Concordia Discors.

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

Synthesis report

Ferruccio Pastore

Irene Ponzo

Final version

March 2013

With financial support from the European Commission

List of contents:

1. Theoretical assumptions and methodological choices for the localized study of integration[*]

1.1 Why here? Tackling the dilemma of local variations in integration

Like all societal variables, integration varies through time and space. The degree of integration (however defined: we will get back to the definition issue) between individuals or between groups is unquestionably affected by the course of time and by the succession of generations. But it is also deeply influenced by place features, being obvious that integration (between foreign immigrants and the receiving society, for instance) is powerfully affected by the specificities of the economic, political and spatial context where the encounter takes place.

So far, little is questionable in this rather plain and self-evident line of argument. But problems arise when we try to be more specific in determining the respective influence of different geographic scales on integration processes. European integration studies have traditionally privileged the national scale, and in spite of globalization trends in the economic sphere and of supranational integration (mind the lexical trap here!) in the political one, comparative empirical research continues to show that the national framework still exerts a crucial role in shaping integration trajectories, especially of non-EU immigrants.

As we will see in greater details below, European research has developed a growing awareness over the last few decades, about the (often allegedly growing, although this is hard to demonstrate) importance of the local dimension for understanding integration dynamics. But the question arising here is: *which* local levels do count, and how much? Is it the region, or the province, certainly important frameworks as long as economic integration is concerned? Or is it more the city, which has recently become an ever more attractive and frequently adopted prism of observation for migration scholars? Or should we adopt even closer a look, by opening the city box and looking inside, trying to analyse intra-city variations in integration and even to compare what happens at neighbourhood level in different cities, maybe even located in different states?

From a positive answer to this last question arises the Concordia Discors project, of which we present here a synthesis of the results. The next pages are organised as follows: we will first (in the next paragraphs of Section 1) briefly run through the conceptual premises of the project, explaining how these have brought us to make specific methodological choices.

We will then provide – in Section 2 – a synthetic description of the 11 neighbourhoods (located in five different cities) which have represented the empirical research fields for our comparative research and the connected participatory initiatives (what we have called the "Neighbourhood Forums"). The description of Concordia Discors target neighbourhoods will be articulated on two levels: a qualitative one, where we will make use of synoptical tables jointly developed as an original research tool by the Concordia Discors' research partners (Para. 2.1). This approach will be

[*] The authors thank the members of the advisory board of Concordia Discors (Maria Lucinda Fonseca, University of Lisbon, Marco Martiniello, University of Liége, Walter Siebel, University of Oldenburg, Giuseppe Sciortino, University of Trento) for their useful insights and comments on the previous outputs of the project, which have represented a valuable input for this report.

complemented by a quantitative overview, providing selected comparative statistics and thereby highlighting also the severe practical and methodological obstacles inevitably faced in any attempt to carry out cross-country comparative social analysis at sub-city level (Para. 2.2).

After having set the conceptual and empirical scene in the first two sections, we will dive deeper in the research results with three sections respectively devoted to: a comparative mapping of intergroup boundaries and their evolutionary dynamics in the 11 selected neighbourhoods (Section 3); some analytical reflections on "the role of spatial factors in shaping intergroup relations and integration processes" (Section 4), which are in our view also a source of hopefully useful and relevant policy lessons; finally, in Section 5, we will look more closely at the role of organised collective action at neighbourhood level, and particularly at the crucial - but very complex and by no means univocal - interaction between local policy communities, media and actual social processes (Section 5).

At the end of this brief document, the evidence basis of which is contained in the papers and other materials available at www.concordiadiscors.eu, we hope we will have given at least some elements to better understand why the delicate alchemy of integration may successfully take place in a given place and simultaneously dramatically fail, maybe just a few blocks away.

1.2 Beyond methodological city-ism

Throughout the 1990s, immigration scholars in Europe focused on the nation state as the key level for understanding processes and policies of immigrant integration, elaborating various typologies (Brubaker 1992; Castles & Miller 2003). In the mid-1990s this focus on national level started to shift, following a growing scientific and political awareness of the fact that most immigrants live in cities and their integration takes place primarily at local level (Caponio and Borkert 2010; Penninx et. al 2004).

Since then, empirical migration studies have been increasingly and predominantly focusing on the city level. This is in line with broader trends which have been making cities ever more crucial to understand social and political phenomena, especially since the crisis of Fordism at the end of the 1970s has opened the way to economic restructuring and new forms of governance (Kazepov 2005). The increasing complexity of society and social demands has indeed revealed the inability of central governments to impose rules from the top fostering a "hyperlocalisation of the social", i.e. the relegation of the treatment of complex social problems to the local sphere regarded as closer to citizens (Body-Gendrot and Martiniello 2000).

This increasing attention to cities (not only) in migration studies has been accompanied by another relevant research trend, alongside the abovementioned shift of the focus away from the national level: space as such, in its physical and symbolical dimensions, has emerged as an important dimension of analysis (Kazepov 2005). Contemporary cities have revealed to be too internally fragmented and too heterogeneous to be investigated as undifferentiated units: suburban XIXth century working class neighbourhoods are very different from inner gentrified districts, social housing areas built in the 1960s are hardly comparable to more recent business city centres and so on.

From our standpoint, this means that the integration outlook may vary significantly from one place to another, even within short distances. In order to understand how places influence integration processes it is thus crucial to look at those single portions of cities, distinguished by specific features, called neighbourhoods. Neighbourhoods do indeed play a decisive role within each city as high-visibility testing grounds of integration, i.e. as concrete contexts where integration "succeeds" or "fails", sort of "microcosms at the epicentre of larger problems" (Body-Gendrot and Martiniello 2000, p. 2).

Given these assumptions, we believe that it is time to go beyond not only methodological nationalism (Wimmer, Glick Schiller 2002), but also methodological "city-ism", and regard neighbourhoods as "ground zero" of integration. Some steps in this direction have already been taken: in European migration research the neighbourhood level has initially gained attention in the field of segregation studies, transferring somehow frames and interests from North American literature, which had been investigating the formation of urban ghettos since long time (Duncan e Duncan, 1957; Clark, 1965, 1986; Wilson, 1983; Massey and Denton, 1989 e 1993; Jargowsky, 1997). European studies in this area clearly show that European cities, generally more fragmented and heterogeneous than US ones, experience lower levels of segregation (Mustered & Osterdorf 1998; Kempen 2004; Fortuijn et al., 1998; Peach, 1996 e 1998; Phillips, 1998 e 2002; Johnston et al., 2002a e 2002b, 2002c; Simon, 1998)[1]. In the last decade in Europe, and especially in the UK, the research on immigration in neighbourhoods has gone beyond the concern for segregation and inequalities it produces and expanded as to cover a much wider range of topics such as social cohesion, participation and integration, conceiving neighbourhoods also as contexts of social interaction (Amin, 2002; Fonseca, 2007; Jayaweera & Coudhury, 2008; Wessendorf, 2010; Lee, 2002; Tyler & Jensen, 2009; Ray, Hudson e Phillips, 2008; Robinson & Reeve, 2006; Stolle, Soroka & Johnson, 2008; Valtonen, 2002). This last perspective is the one adopted by Concordia Discors, in which neighbourhoods are viewed as social, institutional, symbolical and physical settings (Galster 2001; Simon 2000).

Furthermore, neighbourhoods are here conceived as results of social construction processes so that they can have different borders, meanings and relevance to different individuals and groups (Forrest & Kearns 2001; Lupton 2003). Starting from this assumption, we define neighbourhoods as sub-municipal urban entities, not necessarily significant from an administrative point of view, but whose identity is recognisable by city inhabitants. For this reason, the target neighbourhoods selected as case studies within the Concordia Discors project have different sizes and not all of them correspond to administrative units . Furthermore, we only make use of fixed boundaries for the purpose of the quantitative analysis whereas in the analysis of representations of residents, policy communities and media neighbourhood borders were not defined *a priori* since the same neighbourhood can have different borders to different individuals, groups and organisations. Borders are thus transformed from predefined boundaries into objects of empirical research themselves.

[1] More in general, the distinctive features of European cities have been pointed out by various scholars (Anderson & van Kempten 2001; Bagnasco & Le Galés2000; Le Galés 2002; Kazepov 2005; Marcuse & Van Kempten 2002; Moulaert et al. 2003)

1.3 Beyond inter-ethnic relations

As we have not rigidly defined the neighbourhood borders *a priori*, we have not pre-defined group boundaries either. We have indeed adopted the boundary-making perspective proposed by Fredrik Barth as early as the 1960s. According to this perspective ethnic distinctions, like any other social categorisation, have a relational nature and they may (or may not) coincide with objective cultural differences (Barth 1969). They indeed result from a two way process: a self identification, on the one hand, and a social categorisation by others, on the other. Of course, the two processes may not coincide (Jenkins 1997). The ethnicisation of social relations can then be regarded as the result of actors' definition of relations and construction of network and social institutions through references to ethnic elements (nationality, culture, language) rather than through other elements such as profession, class, residence place (Taboada Lionetti 1989). In other terms, it is one of the possible ways to apprehend social situations (Esser 2004). Therefore, in our research we did not pre-cluster individuals into ethnic groups since the existence and the configuration of such groups is rather part of the research findings (Banton 2009; Brubaker 2004; Wimmer 2007).

As social constructions, groups' boundaries are also situationally defined. As various scholars suggest (Allport 1954; Baumann 1996; Kissler and Eckert 1990; Jenkins 1994; Lamont 2000; Lance and Dronkers 200; Wimmer 2004), inter-group representations and behaviours do not develop following general rules but they vary according to the local context, socio-economic status, time, etc. Therefore, the boundary-making perspective is also consistent with the approach explained above which gives particular relevance to places' specific features: in our case neighbourhoods, each with its specific socio-economic profile, urban texture, social history and identities which all concur in providing a specific setting and specific stakes for social interaction.

Furthermore, we have tried to develop a broader perspective than the one usually adopted by migration studies, looking at migration as just one facet, however crucial, of the social and urban transformations of contemporary European cities. Coherently with our ambition to go beyond a narrow definition of migration studies we have looked not only at migration-generated ethnic cleavages but also at other cleavages which have emerged from the fieldwork as relevant in structuring groups - reinforcing, weakening or blurring the ones produced by migration. In particular, we have taken into consideration the cleavages based on a) intergenerational gaps, b) socio-economic status and c) length of stay in the neighbourhood. They were not identified *a priori*, but were the result of empirical fieldwork starting from the abovementioned assumption that situations can be defined on the basis of many different criteria and ethnicity is just a possible one.

These two perspectives, i.e. the ambition to go beyond traditional and often too rigid approaches to both migration studies and inter-ethnic studies, are in fact related to one another. Starting from the assumption that group boundaries are results of social construction processes implies that, as we said, we cannot define *a priori* groups, as well as we cannot assert which are the most relevant criteria of identification and distinction before the fieldwork. We could indeed find out not only that the ethnic groups are different from the ones we supposed but even that ethnic groups are not always so relevant in structuring the social life of the researched neighbourhoods.

Starting from these assumptions and adopting an approach used in similar studies (Simon 2000 and 2005; Taboada Leonetti 1989; Wessendorf 2010), we have considered three levels of analysis:

- Representations of groups and narratives emerging from interviews with residents and members of neighbourhood policy communities;
- Social practices and relations among individuals and groups observable in everyday actual situations;
- Macro frames generated by local media and policy communities which define groups and their status[2] and within which everyday relations and narratives are developed; everyday behaviours and performances (Goffman 1959) depend indeed on the identity and status we attribute to the interlocutor on the base of more general factors.

These three levels may obviously not coincide. Multicultural narratives may not correspond to the development of interethnic networks and vice versa, and everyday practice and narrations may not coincide with the general picture of intergroup relations as provided by macro frames.

1.4 Integration as a dynamic state, not a static harmony

Integration is a concept for which an agreed scholarly definition still does not exist. Nevertheless, scholars have agreed on some basic aspects of the concept which are consistent with the boundary-making approach adopted in the Concordia Discors project.

In the first place, the literature has gradually rejected the idea that immigrants are passive subjects ineluctably meant to be absorbed by the host society, in favour of a recognition of immigrants' active role and of the importance of both deliberate and unintended strategies undertaken by individual and groups (Brubaker 2001). In the second place, integration is by now unanimously viewed – in theory at least - as a two-way process, as acknowledged also in a more normative perspective by the *Common Basic Principles for Immigrant Integration Policy* adopted by the Council of the European Union in 2004 (14615/04, Annex). In simple terms, this means that integration requires changes both by immigrants and host societies (Joppke 2006) and it implies that the concept of "us" is negotiated and is going to change over time.

As anticipated above, such a perspective is deeply and intrinsically consistent with the boundary-making approach adopted in this project, which conceives groups as results of active and bi-directional processes of self-identification and social categorisation by others (Jenkins 1997).

Starting from this assumption, we intend integration as a dynamic achievement, not as a rigid state conceptually opposed to conflict, which is consequently conceived here as a possible component or step of integration processes. Conflict represents sometimes an opportunity to know each other, to cross and eventually change groups' boundaries thereby enlarging the concept of "us". We have therefore included inter-group tensions in the analysis, with the aim to better understand how integration works and to provide policymakers with effective knowledge tools to deal with such tensions proactively and constructively.

Rather than investigating the whole integration process in all its aspects, we have focused our attention on the interaction dimension whose importance is recognized by most definitions of

[2] In the USA, for instance, race remains an important factor of mobilisation (Winant 1995) and immigrant mobility is often perceived and interpreted through the Black/White lens (Steinberg 1995)

integration. Despite this acknowledged relevance, it is under-researched if compared to other aspects of integration (such as educational achievements or labour market outcomes) mainly due to the methodological challenges implicit in its investigation, which can hardly rely on administrative data and requires empirical fieldwork.

1.5 Methodological implications of our theoretical assumptions

The abovementioned theoretical assumptions have driven our fundamental methodological choices. They in fact required mixed methodologies derived from different disciplines and fields of study. Before illustrating methodological tools, it is worth reminding that in our analysis, alongside the macro frames generated by local media and policy communities, at micro level we distinguish attitudes and representations, on one hand, and behaviours and practices, on the other.

On the one hand, we inquired what people have in mind, i.e. which are the perceived groups and how they are regarded. On the other hand, we look at what people do, i.e. behaviours and relations developed between groups within the neighbourhoods. The two levels may or may not overlap. We may indeed wonder if relations crosscut perceived groups, if positive perceptions of other groups turn into positive interactions, if negative perception turn into conflict and mobilisation processes.

