italian
T-BM-I-43 (street vendor, 55)	Site interaction 3 / Site interaction 2	of -	Economic actors	F	55	Italian
T-BM-I-44 (retired, 68)	Site interaction 1	of PDL Political Party	civil society organizations	M	68	Italian
T-BM-I-45 (student, 35)	Site interaction 1	of PDL Political Party	civil society organizations	M	35	Italian

T-BM-I-46 (barmaid, 28)	Site interaction 1	of -		Economic actors	F	28	Italian
T-BM-I-47 (retired, 66)	Site interaction 1	of -		retired	F	66	Italian
T-BM-I-48 (unemployed, 40)	Site interaction 1	of -		Unemployed, resident	M	40	Italian
T-BM-I-49 (retired, 68)	Site interaction 2	of -	Association "La cicogna"	civil society organizations	M	68	Italian
T-BM-I-50 (street vendor, 56)	Site interaction 2	of -		Economic actors	M	56	Italian
T-BM-I-51 (street vendor, 45)	Site interaction 2	of -		Economic actors	M	45	Italian
T-BM-I-52 (street vendor, 45)	Site interaction 2	of -		Economic actors	F	45	Moroccan
T-BM-I-53 (street vendor, 46)	Site interaction 2	of -		Economic actors	M	46	Moroccan
T-BM-I-54 (housekeeper, 48)	Site interaction 2	of -		worker	F	48	Romanian
T-BM-I-55 (street vendor, 59)	Site interaction 2	of -		Economic actors	F	59	Italian
T-BM-I-56 (housewife, 38)	Site interaction 3	of -		resident	F	38	Nigerian

Annex 2. The list of the interviewees in BORGO SAN PAOLO

Code CD	Area of relevance	Organisation(s)	Category	Sex	Age	Origin
T-SP-KI-01 (policymaker, 45)	Quarter	PD Political Party	Street level bureaucracy	M	45	Italian
T-SP-KI-02 (policymaker, 40)	Quarter	Laboratorio Territoriale (social-cultural organisation)	Civil society organizations/street level bureaucracy	F	40	Italian
T-SP-KI-03 (ex mayor, 75)	Quarter		Civil society organizations/ street level bureaucracy	M	75	Italian
T-SP-KI-04 (policymaker,50)	Quarter	Ecomuseo Ubano 3 (social-cultural organisation)	Street level bureaucracy	M	50	Italian
T-SP-KI-05 (teacher, 40)	Quarter	School Drovetti	School	F	40	Italian
T-SP-KI-06 (priest, 35)	Quarter	Parish recreation centre	Civil society organisations	M	35	Italian

T-SP-KI-07 (policymaker) 29	Quarter	PD Political Party	Street level bureaucracy	M	29	Italian
T-eeeeSP-KI-08 (policymaker, 50)	Quarter	PD Political Party	Street level bureaucracy	M	50	Italian
T-SP-KI-09 (policeman, 50)	Quarter	-	Street level bureaucracy	M	50	Italian
T-SP-KI-10 (street level bureaucracy) 55	Quarter	-	Street level bureaucracy	F	55	Italian
T-SP-KI-11 (Local activist, 30)	Quarter	CSOA Gabrio	Street level bureaucracy	F	30	Italian
T-SP-KI-12 (social worker, 35)	Quarter	President of Archimete association	Civil society organisations	M	35	Italian
T-SP-KI-13 (civil society organisations, 40)	Quarter	President of Peruvian cultural centre	Civil society organisations	F	40	Peruvian
T-SP-KI-14	Quarter	President of Eufemia association	Civil society organisations	M	30	Italian

(civil society organisations, 30)						
T-SP-KI-15 (civil society organisations, 50)	Quarter	President of Asi es mi tierra association	Civil society organisations	M	50	Peruvian
T-SP-KI-16 (civil society organisations, 45)	Quarter	President of Atun Wasi association	Civil society organisations	M	45	Peruvian
T-SP-KI-17 (shopkeeper, 45)	Quarter	-	Economic actors	F	45	Italian
T-SP-KI-18 (civil society organisations, 40)	Quarter	-	Civil society organisations	F	40	Italian
T-SP-I-GROUP 01 (pensioners)	Site of interaction 1	-	Pensioners	M	60- 80	Italian
T-SP-I- GROUP 02 (pensioners)	Site of interaction 2	-	Pensioners	M- F	60- 80	Italian
T-SP-I-GROUP 03 (students)	Site of interaction 4	-	Students	M- F	20- 28	Italian Moroccan

						Egyptian
T-SP-I-GROUP 04 (economic actors)	Site of interaction 2	Herbalist's shop	Economic actors	M- F	40- 60	Italian
T-SP-I-GROUP 05 (economic actors)	Site of interaction 1	Butcher's shop	Economic actors	M	40- 60	Italian Romanian
T-SP-I-01 (barber, 90)	Site of interaction 2	-	Economic actors	M	90	Italian
T-SP-I-02 (butcher, 50)	Site of interaction 2	-	Economic actors	M	50	Italian
T-SP-I-03 (butcher, 55)	Site of interaction 1	-	Economic actors	M	55	Italian
T-SP-I-04 (butcher, 60)	Site of interaction 1	-	Economic actors	M	60	Italian
T-SP-I-05 (shopkeeper, 55)	Site of interaction 1	-	Economic actors	M	55	Italian
T-SP-I-06 (shopkeeper,) 45	Site of interaction 1	-	Economic actors	M	45	Italian

