Urban Intercultural Spaces and Social Movements

CIIMU
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Ge.M.IC.

SEVENTH FRAMEWORK PROGRAMME

Urban Intercultural Spaces and Social Movements

Synthesis Thematic Report

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Presentation

The European Project ***Ge.M.IC.—"Gender, Migration and Intercultural Interactions in the Mediterranean and South East Europe: an interdisciplinary perspective"*** is financed by the European Commission as part of the FP7-SSH-2007-1 Programme (www.gemic.eu) study "Cultural Interactions in a European Perspective" through a tripartite conceptual and methodological approach. The aim will be to identify links between migration, gender and intercultural interaction, as it is at the meeting place of these three elements that some of the most important cultural developments in Europe take place. Ge.M.IC will approach these questions from a critical perspective, particularly emphasizing the impact of migrant mobility and cultural diversity on gender relations in host, transit and sending societies. The research will be interdisciplinary in accordance with the broad range of expertise of the people working on the project. The organization of the work will reflect the interethnic and interdisciplinary character of the consortium, focusing both field work and analysis on six thematic study areas, rather than on national case studies: representations of national identity and the media, education, urban social spaces and movements, religion, violence and the family. Ge.M.IC has generated new and important insights in these areas, taking advantage of the diverse fields of expertise of different researchers and their commitment to studying gender and addressing issues of gender equality as a central aspect of the research.

The CIIMU Team is the coordinator of the Work Package: **"Urban Intercultural Spaces and Movements" (Spain, Greece and Italy), whose scientific results we present below.**

Introduction

Based on the case studies of Bologna, Athens and Barcelona, the purpose of this research is to analyse the role of urban public spaces in the creation of intercultural and social inclusion/exclusion relations. We focus on the use and appropriation of these spaces from a gender approach that specifically considers the migrant families' experiences. We also use the feminist concept of positionality to understand how the social situatedness of migrants conditions their citizenship practices (gender, ethnicity, education, immigration status, social class, age and generations, length of stay and migration experiences). We propose the idea of citizenship as a social practice that migrants engage in on many scales and in many public spheres across national boundaries. From this point of view, urban spaces are a vantage point for understanding migrant citizenship practices.

We consider public spaces strategic places of interaction and participation, crucial to the formation of identification processes and the construction of citizenship. Public spaces are understood in a broad sense, which includes those in the open air such as squares, streets or parks and those in public and private premises such as commercial areas or cultural, health and entertainment facilities, in short, public places of encounter and confrontation in the city. A specific area of study has been chosen for its diversity in terms of the origin of the population. As people's daily practices and experiences are very important for assessing places and taking into account social diversity and difference, the challenge is to see the different uses of these spaces and the access to the social rights linked to variables of gender, age, social class and origin. Therefore, the research will be based on a qualitative methodological perspective from a gender approach.

In order to study and investigate the public spaces, each national team decided on a specific neighbourhood: Bolognina in Bologna, Kypseli in Athens and Poble Sec in Barcelona. They are working-class neighbourhoods where, following the waves of domestic migrants who arrived in the mid 20th century, international migrants are adding new perspectives to interaction and participation in the borough. The three neighbourhoods now have high percentages of migrants (Poble Sec, 28.1%, Kypseli, 21% and Bolognina 17%). In the last decades, the three have undergone a process of revitalization and gentrification, and they also have a very rich associative network.

In short, based on a *gender* and *positionality* perspective, the goals of the research are to investigate: a) the migrants' use of the urban spaces and the changes in the city, b) formal and informal practices in local communities and neighbourhoods in which intercultural interactions take place, c) the migrants' citizenship practices in their local and transnational lives.

The main objectives of our studies have been:

- To investigate the intersection between gender, migration and intercultural interactions in urban spaces and/or social movements with particular emphasis on local communities, neighbourhoods and the production of transnational "homes".
- To study formal and informal practices of assimilation, integration and/or marginalization, as well as forms of resistance to established power relations in urban spaces and social movements, and assess their impact on gender relations.
- To develop an alternative framework for understanding local communities, neighbourhoods and transnational 'homes' as material spaces of intercultural interaction, with particular emphasis on identifying resistance.
- To analyse the (public and private) agents who make up the organization of daily life (e.g. community public social services or health services and immigrants' associations or 'ethnic' businesses).
- To explore political and theoretical perspectives through which both conflict and dialogue between natives and migrant groups can be accommodated in a local context and the possibilities of urban social movements contributing to intercultural relations.
- To explore the connections between public/private, universal/particular, equality/difference in the discourses and practices aimed at the integration of immigrants.

1. Some theoretical and methodological remarks

Among the various themes addressed within the study of urban public spaces, we focus most specifically upon the issue of public space itself. This focus requires a definition of the concept. Within academic literature there are many definitions of, more complementary than mutually exclusive, from which we have borrowed requisites and attributes, without being exhaustive in our selection. One of the main characteristics associated with public space is that of being open, tolerant in the sense of allowing a great variety of uses and users (Walzer, 1986), spaces for which access and enjoyment are limited by the logics of the market or of power. At the same time, public spaces include a participatory and even festive dimension, when groups of citizens, or even local or other administrations, use them for gatherings and celebrations, as is the case with large-scale festivities or street markets (Francis, 1989).

Other authors emphasize the socially cohesive dimension of public spaces, which can be integrating and democratic and linked to political expression in events such as protests and rallies (López de Lucio, 2000). This positive dimension is also associated with attributes such as openness to otherness and the potential to be inclusive and accessible (Delgado, 1999).

Lastly, we should mention attributes which favour communication, encounters, and exchange between people with different characteristics (Borja and Muxí, 2001). This aspect is of interest in our research, in the sense of considering public space strategic in the manifestation and development of intercultural relations between people of diverse origins. If public space is seen as open to all people who live in or visit a city, aspects such as governance, cultural identity and citizenship (Low, 2001) are reinforced.

A gender focus has contributed notably to the definition of public space and has even reinterpreted it. Fundamentally, feminist geographies have emphasized the role public spaces play in the everyday life of cities, particularly stressing women's perceptions, uses and specific needs within them (Coutras, 1996; McDowell, 1999). We need to recognize that women establish a very close relationship with the public spaces of their residential and work environments, given that the combination of home and work responsibilities makes women not only users of these spaces but also experts on their daily urban environment (García Ballesteros, 1989, Coutras, 1996, Justo, 2000).

Numerous research projects based upon different cases have started from such many-sided and complex conceptualizations of public space (Monnet, 2002; Ortiz, 2003; 2004; Pedone, 2004; Guzmán, 2007; Aramburu Otazu, 2008). These works, among others, focus on different aspects but share a desire to situate public space at the centre of their analyses. They also frame public space as an articulating element for concern over variables such as gender or migration processes.

The presence or perhaps coexistence of people with distinct identities (according to origin, sex, age or sexual orientation) in shared public spaces has also been an object of analysis. There has been particular focus on processes of exclusion within public spaces that can have an impact on certain groups or persons. For example, the coexistence of people of different origins gives rise to a great diversity of situations that can range from "polite disregard" (Delgado, 2007) to open conflict. Even in studies which demonstrate a high ethnic concentration in public spaces, it has been observed that this does not necessarily have negative consequences; it can even create a situation of peaceful if distant coexistence (Torres, 2004). For this reason the author highlights the need to understand and explain the different ways of managing the proximity-distance axis which characterizes multicultural public spaces and the dynamics they generate (Torres, 2004, p.10).

Lastly, in the case of our research, it is important to bear in mind the connections between variables such as gender and migration with a transnational perspective. Following Liliana Suárez (2007), we attribute the adjective 'transnational' to "economic, political, and sociocultural processes and practices that are linked to and configured by the logics of more than one nation-state, and which are characterized by the constant crossing of borders" (Suárez, 2007:1). This author warns us about the uses and misuses associated with this concept, adding a critical perspective which we consider to be of great use for the future development of our research. For example, analyses of social networks undertaken from the transnational perspective and which have also been attentive to gender have allowed family dynamics to emerge as fertile ground for the production of knowledge about migratory movements. Such analyses have permitted researchers to challenge the representation of international migration as a fundamentally male decision (Pedone, 2004).

The use of the concept of transnationalism allows for a much richer and more complex approach to the reality of intercultural relationships in public spaces. From the transnational

perspective, interest in public spaces crosses borders and takes into account the macrosocial consequences that arise from their use (Moraes, 2006).

1.1. Presence and citizenship

When it comes to analysing migrants' participation in public spaces we should consider some of Saskia Sassen's theoretical suggestions (2003) referring to the practices that update citizenship as constant social inventions that have an equivalent in the law. The author relates this *de facto* citizenship with presence but also with actions in the public sphere which provide subjects who are not usually taken into account in it with recognition and legitimacy. The term 'presence' refers to the condition as political agents of subjects who are subordinate or stripped of power. So immigrants without documents are people whose unauthorized presence generates rights. On the opposite side Sassen places women: in the case of immigrant women, their role as sustainers of survival and family welfare often functions as a transforming element that drives their participation in the public space. The home, the community, the neighbourhood and the school thus become spaces where women are key actors. When they are lived or experienced as non-political spheres those spaces are turned into "microenvironments with a global scope" (Vega Solís and Gil Araujo 2003).

The city is turned into a space where non-formal political subjects construct a political scene that allows a wide range of interventions (neighbourhood assemblies, self-managed spaces, struggles for immigrants' rights, protests over cutbacks in public services) and encourages the formation of new subjectivities and territories for experiments, aside from the formal political system. The potential of the exercise of citizenship as the 'right to the city' and the mutual recognition of subjects connected in many cross-border circuits involve assuming a capacity for action which is exercised against the constraints of national and economic citizenship. According to Sassen's analysis, global citizenship today occupies a special place in cities and in the interconnection of transnational networks and circuits.

Perhaps we should start to pay attention to the meaning and value assigned by the migrant population to local belonging, their ways of appropriating the spaces where they live and the way they imagine the idea of citizenship (Leitner and Ehrkamp 2006).

1.2. Methodology

A study of the everyday use of public space and its meanings from a gender perspective requires a primarily qualitative methodology. Practically speaking, most gender-sensitive studies on the uses and appropriations of urban public spaces employ qualitative methodologies because these allow researchers to explore the processes that produce certain phenomena and promote an awareness of sociospatial experience.

On the other hand, it is known that feminist thought is constructed from distinct methods and methodologies, a diversity united by the common thread of its thorough critique of the social context and of the consequences brought about by the contexts in which the research occurs (Madge et al., 1997). For feminists, knowledge is experiential and interpretive, and the appropriate methodology is the kind that recognizes the social relationships of research and has emancipatory objectives for all involved. Qualitative methods perhaps offer the most direct route towards producing such situated knowledge. In any case, discourses proposing 'feminist methods of investigation' have moved beyond rejecting quantitative methods for their connection with positivism towards developing new strategies which recognize the complementariness of techniques and, above all, insist more upon feminist objectives than upon the use of certain methods (Baylina, 1997; Prats, 1998).

Feminist researchers start from the premise that different women have different experiences that need to be compiled; that the space of research is never neutral but is rather a certain changing political, social, economic and cultural context; and that what we decide to investigate, discover or value is determined by the positioning of our identity (age, religion, gender, ethnicity, cultural origin, sexual orientation and location in space and time, among others). At the same time, in the research process the investigators assume complex and dynamic social relations which raise many ethical dilemmas that have to be resolved. Lastly, research results are interpreted taking into account the investigator's context, understood as her or his system of values, behaviours, attitudes and feelings, and it is written up in conscious consideration of the intended audience (in this sense, co-authorship with an informant, or at least the literal reproduction of their words, strengthens the final product).

drawings, photographs or film) are the most appropriate for investigating the use of public spaces by both locals and new residents, in the widest possible framework of practice and daily experience and with attention to the importance of gender for behaviour.

Visual methods are increasingly used by feminist investigators of all analytical issues, including migration. Bearing in mind the importance of the visual in contemporary Western societies, their use is particularly interesting. Those investigators who have done so think that visual images are not innocent but constructed via practice, technology and knowledge of different kinds, not 'natural', and they recommend that potential users assume a critical stance, one which considers how the meanings of images are linked to their production, to the image itself and to the intended audience (Rose, 2001). In this sense, images have been used in various works dealing with the use of public spaces by women and children (Fenster 2004; Young and Barret 2001).

It is also necessary to highlight that new perspectives require new analytical methods and approaches that include the scope, heterogeneity and scale of the social transformations associated with processes recently incorporated into migrations, such as transnationalism (Moraes, 2006).

Our research was based on a qualitative perspective from a gender approach. Before the field work, the WP7 partners agreed on the methodological framework, selected a neighbourhood as the case study in which the field work would be conducted and developed an 'interview guide' (see Appendix I).

Field work methods have involved: mapping of the neighbourhood (uses, activities), participant observation (leisure places and meeting points organized and attended by migrant women and men, markets and stores, urban parks, coffee shops, 'ethnic' food stores, hairdresser's and beauty salons), interviews with locals, users and planners.