Given this conceptual distinction, we developed different research strands which allowed us to analysis all the levels above.

a) Analysis of social and urban context. The first step consisted in reconstructing the urban and social context of the target quarters and in identifying common qualitative and quantitative indicators describing the urban, social and migration contexts. As we will explain better below, this work was hampered by the well- known differences in data collection among countries which become sharper when shifting to smaller units of analysis such as neighbourhoods.

b) Analysis of local policy communities' perceptions. We carried out interviews and focus groups with neighbourhood policy communities which are meant as the sum of all actors involved in policymaking regardless of their legal status, i.e. public, non profit and profit actors (Jordan, 1990; Rhodes, 1990; Marsh and Rhodes, 1992). Therefore, we considered the neighbourhood-level representative institutions (where existing) as well as housing associations, spontaneous groups of residents, etc. For each neighbourhood-level policy community we investigated both their prevalent *policy frames* on immigration and intergroup relations, and the main sets of *measures* that according to interviewees have influenced intergroup relations.

   We also paid special attention to the degree of internal cohesion of neighbourhood-level policy communities, understood both in terms of a) convergence of frames and perceptions on integration issues by different actors, and b) cooperation and collaboration among actors.

c) Analysis of local media flows. This step of analysis was based on the analysis of media contents of two local newspapers or local pages of nationwide newspapers over the last decade (2001-2010), sampling newspapers every five days. In this case, we have carried out both a quantitative analysis (to see how often the target quarters were mentioned in

association with immigration) and a qualitative one (to identify the dominant representations of intergroup relations and of policy interventions on immigration and integration issues in the target neighbourhoods).

d) Ethnographic fieldwork. We tried to achieve a qualitative understanding of the experienced intergroup relations through:

- interviews that allowed us to focus on residents' representations of differences;
- direct observation aimed at investigating everyday practices and daily encounters.

Since these methods are difficult to be applied to neighbourhoods as a whole, the ethnography was focused on a limited number of "interaction zones" for each neighbourhood, i.e. geographically circumscribed places regarded as significant in terms of intergroup relations (public gardens, youth centres, housing estates, etc). Comparative ethnographies represented the core of the study and the main challenge we have faced. Ethnography is in fact a qualitative method *par excellence* and comparative ethnographic analysis carried out by different research teams is therefore particularly challenging raising the risk of producing a collection of self-standing case studies. We have tried to overcome this usual limit and carry out systematic ethnographic comparison by forging common research tools summarised in brief written guidelines we called Methodological Notes (profile of interviewees in terms of sex, age, professional position, length of stay in the neighbourhood, degree of engagement in social and civic life; interviews outline; object of observation ; criteria for choosing interaction zones) and by improving them step by step through a continuous dialogue between fieldwork and methodological reflection[3].

e) Participatory tools. We reconstructed collective narratives of the neighbourhoods' recent social and urban transformations also through the Neighbourhood Forums, half-day events engaging residents from different socio-economic groups (local administrators, NGOs' and ethnic associations' representatives, residents of various ages, shopkeepers, etc). A professional agency was in charge of supporting researchers in building up an agreed participatory format and training them in managing the events at local level. The format was structured in two parts: a presentation and discussion of the preliminary results of the research and group discussions triggered by two simple questions (What would you change of your neighbourhood, if you were the Neighbourhood Mayors for one day? What you would not change for any reason on earth?).An important added value of these events was the involvement of people who do not usually take part to public life, bringing thus together very different perspectives. A further tool to enhance participation and communication of results in the neighbourhoods was the documentary made through a close collaboration between a professional film-maker, who edited it, and researchers who collected the materials (photographs and audio recordings). The documentary includes then opinions of neighbourhood residents interviewed during the fieldwork. It is now uploaded on Concordia Discors' web site, sub headed in English, since it is meant as available tool for local actors

[3] Lists of interviews are attached (Attachment 1) and further details on interviewees' profiles are contained in final city reports on project's web site (www.concordiadiscors.eu).

which can be used beyond this project to trigger discussion and exchanges on diversity and intergroup relations.

2. Eleven European neighbourhoods: on the diversity of diversity

2.1 A qualitative overview

We investigated eleven neighbourhoods located in five cities:

- Bermondsey and Camberwell in London
- Poble Sec and Sagrada Familia in Barcelona
- Barriera di Milano and San Paolo in Turin
- Werderau, Langwasser and Gostenhof in Nuremberg
- Józsefváros and Kőbánya in Budapest

This sample includes many former industrial neighbourhoods such as Bermondsey, Werderau, Lagwasser, Poble Sec, Kőbánya, Barriera di Milano and San Paolo, some residential areas such as Lagwasser and Sagrada Familia and more leisure-oriented neighbourhoods with a longer history of population mobility and diversity such as Józsefváros, Gostenhof and Camberwell. The latters are usually more socially mixed and better connected with the rest of the city while former industrial areas have been traditionally inhabited by working class residents and are still now more socially homogeneous; furthermore, they are more frequently characterised by internal urban barriers such as abandoned industrial sites or railways which served the factories in the past.

Here below, we provide synthesis comparative tables with brief descriptions of their main urban and social features and some comparative graphs with quantitative figures, aimed at locating the neighbourhoods in a comparative frame. More detailed descriptions are illustrated in background and final city reports available on the project's web site (www.concordiadiscors.eu). Starting from these features, we will then try to build up a cross-national classification of our target neighbourhoods.

PREVAILING URBAN AND ECONOMIC FUNCTIONS	
LONDON (Bermondsey)	Bermondsey's present day socio-economic landscape has its basis in the 19th and early 20th century development of the riverside docks, and industries associated with it such as food processing. Associated with the post-second world war closure of the docks, parts of present day Bermondsey remain some of the most socio-economically deprived areas of London, juxtaposed with and in contrast to other parts of Bermondsey along the river that have seen up-market housing and commercial development.
LONDON (Camberwell)	Camberwell is, historically as well as in the present day, characterised by a class divide that has left a lasting imprint in the urban landscape. While the Northern part of the neighbourhood has shared an industrial past with Bermondsey, southern Camberwell is characterised by Georgian terraces from the early 19th century – an area that today is subject to gentrification processes. Compared to surrounding neighbourhoods, there are fewer high street shops in Camberwell, but there is an important 'night economy', i.e. restaurants and clubs, and two big hospitals are situated in Camberwell.
BUDAPEST (Józsefváros)	Józsefváros can be divided into three main parts characterized by different functions. The smallest sector called "Palotanegyed" includes several remarkable buildings such as the National Museum. This area belongs to one of the most fashionable parts of Budapest with lots of tourists. The second part, beyond Nagykörút has a worse reputation: traditionally a craftsmens' neighbourhood, it then became a slum and is currently under re-development. Part of the dilapidated housing stock was demolished to make room for large office blocks and housing developments (the Corvin- Szigony project is reported to the biggest urban renewal project in Central-Europe). The third part called "Tisztviselőtelep" is a suburban area for higher status groups.
BUDAPEST (Kőbánya)	Kőbánya (named after a limestone mine) has always been an industrial area and almost the entire area is full of unused industrial buildings. Nowadays pharmaceutical industry and beer manufacturing are the leading industries of Kőbánya
TURIN (Barriera di Milano)	Barriera di Milano is a former industrial area. Now industries have been moved out of the city and Barriera is mainly a residential neighbourhood. Small shops are very numerous. There is a lack of leisure spaces and activities in the neighbourhood.
TURIN (San Paolo-Cenisia)	San Paolo is a former industrial area. It is characterised by a good functional mix and a balanced distribution of welfare services, meeting places and green spaces, residential settlements and commercial area (small shops and open markets)
NÜRNBERG (Langwasser)	Langwasser Nordwest and Langwasser Nordost are primarily residential areas, while 50 per cent of Langwasser Südwest and Langwasser Südost is not inhabited.
NÜRNBERG (Werderau)	Nearly all commercial functions in Werderau are located around Volckamer Platz – the centre of the housing development. The factory MAN, located in the neighbouring sector of Gibitzenhof has a particular relevance as an employer for large parts of the inhabitants of Werderau.
NÜRNBERG (Gostenhof)	Gostenhof consists primarily of housing areas.Small commercial areas are spread all across Gostenhof. Shops and restaurants/bars represent a mixture of long established ones, migrant-run, and newly opened ones with an

	alternative or artistic image.
BARCELONA (Sagrada Familia)	Sagrada Familia is a dormitory-residential area but also hosting the most visited tourist spot of Barcelona, the Sagrada Familia temple. It includes a commercial area, and the civic centre and other services attract residents from other neighbourhoods.
BARCELONA (Poble Sec)	Poble Sec is a residential quarter with some areas becoming a leisure and going-out parts of the city. Montjuïc Mountain includes an Olympic area and several services for the whole city (theatres, playgrounds, etc.).
INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL CONNECTIONS	
LONDON (Bermondsey)	There are major transport routes, both rail and road, through the area, mainly radiating out of central London into outer London and the counties of Kent and Surrey. The building of the Jubilee underground line, opened in 1999, constituted a dramatic improvement of links to central London
LONDON (Camberwell)	Camberwell's landscape is dominated by the intersection of two major urban roads, one running North-South (the A215), the other East-West (A202). These are slow-moving, heavily congested roads which are also the routes of several buses. A local railway station, situated centrally in Camberwell, links the area to two of the main London railway stations
BUDAPEST (Józsefváros)	Józsefváros has a highly developed public transport connection. By public transport it is easy to get to any places of the area. The Grand Boulevard and Blaha Lujza Square are among the busiest meeting points of Budapest. The Metro Line 2 has a station here, and the tram no. 4 and 6 (the most busy tram lines of Budapest) as well.
BUDAPEST (Kőbánya)	Kőbánya is bounded by very busy trading routes. One of the most important roads is the very trafficked road to the international airport. Kőbánya and Jászberényi roads are a heavy traffic roads as well. Kőbánya also has a railway station and several bus and tram lines which offers good connections to the city center.
TURIN (Barriera di Milano)	The heart of Barriera di Milano is made up of narrow streets where commercial activities are concentrated, while large alleys prevail in the East area, characterised by residential settlements and welfare services. While the public transports and road networks are well developed along the North-South axis connecting the neighbourhood to the city centre, it is quite isolated from the neighbouring areas by urban barriers. Also the internal pedestrian mobility is hampered by infrastructural obstacles: a web of small and trafficked streets in the older part and oversized and quite deserted roads in the East area.
TURIN (San Paolo-Cenisia)	San Paolo is well connected with the city centre by road web and public transports. The heart of the neighbourhood is characterised by narrow streets and high density of commercial activities. In the more peripheral areas several demolished factories were replaced by new houses, public services, cultural sites and offices facing large alleys.
NÜRNBERG (Langwasser)	The four sectors of Langwasser are separated by two main streets which are basically forming the sector borders. The district connects directly to the motorway. Most areas within the district are easily reachable by public transportation: there are ten stops of the underground/tram and 26 bus stops within Langwasser. In a 2007 survey 35 per cent of the population of Langwasser (together with the bordering district of Altenfurt) reported to use public transportation on their way to work or to school.
NÜRNBERG	Werderau is located directly at a motorway junction. A larger street divides the sector in a Northern and a Southern area. There are six bus stops within

(Werderau)	the sector but no underground or tram stop -The district consists primarily of housing areas, with a small commercial zone; a larger area of allotments and a small gardening area.
NÜRNBERG (Gostenhof)	Gostenhof directly connects to the motorway which represents the Southern borderline. Three large streets represent the Eastern, Western and Northern borderline of the sector. The connection of Gostenhof to public transportation is satisfactory: there are two stops of the underground/street car and five bus stops. The city centre is in walking distance.
BARCELONA (Sagrada Familia)	Sagrada Família is densely populated. It is a transit area with heavy car traffic. Open and green spaces are lacking. It is well connected to the rest of the city by public transport (metro and bus).
BARCELONA (Poble Sec)	Poble Sec is a densely populated neighbourhood characterised by narrow streets. There is a lack of open and green spaces, but Montjuïc Mountain park is nearby. Car traffic within the neighbourhood is scarce, except for Parallel Avenue, which constitutes one of the borders. It is well connected to the rest of the city by public transport (but metro stations along Parallel Avenue only).
HOUSING STOCK, DECAYING AND REGENERATION PROCESSES	
LONDON (Bermondsey)	Bermondsey is dominated by social housing of a variety of styles. Nearer the riverside, much of it is low-rise red brick housing built by the London County Council (LCC) in the wake of slum clearances between the wars. Along the riverside, a lot of social housing and industrial land has been converted into high price residential accommodation, mainly luxury apartments. Riverside accommodation tends to have better pedestrian links along well developed riverside paths to transport hubs and across the river into central London.
LONDON (Camberwell)	Housing in Camberwell is extremely diverse. It includes large Georgian townhouses, many formerly squatted or in multi-occupancy but brought back to owner-occupation in the housing boom that began in the late 1990s. There are also several smaller social housing estates, with a wide variety of styles including both interwar red brick LCC housing and concrete post-war high-rise and low-rise, and nineteenth century terraced street housing that remains un-gentrified.
BUDAPEST (Józsefváros)	The image of Józsefváros shows a great heterogeneity. The buildings of the inner part preserved their aristocratic feature. Apartments built for the middle class are bigger here than the average of Budapest. The central part (Palotanegyed) includes several remarkable buildings such as museums and universities. But the biggest part of Józsefváros consists of old and dilapidated buildings. Prices of flats are lower than the average of Budapest. There are 9 homeless shelters in Józsefváros which determine its image strongly. Some neighbourhoods are currently under re-development. The dilapidated part of the housing stocks was partly demolished to make place for large office blocks and housing estates.
BUDAPEST (Kőbánya)	Since this is one of the largest district of Budapest it is not surprising that all sorts of urban areas can be find in Kőbánya. However, the landscape is dominated by brown areas, deteriorating parks, and high rise (often 10-storey high) buildings (made of concrete blocks). A constant effort of the Municipality is to change the industrial image of the area and encourage the immigration of young people with favourable housing and educational conditions.
TURIN	In Barriera di Milano the dismissed former industrial areas have been only partially converted, therefore urban blight is extensive. The housing stock is extremely heterogeneous. In the neighbourhood hearth the housing quality is