T-SP-I-07 (policeman, 40)	Site of interaction 1	-	Street level bureaucracy	F	40	Italian
T-SP-I-08 (Pedlar of Racconigi market, 60)	Site of interaction 1	-	Economic actors	M	60	Italian
T-SP-I-09 (Pedlar of Racconigi market, 35)	Site of interaction 1	-	Economic actors	M	35	Senegalese
T-SP-I-10 (Pedlar of Racconigi market), 35)	Site of interaction 1	-	Economic actors	M	35	Egyptian
T-SP-I-11 (Pedlar of Racconigi market, 40)	Site of interaction 1	-	Economic actors	M	40	Moroccan
T-SP-I-12 (Pedlar of Di Nanni market, 45)	Site of interaction 2	-	Economic actors	M	45	Italian
T-SP-I-13 (Pedlar of Di Nanni market, 27)	Site of interaction 2	-	Economic actors	M	27	Chinese
T-SP-I-14 (Pedlar of Di Nanni	Site of	-	Economic actors	F	40	Italian

market, 40)	interaction 2					
T-SP-I-15 (Pedlar of Racconigi market, 60)	Site of - interaction 1		Economic actors	F	60	Italian
T-SP-I-16 (Pedlar of Racconigi market, 60)	Site of - interaction 1		Economic actors	M	60	Italian
T-SP-I-17 (student, 20)	Site of - interaction 4		Students	M	20	Peruvian
T-SP-I-18 (student, 20)	Site of - interaction 4		Students	M	20	Peruvian
T-SP-I-19 (student, 20)	Site of - interaction 4		Students	F	20	Peruvian
T-SP-I-20 (employees, 40)	Site of - interaction 2		Economic actors	M	40	Peruvian

T-SP-I-21 (civil society organisations, 24)	Site of interaction 3	Labotatorio Territoriale/Internet Point	Civil society organisations	M	24	Italian
T-SP-I-22 (civil socinisations,26)	Site of interaction 3	LaboratorioTerritoriale/InternetPoint	Students	F	26	Italian
T-SP-I-23 (civil society organisations, 40)	Site of interaction 3	President of Bucovina association	Civil society organisations	F	40	Moldavian
T-SP-I-24 (retired, 60)	Site of interaction 2	LEGA NORD Political Party	Retired	M	60	Italian
T-SP-I-25 (unemployed) 56	Site of interaction 3	-	Unemployed	M	56	Albanian
T-SP-I-26	Site of interaction 4	-	Journalist	M	26	Italian

(journalist, 26)						
T-SP-I-27 (unemployed, 29)	Site of - interaction 3		Unemployed	M	29	Moroccan
T-SP-I-28 (employees, 39)	Site of - interaction 4		Economic actors	F	39	Romanian
T-SP-I-29 (student, 23)	Site of - interaction 4		Student	M	23	Italian
T-SP-I-30 (student, 19)	Site of - interaction 3		Student	M	19	Moroccan
T-SP-I-31 (employees, 37)	Site of - interaction 4		Economic actors	F	37	Nigerian
T-SP-I-32 (unemployed, 54)	Site of - interaction 3		Unemployed	M	54	Italian

T-SP-I-33 (retired 69)	Site interaction 4	of -	retired	M	69	Italian
T-SP-I-34 (employees, 34)	Site interaction 2	of -	Economic actors	F	34	Dominican Republic
T-SP-I-35 (employees, 36)	Site interaction 2	of -	Economic actors	F	36	Peruvian
T-SP-I-36 (employees, 30)	Site interaction 4	of -	Economic actors	F	30	Brazilian

Annex 3. The list of the interviewees of policy communities of Barriera di Milano and Borgo San Paolo

Area of relevance	Organisation(s)	Category
Quarter SP	District Administration (circostrizione 3)	President
Quarter BM	District Administration (circostrizione 6)	President
Quarter SP	District Administration (circostrizione 3),	Former President, now Municipality Councilor
Quarter BM	District Administration (circostrizione 6),	Former President, now District Councilor
Quarter BM	Circostrizione 6)	District councilor (majority) and elementary school director
Quarter BM, SP	Circostrizione 3 and 6)	3 district councilors (majority and opposition)
Quarter SP	Social Services (circostrizione 3)	Director
Quarter BM	Social Services (circostrizione 6)	Worker
Quarter SP	Cultural Sector (circostrizione 3)	Manager
Quarter SP	Eco-Museum (San Paolo)	Employee
Quarter SP	Social Communication (circostrizione 3)	Former Delegate

Quarter SP	Permanent Territorial Centre for Adult Education – CTP (circostrizione 3)	Director
Quarter BM	Public Bath via Agliè (Barriera di Milano)	Social Cooperative worker
Quarter	youth services (Barriera di Milano)	Third sector's worker
Quarter	Drama Workshop Project (San Paolo)	Director
Quarter	Drama Workshop Project (San Paolo)	Worker
Quarter	Urban 3 project (Barriera di Milano)	Director