2. Case studies

In order to study and investigate the public spaces in Bologna, Athens and Barcelona each national team decided on a specific neighbourhood. The three cases chosen –Bolognina in Bologna, Kypseli in Athens, Poble Sec in Barcelona– share quite a few common characteristics:

- They are working-class neighbourhoods with two influxes of migrants: in the mid 20th century from the same country and the recent international ones.
- At the end of the 1990s the three neighbourhoods experienced the arrival, on the one hand of local people moving to the area because of the reasonable price of properties and, on the other, of international migrants (attracted to the areas for the same reasons).
- Although the nationalities of the migrant communities do not coincide in any of the three cities, the percentages of migrants in each neighbourhood are not too far apart (Poble Sec, 28.1%, Kypseli, 21% and Bolognina, 17%).
- The three neighbourhoods have experienced a process of revitalization and gentrification: Kypseli and Poble Sec a low-cost gentrification through the new arrivals and Bolognina a higher class one through the intervention of state and private enterprises.
- Bolognina, Kypseli and Poble Sec have a very rich associative network.

2.1. Bolognina (Bologna, Italy)

A large central neighbourhood –it is part of the administrative area of Navile–, Bolognina is a traditional meeting point. Since the 1990s it has been the most populous migrant zone in Bologna. The largest groups come from China, Morocco and the Philippines, followed by a wide variety of other sending countries: Bangladesh, Albania, Ukraine, Moldova, Pakistan, Eritrea, Sri Lanka, Tunisia, Serbia, Egypt, Peru and many others. The so called 'irregular' and 'clandestine' migrants are excluded from the official statistics: nevertheless, they have a structural presence in the social, productive and economic fabric, as well as in the everyday life of the urban spaces.

Historically Bolognina has been a working-class neighbourhood, with the presence, until the 1980s, of many industries. With the building of the new town hall, new residential lots and the project for a new station it is now undergoing a fast transformation towards gentrification, due to its strategic position close to the city centre, the railway station and major national and local roads.

It is only since the beginning of the 1980s that the presence of migrants has become significant in the city of Bologna, following the Italian national trend. Suffice it to mention that in 1992 the average migrant population of Bologna was still not above 1.4% of the total, but their presence almost doubled from 2002 to 2008. We can thus see that while Bolognina accounts for 8.7% of the total population of the city, more than 14% of the total migrant population lives in the neighbourhood.

Regarding the dynamic dimension of the neighbourhood, the study led the team to foresee a gentrification process: entire areas now considered periphery, but very close to the city centre, are becoming administrative centres and will include housing, new commercial activities and transport hubs. Methodologically, that means that they should focus their approach on the dynamic processes that involve migrant communities living in the area rather than suggest a stable relation between them and the neighbourhood.

Regarding the first results of the research, one of the main ideas derives from the fact that Bolognina is neither a sort of ghetto nor an ethnic enclave. Rather, it has become an urban hub, continuously transformed by mobility: transnational mobility and mobility within the city. This aspect has led them to ponder a methodological issue: since the area is based on constant mobility, the ethnography has to become mobile too. Consequently, they propose a multi-sited ethnography within the urban spaces as well, which would mean following the movement of the people.

In accordance with this, they have come to the conclusion that there are at least two kinds of networks: 1) a network based on the community: quite stable, producing a pre-existing identity in the new spaces and multiplying the borders within the city, 2) a network as an outcome of new forms of life and sociality, questioning both the borders of the city and its internal communities. The movements of the migrants in the urban spaces are also a movement between these two kinds of network.

2.2. Kypseli (Athens, Greece)

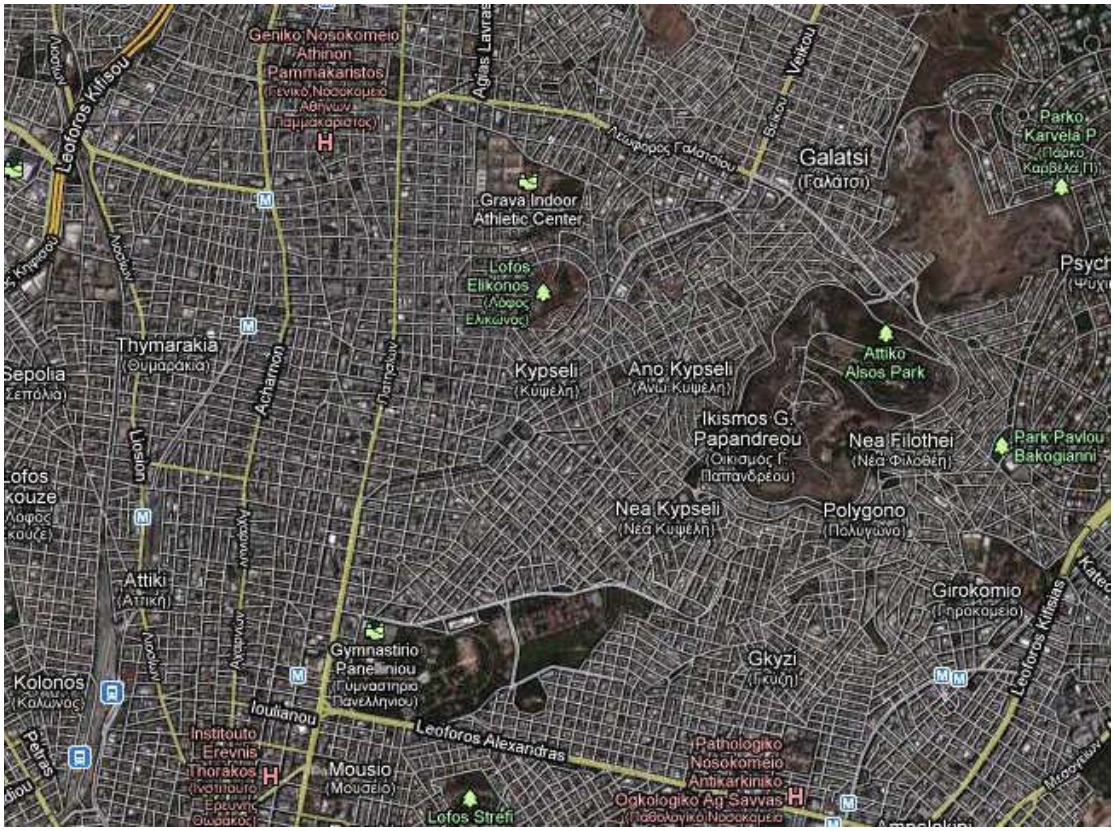
Kypseli is one of the oldest neighbourhoods in the municipality of 'new' Athens. The influx of refugees from Asia Minor in 1922, along with internal migration from other parts of the country, contributed to more intense urban development of the area, initially with single-family houses, mainly for well-off households.

The Agora Municipal Market operated as a local market until the 1990s. Since 2006, owing to the mobilization of local citizen groups, it has functioned as a self-organized neighbourhood centre with cultural activities, many of which involve migrants.

The apartment blocks, with many types and sizes, attract a large number of internal migrants. Increasing population densities have coincided with a period of growth and rising standards of living, in which Kypseli has become famous as a centre for nightlife in the whole city.

Intensive rebuilding continued through the 1970s but in the 1980s there was a move by younger and better-off households away from Kypseli towards the developing suburbs in the north-east and south-east of the metropolitan area.

Recent migrants initially settled in the basement and ground floor flats of apartment buildings. Professional offices (lawyers, engineers) gradually occupied the middle floors, while old residents, particularly older in age, remained in the better and more spacious flats of the upper floors. There are of course many particular features in this complex pattern of building occupancy, known as "vertical segregation" (Maloutas, Karadimitriou 2001).



The 1990s were a new turning point for Kypseli, which seemed to gain population, following a former downward tendency both of population and size of household.

Census data indicate a consolidation of population, as the outflow of old residents is counterbalanced by the settlement of usually larger migrant households, as well as by a small but identifiable 'return' of local young people.

Smaller percentages are present from Moldova, Russia, Georgia, Yugoslavia, Armenia, Nigeria, Ethiopia, Ghana, South Africa, Egypt, the Philippines, Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, Iraq, Iran, Turkey, Syria and many other countries. All these make up the mosaic of residents in Kypseli, the most multiethnic neighbourhood of Athens, where recent migrants have contributed not only to reinserting this old and ageing housing stock into the market, but also to upgrading it through personal labour and mutual assistance.

The Greek team had conducted the field work case study in the neighbourhood of Kypseli, Athens. They have concentrated on two interrelated spaces: the central square and the old market place (henceforth Agora). Kypseli offers examples of multiple (informal) processes and everyday practices of 'living together' among locals and migrants. Phenomena of racism or resentment are not absent from the scene, but it is undeniable that migrants find ways to settle and form their own familiar places and routines.

The research is based mainly on qualitative interviews, as well as on participant observation in the two central study locations, where there is frequent contact between the migrant and local populations.

The urban spaces in which the field work is carried out are:

1) **Kypseli Square**. This is a crowded public space where migrant and local people meet and interconnect. The main questions for the systematic observation were about the people who use the square (gender, ethnicity, age), why they are there (spending their spare time, stopping for a break, meeting their friends, taking their children to play, having a coffee), how often they go, what kind of relations and interconnections are built up in this public space, how the people in the square 'change' depending on the time of day and the day of the week.

2) The **Agora.** It used to be a commercial centre and now it functions as a cultural and social centre run by grassroots organizations. Among other activities there is an evening school where volunteer teachers give free Greek language lessons to migrants who live in the neighbourhood. As it is a space where they meet other migrants and locals, the team has decided to focus on the Agora school, working with the teachers. They use these lessons to discuss the issues of space, place, neighbourhood, gender and everyday life with the students. In these classes, together with individual interviews, they talk about subjects such as: who the immigrants residing in the neighbourhood and in the city are, their daily life, their migration processes and trajectories and the different places where they have lived. They have also asked them to write texts about their everyday life in the city and to draw their own maps, mental maps of the city.

2.3. Poble Sec (Barcelona, Spain)

Poble Sec is a borough in the Sants-Montjuïc district, the largest of the ten districts of Barcelona. It is a working-class neighbourhood which in the early 20th century, especially from 1911 to 1930, was populated by people arriving in Barcelona from Aragón, Valencia, Murcia and Galicia to work in the textile factories that had opened there and in the surroundings, or on the building of the Barcelona underground railway (inaugurated in 1924), or the pavilions of the Universal Exhibition –held in 1929– on Montjuïc hill.

Between the 1950s and 1970s another flow of migrants from different regions of Spain also settled as best they could in Poble Sec. The lack of planning is a significant element for understanding the evolution of a borough, ignored by the council at the time, where it was the people who organized themselves in their everyday spaces and built indispensable infrastructures such as the sewers or the electricity network, thus giving rise to the phenomenon known as 'shanty town'.

In the 1980s, Poble Sec had lived through an ageing process and the young people had gradually left the borough for better equipped sectors of the city. At the end of the 90s, the residents of the borough –Catalan, Aragonese, Andalusian, Castilian– were stupefied to see

the gradual but steady influx, not only of young people from other boroughs of Barcelona, drawn by the reasonable rents, but also of immigrants from different parts of the world. Those international migrants (Pakistani, Moroccan, Filipino, Latin American) settled in Poble Sec in what was to be the first stage of their migratory process. Since 2002 the population has risen from 35,130 inhabitants to 40,650, of whom 11,588 are foreign residents, 28.1%

In the 1980s and 1990s, Poble Sec underwent a process of ageing of the population and of abandonment of trading activities. From 2000, immigrant populations of different origins, mainly Dominicans, Pakistanis and Filipinos, began to arrive and revived trading activity. The local government initiative to make Blai Street pedestrian encouraged trade in the shape of businesses managed by the migrant population.

The most visible section of the population in terms of the use of public space is the Latin American community, especially the Dominican one.

The Spanish team focused mainly on two spaces: a) **Blai Street**, a very busy pedestrian and commercial thoroughfare with small shops, a large proportion of which are staffed by immigrants, and b) **Surtidor Square,** where the local Civic Centre provides social and cultural services for migrants and locals alike (including Catalan language lessons) and where the Health Centre serves every member of the community. These two spaces –Blai Street and Surtidor Square– make an excellent field for analysing the use of public space by the newcomers and the local population (already quite mixed, with native Catalans and Spanish migrants who have arrived since the 1960s). With pedestrianization businesses managed by the migrant population opened. The use of the public spaces studied is not free from problems and, in the words of the neighbours, there are difficulties of coexistence. According to the first results of the research, the conflict in the use of the busiest public spaces is determined by factors such as social class, xenophobic and racist feelings, age and gender.

The field work in Poble Sec began in January 2009 and continued until January 2010. Before starting the in-depth interviews, the research team did a series of floating and participant observations and worked in the neighbourhood to establish a trustworthy network of contacts to talk to.