(Barriera di Milano)	low. In the East part, there are buildings constructed in the 1970s-1980s and a quite large social housing complex. In the West part, dismissed industrial areas are being reconverted and new houses are being constructed. The Northern area is characterised by houses of higher quality
TURIN **(San Paolo-Cenisia)**	The heart of San Paolo is mainly made up of old and cheaper houses. The ring around the neighbourhood centre is made up of newer and good quality building. The two public housing settlements of the neighbourhood are quite small and located in Cenisia
NÜRNBERG **(Langwasser)**	Between 2005 and 2009, about 5,000 m² of flats (primarily consisting of five and more rooms) were built in Langwasser Nordost. Comparing the four sectors by the types of flats, we find more recently built flats (after 1991) mainly in Langwasser Nordost; the large majority of flats in the other three sectors were built between 1949 and 1990. Larger proportions of one– and two family houses are mainly located in Langwasser Nordost (18.3 per cent) and Langwasser Südwest (15.5 per cent), while in Langwasser Nordwest and Südost the large majority of flats are located in blocks of seven or more flats.
NÜRNBERG **(Werderau)**	The inhabited area of Werderau nearly exclusively consists of a housing development that was built over several construction periods (about 60 years) beginning in 1911 and consisting of about 1,260 housing units. The factory MAN, which is located in the bordering sector Gibitzenhof, initiated the construction with the purpose to provide housing for the workers and employees of MAN. The model for the design of the housing development was a garden city with rather rural structures. The proportions of the types of flats by the construction and the type of building reflect the history of Werderau: nearly all flats were built before 1990, about half of them before 1948, over one fifth of housing units are one-family houses and over one third is in blocks of three to six flats. The whole housing development was sold by MAN to a real estate company in 1998. This resulted in a meaningful change of the composition of the population of Werderau.
NÜRNBERG **(Gostenhof)**	In the 19th century Gostenhof was a commercial and trading suburb with a dense population. Since the sector was left almost intact by WW II, the majority of buildings nowadays still originate from construction periods long before 1948. After the war, Gostenhof developed into an area which was inhabited mainly by socially disadvantaged people and migrants due to low rents for rather old flats and an unattractive environment in the vicinity of downtown with hardly any green areas. About one third of the presently existing flats were built between 1949 and 1990.
BARCELONA **(Sagrada Familia)**	In Sagrada Família there are mostly tenements of up to six floors. In general, the apartments are of good quality, in some cases divided in smaller flats. They have been built, from the urbanisation of the neighbourhood in late 19th century-early 20th century to 1970s and 1980s. Some parts of the neighbourhood, especially the squares' inner spaces, have been remodelled by building new gardens during the last decade thanks to Pla de Barris.
BARCELONA **(Poble Sec)**	Poble Sec is characterised by a mixture of different kinds of housing stock. In the Northern part, touching Parallel Avenue, big blocks of flats of medium quality built during 1970s, and 1980s prevail. In the central part, you find little blocks built in different periods, from the first half of the 20th century, mainly older than the first ones. In the higher part, on the side of Montjuïc Mountain, there are more expensive flats, and also houses with gardens build during early 20th century. Some parts of the neighbourhood have been remodelled during the last decade with the Pla de Barris.

CLASS COMPOSITION	
LONDON (Bermondsey)	Bermondsey has historically been perceived as a relatively homogenous working-class area. But due to the re-development of the former docklands, there has been an influx of relatively affluent, ethnically mixed middle-class population to the Northern part of Bermondsey.
LONDON (Camberwell)	Camberwell has historically been characterised by a divide between the working-class Northern part and the more affluent middle-class Southern part. Whereas the development of social housing in all parts of the neighbourhood has watered down the spatial distinction somewhat, socio-economic disparities are perceived to be increasing due to ongoing gentrification processes.
BUDAPEST (Józsefváros)	At the beginning of the 20th century Józsefváros was home for artisans, musician gypsies and a low middle-class Jewish minority. The number of inhabitants reached the top in 1910. By the 1950's the heterogeneity of the population has declined, and poorer strata of rural immigrants and workers dominated the scene while the upper middle class moved out. Nowadays the high proportion of Roma population, immigrants and poor Hungarians characterizes certain parts of the area.
BUDAPEST (Kőbánya)	Kőbánya has always been an industrial area, but due to the shutdown of many factories in the 1990's skilled workers left Kőbánya and only lower social classes remained behind. Immigrants are present here as well because of the proximity of the Four Tigers Market.
TURIN (Barriera di Milano)	Barriera di Milano is mainly a working class neighbourhood. It is more densely inhabited, multi-ethnic, young and socially weaker compared to the city average: it is 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 and families characterised by multiple social weakness.
TURIN (San Paolo-Cenisia)	San Paolo is a working class and low middle-class neighbourhood. Its socio-economic profile is not particularly worrying and, for some respects, it looks even better that the city average (e.g. the educational level is slightly higher than the city average).
NÜRNBERG (Langwasser)	The class composition of Langwasser is very diverse. Members of all classes can be found in the neighbourhood, but in some housing areas members of a certain class are more represented than others, e.g. the working class in multi-storey buildings and the upper class in private owned one-family houses.
NÜRNBERG (Werderau)	The history of Werderau is that of a housing development for factory workers of MAN. This pattern still remains. Some people work outside of the neighbourhood but most of them are part of the working-class.
NÜRNBERG (Gostenhof)	Gostenhof is a traditional working-class neighbourhood. The working-class is still the largest group in the neighbourhood but there are also considerable numbers of intellectuals, artists and self-employed people among Gostenhof's residents.
BARCELONA (Sagrada Familia)	Sagrada Familia is mainly a middle-class neighbourhood. High prices of real estate slow down the arrival of young families and immigrant residents.
BARCELONA (Poble Sec)	Poble Sec is mainly a working-class neighbourhood but during the last decade it is attracting young middle class population (eg. bohemian style newcomers).

POPULATION INFLOWS	
LONDON (Bermondsey)	Traditionally Bermondsey was a white working class neighbourhood, with Irish immigrants as the only significant immigrant population. But the past decades have seen increased inflows of both immigrants and a middle-class population.
LONDON (Camberwell)	Camberwell has been characterised by different types of inflows for several hundred years. Historically a London destination for leisure and recreation, immigrants from abroad have in particular since WW2 moved to Camberwell. The night economy - restaurants and clubs - also attracts outsiders. A concentration of mental health, drug and alcohol treatment centres attract users who are seen as an outsider/anti-social presence by many residents.
BUDAPEST (Józsefváros)	Inflow of third country immigrants - who mostly work in the Four Tigers Market- is very high compared to the other parts of Budapest. They are present in whole Józsefváros, but they show a high concentration in the area of the Four Tigers Market and the Népszínház Street.Since Palotanegyed hosts several museums this part of Józsefváros attracts tourists.
BUDAPEST (Kőbánya)	The situation of Kőbánya is similar to that of Józsefváros. Third country immigrants operate mostly wholesale shops, or they are selling goods on the Four Tigers Market. Kőbánya does not attract tourists since the lack of meeting places, museums and any other entertainment possibilities.
TURIN (Barriera di Milano)	Barriera di Milano is characterised by very high inflows of immigrants compared to the city average, while it does not attract tourists and neighbourhood users because of the lack of meeting and recreational places. For this same reason, its residents, manly young people, often spend their free time outside the neighbourhood.
TURIN (San Paolo-Cenisia)	Inflows of immigrants are similar to the city average. New residents, mainly native, are moving towards the South-East area, where good quality buildings have been constructed. San Paolo-Cenisia does not attract huge inflows of neighbourhood users, except for some leisure and cultural sites such as cinemas and contemporary art centres.
NÜRNBERG (Langwasser)	There are not many outsiders in Langwasser, the shopping centre „Frankencetrum“ and the hospital as well as some other shopping and recreational facilities are venues which outsiders would come to Langwasser for. Inhabitants of Langwasser frequently commute to other parts of the city to work.
NÜRNBERG (Werderau)	Werderau is a rather isolated neighbourhood. There are no outsiders in the neighbourhood at all. Most residents of Werderau work for the factory MAN, more recent internal immigrants more frequently work in other parts of the city.
NÜRNBERG (Gostenhof)	Gostenhof is famous for its Turkish-owned shops and restaurants. Many migrants with a Turkish background as well as other residents of Nurmeberg come to Gostenhof for these venues. Moreover, the artistic shops and the neighbourhood centre “Nachbarschaftshaus” are pulling visitors from other parts of the city to Gostenhof. Many residents of Gostenhof work in the nearby city centre or in the shops of the neighbourhood as employees or owners.
BARCELONA (Sagrada Familia)	The most perceived outsiders are the tourists that are massively present in the central and most important open space of the neighbourhood. The number of tourist interferes with the perception of the immigrants. The latter are visible mainly in commercial establishments (Chinese and Pakistani) or as the ones who take care of elder residents (Latin-Americans). Also some non-

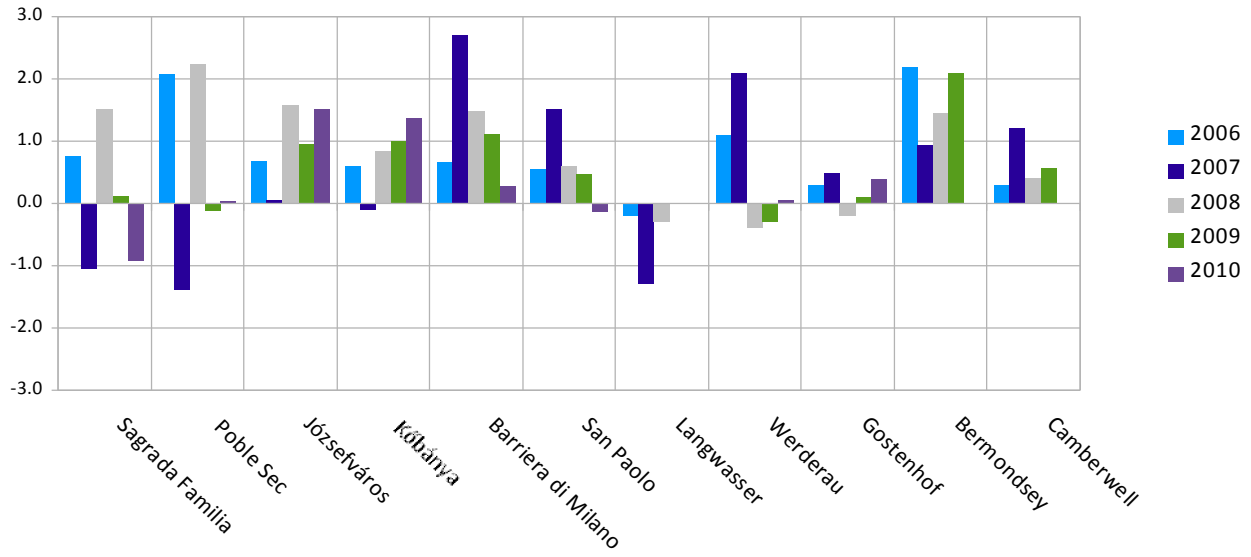
	residing Latin-American immigrants seem to be visible and are seen as a threat in public places. Senegalese and Romanian squatters and Eastern European homeless people are also present. Nightlife leisure is perceived as scarce. The good transport facilities empower, especially young ones, to travel to other parts of the city in order to socialize.
BARCELONA (Poble Sec)	In Poble Sec different inflows of immigrants coexist. From the immigrants arrived from other parts of Spain during the first and the second part of the last century, to the new inflow of international immigrants of the 2000s. During the last decade, the neighbourhood has become a leisure and going out area of the city, attracting a few tourists and settling citizens that could be qualified as gentrifiers. Some of the latter are immigrants from wealthy EU countries.
IMMIGRANTS' PROFILE	
LONDON (Bermondsey)	Overall a highly diverse profile, as there are immigrants/minorities living in both the more affluent and the more deprived parts of Bermondsey. Furthermore, most shopkeepers in Bermondsey are of immigrant/ethnic minority background.
LONDON (Camberwell)	As Camberwell has been an immigrant destination for a long time, many well-established minorities have lived here for 2-3 generations, with very diverse employment and livelihood profiles. Like in Bermondsey, most shopkeepers in Camberwell are of immigrant/ethnic minority background.
BUDAPEST (Józsefváros)	The primary reason for which most immigrants come to Józsefváros is the proximity of the Four Tigers market. Either they work at the area of the market or operate a shop or a restaurant in the district. Most of them work in the field of commerce, and they are believed to be richer than the average locals in Józsefváros.
BUDAPEST (Kőbánya)	Since the Four Tigers Market is situated on the border of Józsefváros and Kőbánya immigrants living in Kőbánya mostly work in the area of the market in the field of commerce and can be characterized with the same parameters as immigrants living in Józsefváros.
TURIN (Barriera di Milano)	Foreign immigrant families move to Barriera di Milano especially after family reunion and in correspondence with the first house purchase due to low housing prices in this area. Single migrants co-housing and buildings completely inhabited by foreigners coming from the same geographical area are however concentrated in the oldest part of the quarter. The quarter is also attracting foreigners who run small businesses.
TURIN (San Paolo-Cenisia)	Immigrants move to San Paolo-Cenisia mainly as a result of family reunifications. The presence of Latin American single women employed in the domestic work or care work and well integrated, has always been significant. They are now reuniting their children who face on the contrary integration difficulties.
NÜRNBERG (Langwasser)	The proportion of foreigners among the total population of Langwasser is relatively low, compared to the city average. The major group of migrants in Langwasser originates from the former Soviet Union. The profile of migrants in Langwasser is as diverse as of the whole population of the quarter; there are quite a number of workers and shop-keepers. Some parts of the quarter, especially multi-store buildings, are inhabited by high proportions of migrant families.
NÜRNBERG (Werderau)	Compared to the city average, the proportion of migrants in Werderau is high. Due to the long history of foreign migrants in Werderau, there are large proportions of descendents of early migrants in the quarter; they originate

	mainly from Turkey and Italy. Similar to all residents of the quarter, most migrants in Werderau are members of the working-class. In former times, all of them used to be MAN-factory workers. Nowadays MAN is not the only but the prevalent employer of Werderau's residents – migrants as well as natives. With the sale of housing units, many migrants had the chance to acquire housing property for reasonable prices in Werderau.
NÜRNBERG **(Gostenhof)**	Gostenhof is among the districts with the highest proportions of foreigners in Nürnberg. Migrants of Turkish origin used to be the dominant migrant group. The pattern still exists but the quarter has been developing into a more multicultural quarter. Other relevant groups are migrants from other EU countries and from African countries. Among migrants in Gostenhof, there are several shop-keepers, as well as workers and blue-collar employees.
BARCELONA **(Sagrada Familia)**	Latin American (especially women) care workers are important part of the quarters' landscape. The Chinese traders (mostly families) run many shops, bars and restaurants in the quarter. Some Pakistani and Latin American grocery stores can be found. There is also a number of high skilled workers (singles and families), mostly EU citizens and Latin Americans. Some social tensions have risen as a consequence of Latin American young people who spend spare time in the streets and squares and some Eastern European homeless (single men) in Sagrada Familia square.
BARCELONA **(Poble Sec)**	Women (mostly Latin Americans) work mainly in domestic services, while men (especially Moroccan) are concentrated in construction or related activities. Pakistanis usually run little food shops, but also cyber-cafes, employing other Pakistanis. The jobs related to services like restaurants and hotels are quite wide spread among third country nationals.

2.2 A quantitative overview

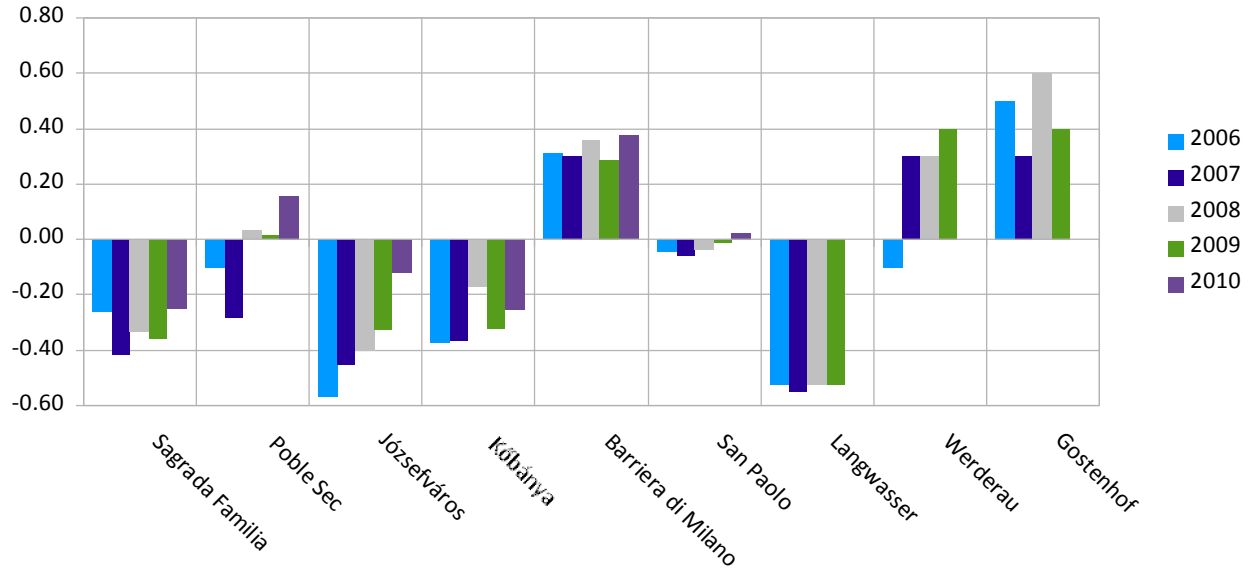
The graph below shows the demographic balance [(population t1-population t0)/population t0 *100] which is the result of the combination of natural balance referred to birth and deaths [(birth-death)/total population *100] and migratory balance referred to people inflows and outflows [new residents – cancelled residents/ total population *100]. As we can see, the demographic balance of all target neighbourhoods is substantially positive, since negative figures seem mainly to be one-year exceptions. The most steady and consistent growths are in Italian and British neighbourhoods and, at lower level, in Hungarian ones, whereas Spanish and German neighbourhoods show more swinging trends which alternate positive and negative values.

Demographic balance rate (%)

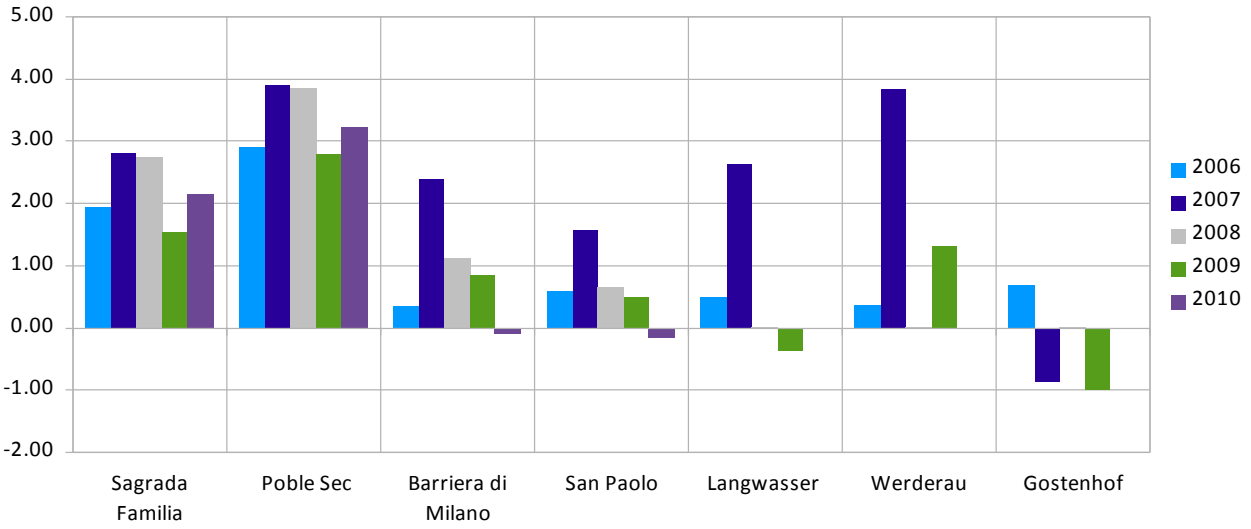


It is worth saying that the migratory balance is positive in all target neighbourhoods except for Gostenhof whereas the natural balance is positive only in Barriera di Milano, Werderau, Gostenhof and partially in Poble Sec. It means that population growths of the previous graph are the results of new resident flows rather than of births.

Natural balance rate (%)

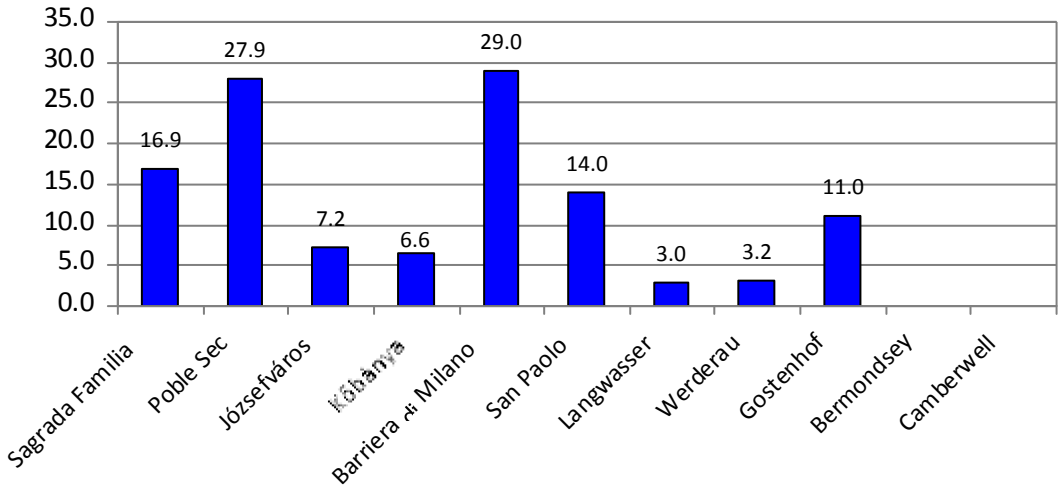


Migratory balance rate (%)



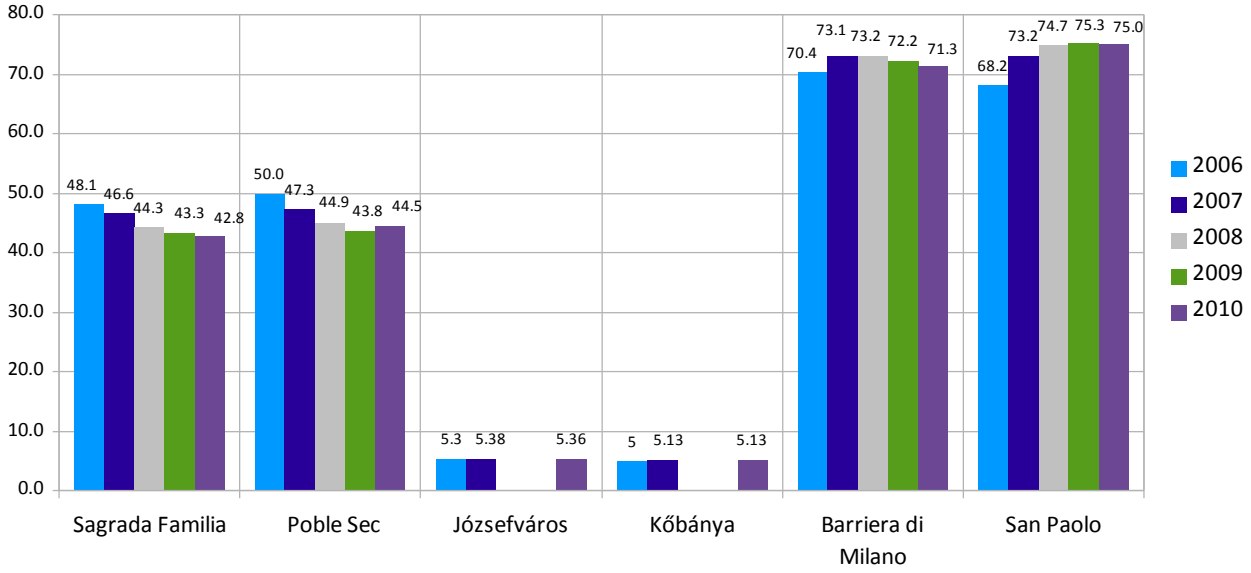
Focusing now on the foreign population only, we see that the share of it changes even between neighbourhoods of the same city, being significantly higher in Barriera di Milano, Gonstenhof and Poble Sec. On the contrary, both Hungarian and German neighbourhoods have a very low rate of foreign residents.

Proportion of people with foreign citizenship in total population year 2010 (%)



The following graph aims at comparing the degree of diversity in target neighbourhoods bringing together the first five nationalities and calculate their incidence on the total foreign population in order to understand how much the latter is heterogeneous. Differences are evident: in Hungarian neighbourhoods the first five nationalities do not even reach 10% of the foreign population whereas in Italian neighbourhoods they overcome the 70% mainly as consequence of the very substantial presence of Romanian citizens.

First five nationalities (proportion of them in the total foreign population)* (%)



*Note: the first nationalities in each neighbourhood are available on http://www.concordiadiscors.eu/quantative-neighbourhood-profiles/

This comparison is however hampered by differences in data collection. For instance, in London neighbourhoods and boroughs data are referred to foreign-born or ethnic minorities, not to foreign residents, while in Nuremberg data on foreign nationals are collected not by single nationality but by larger geographical areas, such as EU citizens, and former Yugoslavians.

Furthermore, whereas in most recent immigration countries data on nationality actually mirror the level of diversity, it is not the case in older immigration countries like the UK and Germany. Indeed, in these latter countries data on migration background are then collected and show a rather different picture from the one revealed by data on nationality. Whereas in German target neighbourhoods the share of foreign residents goes from 3% to 11%, the proportion of people with a migratory background as defined by the Statistik Nürnberg Fürth is 37% in Lagwasser, 48% in Werderau and 54% in Gostenhof; similarly the share of resident with an ethnic minority background as defined vt the Census goes from 37% to 44% in the various parts of Bermondsey (Grange, Riverside and South Bermndsey) and from 48% to 60% in the vaious part of Camberwell (Brunswick Park, Camberwell Green, South Camberwell).

We can therefore maintain that cross-national classifications are hampered by differences in data collection at neighbourhood level across Europe. These differences do not concern only geographical origin of residents, but also more general socio-demographic features. In London, for instance, demographic data are few while information on socio-economic profile of the population is abundant (health conditions, education, benefit claimants, housing conditions, crimes, etc.) whereas in Southern European cities it is the opposite. We summarise the available data in the Annex 2.

3. Group relations: boundaries, barriers and bridges

In this paragraph, we will try to summarize the main cleavages emerged during the fieldwork and to build a tentative typology of inter-group relations starting from the ethnographic material.

3.1 Multi-boundaries groups

Since we have adopted a boundary-making approach, our first empirical question was: which are the relevant boundaries in structuring groups in the target neighbourhoods?

The cleavage between ethnic majority and minorities[4] *remains among the main intergroup cleavages at neighbourhood level. However, this is experienced differently in different contexts, depending on nationally and locally specific histories*; majority and minorities can have very different shapes which, even at neighbourhood level, are strongly influenced by national cognitive frames and rhetoric. For example, in newer migration countries (Italy, Spain), the cleavage is understood as between a "native" ethnic majority and one or several "migrant" ethnic minorities. In older immigration countries (UK, Germany), ethnic minorities are less closely associated with migration: in British neighbourhoods "Black" is altogether a well established marker of identity and in German neighbourhoods former-Soviet Union citizens who mostly have German origins and German nationality, are nevertheless considered as a minority. In countries still in the initial phase of the immigration cycle, such as Hungary, immigration is not really an issue and the main cleavage is between an ethnic majority and historic *national* minorities (e.g. Roma) rather than migrants as such.

Within these macro and well known frames, we caught finer cleavages looking at intergroup relations in everyday experience and places through ethnographies.

One of the most evident results is that ***the visibility*** of a certain group influences the criteria of its identification: the more visible a group is, the more precise the criteria of its identification are. For instance, the most visible groups are often identified with countries of origin whereas smaller groups are identified with broader geographical areas. South Americans, for instance, are not distinguished by country of origin in most neighbourhoods, except for some Barcelona areas and for San Paolo in Turin, where they are numerous. Chinese, who represent a large minority almost everywhere are addressed as such, whereas in Budapest's neighbourhoods where presence of foreigners is still low, people are less keen to distinguish groups by country of origin and usually use "Asians" and "Chinese" as synonymous to refer to all migrants from Asian. Visibility however does not depend only on size of the group but also on its presence in public spaces. For instance, in Sagrada Familia the number of registered Pakistani residents is very low (0.2%) but they are quite well publicly recognized due to the presence of Pakistani grocery stores, as well as Romanians, who account for only 0.4% of neighbourhood residents, are identified as such by residents since they are visible and are regarded as those who beg and abuse tourists.