BOLOGNINA

(Bologna - Italy)

3. International migration, gender and urban public spaces: main findings

3.1. International migration and urban transformations

The changing nature of those global migrant movements, along with specific local development patterns in Southern European countries, has led many researchers to talk of a 'Southern European' or 'Mediterranean' model of migration (among many King et al 2000; Macioti, Pugliese 1991; Bettio et al 2006; Tastsoglou, Hadjiconstanti 2003). Movements had started earlier (in Italy already in the 1970s, in Greece and Spain in the mid 1980s), but they became more intense, at times massive, in the 1990s, involving people not only from Third World countries but also from Eastern Europe. Following the fall of the Berlin Wall, the latter were not only 'free to flee' from their countries, but free to go and come back. And many took this opportunity in order to cope with the harsh realities of the transition to a neoliberal market economy.

Differences among groups of migrants, countries and particular localities are significant, while the complex geographies of movement/settlement certainly cannot be understood in a simple North-South schema. There are, however, some features which differentiate post-1989 migration flows from earlier ones towards the North, perhaps justifying references to an emerging 'model'. Among these features we can identify the following, which are relevant to our research: good chances of finding a job in a large 'informal economy' involving many areas of economic activity, most prominently personal services, building, tourism and agriculture, a growing demand for female labour, particularly in care and entertainment and to a lesser degree in tourism, migrant settlement predominantly in urban areas.

International migration is a structural element of everyday life which is definitely transforming cities all around the world (Sassen 1991). Migratory movements reveal different aspects of urban space since, perforce, they link different kinds of spaces, places and processes. In this way they support what D. Massey (1994) calls "a progressive sense of place", that is to say a conception of place as a particular moment in intersecting social relations, "nets of which have over time been constructed, laid down, interacted with one another, decayed and renewed. Some of these relations will be, as it were, contained within the place; others will

stretch beyond it, tying any particular locality into wider relations and processes in which other places are implicated too" (p. 120).

We approach the neighbourhood as one important socio-spatial scale among many and not as a bounded space. The economic forces which determine it extend beyond its boundaries and beyond the boundaries of the city in which it is located; residents bring with them their origins in many remote places; the products sold in local shops have been produced in a global economy. These and other aspects of the 'neighbourhood' emerge also from our case studies in central and peripheral neighbourhoods of our cities, where we identify global-local encounters and (re)negotiations of multiple identities of place. The practices of migrant women and men reveal changing urban landscapes, which are invested with different gendered meanings and experiences (see also Dyck, McLaren 2004) and point to informal mechanisms of integration 'from below' along with, and sometimes in spite of, institutional practices 'from above'. Such mechanisms may be found in the workings of the housing market, in the uses of public spaces, in the renewed neighbourly relations, the formation of dense support networks and the ever more prominent presence of migrant businesses and services, all of which involve increasing numbers of locals as well. On the one hand, the migrants' presence has renewed, rejuvenated and given a new life to the neighbourhood. On the other, migration questions the traditional concept of neighbourhood and local space.

In cities which have succeeded in reinventing themselves over and over again such as Barcelona, Athens and Bologna, in the past decade neighbourhoods like Poble Sec, Kypseli and Bolognina have discovered the value of commercial hospitality and the importance of 'ethnic' shops, bars and restaurants as agents for revitalizing an area which was in serious decline. As in other city districts, migrants have come to play an important role in the production of new forms of neighbourhood living. In the Poble Sec and Kypseli case studies we can differentiate those urban processes which Saskia Sassen calls a low-cost equivalent of gentrification. Small investments become neighbourhood upgrading because of the residential concentration of immigrants.

The interviews with immigrants residing in Poble Sec since the late 1990s provide evidence of the important transformation in the composition of the neighbourhood's population. These changes refer to the increase in the number of different kinds of shops (greengrocer's, butcher's, hairdresser's, call shops, bars) managed by immigrants, but they also refer to the growing presence of neighbours of immigrant origin since the beginnings of the 21st century,

which resulted first from the arrival of Dominicans, followed by Ecuadorians and other Latin Americans, and which has been increasing and diversifying since 2003, with the arrival of immigrants from Pakistan and China. Many of these immigrants, especially the Dominicans, have moved to Poble Sec from other areas of Barcelona because the cost of renting or buying a property was more affordable for them. However, the town planning and commercial operation of reshaping the neighbourhood into a multicultural and leisure territory has sent property prices skyrocketing, and for some years now families of immigrant origin who want to have a house of their own have been forced to move to other areas in the suburbs of Barcelona, such as Hospitalet de Llobregat. This came up in different interviews with Dominicans and Pakistanis. It is interesting to remember that Hospitalet is a neighbourhood in the outskirts of Barcelona known for its high concentration of Castilian-speaking, working-class people from other parts of Spain.

In 2005 the Poble Sec Traders Association was formed, bringing together native and migrant populations around the improvement of the neighbourhood and the maintenance of trading activity. One important line of work of the Association is 'selling' Poble Sec as a place to enjoy leisure, culture and trade. In this case the idea of commercial hospitality goes hand in hand with the idea of regeneration and rebranding of the neighbourhood as a thriving pleasure zone with new 'ethnic' restaurants and bars staffed by migrants. In the past five years eating and drinking places have proliferated, and most of them are managed or staffed by migrant people. But according to Nadja Monet (2002) the 'ethnic' touch of certain bars or restaurants –which can be seen in their decoration, the exhibition of national products or the music they play– favours the concentration of certain people in them, but at the same time drives others away. This is quite important for coexistence, since in some places there is a tendency to attract an exclusive clientele on a national belonging base and this appropriation of a public place by a specific group weighs on the choice of other potential clients.

In Kypseli, the field work findings show three aspects which relate the arrival of the migrant population with the urban transformations: revitalization of the housing market, intensive use of public transport and restructuring of commercial activity. In any case, it is certain that migrant shops mark the streets and re-define the image of the urban fabric. At the same time they themselves find points of reference and places to frequent, like kiosks on the square, a café or a barbecue stand which are meeting points for male migrants. On the other hand, women congregate mainly in the square, particularly mothers of small children, since playgrounds and open spaces are rare in the area, while Fokionos Negri, still a

(pedestrianized) linear green space, is lined by rather upmarket cafes and restaurants targeting a mostly 'local' clientele. In the square, a lively space at all times, migrants and locals meet and get to know each other and at times establish neighbourly contacts.

Migrant presence in Kypseli is very visible in public spaces and in land use transformations. As old residents mention: "we became aware of them mostly in the streets". However, there are by now many shops and small businesses which are either operated by migrants or belong to migrants; observation alone cannot always testify to one or the other. Some special businesses/services are aimed at migrants only, most prominently call shops for communication with the countries of origin and money transfer offices which facilitate sending remittances. In the observation sessions we also identified mini-markets, bakeries, hairdressing salons, barber's shops, video clubs, internet cafes, fast-food stands, ethnic food stores and restaurants, all of which seem to fill a gap in the market, going beyond the neighbourhood and the specific ethnic communities. These shops attract customers through a specialized stock, long opening hours, quality service and affordable prices. They also play a stabilizing role in the neighbourhood: they make the migrants' presence more visible, promote different selling/buying habits and usually function as points of reference for various groups and as contact places between migrants and locals. At the same time they are important employment and income generators. In this process migrant women are key actors, both as consumers and as workers, in 'family businesses' or in shops of their own.

The attitudes of locals remain ambiguous. Some talk about criminality, drugs, mafias and prostitution, about women afraid to move around after dark, about old residents who have left; they use hard, phobic language: "we do not have anything to do with them", "the issue is not how many there are, but how we can get rid of them", "foreigners are a source of evil", "we have become Tirana Square". Others, however, admit that "the shops work", "whatever time I call her [the Albanian neighbour] she comes to buy something for me, to help do something…", "they respect neighbours", "they have revitalized the neighbourhood", "we are also (internal) migrants".

However, in the case of Bolognina there is a proper upmarket gentrification process promoted by the town council and private businesses. In recent years the Navile district which Bolognina belongs to has been involved in many public projects of different kinds: from housing to sport venues, transport, green areas and cultural institutions such as libraries.

Among those projects, three (all based in Bolognina), two public and one private, are particularly important for the future of neighbourhood.

1) The new town hall. Completed at the end of 2008, the project involves a complex of modern buildings where the offices of Bologna town council moved in July 2008. The old town hall building, in the centre of the city, will remain as the headquarters of the representative bodies, but the majority of administrative offices are now in these new buildings, and many administrative activities and offices have moved into the area. Together with these offices, a market, a pharmacy, restaurants and bars are part of the complex. It is worth mentioning that these new buildings are turning part of the formerly abandoned vegetable market into a very busy area. 2) The new national railway station. A public project for a new station is ongoing, and the whole are is under construction, affecting the living conditions of the southern area of Bolognina (vibrations, noise, problems of stability for the buildings). Although at present this building work is affecting the neighbourhood in a negative way, it is easy to foresee that once the new station has been completed it will be a value for the entire area, connecting it directly with the fast national railways as well as being a modern and internationally recognized project signed by the architect. The whole area surrounding the station, now relatively degraded, will be revalued as a result. 3) The Trilogia del Navile private housing project. The third project we present is totally private, and includes the construction of luxury housing on the eastern side of the former vegetable market. Together with the new town hall and the new railway station, it will fill the whole area, changing its social composition and urban dynamics. The project involves three different areas with new buildings and parks, together with luxury housing, and will include offices and green areas. For those reasons, it is presented as a private project useful for the whole community. It is easy to foresee that the rising prices of housing and the surrounding commercial activities will negatively affect part of the population living in the area now.

In the interviews the people design a new idea of the neighbourhood: it becomes an urban hub, continuously transformed by mobility: transnational mobility and mobility within the city. The migrants spend time in and move around the Bolognina spaces, even when they have a home and work elsewhere. They meet on the squares, in the parks or in the barber's shops regardless of their place of residence or work. The locality is immediately changed by transnational practices, habits and mobility.

In the context of the economic crisis, many migrants have to move, sometimes to different neighbourhoods. This is the case of a man from Morocco: "*With the economic crisis I lost my job, but I don't want to go back to Morocco. Maybe it's better to move North to find another job; but I know some friends in Turin or in other Northern cities, and they say that the situation is hard there. So I moved to a neighbourhood in the periphery of Bologna, but everyday I come into the centre to meet my friends and other people.*" All in all, regardless of the zone of the house, from the interviews we find the emergence of a *desire for the city* among migrants. That is to say, mobility is not only from one country to another, but towards a new world identified in most cases with the city. In many cases they come from other urban spaces; sometimes they come from the countryside and they are in search of cities. Altogether, many migrants want to live in the urban spaces, and when they live in them, they transform them. Therefore, the question of the crisis is central to understanding the recent transformation of the city and the ways in which the migrants live the public spaces. For example, it is evident in the difficulty of finding a house: "*If you ask for social housing, the first place is always for the Italian people, even if we have children*," says a woman from Sri Lanka.

The new urban geographies and maps (Antonelli and Scandurra 2008) are continuously transformed by these combinations –and conflicts– of movements.

3.2. International migration and the use(s) of public spaces

The substantial presence of migrants in the urban neighbourhoods of our research and their complex everyday tactics and strategies to 'settle' in a new and unknown place raise a number of questions to do with participation and belonging. Such questions point to the need to rethink citizenship and its exclusive connection to the national scale.

Urban spaces are places of translation, that is to say, of creation of new transnational languages and forms of interaction, as well as conflicts (Sakai and Salomon, 2006; Mezzadra, 2008). In this sense, the combination of the variables of gender, age, nationality, social class, family situation, legal status, working conditions and religious practice (only to mention those that come up most frequently) seems to condition the uses given to the public space. This perspective allows us to add complexity to the simplistic dichotomy local/immigrants and to

show the differentiation, hierarchy and inequality regarding the access to public spaces within each of these two large groups, often conceived as homogenous realities.

Our field work results in the three chosen neighbourhoods allow us to analyse the uses of the public space from different categories: coexistence, gender and age variables, nationality and religious practices.

3.2.1. Uses of public spaces: regarding coexistence

Conflicts around the public space go beyond the immigration question and already existed before the present immigrants arrived. However, with the increased presence of immigrants in the cities, urban conflicts have come to be considered problems caused by immigration. In this context, the term coexistence has become a keyword when discussing issues of immigration and the use of public space. Therefore, it is dangerously likely for coexistence problems to be reduced to the relations between the local and the immigrant population or between different collectives of immigrants, thus making their equivalence natural, as if they were synonyms. For this reason, it is necessary to be aware of the epistemological and political implications of using certain terms and to approach the coexistence issue from an integral perspective in order not to reduce this issue to an "intercultural conflict" (Aramburu Otazu, 2009). That is why we find it is important to bring up some considerations on this concept here. For Marc Abèlés (2008, 111) the universe of coexistence belongs to a political tradition which is centred on the synchronic harmony of beings who move inside the reassuring universe of the city or who, at least, orient their actions with that horizon in mind, even when they are torn apart by permanent conflicts. In general, security is conceived from the point of view of coexistence. The State is therefore accused for its incapacity to guarantee harmonious coexistence between the different population groups that live in the urban peripheries. Tensions confronting 'locals' with 'immigrants' are brought to light, encouraging a radicalization of discourses that demand a stronger repression of real or supposed prejudices in favour of the civic order. In the present context, considering the growing precariousness and uncertainty regarding the future and the incapacity of the State to guarantee security in this direction, it is more pertinent to speak of survival than of coexistence.

In the testimonies of our interviewees in the Barcelona case study, the 'cultural' issue and the difficulties understanding and communicating with those defined as different are emphasized when talking about conflicts referred to as 'coexistence problems'. The weight of the conflict thus falls mainly on the non-EU immigrant population, though not to the same degree with all nationalities present in the neighbourhoods. Nevertheless, our field work has revealed a competition and differentiation in the use of the main public spaces of the neighbourhood which are determined by other factors.

The category of nationality enables the exploration of who is conceived as an immigrant, whether this is a question of geographic movements (interstate or international) or whether the condition of being an immigrant is connected with coming from certain countries and of lacking public renown[1]. On the other hand, the self-defined local population sees itself as a homogenous collective, with a 'common national culture' that makes them different from the immigrant population, also conceived as a homogenous group: *"I was born here in the neighbourhood. Before, we all used to know each other; now, we know nobody. Many people have left the neighbourhood and migrants have come. The fact is that they don't have the same customs, they do other things, they don't want to adapt themselves, we have to adapt to them. The customs are totally different and the contrast is very strong: the Caribbean and Pakistan, there is no medium"* (Informal conversation with local neighbours on Blai Street, Participant Observation 3 February 2009, 1.30 pm).

Based on our field work, as regards the forms of resolution of the conflicts understood as 'coexistence problems' two stances can be identified. One supports the intervention of the public administration in the management of conflicts. This position is based on the idea that conflicts derived from 'intercultural encounter' both in public and private spaces are a field for the intervention of the town council, which they blame for having caused the situation "that the neighbourhood has reached". It is a stance that is present in many elderly neighbours and in the town council itself, which has developed plans to make coexistence easier. In other words, from this perspective, social cohesion is something that can be activated from the top downwards through the implementation of proper policies. The other stance insists rather on the management of conflicts by the neighbours themselves through their everyday

[1] Nobody speaks of non-EU football players as immigrants, regardless of what country they come from. Instead, they are referred to as foreign players. It does not seem likely either that anyone might consider the Peruvian writer Vargas Llosa an immigrant (especially not himself).

practices on the streets, in the buildings where they live, in the different kinds of associations. The civic education between old and new neighbours plays a crucial part here.

Since the mid 1980s, migrants have become more visible in the public spaces of many Southern European cities. This observation needs to be qualified by gender, since women make more intensive use of urban public spaces than men. In Kypseli for instance, neighbourhood squares seem to have acquired new life through women's routines and practices, mainly in their open and free 'core' area: they are meeting places for women from the same place of origin, play areas for their children, places where, as part of their care job, they escort the local elderly people they look after. In their search to make ends meet with their meagre incomes, it is women rather than men who look for affordable shops, accessible public services, safe places for play and socialising, for themselves and their families. Intensive use of public spaces and facilities at different times of the day and for different purposes reintroduces these places into the urban fabric and neighbourhood life and draws back the locals as well, particularly children and young people.

These are the places of face-to-face contact and everyday intermingling, and sometimes confrontation, with locals, as well as with other immigrants. Informal social integration takes place through casual yet repeated contact over a period of time. It often leads to less casual relations, even to the formation of friendships and networks: *"I met her* (her compatriot friend) *in the square (*Kypseli)… *I told her that I will send the child to this kindergarten and she brought her child there too. And when I cannot take my child from the kindergarten she takes her, and when she cannot I take hers"* (L.I., Albania). In the Bolognina case study, the park is also an important place to observe the forms of interaction among children, and among their parents too.

Visibility and co-presence in public spaces helps to gradually turn the 'unfamiliar' into 'familiar': for locals, the presence of migrant women and their children in the squares, the supermarkets or the local shops is no longer an unusual sight; for migrant women these same places have become part of a daily routine which has characteristics of coexistence. This is not to underestimate the inequalities and power relations built into this coexistence and interaction between locals and migrants, nor to equate the public spaces of the neighbourhood (and the city) with the deficient mechanisms of social integration. But neither is it to underestimate that public spaces have to include, and not exclude, people, activities, encounters… *"(Here there are people) from Syria, (they are) from Romania, Bulgaria,*

Poland… there these girls are from Turkey. I know all of them. This guy is from Turkey… He has been one year here. He slept in the square for one year. And the other day I took him with me, in my house, he took a bath, he ate with me. He does not have a job. Someone has stolen his wallet, his mobile, his passport, everything… Now he is waiting for a passport (and money) *for tickets… to return. […] Here come people from Syria. Look now, look there, there are over 20 children. And many Kurds come here. Those on this bench are Kurds. Two of them have gone. They left two. There are too many people who have families with children… Here there are women and children…"* (M.O., Syria)

The in-depth interviews and the participant observations in Bolognina also show very interesting results about co-presence and coexistence in its periphery. The field work done at the Salon Marrakech, a barber's shop in the centre of Bolognina very close to Piazza dell'Unità, allowed us to observe that there are people from the Maghreb, as well as other African or Asian countries. Some Italian men use Salon Marrakech because it is cheap and it has been a meeting point in Bolognina for some years. Moreover, among the customers of the barber's shop there are some Afro-Americans, who are players on the local basketball teams. There are migrants who live in Bolognina, but also who live in other neighbourhoods. They go to the salon to chat, to meet, to discuss the soccer championship or their problems. And sometimes they have their hair cut. The language continuously shifts at least between Italian, Arabic and French, and sometimes other languages. In short, Salon Marrakech is one of the many examples in contemporary cities of a 'transnational urban space': that is to say, it is not only the sum of different communities, cultures or languages; it is a new space that is at the same time the hybridizing of, and something different from, its constituent parts.

Also, the urban spaces are "*places of splitting in two*". These are the words used by Leila, a woman from Iraq, with a degree in engineering. She is 39, with a father from Iraq, a mother from Turkey; Leila and her Kurdish husband are political refugees in Italy. Leila talks of a sort of "*double consciousness*" (Du Bois 1903; Gilroy 1993), embodied in the "*two-ness*" of her sons, of being at the same time Italian and Arab, that is to say, of being neither Italian nor Arab. Urban spaces and their uses are a good mirror to analyse the process of construction of a double identity, or maybe imagined identities (Anderson 1983). And according to Leila, in this process there is a gender difference: "*Although she's very young, I have the impression that it will be very hard to educate my daughter. Despite the family and the frequent journeys to Iraq and Turkey, she's very influenced by her schoolfellows. She's only six and she has asked for new dresses and designer shoes. Maybe this is a way of being a 'peer.' Of*

course, I cannot satisfy her desires, I have to explain what their consumerist and standardised desires mean. With the males I have not so much problem, because they're critical with regard to young people's behaviour and consumerism. Instinctively, they don't like the girls who go to school or they meet in the square with their navel showing." At the same time, beyond teaching the traditions and behaviour of their '*culture*', Leila's goal and task –"*in my role of mum"* – is "*to help my children be more and more Italian, they have to love this country. Because if they love Italy, they can take all the opportunities of this country and this city, and contribute to its democratic and social development. This is the reason I love Italy too, although I cannot renege on my identity as an Iraqi woman. In fact, I'm very proud of my identity*."

Besides this, the precarious residential conditions in which a large percentage of the immigrant population live have led to an intensive use of public spaces which some authors have called "compensatory agglomeration" (Martínez, 1997), which leads to conflicts and confrontations regarding what is considered to be an unsuitable use of the public space: *"Dominicans... let's see, I understand that their lifestyle is different from ours, they are people who live like we used to live 50 years ago, they live in the streets with their reggaethon (...) It's the Caribbean, it's the way they are, I understand, they yell when they speak, so this summer that has been so hot, having everything open, you have them inside your house"* (Discussion group with local neighbours, 15 October 2009, 9.00 pm).

The fact that many people live in the same house is interpreted more as a matter of custom, determined by the culture of origin, than as the product of socioeconomic inequalities, the high cost of housing, discrimination and racism (by property agencies and property owners) which are suffered by most immigrants when renting a place to live. The migration project and the transnational organization of migrant families are also important factors that affect the way of inhabiting a house. From this perspective, the sharing or subleasing of a property by several people can be interpreted as a strategy to achieve the migration goals which in most cases –as revealed by our interviews and previous research– are connected with paying off financial debts in the country of origin and/or debts resulting from the migration, maintaining spouses, children, parents and/or siblings, improving or buying a house in the country of origin, reunifying the family or setting up a business.

The migrants who have no permit have to find specific ways in the city: they design a new cartography. Based on this, we could also understand the different and changing 'times' of

the urban spaces. That is to say, the researcher has to follow the interviewee in her journeys in the city in order to draw the new urban maps. In fact, in contemporary cities the migrants are "space invaders" (Puwar, 2004), in both senses of the concept. On the one hand, they are seen as space invaders by a part of the local population; on the other hand, they invade urban and public spaces (institutional and non-institutional, formal and informal, public and private), rethinking and resignifying places that were not intended for them. That is to say, building up a new concept of the public space.

3.2.2. Different uses and conceptions of the public space: gender and generation

Gender (like class, ethnicity, sexuality or age) determines to a large extent which bodies belong where (who are 'strangers' in a particular space), what spatial experiences different individuals and groups have (e.g. how safe does a migrant woman feel in a public square?), what techniques of exclusion correspond to particular bodies (e.g. what rules of appearance make the bodies of migrant women 'strange' in public spaces?). Such questions are an indication of formal and informal regulations of space, through which unequal conditions of access and exclusion are formed on different scales and among different women and men from different ethnic backgrounds and different migratory projects.

Gender is a variable that conditions the ways of circulating in the neighbourhood. Different interviewees agreed in pointing out that, in general, women are seen more during the day: in social services, courses, doctors' offices, school gates, neighbourhood parties, squares, and very often with their boys and girls. Male presence is dominant in certain bars, in parks, in corners and mainly at night.

In-depth interviews as well as systematic observation help us understand how gender relations are played out in the public spaces of the neighbourhood. A first and rather obvious observation is that migrant women use the public spaces of their neighbourhood more intensively, because they perform a variety of domestic and care activities there, which are not usually considered 'real work', like the daily shopping for the family, escorting the children to kindergartens or schools or taking them to the health centres, activities which men do not seem to undertake. "*We do not go to cafeterias or anything like that. Because the child does not sit quietly… O.K. once in a month we may go to Goody's* (a local fast food chain)*. If I*

work in the afternoon I cannot go anywhere. I cannot because I am tired and I have to work in the house (to do the domestic chores). If you come home at 3.30 (pm), you pick up the child… until you come and change her clothes from school and have lunch… it is already 5.00 o'clock. You cannot sit for a moment until 7.30. You can go nowhere. You want to sit and rest in your home. When the weather is good, I go for a walk with my daughter. We usually go to Kypseli Square" (L.I., Albania).

The fact that migrant women are the ones who assume responsibility for creating 'homely' environments in the city and making ends meet in their households has to do to a large extent with the family traditions of their country and gender relations linked with it. But their precarious position is also reinforced by the family migration policies, as well as by the characteristics of the female labour market in the receiving countries.

On the other hand, in the Kypseli case study migrant women have more opportunities to communicate with local people (mainly women) than men do. They discuss with their employers, their friends, their neighbours, the people they meet in the shops, the mothers of their children's friends they meet at the school or in public spaces like Kypseli Square. The discussions they have with locals seem to have great emotional and practical importance for them, since they make them *"feel at home"* and give them information they need about different issues of their lives. On the other hand, migrant men do not seem to have so much direct contact with locals as women do. What we observed in Kypseli Square during a whole day in spring and in summer time is characteristic: a group of six to eight immigrants go to the square almost every afternoon and play dominoes on a makeshift table which they hide in the trees before they leave. Another group of men, locals this time, borrow that table in order to play cards, without saying a word. This 'silent' activity reveals a unacknowledged communication-agreement between migrants and locals and at the same time a silent acceptance of the presence of migrants in the(ir) local space. This lack of verbal communication is evident in the migrants' in-depth interviews. None of them talk with locals when they go to relax in public spaces, not even with their neighbours.

In Poble Sec, the use of the public space is also affected by gender relations, as well as ethnic relations. Pakistani women are largely invisible, while a minority presence of Moroccan women carry out tasks connected with the field of social reproduction: walking with their children and shopping for groceries. In the words of Isham: "[Moroccan women] *get together in parks, get together at parties, I mean baptisms, small parties at their houses. For a*

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(Athens, Greece)

baptism, for example, they invite everybody and they get together" (Moroccan woman, works in the Poble Sec office of *ATIMCA,* Association of Moroccan Immigrant Workers of Catalonia). Opposed to this, Dominican women are hypervisible –around hairdressing salons, chatting and well dressed– who escape the roles assigned to migrant women: carers for their own and others' children and elderly people and responsible for guaranteeing the emotional stability of the husband and the migrant family. The fact that these immigrant women make the hairdresser's a place of social gathering generates a certain discomfort in some of our female interviewees, especially amongst older Catalan women.