[4] We generally use the term „minority" since it can be applied to the different situations identified during this study given that it includes both ethnic minorities with a migratory background and ethnic and cultural minorities which are not regarded as migrants. With the exceptions of some legally recognised minorities, most of minorities are defined on the basis of subjective perception, even in the UK. From ourpoint of view, this is not a problem; on the contrary, it is consistent with the conceptual and methodological approach adopted in Concordia Discors.

While the cleavage between ethnic majority and minorities remains central, a key finding of the research is that other cleavages are also significant, and perhaps increasingly so. In particular, we found that length of stay, socio-economic divisions and intergenerational relations are especially significant cleavages at a local level.

Intergenerational cleavages have been registered across the case studies: elderly people usually portray both majority and minority young generations as those who do not take care of the neighbourhood and do not actively participate in the local life. For instance, in many Sagrada Familia's associations, like the Residents' Association, the majority of day-to-day active participants are elderly or mature people who accuse young people not to actively participate in the civic life. In Barriera di Milano generational dimension is not applied only to distinguish elderly natives from immigrants but also from other natives; several elderly residents lament the communication difficulties with the new generations even for what is related to the transfer of handcraft know-how and skills that once were one of the quarter assets. In Bermondsey the majority of the white British population are elderly residents which is contrasted by a younger population of immigrants and ethnic minorities, often with children, who have arrived in recent years, so that the idea of estates as social spaces, shared and reproduced by the residents of the estate, would seem to belong to the memories of elderly, white residents. Similarly, in the German neighbourhood of Werderau elderly long-established residents accuse the youth, mainly of Turkish origin, for not sticking to the "old order", e.g. not keeping the neighbourhood clean, causing noise etc. Somehow, elderly people are among the least integrated groups since they do not feel at home in their own changing quarter looking nostalgically to a mythical past now disappeared.

This overlapping of ethnic and generational boundaries may reinforce cleavages. Elderly and retired people are indeed usually the most evidently concerned about immigration mainly because of unfamiliar ways of using places (housing estates, public spaces, etc.) by some groups of migrants who are thus perceived as a threat to established lifestyles and rules. Similar problems, however, are highlighted by elderly people when they speak about young groups, revealing double cleavages based on culture and generation.

On the other hand, we must say that among young generations ethnic boundaries are often but not always blurred. Intergroup tensions can be risen by young gangs, as in the cases of Latin Americans in Sagrada Familia and Poble Sec or black gangs in Camberwell. Yet, local belonging and specific notion of territoriality seem to be very important in these young groups, sometimes even more than ethnic belonging.

Socio-economic division is certainly a crucial cleavage too. For instance, in Sagrada Familia, the area called "Encants Vells / Encantes Viejos" is often addressed as "no-man's land" (*tierra de nadie*): key informants and neighbours who live in other parts of the Sagrada Familia considered Encants Vells as a dangerous area, although its residents believe that it is not so dangerous and economic difficulties shared by natives and immigrants seem to foster reciprocal comprehension so that immigrants do not seem to be generally stigmatised.

In Bermondsey, a central question concerning the Jacob's Island development evolves around the juxtaposition between the affluent gated communities and the relatively deprived housing estates immediately next to Jacob's Island. This is a question that concerns not only the disparities in terms of wealth but also the well-established stigma concerning council housing. So while living in immediate proximity, there is altogether very limited common ground – in terms of shared spaces and shared interests – in this part of Bermondsey. In the research, we identified also immigrants' gated community. In Kőbánya

the most wealthy group is Asian rather than Hungarian. Then, in residential place like Taraliget, enclosed by a high fence, mainly better-off people of Asian origin live.

Religion is another criterion of identification and grouping, although usually not so crucial as it is in political and public discourse in Europe, especially with regard to Islam. Nevertheless, in the few cases in which interviewees use religion as a marker, they do usually refer to Islam. In Werderau, despite the relevant presence of Turkish immigrants, religion was not regarded as a cleavage in the past and it has become a marker of identity only when conflicts rose between old resident and Turkish new residents: tensions seem to be mainly related to control over the housing stock but have been framed as ethnic and even religious cleavages. Due to these housing tensions that, as we said, crosscut the Turkish minority itself, religion even separates residents of Turkish origin. i.e. old-established residents with Turkish background who interpret Islam in a more open manner, on one hand, and newly arrived residents who follow more strict and traditional rules of religious behavior (head scarf , regular mosque attendance etc.), on the other hand.The role of religion as a marker of identity was emphasized also by residents in both London neighbourhoods. While some of the white British volunteers and community activists who worked locally in Bermondsey referred to their Christian belief as a major motivating factor, in Camberwell affiliation to West African churches is seen in particular by black African respondents as important and structuring aspects of everyday life and social organisation.

In Southern European neighbourhoods, religion and nationality often overlap, usually in an interchangeable and somehow confusing way. In Barriera di Milano, 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). In Sagrada Familia, the term “Muslims” constitutes a group ‘labelled’ by interviewees, usually referring to Pakistanis and Moroccans.

Finally, the ***length of stay*** can separate or unite residents across geographical and/or ethnic lines. In Werderau established residents, both native and with a Turkish background, tend to disagree with the way of living of new inhabitants with a Turkish background. In Italian neighbourhoods, differences emerge within larger and long-established minorities. In San Paolo, native residents say that the earlier arrived Moroccans were more inclined to law offence whereas Moroccan newcomers are considered to be individuals who look for legalizing their situation and to include themselves in the host community. On the contrary, in Barriera di Milano Moroccans arrived at the end of the 1970s are depicted by natives as honest and hard workers, meanwhile recently arrived Moroccans are portrayed as menacing, lacking in moral rules and unscrupulous.

Usually, even immigrants classify themselves according to the period of arrival in the neighbourhood. In Barriera di Milano the first comers depict themselves as more open to interactions and less problematical and they differentiate themselves from the last comers, to whom they attribute behaviours more problematic for the established social order. A meaningful example is found in Senegalese community: the first comers emphasize the work ethic and the rigid compliance with religious norms of the Mouride Brotherhood, to which they all belong, and they highlight the fact that such norms have been abandoned by the young fellow countrymen, who in some cases are involved in drugs pushing.

Similarly, in British neighbourhoods, the term ‘Black’ refers to a number of ethnic and national categories – black Caribbeans, West Africans, Somalis – characterised by significant divides as well as occasional tensions. These distinctions based on origin usually overlap with the ones based on the length of stay. Black Caribbeans, dating back to the Windrush generation of the 1950s, historically constituted the dominating

minority population in Camberwell. Whereas some have adopted religious and/or cultural practices that serve to acknowledge an African heritage - such as converting to Rastafarianism, collecting and displaying African artifacts, or wearing West African garments – there was also a history of tensions between black Caribbeans and West Africans, with some of the latter claiming that 'they say we sold them'. The black African population has been growing rapidly since the 1980s, and by 2001 the black African population in Camberwell was approximately twice the size of the black Caribbean population. The most significant new black immigrant group is the Somalis, most of whom arrived in the late 1990s and 2000s. But Somali respondents narrated how they felt othered, and at times stigmatized, by other black residents on account of religion and immigrant status.

Therefore, we can say that *groups are never homogeneous and rarely perceived as such, especially by their own members*.

3.2 A typology of interactions in neighbourhood sites

Starting from the fundamental distinction between representations (what people have in mind) and behaviors and actual relations (what people actually do) and considering the abovementioned multiple boundaries which run along various lines, not necessarily ethnic ones, we have sketched a typology of relations. This is based, on one hand, on the nature of relations (from cooperative to conflictual), on the other it draws on the essential value content of reciprocal representations (from positive to negative, passing through neutral/indifferent). In order to better explain each category, we include some examples drawn from final city reports, with reference to specific interaction sites among the in-depth researched ones (www.concordiadiscors.eu).

	REPRESENTATIONS		
RELATIONS	**Positive**	**Indifference**	**Negative**
Cooperation	Different ethnic groups in public libraries in Bermondsey and Camberwell (UK)	Chinese families and old Hungarian nannies in Taraliget residential park in Kőbánya (HU)	Chinese traders and Roma employees in Four Tigers Market in Józsefváros (HU)
Lack of contacts	Elderly people, teenagers and mothers with children in SPA garden in San Paolo (ITA)	Pakistani and natives in Poble Sec (SPA)	Affluent middle class residents in re-developed docklands and working class residents on council estates, North Bermondsey (UK).
Conflict/ Competition	Arabs and Hungarian shopkeepers in Józsefváros (HU)	Tourists and residents in Sagrada Familia (SPA)	New Turkish residents and old German and Turkish residents in MAN's housing stock in Werderau (GE)

It is worth saying that the market seems to have the capacity to foster competition as well as cooperation. In most investigated neighbourhoods shopkeepers are among the groups most evidently concerned about immigration because of a perception of economic competition brought about by immigrants.

In market contexts we find also some of the most unusual matches of representations and interactions. Collaboration develops even between groups with reciprocal negative representations as consequence of economic rationales. It is the case of Chinese traders in the Four Tiger Market in Józsefváros who employ Roma people since they constitute cheap manpower although not appreciating Roma's attitude to work. On the other hand, groups who carry reciprocal positive representations may compete, like in the case of Arab shopkeepers who are regarded as fair competitors by Hungarian ones - because of the prices - although they sometimes buy many shops leaving some of them empty to prevent competition by other shopkeepers.

Sometimes, relations developed in the labour market and in estates overlap. For instance, Taraliget residential park was the only one among Hungarian sites where small signs of cooperation appeared. Since Asian people work at least 10 hours a day, they have no time for looking after their children, so they hire retired Hungarian grannies around 50 to 60 years of age, to babysit their children. These ladies who also live in the neighbourhood often take care of their own grandchildren and the Chinese ones at the same time. This kind of relationship is regarded as highly beneficial by both parties: Hungarian grannies can supplement their incomes, and with the assistance of the children the feeling of usefulness returns into their life, they begin to live more actively. From the Asian parents' point of view the grannies can help their children to appropriate the Hungarian language and culture. The role of children has a key importance in shaping intergroup relations and after a while these ladies become like distant relatives while the business features of the procedures decrease constantly, i.e. the Hungarian granny makes cake for the Chinese parents and vice versa, sometimes they have a little talk about the actual happenings around the children, etc.

From the examples in the above table it is clear that other than ethnic cleavages can be relevant in structuring intergroup relations overlapping, reinforcing or blurring cleavages produced by migration. For instance, residents in Sagrada Familia certainly do not stigmatise tourists but neither appreciate them. As it often happens in the case of immigration, conflict does not mean direct clashes between the two populations but rather protests addressing public local authorities and requests to cut off traffic and better distribute the touristic flows. In the previous paragraph, we have already explained the relevance of socio-economic status, like in Bermondsey redeveloped docklands, or the length of stay which can enlarge the idea of "us" but even create cleavages within the same ethnic minority, like within Turkish residents in Werderau or within the black community in Camberwell. Analogous considerations can apply to generational cleavages which can turn into conflict or, in the better situations, in a lack of contact, like in SPA Gardens in San Paolo mentioned in the table, but hardly into actual cooperative relations.

Finally, it is worth reminding that *actual relations are also contingent on time*. It means that different groups might interact well in daytime but not at night. It is the case of public gardens or urban areas with commercial activities closed at night. For instance, in Via di Nanni in San Paolo the open market offers a chance of contact between majority (especially elderly people) and minorities during the morning whereas at night the area becomes empty being used as car parking and bars attract single migrant men who are regarded as disturbing by elderly people.

To conclude, we can maintain that *we can find different types of intergroup relations not just in the same city but also within the same neighbourhood, according to site and time*.

4. The role of spatial factors in shaping intergroup relations and integration processes

The concept of place in geography and urban sociology emphasises the relations between subjective and objective perspectives since it merges conceptually space and experience that gives space an identity (Abrahamson, 1996; Soja and Hooper, 1993; Greif and Cruiz, 1997). We can then say that places are social constructions too, like group boundaries.

Within the notion of space, public space has a particular relevance. It can indeed be regarded as the main element from which people derive their representations of cities and neighbourhoods (Lynch, 1960). Given that public places can be defined as space accessible to the public, we can say that it is this accessibility that allows the emergence of collective representations wherefrom cities and neighbourhoods are imagined and experienced. Starting from this consideration, public spaces can be distinguished according to their accessibility (from exclusive to open to all) and of the type of relations and communication (from intimate to anonymous), so they go from squares, streets and parks where accessibility is complete and indifference or "inattention" prevail, to cafés from which "undesirables" can be excluded (Tonnelat, 2010; Goffman 1971).

These access and exclusion dynamics highlight that places can be conceived both as contexts of interaction and stakes of conflict. More in particular, public places can be viewed as stakes both in material and in symbolical terms. In this research we have considered both these dimensions.

Finally, as already said, the relevance of accessibility is strongly related to the types of sociability. In this regard, Amin (2002) identifies what he calls "micropublics", i.e. spaces of associations where habit of practice substitutes the mere co-presence and dialogue and "prosaic negotiations" are compulsory; in a similar way, Wood and Landry (2007) define "zones of encounter" places where deeper and more enduring interactions between people engaging in shared activities and common goals can take place, such housing associations, parents' groups, schools, workplaces, youth centres, sport clubs, etc. In this research we have tried to analyse intergroup relations in different kind of places, from parks and squares, to libraries and cafés, to housing estates and apartment buildings starting from the hypothesis that the different characteristics of these places foster the development of different kinds of relations (Wessendorf, 2010).

4.1 Places as stakes. Can space become object of ethnic conflict?

The double nature of space, as context of interaction and/or stake of conflict, is evident when we consider ***housing***. The availability of housing and the nature of the housing stock are closely related to the mobility dynamics and intergroup relations. The housing market shapes the socio-spatial dynamics of the areas, providing opportunities and barriers for the mobility of different groups within them, with the access to local housing constituting a key determinant for immigration and settlement at the local level. But housing is also one of the fundamental urban social goods over which conflict can be staged.

This is evident in neighbourhoods where access to housing stock suddenly changed, like in Bermondsey and Werderau. In post WW2 Bermondsey the vast majority of housing stock was social housing, mostly controlled by the Bermondsey Metropolitan Borough. Under a principle informally known as 'sons and daughters', housing units would first and foremost be made available to the offspring of tenants who already lived in the borough. The structural reform of 1965 that saw the metropolitan councils of Bermondsey, Southwark and Camberwell amalgamated into the London Borough of Southwark meant that the social housing stock in Bermondsey became available to residents from other parts of Southwark.