In Bolognina the use of the public space from a gender perspective is inseparably linked to the idea of independence and freedom for the migrant women. This is the case of Amina: she is 29 and comes from Morocco; she has been in Italy for 15 years: "*I want to live my freedom in Bologna, and to go independently around the city.*" But, Amina says, this does not mean that Italian cities are spaces of freedom: "*I'm really incensed about the obsession with the veil in Italy, and not only in Italy. It's impossible to say that this is a free country if a woman cannot dress as she wants, and maybe wear a veil. In Morocco you can find everything, from the miniskirt to the veil. Therefore in Morocco there is more freedom than in Italy!*"

Although the question of the veil is one of the most mentioned in the interviews with the migrant women, the Italian glance with regard to the veil in the public spaces has changed. This is the opinion of Ransura, a woman who comes from a small village very close to Hammamet: she has been in Italy for five years and she was looking for a city. "*I wear the handkerchief* [veil]*. I have noted a change in the glances of Italians for some months, since the economic crisis: now they look at me as a person they want to go away, not desired. […] I asked a social worker for help: I don't want money, but only help to find a municipal house, because I want to continue to live in the city. She answered: what do you want? What are you doing here? Why you don't go back to your country?*"

The buses are a good place to analyse the quality of the relationship between Italians and migrants in the public spaces, as well as the increase in the forms of racism. Here it is possible to analyse the "*relations of glances*" (Du Bois, 1903) between migrants and Italian, that is to say, the relations of power too. Najat, a woman from Morocco, says: "*Public transport allows me to reveal the realities of the migrants and Italians, and their interactions. When I take a bus I'm pestered by glances, threatening glances, mainly recently with the*

economic crisis. […] I heard a lot of people who say that foreigners don't pay for their ticket. Some days ago the inspector asked for the tickets: I have the monthly ticket, while the Italian who said this had no ticket!" Faced with these 'threatening glances´ and provocations the migrants are not passive victims, as the 'philanthropic line' depicts them. The image of *victimhood* (Puwar 2003) is broken when migrant women speak out. This is the case of Najat: "*Some months ago I was on the bus towards Piazza dell'Unità, there was a woman from Pakistan or Bangladesh who was moving slowly; an Italian man shouted: 'go back to your country!' I tried not to react, but I heard two Italian women who said: 'in their countries they travel with the asses.' Then I answered: 'maybe they travel with the asses, but in your country the asses take the buses!'*"

The Barcelona case study has pointed out age as a important factor in the use of and conflict around public space. The field work in Poble Sec has shown a competition for the use of public spaces that is marked by intergenerational relations, regardless of national origin, which serves as grounds for explaining convergences, understandings and confrontations, mainly in terms of 'appropriation of territory'. Our observations indicate that the intensive and expansive use of pedestrian Blai Street after 5 pm generates a conflict between boys, girls and teenagers (mainly male and of Dominican origin) and the elderly neighbours who have lived there their whole lives and who walk their dogs at the same time. In some accounts, these problems connected to the dispute over the same space by the different generations that inhabit the neighbourhood are interpreted from a culturalist perspective, reformulating them as problems of cultural difference and distance. The contrast between the views expressed in the interviews with Spanish neighbours and those manifested by most of the immigrants from different nationalities is suggestive. While for the former, the children playing in the streets are all immigrants who play amongst themselves, who do not relate with others and who do nothing but bother elderly people, the latter point to the practices of boys, girls and youngsters from the neighbourhood as an example of understanding and relation between nationals and foreigners. "*On Blai Street children play a lot because they don't have anywhere else to play (...) because there is no park in the neighbourhood or nearby where they can go and play. So everyday after they finish school, you can see the children playing here. And they all play together, those from here with those from other countries, all together without problems*" (Venezuelan woman, owns a clothing shop on Blai Street). School (both state and mixed) also appears in some interviews as the place where children relate naturally with peers from anywhere in the world.

The hegemonic discourse, widely present in the media and political fields, connects migration with insecurity in the public space. This securitarian view of migrations also appears in some of our interviews, as well as different ways in which public space, security/insecurity and migration are interrelated. An interrelation that is also affected by gender relations in origin and destination, by age and by particular life trajectories.

- One concept is connected with the freedom/restriction to move around the neighbourhood in certain areas and/or at certain times. This is a matter that generally appears in the interviews with women.

- Other topics that appear in connection with the feelings of security or insecurity are: the legal status; the job; the lack of trust in the institutions of the country of origin and the insecurity that it generates in terms of the economic future and their savings; insecurity regarding old age in the countries of origin when they do not have a retirement pension (and in some cases the migration projects also appear as a reassurance against that uncertain future).

The image of the place of emigration as safer than the place of origin may already be changing as a consequence of the impact of the economic crisis on the labour conditions of the immigrant population. Their testimonies, as well as those of the key informants who work in social services, point to the economic insecurity generated by the crisis and the recession in Spain, Italy and Greece.

3.3. Relationship between labour and public spaces

The economic restructuring and the transformations of the productive system which began in the late 1970s not only modified the forms of organization of salaried labour, but also implied the advent of new relationships in other fields of social life. The development of the new production and communication technologies opened the way for the automation of the productive process and industrial delocation. Both dynamics implied a progressive decrease in the need for workforce in industrialized countries and this was reflected in migration policies with the suspension of hiring of foreign workers and the launching of the process of closing the borders. But the most devastating effect of questioning the centrality of

the labour factor has not been so much unemployment as the degradation of employment and the salaried status; growing precariousness, though less spectacular, is the defining feature. The destabilization of the stable is the core of the new social question (Castel 1997, Bauman 2000).

The social fracture no longer divides an integrated majority from the inhabitants of the peripheries of the system, it breaks the very heart of the labour market, where there is a minority labour aristocracy with safe employment, a good salary and social benefits, and a majority of fragile subjects, who cultivate the culture of the random, as precariousness has become their destiny. In tune with these transformations, post-Fordist migrations have very different characteristics from the ones of the 1960s: (1) greater diversity of origins and growing feminization of flows, in direct relation to the globalization dynamics that connect a growing number of territories and countries; (2) intensification of migration in a context of restrictive policies that made certain population movements irregular, and (3) migrations linked to the expansion of the labour demand of those sectors of the economy that are forced to keep their labour costs low and the connection between immigrant workers and flexible and precarious sub-employment in a context of labour and union deregulation (Pedreño Cánovas, 2005).

In general, these are the features that characterize the migration flows that have arrived in Southern Europe since the mid-1980s, against the background of that deregulation of labour. This is also the global context in which the life and working conditions of the interviewed migrants are set. In the Italian case, a strict relation between Bolognina's industrial past and its popular present characterizes the study. The memory of its industrial past reflects on the local residents, particularly among those who witnessed the period of deindustrialization and the subsequent abandonment of most of the factories that used to be the soul of the neighbourhood. However, most of the migrant population came after or at the beginning of this process. Today, the whole area is undergoing a process of transformation that will make it the new administrative centre of the city. This transformation is happening without any involvement of the migrant and working-class communities that live in the neighbourhood.

A constant in all the interviews with the immigrant population is this link between migration and labour. That is: all the testimonies explain the migration project as a strategy to get a better job. This 'better job' does not always mean better working conditions, but it does provide a higher income and it allows the migrant to improve the living conditions of relatives

(children, spouses, parents) who live in the country of origin through remittances: *"I always say that the only good thing about here, because to me it is good, is that one has her job, her salary, and that's it. That I have my job and that is the good thing. Over there it is very difficult to have a salary that pays enough to afford an apartment. On the contrary, here I have my salary, I have treated myself to some things I wanted to buy and I have the possibility of sending it to my daughter for her school and for the things she wants. That is the only thing I have found here"* (Ecuadorian woman who works at a bar in Poble Sec).

In this framework, economic and legal factors push migrants to accept any kind of job. In the Italian study, two common phrases during interviews were "*there is no choice*" and "*I did every kind of job*". The absence of family or the fact that families are often involved in the migration project insofar as there are many expectations from the people who sent them abroad as kind of investment often leave migrants feeling as if they have "*their families on their backs*". One male said: "*I did everything, I did leafleting, porter, bricklayer, bouncer, then I learned to fix computers and things began to change*". Almost all migrants have experience of the harshness of a law that can cast its shadow over migrant life at any moment; many relate this to a sense of insecurity and precariousness.

In all the case studies one point is immediately evident: the *relation between labour and public spaces* changes completely depending on labour and legal conditions and, particularly for women, on the fact of having a job or not. Uria is a domestic assistant for elderly and sick people. She works for a cooperative with a regular contract and she is quite satisfied with her job. Asked if she passes through Bolognina during her day, she answered: "*Oh, yes, every day. You can find the Muslim butcher's shop, the market. I pass through Piazza dell'Unità almost every day, first when I go to work; I often commute there, then when I come back home with my daughter after school. During the summer we stop for an ice cream or a slice of pizza near the bus stop. Some days I pass through four times*".

In Poble Sec, many of the migrant interviewees work and live in the neighbourhood, especially those who have their own shop: greengrocer's, hairdresser's, butcher's, call shop, restaurant. Others reside in other neighbourhoods of Barcelona or in the suburban areas and only work in Poble Sec, but owing to the long working hours they spend more time in Poble Sec than in their place of residence: *"I work from Monday to Sunday. Now this month that has started, February, I get up at 6 and I come to work until 8 at night. I'm here all day, I don't go home at all. And on Saturdays I come at 2 pm. And the same on Sundays. And on*

Saturdays I get up at 10 am. While I have breakfast, I chat a little with my mom, then it's noon, I shower and dress and it is time and I come here. Time flies and I finish at 8" (Ecuadorian woman who works at a bar in Poble Sec).

When we consider the relation between labour and the use of public space we need to take into account *different dimensions of labour*. Labour shapes the relationships between migrants and public spaces but the informality of many of them leaves migrants the opportunity to build complex networks of relations and movements inside the city that go beyond simple labour relations. On the other hand, labour plays a key role in the definition of social relations for migrants. This aspect is involved in all social relations while also having an impact on gender relations. Although the Italian study found that, for women, having a job means independence, or at least the definition of their own space of independence from the will and the power of males, in the Spanish study this link between work and women's independence is not that clear.

Spaces of socialization, work place and residence are related in a complicated way. In our case studies many of the women interviewed use public spaces as part of their home-work dynamics (market, parks, schools). In Poble Sec the workplace also operates as the space for interrelation with the neighbours, because most of the interviewees are employed in the services sector *"For me, the neighbourhood is fine. On this street I know a lot of people, I know almost everybody here, the workers, the people from the shop* (...) *There are good people. It is easier because there are many foreigners. There are Dominicans, there are Chinese –but they came a short while ago–, there are others from Pakistan, Ecuadorians, also Bolivians"* (Pakistani man who works at a restaurant on Blai Street and lives in Poble Sec).

In Bolognina Fabien, a male from Cameroun in his 40s, observed the complexity in the relation between space of sociality and the workplace: "*Work is different… you go where you find a job and that is not related to the place where you live. Then, after work, most migrants go back home because they can only find places to gather in the area where they live. Generally speaking, these three things, labour, residency and sociality, are not related*". Nonetheless, this relation can be seen from a very different point of view, tracing different social maps, *a cartography of the city not necessarily overlapping with the spatial topography* (see http://www.iger.org/ mappeurbane-d-30.html). For example, one of the interviewee points out that "*in the workplace, friendships are created for a portion of time*". The job produces a *sociality*, sometimes this sociality reflects itself in the use of public spaces and in

the social relations outside it. As one of the interviewees said: "*I've met many of my friends in the workplace*", but often it is just a part of this *complex network* and, in a hostile landscape, can be recognized as a safe place that provides a sense of familiarity.

In terms of the labour trajectories in the migration, certain differences regarding gender can be established on the basis of the testimonies. Men tend to work or have worked in construction and in services (waiters, cooks, supermarket cashiers, employees at a call shop). Over the years, some of them have managed to set up their own companies in both sectors. In the case of women, for most of them (and/or for their mothers) domestic/care work has been the first job they have had in Spain, Italy or Greece, and generally this is the way through which they have obtained regularization.[2] Other interviewees work as waiters, others are in charge of their own shops (clothing shops, hairdresser's, greengrocer's) and others work in cleaning services. A large proportion of them have been working in an irregular situation, especially those who arrived a longer time ago, when they still did not need a visa to enter as tourists.

'[Her father] *worked in construction without papers... Then he ran into people who wouldn't pay him when the time came to pay. They took a lot of advantage of them. And of course, you had to work, you had to take the risk. If they are going to pay me, great, but if they won't pay you, you don't know.*

- How did he get the papers? Could he have some company get them for him?

- *Of course. He managed to get someone to make him a contract and have his papers done for him. If you were a woman, it was easier because you would go to a family house without papers and then they would make you a contract. It was that way for me. The same for my mother."*

Exploitation can be found not only amongst migrants who are employed by others. Migrants who have their own small shops also find themselves forced to work all day, every day of the week in order to fulfil their migration project: *"Well, there's no other way around it. Work at the greengrocer's is the only thing I've got and if I close earlier, then you don't make the same money as always and well... you can't close early. But usually I stay until 10* [pm]*. Now*

[2] In the Spanish case, together with agriculture, all these sectors have been the most affected by the deregulation of labour, which was set in motion in the mid 1980s and deepened during the 1990s. This is reflected in the long working days and the few days off, amongst other things.

I think I'll maybe close at 9.30 [pm]. (...) *We open at 9.30 in the morning and we close at 10 at night. Every day is the same."* (Bolivian woman who has a greengrocer's on Blai Street and lives upstairs from her shop).

Living conditions imposed by a life dominated by work shape the use given to public spaces. Probably that is why the interviewed migrants who work in the neighbourhood, whether they live there or not, do not frequent leisure places or experience that bohemian side advertised by the "Poble Sec brand". Most of them go from their house to work and vice versa, and gatherings with friends tend to take place in other neighbourhoods or at their homes.

In the Greek case study, women who work as domestic workers or carers are usually very careful to save money for the extra burden, for possible 'difficult' days, for their children and/or grandchildren. This is one of the main reasons why they avoid going to places where they have to pay. For men things are a little better: as they usually work in construction or as waiters, their employers pay at least part of their social security contributions in order to avoid problems with labour inspections. However, they also are concerned to save money: in order to help their families who are left behind, to contribute to the family income and their children's education, or to save in order to start a business of their own when they return to their places of origin.

3.4. International migration, public policy and social movements

Bommes and Geddes (2000) have explored how the decisional and organizational infrastructure of the different types of welfare state affects the forms adopted by immigration management in each country. In the early 1990s, the Spanish public administration adopted a discourse that gave preference to the action of NGOs in the management of social matters, based on the understanding that they are more flexible, they have a greater capacity to adapt to changing demands, they know better and are closer to social problems, they use resources better and they encourage participation, solidarity and social cohesion. Following this 'tradition', until the mid 1990s, social policies aimed at the immigrant population were implemented by the NGOs (Giménez Romero 1995, Dietz 2000). Over the last few decades, immigrant support groups related to the church as well as to non-confessional organizations like neighbours associations, community organizations, sections of

trade unions and immigrants associations have emerged as renowned and competent counterparts (Dietz 2000). In the field of Spanish migration policies, the combination of the centralism/federalization and statism/privatization binomials has fostered a third tendency: the gradual but evident movement from universalist and generalist approaches (normalization) to particularist and multicultural measures (Agrela and Dietz 2005).

The Poble Sec study has confirmed these three tendencies in previous investigations (Gil Araujo 2010, Agrela 2006), and also in the field work, where we saw important work done by immigrants, womens and neighbours associations in the management of programmes promoted and funded by the municipal government. Also the church plays an outstanding role in assistance for the most vulnerable immigrant population in Poble Sec, especially those without papers and jobs, and also works with the neighbourhood social services. Thus, in the framework of a social assistance system that defends normalization, mechanisms of differential assistance are implemented through the services provided by different types of NGO, to which a large number of the immigrants tend to be referred, regardless of their legal status or the time they have been living in Spain: *"We work with all the collectives, but in the neighbourhood we are defined as for Moroccan collectives* (...) *They even need to make an appointment with the neighbourhood social worker, and then: 'Moroccan, you need some help, then get out of here'; financial assistance (we do not process that here but we do provide information on where to go, how to do it, and we even help them with that), but if it is a Moroccan, they do not hesitate* (...) *but in the end we are the referent of an entity that works here in the neighbourhood but only for the Moroccan collective"* (Moroccan woman who works at ATIMCA, Association of Moroccan Immigrant Workers of Catalonia). The services offered by these institutions are really diverse: legal assistance, language lessons, job searching, food assistance, family support, translation, which are provided by the public social services to the great majority of Spanish citizens. Women are the target of most activities of these organizations because they are considered to be in greater need of support. The purpose of these interventions is to promote their participation, emancipation, education and instruction and to debate topics that should be of interest to them.

In institutional discourse, "*managing diversity*" after the arrival of immigrants takes the shape of an issue of coexistence that emphasizes cultural differences much more than socioeconomic inequalities. At this point intercultural mediators appear, as well as the organization of language lessons (both Catalan and Spanish) and the issue is expressed in municipal plans, mediation services and NGO activities. Some of the arguments express what

we could call the 'Catalan philosophy of integration', which underlies the hegemonic views of Catalan public officials, politicians, NGOs, scholars and policy makers.

As well as the ethnic diversity that made Poble Sec a very suitable place to carry out the investigation into the use of public space by local people and migrants, the variety and richness of the social movements –the other object of research of the Work Package– was also important when it came to choosing the borough to do the field work. At the beginning of the 20th century Poble Sec had a large working class, characterized by trade union militancy and the Anarchist and Anticlerical movements. With the end of the dictatorship and the return to democracy, organizations of all kinds began to re-emerge in the borough: in 1973 the Residents Association was founded with broad representation of the political parties and aware social groups. At that time, the local residents began to make demands in an area where there were no green spaces and no urban improvements. In 1989, in order to promote joint actions the Poble Sec Entities Coordination Committee was created and today the borough has a very active network of associations including about 80 entities and organizations gathered under this great federation (www.poblesec.org).

The Agora, the former municipal market, of Kypseli is one of the main places of the Greek field work because of its connections with local and antiracist movements and its orientation towards grassroots activities which make a conscious effort to be inclusive for migrants. People who are in solidarity with migrants try to 'cover' the gaps in Greek migration policies. One interesting activity is the School, i.e. Greek language courses offered to migrants for free by volunteer teachers, most of whom were involved in Left politics before taking part in the Agora squat. Similar schools exist nowadays in many different neighbourhoods in Athens and Piraeus.

Most of the students in Agora are men. Migrant women probably do not have the networks to learn about the courses and participate, and many of them do not have spare time, as a large proportion work as live-in carers. Some of the migrant women probably do not have the freedom to participate. In contrast to this, most of the teachers are women. As was also stated in the discussions with the teachers, they volunteered because they found it useful to offer some knowledge as an active solidarity, in the sense of "really doing something". Probably this perspective of participation in politics –sharing knowledge in everyday life– has a gender aspect, something that is tangible and has a visible result, albeit for few people.

From the Greek team's point of view, in spaces like the Agora, and in different ways Kypseli Square, hybrid identities of mixing, solidarity and communication are beginning to form. Teachers try to question their 'clear' identities, their ethnic, gender and cultural preconceptions in order to construct more equal relations with the migrants/students with whom they cooperate in the classes. On the other hand, migrant men and women try to relocate themselves in the context of the School, which operates quite differently from other places of everyday life, like work or neighbourhood: there they build on their experiences, sharing them with the experiences of other migrant and native people.

In places like the Agora new spaces operate, within which cohabitation and coexistence, with all the problems and conflicts that occur, can actually take place. In these kinds of places resistance to a dominant discourse of fear, racism and xenophobia is an everyday practice, beginning on the very local scale of the people themselves and the neighbourhood but expanding –as a set of practices, experiences and narratives– through different channels and networks to several interrelated sociospatial scales from the city to the global regime.

In the Italian study, almost all the interviewees complain about the absence of public policies aimed at the city's growing migrant presence. While Bolognina is recognized as a meeting place where spare time can be spent, they complain about the absence of social gathering spaces. This is particularly true for those more involved in activities such as associations or social projects. Beyond these complaints, the creation of distressed areas is not the main problem that migrants face. The main issue at stake is the absence of public spaces able to respond to this demographically shifting situation. Almost all the interviewees expect something from the municipality or the neighbourhood: a common grievance is that they live in the city, but the city does not give them places to meet or organize their activities.

In the Italian study, as well as in the Spanish case, integration and cultural difference seem to be relevant terms in the way in which institutions and people (including migrants) think about migration. The interviewees not directly involved in activities like associations have a broader view in many cases. We can observe how although the legal environment is the same, for this group of people this seems to be an immediate issue, while for others the 'integration' project seems to be a path towards a better future. Their legal condition does not disappear, but stays in the background of the discourse about 'integration': people who believe in it stress the role of culture, community and education. This last point, education, can be seen from different angles depending on these different sensibilities. One of the interviewees, who

is involved in multicultural projects, related the non-recognition of migrants' degrees in Italy to the cultural problem and lack of integration. Others, instead, relate their problems directly to the law and a more general racist environment migrants live in.

Concerning the Italian trade unions, some migrants complain that they have acted poorly for migrants' rights. Najat is a metalworker and member of the metalworkers union (FIOM), who has been very active in recent years, organizing strikes for metalworkers' contracts and working conditions. We asked her what she expects from the union: "*You feel they back you, but the only thing they do is help you in bureaucratic questions. But they've done nothing to guard migrants' rights*". When asked what a union should do for migrants, she answers: "*I speak as a worker in general, and then as an immigrant: I didn't hear the CGIL do anything to vindicate workers in this crisis. [..] They came to my factory a few times, they organized an assembly, they made their speeches, collected memberships, but then nothing has changed. [..] I heard about the last strike on the TV [..] I always went on strike but I'm the only one who does at my workplace, this last time I didn't even know there was a strike, nobody came to tell us.*" Yet we know migrant numbers are growing in trade unions, mainly in the CGIL (the largest left-wing union) and CISL (a Catholic union) and, even though for our interviewees the union works as a helpful office, they do not see it as a possible solution to their problems.

3.5. Migration, transnational practices and belonging

The theoreticians of the transnationalist perspective claim that the transnational practices of migrant families entail a challenge to the competence of the nation-state, which guarantees rights, reinforces duties and defends traditional notions of identity associated with national citizenship (Tambini, 2001). At the same time, in the arena of political debate there is a discussion around the dangers posed by the processes of migrant transnationalism to the national identity of the countries that are receivers of immigration. In addition, politicians, political analysts, policy makers and some media discourses argue that the many alliances and different forms of citizenship interfere with the integration of the immigrant population in the places of destination. However, according to Leitner and Ehrkamp (2006), migrants' perspectives on citizenship are rarely examined in either academic or public policy debates, which concentrate instead on broader legal and political aspects of citizenship –changes in national citizenship laws and policies and/or normative arguments

about how citizenship should be conceived–, making claims about immigrants' attitudes towards citizenship from afar (Bauböck, 1994; 2003; Miller, 2000; Soysal, 1994).

The empirical results of this research allow us to confirm some questions that we have presented in other investigations (Pedone and Gil Araujo, 2008; Pedone, 2010): transnational practices and the consequent consolidation of social transnational fields do not necessarily interfere with the feeling of belonging to the places of settlement. Besides, the already introduced concept of positionality enables us to understand how the immigrant population creates meaning, subscribes to values and exercises citizenship rights according to gender, social class, time of arrival, legal status, education level and the different migration strategies and trajectories.

One of the main findings of the present research is that the citizenship practices of the migrant population occur on many scales and involve many public spheres that cross national borders and renegotiate relations between their homes at origin and at destination. This suggests that citizenship practices go beyond the limits and jurisdictions of the nation-state. Many of the testimonies collected in our field work contradict the simplistic conception that understands migration as leaving one place and arriving and settling at another and show that things are much more varied and complex. Some migrants have a mobile life with different senses of belonging and relatives residing in different parts of the world. They tend to spend periods of time in the country of origin and then some other months or years in the country of immigration, taking advantage of the freedom granted by the access to nationality Local territorial identification offers no contradiction with the claim for citizenship rights and with the exercise of transnational family, social, economic and political practices.

Informal encounters and contacts of various kinds with both migrants and locals shape a different urban landscape in which the neighbourhood (re)emerges as a place of inclusion, in which practices of mutual assistance and participation in city life acquire an almost forgotten importance. People without formal rights in the places where they live their everyday life can and do take part in a variety of activities and at times find ways of political expression. Here the neighbourhood represents an ongoing project of creating, transforming and improving spaces, relationships and activities among the many communities that inhabit it, a forum of confrontations and mutual adaptations and intercultural interactions which affect migrants but also locals.

Some narratives understand that citizenship rights are an important subject in the everyday lives of the migrant population. They determine their access to work and housing, their security, their transnational mobility and their participation in the social and economic spheres. For this reason, the migrants interviewed insist on the need to have access to citizenship rights dissociated from any 'national feeling'. In the words of one Moroccan woman: *"Up to the moment, I (and I speak for myself) haven't had that feeling of saying I'm Catalan or I'm Spanish. I am Moroccan. Now, in terms of rights and duties, I am a citizen. Yes, I am a citizen with rights and duties... I don't know, I'm a citizen of this country until the day I return there, or I don't know. The majority does not feel Catalan. We are citizens, and when they claim, they claim their rights and they know their duties"* (Moroccan woman who works at the Poble Sec office of ATIMCA, Association of Moroccan Immigrant Workers of Catalonia).