Furthermore, the allocation of social housing became needs-based, conditional upon an assessment of personal circumstances rather than local family links. Thus from the early 1970s immigrants and ethnic minorities increasingly gained access to social housing. At the same time the social housing stock started declining due to the introduction of the right to buy in 1980, while demand for the decreasing stock increased. Since new residents often belong to minorities, this situation has raised conflicts which often run along ethnic lines or at least are framed in such a way by old residents belonging to the white working class.

A similar situation occurred in Werderau where most of the inhabitants worked for the nearby MAN factory. With increasing integration and family reunion of guest workers in the late 1960s and 1970s, migrant families, mostly of Turkish origin, moved to the neighbourhood and quickly integrated since they were perceived as a regular part of the neighbourhood population. In 1998 MAN sold the housing stock to the real estate company Telos, so the influence of MAN workers council on housing and living conditions in Werderau ended. Furthermore, in 2001 Telos went bankrupt and a series of ownership changes among different investors occurred. As a result, new tenants and new house owners moved into Werderau, mainly migrants of Turkish origin. Differently than from the past, this has produced divisions between old and new residents, between German and Turkish residents, but also between old and new Turkish inhabitants. Although the origin seems clearly rooted in competition for control over housing stock, conflict has been framed by residents mainly as an ethnic and cultural conflict, given that new residents are mainly Turkish, accused to have different ways of behaviour and disregard the rules.

Therefore conflicts over space are not necessarily frames as such and can turn into ethnic conflicts especially when length of stay and ethnic belonging overlap. Since this kind of ethnic and cultural conflicts usually hide conflict of interests, they can be managed and partially overcome changing the set of interest, as it happened in Werderau.

4.2 Places as connecting opportunity. Are public spaces enough for meeting?

The lack of "connecting opportunities" (e.g. meeting places, venues for organised activities, etc.) tend to generate fragmented social texture and less cooperative intergroup relations. We must however consider that the availability of connecting places is the result not only of the actual amount of them in the neighbourhoods. Certainly, neighbourhoods as Barriera di Milano, Werderau, Kőbánya and Sagrada Familia have few public gardens, squares, centres and associations compared to the other target neighbourhoods. Despite this scarcity, the available areas, such as public greens in Kőbánya or Sempione Park in Barriera are neglected since they are not properly equipped and are regarded as unsafe. On the contrary, the well equipped *Tres Xemeneies* park which borders Poble Sec and Ruffini Park which borders San Paolo are intensely used by residents and compensate for the lacking of large green areas within these two neighbourhoods.

It is therefore evident that meeting spaces cannot be measured only in terms of square metres: since it is socially produced, perception and experience of similar places may vary from one situation to another.

Actually, the connecting potential of public spaces seems partially to depend on ***rules of use of spaces*** *whose common definition is not easy to agree and may then generate conflicts*. Rules can be produced and defined in different ways. First, these rules can be embedded in spaces. Sometimes indeed the organisation of space suggests the ways in which it should be used thereby limiting negotiation and preventing conflicts.

Though, too neat distinctions between areas designed for specific purposes can limit contacts since each group uses a specific area without interacting with others. For instance, in the SPA gardens in San Paolo or the Xemenies in Poble Sec specialised areas (skateboarding area and basket or football fields for adolescents, playgrounds for children, benches for elderly people, etc.) certainly prevent conflicts but seem also to limit contacts since each group uses a specific area without interacting with others.

The second element which can help to identify common rules of use of places is formal or informal mediation activity played by organised actors such as associations, open market organisations, housing associations, etc. For instance, tenants and residents associations (TRA), which are elected bodies that manage social activities on estates and dialogue with service providers, seem to soften potential conflicts among residents of investigated London estates. In Montanaro gardens in Barriera di Milano conflicts are often solved thanks to a social cooperative which gives employment to mentally ill persons (gardening, park cleaning, children animation): mothers, both native and foreigner, entrust them the task of overseeing their children while they play and elderly persons have taken this group as a reference for problems arising in the park use. The neutral position of this group, being anomalous and excentric with regard to established social order, makes it a very useful tool for conflict resolution. The relevance of rules of use and of mediation action is evident also in the case of Langwasser where the opening of an Intercultural Garden raised fears and protests among resident population. The Intercultural Garden committee successfully counteracted these concerns developing a set of rules about opening hours, hygiene and garbage, parking and other provisions all meant not to raise any problems for the neighbours of the garden.

It is worth underlining that this brokerage role can formally be assumed by organisations, as in Langwasser, or played informally, like in other mentioned cases.

*The effects on the use of public spaces exerted by **inflows of neighbourhood users** attracted by leisure opportunities or touristic sites are not so clear since they may foster or hamper the use of public places as connecting opportunities by residents*. In Sagrada Familia public spaces and facilities are perceived as totally overwhelmed by tourists and most shops and bars address mass touristic flows rather than residents who have then few places to meet. In Encants Vells (at the Sagrada Familia's borders), according to some residents the flea market attracts a lot of outsiders, so it then can hardly been used as area of encounter by neighbours. Also Józsefváros is a central-located neighbourhood and one of the most congested districts of Budapest with lots of meeting places but the touristic crowd seems to hamper contacts and relations among residents.

On the contrary, in the inner neighbourhood of Gostenhof the high population density and the increasing number of shops and restaurants are regarded by interviewees to have fostered a trend away from mutual ignorance towards greater harmony and cooperation among residents: everyday interactions, such as shopping, leisure time activities, involvement in associations, local district committee, neighbourhood centres (e.g. Zentrum Aktiver Bürger) as well as courtyard festivals are considered crucial in fostering encounters between migrants and natives. It is also the case of Camberwell, where the high density of restaurants, cafes and shops is mainly perceived as an asset for intergroup relations. To take one last example, areas of the working neighbourhood of Poble Sec are becoming parts of the city's "bohemian" leisure and nightlife scene thanks to the transformation of Blai Street into a pedestrian street and other remodelling processes. In terms of intergroup relations, this urbanistic transformation has meant the possibility for Poble Sec residents to perform their daily and nightly activities within the neighbourhood and has increased the presence and the interactions between diverse geographical, cultural and social groups.

4.3 Zones of encounters. Is integration transferable?

In the investigated neighbourhoods, *cooperation is generally easier in what* Wood and Landry (2007) *call **"zones of encounter"***, where deeper and more enduring interactions between people engaging in shared activities and common goals can take place. Such places are, for instance, associations, schools, youth centres, sport clubs, etc. It is the case of "Laboratorio Territoriale", managed by the Municipal administration in San Paolo which houses the internet point together with the headquarters of several native and migrant associations and where the social and cultural heterogeneity of the users is not a cause of conflict but rather a starting point for positive and even cooperative interactions. The Public Baths of Aglié street in Barriera di Milano work in a similar way: here friendship relations and cooperation clearly prevail over conflict. Sagrada Familia multi-purpose centre where a library, civic centre, local marketplace, social services, and organisations' premises are located and where activities (eg. Chinese New Year's celebrations) and courses are organised, generates opportunities of encounter between immigrants and natives that allow everyday positive interactions (albeit often superficial). In Lagwasser, the Intercultural Gardens - which are gardens with no fences between neighbours in order to get to know each other, develop mutual tolerance and respect and possibly friendship - bring together migrants of different origins and natives through common gardening. These kind of examples are actually rather numerous and cannot be all listed here (for further examples see final city reports on www.concordiadiscors.eu).

The ability of these places to produce positive interactions is obvious, if we consider what we said in the previous paragraph. These are indeed places where rules about space use are usually clear and often codified and where collective actors with explicit or implicit mediating functions are present: two elements that, as we explained, facilitate positive intergroup interactions. Furthermore, these places are usually selective, i.e. users go there with specific purposes and sometimes share similar lifestyles and even values. Therefore, development of intergroup contacts and prevailing positive interactions are somehow obvious.

What is less obvious is that *integration achieved in these places is not completely transferable*. Often the same groups develop different relations in different places, even within the same neighbourhood. They may cooperate in schools, ignore each other in public gardens, fight in apartment buildings. For instance, in Bermondsey majority and minority groups may meet and positively interact in the public library but ignore each others in Dickens Estates. In San Paolo, elderly people and migrant men may get on well together in SPA gardens and conflict in night hours in via Di Nanni. In Józsefváros Chinese traders employ Roma people but they have no contacts with them in residential areas. *Therefore, we could say that integration, beyond being an individual property, can also, at least partially, be regarded as a space property.*

5. Intergroup relations and the role of organised collective action

Although the Concordia Discors project's core is constituted by the analysis of intergroup boundaries and relations through ethnographies, we have also analysed the macro-frames produced by local media and neighbourhood policy communities within which everyday relations and narratives are developed. In investigating these aspects, however, we have identified some dynamics which appear to make some neighbourhoods more resilient to external media and exogenous political narratives than others.

5.1 Media images of neighbourhoods: how much does the local dimension matter?

We have analysed two local newspapers or city pages of national newspaper per city over the decade 2001-2010 (see Annex 3 – List of local media). From comparison between cities and even neighbourhoods it is rather evident that differences between countries in media's approach to immigration are wider than differences between neighbourhoods in the same city.

The first distinction concerns the quantitative dimension of media coverage, i.e. the number of articles on each of the target neighbourhoods: in the Spanish and Italian cases, these are hundreds per year, while in the British and German cases they are only a few dozens. In Hungary then, all articles deal somehow with the neighbourhood as only neighbourhood-level newspapers have been used as sources for the analysis. This difference does not seem to be closely associated with the geographical scale of newspapers since, with the exception of Budapest, in all cases the scale is mainly the city. *What really counts for the differences in room devoted to neighbourhoods by local newspapers seems to be the more general relevance of neighbourhoods in public debates and collective narratives and it is clearly higher in Southern European cities*.

If we look at the share of neighbourhood-level articles specifically dealing with immigration and ethnic minorities, we see that in both Budapest and London[5] they are really few (5% in British neighbourhoods; from 2000 to 2002 and from 2007 to 2011 it was around 5% also in Hungarian neighbourhoods while it was higher in 2005-2006 and even higher in 2003-2004 when the newspaper had a section for minorities. Furthermore, no relevant differences were registered between neighbourhoods. The reasons for this weak coverage, however, seem to be different. In Budapest immigration is not an issue of public debate. In London, the low percentage of articles should be explained by the unwritten code of conduct in local area newspapers that discourages mention of ethnicities of individuals, unless strictly necessary for information purposes. Furthermore, immigration was very rarely directly mentioned –it was arguably implicit in news stories encompassing ethnic diversity – probably also because of long established communities of immigrants in the local area.

Also in Barcelona, a journalistic deontological code exists, although not mandatory. It is an ethical code published by the Professional association of Journalists of Catalonia which recommends to act with responsibility in case of information and opinions which may foster discrimination, especially racial discrimination. However, here the share of neighbourhood-level articles on immigration is significantly higher and differences between neighbourhoods are significant: considering together the two analysed newspapers over the last decade the share of articles on immigration was 17% in Poble Sec and 5% in Sagrada Familia.

The highest percentage of neighbourhood articles on immigration among target cities is registered in Turin and here differences between neighbourhoods are wider than in other case studies: as far as Barriera di Milano is concerned the share goes from 59% to 65% while in San Paolo from 14% to 20% depending on the newspaper.

[5] In the case of London the reference period is 1st January 2006-31st October 2011 since the online archives of South London Press cover newspapers published from January 2006 onwards

Finally, in Nuremberg news on neighbourhoods is few[6] (although many of them concerning migration and integration), the only exception Werderau in 2002, when a peak was registered mirroring the already mentioned conflict over housing.

Therefore, we can say that the immigration issue is rather often associated with the neighbourhood's image in Italian and German neighbourhoods and in Poble Sec while it is not in Hungarian and British neighbourhoods and in Sagrada Familia. Furthermore, while in London, Budapest and Nuremberg a sort of city approach seems to prevail on neighbourhood differences, in Barcelona and Turin differences between target neighbourhoods are significant. This result is coherent with the abovementioned assumption on the relevance of neighbourhoods in Southern European cities: the more relevant neighbourhoods are in public debate and collective narratives, the more the differences are highlighted by media.

Shifting to news content, in all neighbourhoods "negative" immigration news, i.e. those focusing on social conflict and repressive policies is higher than news on positive intergroup relations and integration policies. There are nevertheless exceptions: in German neighbourhoods, in particular, immigration is more often positively framed. Other two exceptions were registered which are particularly relevant since they highlight differences within the same city: in San Paolo the number of "positive" articles on immigration as a neighbourhood issue is almost the same as for "negative" ones. In Poble Sec favourable coverage is even prevailing when policy-related news are considered.

Whereas the German case appears to mirror the abovementioned differences in national media approach to immigration issue, in San Paolo and Poble Sec the positive frames seem to reflect other dynamics that we will better explain in the following paragraph.

To conclude on this point, we can affirm that *both neighbourhoods and immigration and ethnic minorities are more relevant issues in Southern European target cases reflecting probably a greater relevance in public debate and collective narratives*. Furthermore, *in Southern Europe differences between neighbourhoods of the same city are wider than in other target cases*.

5.2 Policy community cohesion as a factor of narrative and political autonomy of neighbourhoods

Keeping in mind the broad definition of "policy community" that we have adopted (all actors involved in local policymaking regardless of their legal status, i.e. public, non profit and profit actors; Jordan, 1990; Rhodes, 1990; Marsh and Rhodes, 1992) a caveat must be added here. Namely that we are comparing cities which differ strongly as far as the structure of local institutions is concerned. The less complex institution setting is the one of Nuremberg where the lowest local institutional level is the City - although recently district coordinators have been introduced in some areas. On the other hand, the most multilayer local administrations in our research are Barcelona and London: the first is articulated in the City government, 10 Districts and, since in 2009, 73 Neighbourhoods (*Barris*) among which Poble Sec and Sagrada Familia. In London, the City is articulated in Boroughs, which (in Southwark) are subdivided into community councils, themselves made up of wards[7]. Somewhere in the middle of this scale based on institutional complexity we

[6] We must however consider that it could partially due to the small size of German neighbourhoods

[7] At the time of the fieldwork, Bermondsey community council comprised Riverside, Grange and South Bermondsey wards. But due to budget cuts, Bermondsey and Rotherhithe community councils were merged in early 2012, comprising a total six

find the other two case studies which have similar institutional settings: beyond the City government, Budapest is divided into 23 Districts including Józsefváros and Kőbánya while in Turin the 23 Neighbourhoods (*Quartieri*), such as Barriera di Milano and San Paolo, in 1984 were suppressed and merged in 10 larger Districts (*Circoscrizioni*).