The diverse transnational practices that appear in the Poble Sec case study reflect the variety of migration projects of the persons interviewed. The discourses of those who are at a stage of consolidation of their migration project –regularization of legal status, capitalization, family reunification, investments in destination– show a stronger sense of belonging to the neighbourhood, as well as a need to get involved in associations that may improve their commercial activities in Poble Sec. At the same time, they are involved in transnational practices and family debates around definitive settling or returning. For example, an immigrant coming from the Dominican Republic who has a prosperous business in the neighbourhood, near Blai Street, where they provide money-sending services and sell trips to Latin America, is also the president of an association of Dominican immigrants that sends money to their town of origin for social purposes. A Pakistani businessman who owns four shops on Blai Street together with his uncles belongs to the local Traders Association and has taken an active part in the meetings that have recently been held in the neighbourhood to discuss the conflicts between the neighbours. This belonging is combined with a series of transnational family and economic practices that he has kept up for over a decade: he sends remittances every month, not only to his wife and children but also to the extended family according to the amounts he agrees with his uncles to maintain their elders and the rest of the family in Pakistan.

The consolidation of family transnationalism can be seen as a result of the legal restrictions on obtaining and keeping a work permit and applying for the reunification of sons and daughters at destination. In the cases in which the migration has been headed by a woman,

the exercise of transnational maternity has ended up exceeding the period of time provided for in the design of the migration project. Thus, young Dominican and Ecuadorian women continue to negotiate their mother role with grandmothers, sisters and sisters-in-law, who form the care network in the place of origin. In other cases, when the migration has been headed by a man, as with the immigration coming from Pakistan, the social transnational fields consolidate because many of them have remained for many years in a situation of legal irregularity and managing to meet the necessary requirements for family reunification has been a very long process. A large number of these migrants have got married and had children during their temporary returns to origin, but they still cannot achieve family reunification at destination. According to recurrent accounts of the delays caused by the Spanish consulates in the places of origin, these are becoming more and more an informal practice of restriction of rights. And that is why some prefer to wait to obtain nationality (10 years) to make sure they will not have those kinds of restrictions.

Those families that consider settling definitively at the place of destination do not therefore cease to encourage their transnational family practices: *"We always go back on vacation to visit the family. Sometimes my children travel alone because, since their mother lives there, they spend all their holidays with her and her family. They really like to go there. We still want to settle here because there we see no stability. If that changes some day, then we'll consider that possibility, but my sons want to study here."* (Dominican man, member of the Poble Sec Traders Association). However, the idea of a long-term return is a project that tends to start to fade as sons and daughters grow up and study at the places of destination: *"For now, I don't think I'll be here... Not an official return, but yes in many years from now (...) But then when I think about it, it is a little complicated. Because if you want to go back to your country of origin, you mustn't have children. My daughter was born here, and although she recognizes Moroccan culture and she goes down to Morocco, she'll feel from here, more than I do. She'll be more comfortable here, because she will have her childhood friends. There will come a time when she'll say 'I'm from here, I can't come down to Morocco'"* (Moroccan woman who works at the Poble Sec office of ATIMCA).

The empirical results of the Kypseli study are centred on the construction of belonging to the neighbourhood and to the city, and on the formation and consolidation of migratory networks. A rather striking observation from the interviews is that almost none of our interviewees have moved from Kypseli since the time of their initial settlement. The migrants who live there for shorter or longer periods of time may have changed houses/flats several

times, but always within the neighbourhood itself. In particular, Albanian women working as live-out domestic workers, some of whom arrived more than 15 years ago, emphasize their attachment to the place and the ways in which they have gradually built support networks and become familiar with the space and the functioning of the area *"All, all, all of us around here we are friends. All, we are close […] This is why we do not leave. We are used to the place …You see, like being in my own village now, that is how I feel personally…"* (K.E., Albania).

The process of settling in Kypseli, as elsewhere, involves intensive networking: relatives and compatriots, who may have been here before, put up newcomers until they find a place of their own, help them navigate through the difficulties of adaptation in the unknown place and provide 'tips' about how to cope are a potential source of emotional and often practical support, although there are also instances of violent confrontations. Family networks in particular seem to play a key role in decisions to migrate as well as in formulating migration projects, albeit in different ways.

According to the law, the people we have talked to are "aliens", irrespective of whether they have legal papers or not, they have no formal "right to the city". But their regular physical presence and practices in the neighbourhood and beyond create space for them. Gender differences come out prominently in this respect: it is women rather than men who engage in those everyday routines which help to form familiar spaces in the unfamiliar city. Their ventures into the city start from home and its surroundings, which are depicted carefully on their maps *"The house, I have taken it now, it is not even a year, they gave me some more money, I made my life here with a man, so I decided, I am not young any more, when will I enjoy? I pay high rent, I pay it myself, but it is on the fifth floor, like the big ones, and looks to the front, the sun and the big street, it is a little noisy but it is so nice…"* (M.R., Ukraine, from a discussion in the Agora).

Men's routines, on the other hand, are more ordered by the workplace and by spending their leisure time with other men in local cafes or in the square. M.K.'s map is characteristic in this respect: it shows his home and former job (he was recently made redundant), but also the house of a friend and different places where he spends his spare time. In the same vein, S.M.'s map identifies his workplace and the routes he takes to reach it, but also the places where he likes to go for a stroll.

The repetitive everyday practices do not in any way challenge the status of migrants towards the law or women's and men's 'duties' and 'appropriate' ways to spend their time, however these are determined. But their physical presence makes claims to participation in urban life and tends to destabilize commonly held ideas about strangers, outsiders or righteous 'owners' of everyday public spaces. At the same time, the physical presence of migrants helps to familiarize locals with 'strangers'. Daily contact and shared practices gradually modify earlier attitudes, which now take shape not through media representations but through reference to their known and familiar neighbours.[3]

The goal of the Bolognina study was to outline a topography of presence and not absence. If it is true, as A. Sayad (1999) states, for example, that a sense of displacement is created, it also true that both here and there migrants operate a redefinition of their presence. The migrants themselves often create sociality, and almost all the interviewees remember their first experience in Italy as complicated. A common trait of Italy seems to be ignorance and a lack of curiosity about what Italians do not know. Migrants move, they came here with an experience of movement, they often do not know the place and the language, but what they find here are other people who have the same ignorance of the world, but have never moved from home. The hardness of the first period in Italy leads many to maintain the possibility of going back, a possibility that always remains open, but then very rarely happens. To go back would be the defeat of the subjective project: everyone moved for some reason, and the only real return without defeat would be the fulfilment of that project. This happens sometimes with people who are able to build a house in their village or city or to open a small business there and then go back.

Migrants from Morocco tell stories about portions of their villages that become 'Italian', because former migrants have moved back bringing signs of Italian taste with them, from the names of the shops to the opening of a pizzeria or coffee shop. Putting together different indications coming from the interviews, we can trace a double map that brings elements of the countries of origins here and brings elements of Italy to those countries. This is particularly true when –as often happens– family or community links create a connection between a particular village or city neighbourhood in the country of origin and Bologna. The redefinition of presence is reflected, for example, in the case of a man from Senegal, who describes his experience as hard, but then says that he finally found himself here, and

[3] This is not, of course, to underestimate the persistence of negative reactions and racist/xenophobic attitudes.

discovered himself as an African once here in Italy: "*Leaving your home opens up your eyes. Once I left my house I found my real identity, something I was unable to see while in Senegal. Here I discovered I'm an African and what it means, and I'm happy to be an African and I thank my parents because I was born in Africa*." Most migrants have many senses of belonging, many of the interviewees see themselves, after a few years, as Italians, but undoubtedly their sense of Italianness is different from the kind experienced by Italian citizens. Again, the law plays a role in the definition of this sense of belonging: migrants are always pushed back to their own separate identity by institutional marks of separation; one example is the queues they have to stand in to apply for the renewal of their permit.

This complex situation leads many to build a presence that is not separated from, but in some way independent of, the public discourse. Their sense of belonging to the city or neighbourhood is thus different from the Italians' but, like a network with many nodes, it often overlaps with them at specific points. Cultural dimensions play a role, but the main problem for migrants is their precarious presence. Najat describes this situation in this way: "*Also if you are here, that doesn't mean you belong to this country, you don't have the serenity to think 'I'm here and I can plan my life here,' because today you're here, tomorrow you never know. No, you live day by day*." From another angle, in the words used by Fabien we can see the role that small bureaucratic steps such as residence, meaningless for many Italians, assume for the sense of belonging of migrants: "*To be a resident of Bologna means to be recognized and to belong to the territory. For me when I got the residence it was like 'oh, finally you are part of this society.' Then to obtain everything after, from the permit to the long-stay permit, they check your residence. To get the residence is an important bureaucratic moment, and is culturally important. It means: 'I am from Bologna*.'"

Different perceptions of belonging lead to different 'ways of imagining' the social and political role migrants can play here. For many, this sense of double absence leads to a political silence, always waiting for the day of return. As Hend said: "*They came here to make money, not to live [..]. Many people have the idea of going back to their homeland. They dream about their own house in their homeland. But then, I ask myself, I have to stay here, to sacrifice myself to build a house that I don't know if I'll be ever able to see?*"

Instead, Najat has a very different perspective: "*I don't think it is right to dream about home. If I'm here I'm here. Many spent more than ten years here, ten years are a lot, and you can't go back and expect to restart everything from the beginning. I have to decide: either live my*

life here, or in Morocco, I don't have to kid myself. And when I go back to Marrakech I'm a foreigner, my accent too is changed." The precariousness migrants live here leads some to say: "*It makes no sense to build your life here, because you work hard, maybe you buy a home, and then you can be deported from one day to another, and that makes no sense*." These different attitudes have a great impact on the way migrants conceive their possibility of making an impact on Italian society and politics and being involved in struggles.

For some, the consequence of this sense of distance is the idea that here Italians rule, that there is no space for them to have their voices heard, these people live "*here, but with their head at home*." But others thinks that "*as I'm here, I have to fight here for what I want*." For them, political subjectivity became the moment at which the double absence can be turned into a presence, building new forms of participation –and not only the institutionalized forms as associations– and of common activity both with other migrants and Italians. In this context, precariousness transforms itself, and from the problem that prevents migrants from organizing their life, it can be turned into the right they lack. As one of the interviewees said, precariousness is one of the problems for both Italians and migrants, but "*migrants have no right to precariousness*." How can we understand this statement? We think, in a positive way: in the face of the forced identity imposed by 'methodological nationalism' and the discourse of rights related to citizenship and the legal obligation to have a job, whatever it might be, precariousness as a right means the freedom to organize their lives from a subjective and independent angle.

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(Barcelona, Spain)

4. Conclusions

One of our main findings is that migrant citizenship practices cross national borders and redefine relations between their homes at origin and at destination. The testimonies show that migration is far more than leaving one place and settling at another. Our empirical results confirm that transnational practices and the consolidation of social transnational fields do not have to interfere with the feeling of belonging to the places of settlement. Informal encounters show the neighbourhood as a place of inclusion and participation. It creates, transforms and improves spaces, relationships and activities among migrants, but also locals.

Transnational mobility is a structural fact of contemporaneity. Based on this assumption, migration questions the traditional concept of neighbourhood and local space. The field work highlights the explosion of the kind of neighbourhood in which there is an intricate relationship between place of residence and citizenship, place of family, place of sociality and often the workplace. Bolognina, Poble Sec and Kypseli, the spaces of our cases studies, have become urban hubs.

In contemporary cities migrants build new concepts of public space. Following these trajectories means drawing the maps of an 'insurgent city'. In this sense, our research reveals that Poble Sec, Bolognina and Kypseli could be thought of as transnational urban spaces. They are places of 'translation', or creation of new transnational languages and forms of interaction as well as conflicts and redefinition, between local/global, national/transnational, national/foreign, North/South, West/East.

Our research shows the city as a space of hybridization and translation. Two-ness becomes the production of something new, which is not the simple sum of or the clash between two identities, because both sides of the 'double consciousness' are called into question. In fact, in the everyday life of the city these identities are displaced. And citizenship is increasingly detached from a supposed national belonging. Local spaces seem to be the specific place where the experiences of participation and belonging are performed.

4.1. About urban transformations

The interviews with immigrants residing in Barcelona, Bologna and Athens provide evidence of the important transformation in the composition of the population of the neighbourhoods. Their presence has brought new life, but it has also questioned the traditional concepts of neighbourhood and local space. In Poble Sec, Kypseli and Bolognina they have helped change the neighbourhood in three main aspects: revitalization of the housing market, use of public transport and restructuring of commercial activity. Their shops act as contact places between them and locals, as well as generating employment and income. In this process women are vital, both as consumers and as workers. Despite all this, the attitudes of locals remain ambiguous.

The economic crisis is a crucial factor in understanding the recent transformation of the city and the ways in which the migrants live the public spaces. They are constantly having to move, not only from one country to another but from one neighbourhood to another.

4.2. About uses of public spaces

Our field work has revealed a competition and differentiation in the use of public spaces by both locals and immigrants determined by certain variables: gender, age, nationality, social class, family situation, legal status, working conditions and religious practice. The gender variable conditions use of the neighbourhood in all three cities, though there are differences. In Kypseli migrant women communicate more with local people (mainly women) than men do. In Poble Sec, the use of the public space is also affected by ethnic relations: Pakistani and Moroccan women have low visibility, whereas the free-moving Dominicans escape the roles assigned to migrant women in general. In Bolognina the use of the public space according to gender is inseparable from the idea of independence and freedom, something that did not emerge in the other two case studies.