If we consider instead the contents of actions and measures implemented by local policy communities, something unexpected is found: in more recent immigration countries such as Spain and Italy, most actions carried out at neighbourhood level are addressing the whole population without references to migration or ethnic background, whereas in older immigration countries such as the UK and Germany ethnic and intercultural aspects are addressed more explicitly. In Budapest, no policies for integration have been developed and immigration is a totally disregarded issue.

Shifting now to the structure of neighbourhood policy communities (in its double dimension of a) degree of convergence of representations by different actors; b) degree of operational coordination among them) a clear correspondence seem to emerge. More cohesive local policy communities appear more resilient to the exogenous influences of city-level or national media and/or political movements, and better able to produce self-representations of the local community. Given that exogenous narratives are often broadly critical towards migration, such narrative autonomy is often a synonimous of community resilience towards xenophobic thinking and practices.

To give a concrete example, we can point at the prevalent "stories about the neighbourhood" of San Paolo Cenisia which are very different from those in Barriera di Milano. The first are strongly permeated with historical references to the past of anti-fascist insurgency and workers' struggles. The quarter is still systematically described as a working-class district, characterised by strong solidarity. It is worth saying that local news sources are usually the quarter's stakeholders (District councillors, NGOs, service providers, etc), whereas in the case of Barriera di Milano a collection of brief comments of bystanders - who describe the neighbourhood as a "problem area", "robbery district", "quarter with many illegal immigrants", "unsafe place", "slum", etc - is often the journalistic solution to the absence of local voices. Our hypothesis is that in San Paolo Cenisia the presence of strong stakeholders and a well organised policy community helps to give voice to the neighbourhood and to generate and channel positive narratives about intergroup relations.

In the same way, the more positive framing of policy interventions in Poble Sec mentioned in the previous paragraph can be seen as a result of a very rich network of associations which feed a dynamic and permanent social life and which are partially coordinated through Pla de Desenvolupament Comunitari del Poble Sec (Communitarian Development Plan), a project created in 2005 and leaded by the Coordinadora d'Entitats del Poble Sec (Associations Coordinator) also with the support of the Taula de Convivència del Poble Sec (Table for Peaceful Coexistence in Poble Sec) set up in 2010 by the local administration. On the contrary, in Sagrada Familia there are many associations, but just a few residents participate to their activities so they are not as strong as in Poble Sec.

In Werderau the mobilisation and intensification of conflict is mirrored in the strongly increasing media reports. Looking at the distribution of these articles over time, it is remarkable that there was a sudden rise in the number of articles dealing with migrants in 2002, but the next year only three out of 13 articles explicitly touched upon the issue. This development seems to be a result both of the broader political

wards. Camberwell community council, consisting of Camberwell Green, Brunswick Park and South Camberwell wards, was not effected by the cuts.

change in the City of Nuremberg and of the appointment in Werderau of the district coordinator who made pressure on local media. In Langwasser this influence was explicit: the framing of the conflict on Intercultural Gardens as a migrant minority-majority conflict had strongly emotionalised and politicised the debate and drew more people into it. In this situation the district coordinator appealed to the media not to give the anti-immigrant groups publicity and support for their propaganda. The media thus got increasingly critical of the right wing campaign and reported more favourably about the project. The cases of Werderau and Lagwasser clearly show how a cohesive local policy community can reject anti-immigrant political campaigns organised by external actors.

In Werderau the policy community has been however less effective on anti-immigrants political campaigns. The ethnicisation of the conflict was indeed partly stimulated by nativist right-wing forces of the neo-Nazi party NPD and a regional group coming from outside and called 'Ausländerstopp'. They claimed to support the old inhabitants' interests and blame migrants for the ongoing changes in the housing situation. In municipal and federal elections the nativist group succeeded in getting a share of the vote much above the city level. In Langwasser the conflict rose due to a lack of anticipatory communication with the residents by the city, so that fears developed and were reinforced by anti-immigrant agitation of right-wing groups. Here, however, counter-mobilisation against the anti-immigrant forces and careful action by the project weakened the campaign against the garden. After the improvement of information about the project by City-appointed community workers and a change of side of the media, many people became aware of having been misused for anti-immigrant actions and started seeing the project in a different light. The campaign against the garden slowly got weaker and normal gardening began in the fall of 2011.

Similar although less evident dynamics were registered in Bermondsey. Events to celebrate St. George's Day have been staged in different parts of northern Southwark since 2006. The celebrations have, in particular in South Bermondsey, been framed as part of an effort to 'reclaim' St George (whose cross is on the English flag) from the British National Party and the National Front, both of which have used the area around The Blue to stage marches8. It appears that Southwark Borough has been successful in re-claiming St. George's Day as this is now a community celebration involving schools and local organisations rather than a stage for BNP demonstrations.

We can then conclude that *the ability of local policy community to construct narrations is crucial to make a neighbourhood resilient to external narratives and to build a more cohesive local society which is based not only on actual facts but also on representations*. As Simon (2000) underlines in his analysis of Paris' highly diverse neighbourhood named Belleville, the working class past of the neighbourhood and the longstanding immigrant presence are historical facts but they probably had not the impact nor the importance they are believed to have. So also in the case of Belleville collective narratives are of great importance in shaping today's intergroup relations: by associating them with the neighbourhood's collective memory immigrants cease to be unfamiliar and potentially threatening outsiders.

[8] See the following thread with views from local residents concerning BNP and different experiences concerning racism and multiculture in Bermondsey: http://www.london-se1.co.uk/forum/read/1/61972 (accessed 18.04.2012).

5.3 Shared narratives and diversity as a neighbourhoods attraction

In the previous paragraph we saw how cohesive policy communities can produce more effective narratives about the neighbourhood or at least reject external narratives. But this is usually in itself not sufficient to produce a shared and strong narrative where diversity is regarded as an asset. An important additional factor is the cultural capital of residents and in particular the presence and strength of "new middle-class multiculturals" (Simon 2005). Indeed, in Concordia Discors this kind of neighbourhoods host middle class professionals and cultural workers with high level of civic engagement.

The socio-economic differentiation in both Bermondsey and Camberwell can be translated into an overlaying of class with race/ethnicity, as the majority of incomers can be categorised as white and middle-class. However, this is inflected differently in the two quarters, with two different middle class formations moving in: typically young professionals in the finance sector in Bermondsey, with a more cultural middle class in Camberwell, for whom diversity is one of the appeals of the area. In Camberwell, gentrification, like ethnic diversity, is long-established, and the earlier waves of gentrifiers are committed to the quarter, bringing stability to the fluid system.

Similarly, in Gostenhof, during the last ten years, extensive renovation works were initiated in order to improve the quality of living and the image of the neighbourhood so that it has increasingly attained the reputation of a multicultural and artist area, although it remains socially challenged. The result is that in Gostenhof there is a cosmopolitan atmosphere and, like in Camberwell, many people are actively engaged in voluntary work in the quarter. The numerous international Delikatesssen shops which are shaped by the diverse ethnic backgrounds of the residents as well as by artists play a meaningful role in the lives of Gostenhof's residents and also attract people from other quarters as places to meet, interact and spend leisure time. The diverse social and ethnic composition is perceived as a major characteristic of the quarter and most interviewed people as well as the media put the accent on the high level of acceptance of diversity and even regard it as appealing.

A similar process seems to be occurring in Poble Sec which during recent years is undergoing a process of change with a few streets that are becoming an important spot of the city's "bohemian" leisure and nightlife scene. Then, although it is mainly a working class quarter with lower than average real estate prices, during the last decade it has attracted some young middle class residents and the increasing and growingly appreciated diversity is also the product of this population process.

To sum up, *these three neighbourhoods (Gostenhof, Camberwell and Poble Sec), the only ones in our sample in which diversity is clearly regarded as an asset by most inhabitants, are characterised by the rooted or increasing presence of cultural middle class and by a high level of engagement of residents in public life and voluntary work. A positive relation between these two phenomena can thus be safely hypothesized.*

6. Concluding remarks. Integration as a threatened local public good

After more than half a decade since its outburst, the crisis is burdening and weakening the social fabric of all European cities, although certainly not in an even way: as a matter of fact, in some of the Concordia Discors target neighbourhoods, the economic downturn surfaces as a much more pressing and alarming issue than elsewhere. In spite of these local variations, the recession is everywhere eroding the economic and political foundations of integration, namely a sufficient degree of labour market inclusion of immigrant

workers and a sustainable (or perceived as such by the autochthonous majority) level of welfare consumption by them and their families.

At the same time, spontaneous shock-absorbing mechanisms – as one could somehow glacially define migrant returns and secondary migration to other, more promising destinations – are operating only to a limited, albeit hard to measure, extent.

In this context, the public budget crisis is dramatically reducing (although here too in a very asymmetrical way across Europe) the states' capacity to address integration gaps through targeted policy programmes and measures. Local authorities are increasingly left alone to face the social consequences of the crisis and in particular its impact on the integration between foreign immigrants and the receiving society.

But local authorities are themselves in deep financial difficulties, and integration policies are often the first casualty of spending reviews and cuts.

Urban societies, and within them specific neighbourhood communities more than others, are therefore increasingly emerging as the 'ground zero' of intergroup relations, where worsening integration gaps manifest themselves, risking to generate tensions which are then more easily polarized into "inter-ethnic" conflict. In most cases, due to the (probably harshening) socio-economic stratification of housing markets, such ethnically motivated neighbourhood conflicts will resemble "wars among poors". The way in which xenophobic gangs and violent extremists are contributing to the ethno-economic cleansing of central Athens should function as a strong warning for all crisis-ridden European cities.

In such difficult circumstances, integration and the prevention of grassroots ethnic conflict can be conceived as local public goods. "Public", because integration, if rigourously understood as a two-ways process, can indeed be argued to be a *non-excludable* and *non-rivalrous* good (i.e. the two key requisites according to the standard micro-economic definition). But it is also a "*local* good", in the sense that successful integration in contemporary European cities can hardly be achieved without a strong, capillary and proactive engagement of local communities themselves. If integration ever was (which is highly questionable) something exogenous, produced at national level and locally distributed from above, this is not any more the case.

In the US society, where the degree of collective reliance in the role of the state as "integration/cohesion provider" is historically lower than in Europe, the importance of grassroots community-building (and more recently community-organizing) for societal cohesion is traditionally greater and better understood.

The comparative research carried out in European neighbourhoods for the Concordia Discors project suggests us that it is time for Europe to learn from that tradition, even though avoiding any naïve illusion of a quick and easy socio-cultural transplant. Indeed, we must be aware that European societies are deeply different from North American ones and we cannot expect a sudden change in attitudes, ideas and values built and consolidated over centuries. Furthermore, community activism requires structural conditions starting from what we called "interaction sites" where groups have the chance to meet and develop integration and cohesion (e.g. public libraries, public parks, association premises, etc.) which are now at risk of disappearing, due to the sharp retreat of public actors.

Nevertheless, without a more direct, intensive and continuous engagement of local communities, with neighbourhoods as a pivotal level for both analysis and mobilization, integration is probably destined to become an ever more elusive reality.

References

Abrahamson, M. (1996), Urban Enclaves: Identity and Place in America, St. Martin Press, New York.

Allport, G. (1954). The Nature of Prejudice. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Amin A. (2002), *Ethnicity and the multicultural city: living with diversity*, "Environment and Planning A", vol. 24, pp. 959-980.

Banton M. (2009), *The Settlement in Europe of International Migrants*, IMISCOE Cross-Cluster, Theory Conference Interethnic Relations: Multidisciplinary Approaches (May 13-15, Lisbon).

Barth F. (1969), *Introduction*, in Id. (ed.), *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference*, Allen & Unwin, London, pp. 9-38.

Baumann G. (1996), *Contesting Culture: Discourses of Identity in Multi-Ethnic London*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Body-Gendrot, S. and Martiniello. M. (2000), "Introduction: The Dynamics of Social Integration and Social exclusion at Neighbourhood Level", in Body-Gentrot and Martiniello (eds.), *Minorities in European Cities*, Palgrave Macmillan.

Brubaker, R. (1992), *Citizenship and nationhood in France and Germany*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Brubaker R. (2004), *Ethnicity without Groups*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge (MA).

Clark, K. B. (1965), *Dark ghetto: dilemmas of social power.* Weslyan University Press, Hanover, NH.

Clark, W. A. V. (1986), *Residential segregation in American cities*, "Population Research and Policy Review", vol. 5, pp. 95–127.

Duncan O. D., Duncan B. (1957), *The negro population of Chicago,* University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Esser, H. (2004), *Does the «New» Immigration Require a «New» Theory of Intergenerational Integration?*, International Migration Review, 8 (3): 1126-1159

Caponio and Borkert (eds.) (2010), *The Local Dimension of Migration Policymaking*, IMISCOE series, Amsterdam University Press, Amsterdam.

Castles, S. & M. Miller (2003), The age of migration (3rd ed.). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Fonseca L. (2007), *Inserção Territorial – urbanismo, desenvolvimento regional e políticas locais de atracção*, in Vitorino, A. (a cura di), *Imigração: oportunidade ou ameaça?*, FCG, Fórum Gulbenkian Imigração, Principia, Lisboa, pp. 105-130.

Forrest R., Kearns A. (2001), *Social Cohesion, Social Capital and the Neighbourhood*, "Urban Studies", vol. 38, n. 12, pp. 2125-2143.

Fortuijn et al. (1998), "International Migration and Ethnic Segregation: Impacts on Urban Areas – Introduction",*Urban Studies*, 35(3): 367–370.

Galster G.C. (2001), "On the Nature of Neighbourhood", in *Urban Studies*, vol. 38, n. 12, pp. 2111-2124.

Goffman, E. (1971), *Relations in public; microstudies of the public order*, New York, Basic Books.

Greif, G. and Cruz, M. (1997), "Reconstructing Urban Boundaries: The Dialectis of Self and Place", in *Cybergeo: European Journal of Geography*, Dossiers, Colloques "Les problémes culturels dels grandes villes", 8-12 décembre 1997, article 103, put on line 6 July 1999.

Jayaweera, H., Choudhury T. (2008), *Immigration, faith and cohesion: evidence from local areas with significant Muslim populations*, Joseph Rowntree Foundation, York.

Jargowsky, P. A. (1997), *Poverty and place: ghettos, barrios, and the American city*, The Russell Sage Foundation, New York.

Jenkins R. (1997), *Rethinking Ethnicity: Arguments and Explorations*, Sage, London.

Johnston R., J. Forrest, Poulsen M. (2002a), *Are there ethnic enclaves/ghettos in English cities?*, "Urban Studies", vol. 39 n. 4, pp. 591–618.

Johnston, R., J. Forrest, Poulsen M. (2002b), *The ethnic geography of EthniCities*, "Ethnicities", vol. 2 n. 2, pp. 209–235.

Johnston, R., J. Forrest, Poulsen M. (2002c), *The Ethnic Ethnicities*, "Geography of Ethnicities", vol. 2 n. 2, pp. 139–162.

Jordan, G. (1990), *Sub-government, policy communities and networks: Refilling the old bottles?* in "Journal of Theoretical Politics", no. 2, pp. 319–338.

Joppke C. (2006), *Transformation of Immigrant Integration in Western Europe*, paper presented at the «Séminaire de sociologie de l'immigration et des relations interethniques 2005/2006», Université Libre de Bruxelles, 16th March, Bruxelles.

Kazepov, Y. (eds) (2005), Cities of Europe: Changing Contexts, Local Arrangements, and the Challenge to Urban Cohesion. Blackwell Publishing.

Kissler, M. and J. Eckert (1990), 'Multikulturelle Gesellschaft und Urbanität - Die soziale Konstruktion eines innerstädtischen Wohnviertels aus figurationssoziologischer Sicht', *Migration*, 8:43-82.

Lamont, M. (2000), *The Dignity of Working Man. Morality and the Boundaries of Race, Class, andImmigration*. Harvard: Harvard University Press.

Lance, B. and J. Dronkers (2009), *Ethnic, Religious and Economic Diversity in the Neighbourhood: Explaining Quality of Contact with Neighbours, Trust in the Neighbourhood and Inter-ethnic Trust for Immigrant and Native Residents*, IMISCOE Cross-Cluster Theory Conference Interethnic Relations: Multidisciplinary Approaches 13 - 15 May 2009, Lisbon.

Lee, J. (2002), *Civility in the city: Blacks, Jews, and Koreans in urban America*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge MA.

Lupton R. (2003), "*Neighborhood Effects": Can we measure them and does it matter?*, CASE paper, n. 73, September.

Lynch, K. (1960), *The image of the city*, Cambridge Mass., Technology Press.

Marsh D. , Rhodes R. A.W. (a cura di) (1992) *Policy Networks in British Government*, Clarendon Press, Oxford.

Massey, D. S., Denton N. A. (1993), *American apartheid: segregation and the making of the underclass,* Harvard University Press, Cambridge.

Massey, D. S., Denton N. A. (1989), *Hypersegregation in United States metropolitan areas: black and Hispanic segregation along five dimensions*, "Demography", vol. 26 n. 2, pp. 373–391.

Merton, R.K. (1949), *Social Theory and Social Structure*, Gleocoe, ill. The Free Press.

Musterd, S. and Ostendorf, W. (eds) (1998), *Urban Segregation and the Welfare State Inquality and Exlusion in Western Cities*, Routledge, london.

OECD (2012), International Migration Outlook 2012, OECD Publishing. http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/migr_outlook-2012-en

Peach, C. (1998), *South Asian and Caribbean ethnic minority housing choice in Britain*, "Urban Studies", vol. 35 n.10, pp. 1657–1680.

Peach, C. (1996), *Does Britain have ghettos?,* "Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers", vol. 21 n.1, pp. 216–235.

Penninx et. al (2004) "Integration processes and policies: state of the art and lessons" in Penninx et al *Citizenship in European cities: immigrants, local policies and integration*. Ashgate

Phillips, D. (2002), *Movement to opportunity? South Asian relocation in northern cities*. End of Award Report, ESRC R000238038, University of Leeds School of Geography, Leeds.

Phillips, D. (1998), *Black minority ethnic concentration, segregation and dispersal in Britain*, "Urban Studies", vol. 35 n. 10, pp. 1681–1702.Rhodes R. A. W. (1990), *Policy networks: A British perspective,* in "Journal of Theoretical Politics", no. 2, pp. 293–317.

Ray, K., M. Hudson, J. Phillips (2008), *Belonging and entitlement: shifting discourses of difference in multiethnic neighbourhoods in the UK* in Tyler K., Petterson B. (ed.), *Majority cultures and the practices of ethnic difference: whose house is this?*. Palgrave, Basingstoke, pp. 114-135.

Rhodes R. A. W. (1990), *Policy networks: A British perspective*, in "Journal of Theoretical Politics", no. 2, pp. 293–317.

Robinson, D., Reeve, K. (2006), *Neighbourhood experiences of new immigration. Reflections from the evidence base*, Joseph Rowntree Foundation, York.

Simon, P. (1998), *Ghettos, immigrants, and integration: the French dilemma*, "Netherlands Journal of Housing and the Built Environment", vol. 13 n.1, pp. 13–32.

Simon, P. (2005), "Gentrification of Old Neighbourhoods and social Integration in Europe", in Y. Kazepov (eds), pp. 210-232.

Simon, P. (2000), "The Mosaic Pattern : Cohabitation between Ethnic Groups in Belleville (Paris)", in Body-Gendrot and Martiniello (eds.), Minorities in European Cities *The Dynamics of social integration and social exclusion at the neighbourhood level*, London, Macmillan Press, pp. 100-115.

Soja, E. and B. Hooper (1993), « The Space that Difference Makes », in Keith, Pile (eds.), *Place and the Politics of Identity*, Routledge Presso, London.

Stolle, D., S. Soraka, R. Johnston (2008), *When does diversity erode trust? Neighbourhood diversity, interpersonal trust and the mediating effect of social interactions*, "Political Studies", vol. 56, pp. 57-75.

Taboada Leonetti, I. (1989), « Coabitation pluri-ethnique dans la ville: strategies d'insertion locale et phénoménes identitaires », in *Revues Européenne des Migrations Internationales*, vol. 5,. no. 2, pp. 51-87.

Tonnelat, S. (2010), "The sociology of urban public spaces", in W. Hongyang, S. Michel and Z. Guofang (eds.), *Territorial Evolution and Planning Solution: Experiences from China and France*, Paris, Atlantis Press.

Tyler, K., O. Jensen (2009), *Communities within communities: a longitudinal approach to minority/ majority relationships and social cohesion.* Department of Sociology, University of Surrey.

Valtonen, K. (2002), *The ethnic neighbourhood. A locus of empowerment for elderly immigrants*, "International Social Work", vol. 45 n. 3, pp. 315–323.

Wessendorf S. (2010), *Commonplace Diversity: Social Interactions in a Super-Diverse Context*, MMG Working Paper, nn. 10-11, http://www.mmg.mpg.de/fileadmin/ user_upload/documents/wp/WP_10-11_Wessendorf_Commonplace-Diversity.pdf.

Wilson, T. (1983), *White response to neighbourhood racial change*, "Sociological Focus", vol. 16, pp. 305–318.

Wimmer, A. & Glick Schiller, N. (2002) Methodological nationalism and beyond: nation-state

building, migration and the social sciences. Global Networks, 2 (4), pp. 301-334.

Wimmer A. (2004), *Does Ethnicity Matter? Everyday Group Formation in Three Swiss Immigrant Neighbourhoods*, in "Ethnic and Racial Studies", n. 27, n. 1, pp. 1-36.

Wimmer A. (2007), *How (Not) to Think about Ethnicity: A Boundary Making Perspective*, COMPAS Working Paper, n. 44, http://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/fileadmin/files/Publications/working_papers/WP_2007/WP0744-Wimmer.pdf.

ANNEX 1 - NUMER OF INTERVIEWS IN EACH NEIGHBOURHOOD

BARCELONA

Sagrada Familia: 35

Poble Sec: 44

BUDAPEST

Józsefváros: 27

Kőbánya: 7

LONDON

Key informants: 20

Ethnographic interviews:

Bermonsdey: 17

Camberwell: 20

NUREMBERG

Gostenhof: 12

Werderau: 13

Langwasser: 10

TURIN*

Key informants Barriera: 11

Barriera di Milano: 56

Key informants San Paolo: 18

Borgo San Paolo: 46

Policy communities of

Barriera di Milano: 6

Borgo San Paolo: 9

* In the case of Turin Compagnia di San Paolo's findings which integrate the European Commission Integration Fund, allowed to carry out more interviews than in other target cities

ANNEX 2 - Overview of available data in target cities

Neighbourhood as social context

	Barcelona	Nuremberg	Budapest	Turin	London
Total population	city; quarter	city; quarter	city, district	city; quarter	city, district, community council, quarter (estimates)
Population composition by age	city; quarter	city; quarter	city, district	city; quarter	city, district, community council, quarter (estimates)
Population composition by sex	city; quarter	city; quarter	city, district	city; quarter	city, district, community council, quarter (estimates)
Population composition by year of arrival in the city and in the neighbourhood	availability to be verified	city; quarter	not available	city; quarter	not available
Annual variation of the population	city; quarter	city; quarter	city, district	city; quarter	city, district (estimates)
Population/km2	city; quarter	city; quarter	city, district	city; quarter	city, district, quarter
Natural balance rate	city; quarter	city; quarter	city, district	city; quarter	city, district
Immigration rate	city; quarter	city; quarter	not available	city; quarter	not available
Demographic balance rate	city; quarter	city; quarter	city, district	city; quarter	not available
Average value and/or composition of nationals and foreigners by income	city, quarter (The relative index that is a comparison with Barcelona's average income (100 points). Only general data, no nationals/foreigners data)	city (no differentiation between nationals and foreigners available)	not available	city; quarter	city, district

Average value and/or composition of nationals and foreigners by employment and unemployment rate	city (Registered unemployement)	city; quarter	not available	not available	city, district
Average value and/or composition of nationals and foreigners by economic sector	availability to be verified	not available	not available	not available	city, district
Average value and/or composition of nationals and foreigners by occupational level	city (employment contracts)	not available	not available	not available	city, district
Average value and/or composition of nationals and foreigners by health condition	availability to be verified	not available	not available	not available	city, district , quarter
Average value and/or composition of nationals and foreigners by education level	city; quarter (only general data for quarters. Data about foreigners only on city level)	quateri level (transition rates from primary school to the three types of secondary school) Distinction German anf foreigners only at city level	not available	not available	city, district
Average value and/or composition of nationals and foreigners by housing regime	city; quarter (Total; Spaniards; Foreigners; Mixed (30.06.2010))	quarter (One family house, two family house, block of 3-6 flats, block of 7 or more flats, others)	not available	not available	city, district
Proportion of foreign and national families who receive economic assistance	city, quarter (Index created according to the following schema: [(Retired + disabled) / total population] *	quarter (recipients of unemployment benefits II and III)	not available	availability to be verified	city (% working age benefit claimants, % out of work benefit claimants), district (% out

	10.000 Only general data, no nationals/foreigners data.)				of work benefit claimants), quarter (%working age benefit claimants)
Reporting of anti-social behaviour and crime rate with special attention to violent crimes	city; district (Nº Crimes / total population x 1000 (in 2009, Statistics Department, Barcelona City Council))	not avaiable	not available	availability to be verified	city (crime rates), district (crime rates, weapon injuries), quarter (weapon injuries)

Neighbourhood as migrants destination

	Barcelona	**Nuremberg**	**Budapest**	**Turin**	**London**
Migratory balance rate	city; quarter	city; quarter	not available	city; quarter	district; city
Immigration rate	city; quarter	city; quarter	not available	city; quarter	not available
Proportion of people with foreign citizenship in total population	city; quarter	city; quarter	city, districts	city; quarter	?
Proportion of born in foreign countries in total population	city; quarter	not available	not available	not available	city, district, quarter (only 2001 Census)
Proportion of people with an minority ethnic background in total population	not available	city; quarter	not available	not available	city, district, quarter (only 2001 Census)
Proportion of under 3 year olds with an ethnic background among all under 3 year olds (Efms' proposal)		city, quarter		not available	
Population composition by nationality	city; quarter	city; quarter	city, districts	city; quarter	city, district
Population composition by country of birth	city	city	not available	not available	city, district

Population composition by ethnic background	not available	city; quarter	not available	not available	city, district, community council (from 2001 Census), quarter (from 2001 Census)
Population composition by religion	not available	city; quarter	not available	not available	city, district
Proportion of migrants arrived < 5-10 years (recent migrants)	city; quarter (there are several ways of calculating this, which one would you suggest?)	city (Total number of immigrants arrived in Nbg. between 2000 and 2009)	not available	not available	city, district

Neighbourhood as arena of conflict and cooperation

	Barcelona	**Nuremberg**	**Budapest**	**Turin**	**London**
(Police) Reporting of racist and xenophobic acts	not available	city	not available	not available	city, district
Votes for political parties with anti-immigrant stances in the EU/national/regional/municipal/district election in target neighbourhoods in the last 10 years	city, district, quarter.	city, quarter	city, district, quarters	city, quarter	ciy, district, neighbourhood
Number and /or proportion of non profit organisations working around immigration issues	quarter	availabilty to be verified	not available	city, quarter	not available

ANNEX 3 – LIST OF LOCAL MEDIA

BARCELONA

La Vanguardia and El Period are daily newspapers with a section devoted to Barcelona local news

BUDAPEST

Józsefváros is a free newspaper, boasts a circulation of 55.000 copies for each issue (every second week). The newspaper was founded in 1993 and it is owned by the local government.

Kőbányai Hírek (Kőbánya News). This free monthly newspaper owned by the local government was founded in 1990. It has a circulation of 33.000 copies.

Helyi Téma.This free weekly independent newspaper owned by "Théma Lap- és Könyvkiadó Kft" was founded in 2004. It has a circulation of 54.000 copies. From 2005 every district in Budapest has had its own Helyi Téma, including Józsefváros and Kőbánya. Helyi Téma has 2 local pages, the articles from other pages are about city-related news.

LONDON

South London Press is a twice-weekly newspaper

London Evening Standard comes out every evening and it is regional rather then local newspaper

Southwark News is the local weekly in Southwark Borough. But its archives can not be accessed electronically.

NUREMBERG

Nuremberger Zeitung, and Nuremberger Nachrichten are local daily newspapers

TORINO

La Repubblica and La Stampa are a national daily newspapers with local pages on Turin