Informal social integration takes place in public spaces through casual yet repeated contact over a period of time. Sharing often leads to closer relations, even to friendships and networks. All this raises a number of questions to do with participation and belonging and the need to think about citizenship in a different way.

The connection between migration and insecurity in the public space is ever present in the media and politics. The other side of the coin is that the immigrants' idea that the place of emigration is safer than the place of origin is changing owing to the impact of the economic crisis on their working conditions. Their testimonies and those of the key informants who work in social services highlight the economic insecurity generated by the crisis and the recession in Spain, Italy and Greece. Conflicts have always existed, but as the number of immigrants in European cities grows, they are often seen as the cause. Their precarious residential conditions have led to an intensive occupation of public spaces, which leads to confrontations over what is considered to be unsuitable use.

4.3. Relationship between labour and public spaces

The labour market, especially with the current economic crisis, is the first concern for migrants in the three countries. Labour, the cause of migration in all discourses, somehow works as a legitimising element for an anomalous illegitimate situation in the eyes of national logic: the immigrant presence.

Labour shapes the relationships between migrants and public spaces and plays a key role in the definition of their social relations. It also has an impact on gender relations. The Italian study found that, for women, a job means independence from men, but in the Spanish study this link is not that clear. The relations between women, work, migration and empowerment/autonomy need more in-depth comparative research.

For future studies, one of the main questions when thinking about the relationships between labour and public spaces could be thus formulated: how is the history of a neighbourhood, so historically characterized by a strict correlation between the productive structure and its social composition, reflected in the ordinary experience of migrants who now use its public spaces? A second important question is: how does the migrant experience tell us something about the way in which this static spatial and social composition has changed over recent years?

4.4. About social movements

Regarding social movements, it is difficult to draw any general conclusions because of the different contexts in which the field work was done. In all of Southern Europe, social policies aimed at the immigrant population were often implemented by NGOs. In Poble Sec the church is also involved, as well as non-confessional organizations, while in the Greek case study the gaps in Greek migration policies are covered by volunteers. In the Italian Study, the interviewees complain about the absence of public policies for migrant presences and the shortage of public spaces available.

In Poble Sec, social organizations deal mostly with women, who are considered to be in greater need of support. The purpose of these interventions is to promote their participation, emancipation, education and instruction, and to debate topics that should be of interest to them. This indicates the importance of representations of gender and immigration in the design, management and assessment of the urban 'integration' and 'participation' policies and programmes. The insistence on promoting participation is linked to the hegemonic perception of integration as a matter of commitment and will. Somehow, this idealized participation would show the interest of the immigrant person in belonging to the society in which he or she lives.

In the three case studies there are implicit and explicit connections between cohesion and diversity; diversity is a threat to cohesion and hence it must be managed. This idea is strongly linked to the paradigm of the nation state, which imagines culturally homogenous societies and therefore perceives all 'difference' as a threat to national integrity (or cohesion). In the Italian study, as well as in the Spanish case, integration and cultural difference seem to be important terms in the way in which institutions and people (included migrants) think about migration.

4.5. About transnational practices and belonging

Our research proves the need for a transnational perspective in migration studies. The empirical results confirm that transnational practices and the consolidation of social transnational fields do not necessarily interfere with the feeling of belonging to the places of settlement. Approaching migrants as residents of the place is productive, since it

allows us to analyse their role as creators of scale without resorting to preconceived ideas about how their relations with the place are determined by nationality or origin.

'Illegality' is always a possible condition of migrant life. Certainly, for many illegal migrants the spectre of deportation is always present but the heterogeneity of the experiences show that rather than being a question of legality or illegality, the law acts as a placement agent of migrants inside the society. Within this schema, which has been called "*differential inclusion*", illegality is just one position among others. Different perceptions of belonging lead to different ways of 'imagining' the social and political role migrants can play here.

5. Policy recommendations

Based on the results of the present study, we recommend that the corresponding authorities at the different levels of government implement the necessary policies in order to:

5.1. European Union

- Facilitate the real exercise of a civic citizenship which guarantees the social, economic, political and cultural rights of all the residents in the EU, without any discrimination on the grounds of gender, age, ethnic group, social class, sexual orientation, religion or nationality.
- Standardize the criteria for the participation of non-EU migrants in local, regional, state and European elections in all the EU countries.

5.2. State

- Guarantee non-EU immigrants the right to family living, without restrictions of age, nationality, gender, sexual orientation or income.
- Guarantee all minors under the age of 18 the right to education, regardless of their legal status.
- Introduce legislation to solve the problems of migrant workers without papers. This is especially important for female migrant workers, who usually work in the informal sector (mainly as carers or domestic workers) and have to face many problems, such as health hazards and the risk of separation from their families, even though they play a significant role in the economy of the county of destination.
- Regularize domestic work.

- Recognize the need for public policies for altering negative social representations related with stereotypes associating people with their ethnic/cultural/national group instead of seeing them as individuals (e.g. stereotypes of different ethnic groups as 'flexible' and cheaper labour). These policies could include setting up effective monitoring and combating discrimination at all levels: in employment, education (including courses in the language of the country of reception), social welfare and public life, the law and the legal system. Any policy needs to be properly informed about the whole social experience and social position of male and female migrants.

- Recognize the need for policies that enhance self-organization as well as full participation in all mainstream institutions. This is very important for the integration of female (and male) migrants (and their families).

- Recognize the need to improve the opportunities for female migrants to pursue their labour market aspirations. This includes an increased recognition of skills and qualifications; providing increased access to forms of training and work practice; helping women enter the labour market; and more comprehensively addressing questions of ethnic and gender discrimination.

- Recognize the need for an assessment of the gender effects of general policies, including welfare and labour market policies, and specific policies, including those concerning migration and integration.

5.3. Regional

- Create and promote social services that allow migrant women and men to ensure a care network for their sons and daughters reunited at destination.

- Guarantee the effective exercise of freedom of religion.

- Create public spaces (squares, playgrounds, sports areas), where immigrants and the 'native' population can have free access (no need to pay); such places could be the meeting-places where processes of

mutual (material, emotional) help among migrants who have the same origins, among migrants of different nationalities and among natives and migrants start developing. In this sense, they contribute to the effective integration of migrants and reduce (if not eliminate) the xenophobia of the locals.

- Strengthen the initiatives of local residents, both migrants and 'natives', in order to set up and operate spaces for cultural and other activities which bring together different people at the local/neighbourhood level.

- Implement a migrant-sensitive housing policy, including social housing, access to loans on favourable terms and temporary shelters for people in transit, seeking to move to another country.

5.4. Local

- Offer greater flexibility in the opening hours of the healthcare centres in order to let the service adjust to working days, especially those of migrants.

- Create and promote social services that allow migrant women to ensure a care network for their sons and daughters reunited at destination.

- Guarantee the right to the effective exercise of freedom of religion by facilitating the creation of spaces where different religious groups can gather and pray.

- Organize a system to manage the renting of apartments or houses which guarantees migrant families' access to housing and avoids discrimination.

- Promote a policy of public subsidies for rents aimed at low-income families and individuals (retired, young people, immigrants) in order to avoid processes of gentrification in certain areas of the city and of degradation and overcrowding in others.

- Create meeting places and playgrounds for the children and young people of the neighbourhood.
- Take advantage of the associative networks already existing in the neighbourhood to establish stronger bonds between the local and immigrant populations.
- Rethink the image of the resident in the new urban spaces: based on the data, statistics, and interviews it is evident that the migrants are not outsiders but, on the contrary, the new citizens. The interviews highlight a high level of desire for the city and urban spaces on the part of the migrants.
- Preserve cultural diversity: the multicultural composition has to be reflected in activities in the city.
- Avoid horizontal clashes within the population and competition among the poor. The institutions have to encourage, promote and enhance ways of making diversity and counteract the reduction of the migrants to a problem of security and public order.
- Invest in the renovation of urban spaces which in public rhetoric are labelled as 'difficult' or 'unsafe' and are abandoned by the public administration. This is the result of a misunderstanding about the image of the resident, and it produces real problems and competition among different kinds of population. Therefore, it is important to fund the spaces (parks, squares, social centres) that are meeting places and new models of the intercultural and transnational city.

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7. Appendix I

Interview guide

Name of interviewee (please note that all names will be changed):

Age of person interviewed:

Sex of person interviewed:

Date of interview:

- History of the migrant family

Country and city of origin; life before migration; motivation to emigrate and migration process; people living with her/him here; difficulties for her/him to settle here.

- Legal, labour, education and family situation

Current legal status; access to nationality; job (what, how obtained, difficulty to obtain for a man/woman or not, conditions, comparison with job in place of origin, future); income management; educational level of origin and other courses/studies carried out here. Negotiations in gender and generational relationships: responsibility in domestic and family occupations; reunification process (any family member brought over, how); type of lifestyle here (including way of bringing up children).

- Use of public spaces in the city and in the neighbourhood.

About the neighbourhood (choice, satisfaction, places used –why and with whom–, places to relax, places to avoid –why–, where your children/young people go –boys/girls–; facilities/services used in the neighbourhood and level of satisfaction (for him/her, children, young people, women, elderly). About the city: other neighbourhoods visited (which, why). Use of spare time. Differences between public life here and in place of origin.

- Participation in associations, schools, etc.

Membership of any association (which, why, with whom, relationships there, satisfaction, deficiencies found); participation in parent-teacher associations; experiences as students.

- Transnational practices and the use of public spaces

Use of call shop (when, contact person/s, topics of conversation, use as a meeting point); remittances management; investments in housing/businesses; social remittances (transnational motherhood); satisfaction of living in Barcelona, Athens, Bologna; main problems faced here; ideas about return; plans for the future; children's plans for the future and your opinion of them.

d) Interviews with natives, key informants, experts and political leaders.

e) 'Observation guidelines' (for the different types of locations)

f) Focus group, especially with the social movements in the neighbourhoods

g) Compilation of statistics and official documents.

The field work was conducted in three neighbourhoods (Kypseli in Athens, Bolognina in Bologna and Poble Sec in Barcelona) between January 2009 and February 2010. The case studies used different qualitative methods, including: a) 90 in-depth interviews with migrants, natives, key informants, experts and political leaders; b) mapping of the neighbourhood (uses, activities); c) participant observation (leisure and meeting places organized and attended by migrant women and men, such as markets and shops, urban parks, coffee shops, 'ethnic' businesses such as food shops, hairdresser's or beauty salons), d) focus group (especially with the social movements in the neighbourhoods).

The total number of interviews, systematic and participant observations was:

Bolognina[4]	**Kypseli**[5]	**Poble Sec**[6]
25 in-depth interviews 8 key informants	18 sessions of systematic observation in Kypseli Square 6 key informants (3 in Kypseli Square and 3 at the Agora). 3 interviews with migrant and native people from the square. 7 interviews at the Agora 6 discussions in the classes	24 in-depth interviews 16 participant observations 13 key informants

[4] ***Bolognina***: 25 in-depth interviews of which:

5 women from Morocco; 2 women from Tunisia; 1 woman from Egypt; 1 woman from Ivory Coast; 1 woman from Iraq; 1 woman from Sri Lanka; 1 woman from Bangladesh; 1 woman from Colombia; 2 woman from Romania; 5 men from Morocco; 1 man from Tunisia; 1 man from Bangladesh; 1 man from Senegal; 2 men from Cameroun.

8 key informants: 2 social researchers in Bolognina; 1 member of Osservatorio Migranti – Comune di Bologna; 4 members of Annassim Association; 2 members of Coordinamento Migranti Bologna.

[5] ***Kypseli:*** 18 sessions of systematic observation in Kypseli Square

6 key informants: 3 interviews in Kypseli Square (a member of the Philippine community based in Kypseli neighbourhood; the owner of the kiosk in Kypseli Square; an old inhabitant of the neighbourhood and owner of a wine store on the square). 3 interviews in the Agora (a teacher in the school and resident of Kypseli since she was born; a teacher in the school and resident of Kypseli for many years; a teacher of the school and resident.

3 interviews with migrant and native people from the square (a woman from Bulgaria working in the care sector in a house in Kypseli; a young Kurdish man from Syria who has been living in Kypseli for 4 years; a woman from Greece who has been living in Kypseli for25 years).

7 interviews with migrant men and women attending the classes at the Agora.

[6] **Poble Sec**: 24 in-depth interviews.

18 migrants of whom: 11 migrant women from the Dominican Republic, China, Venezuela, Bangladesh, Ecuador, Bolivia and Argentina.

7 migrant men from Dominican Republic, Pakistan, Brazil and Argentina.

Native population. 2 people who arrived in the neighbourhood around 1950-60.

2 immigrants from the second migration wave.

2 young people (natives and foreigners) who came to the area because it is central, it has reasonable prices to rent or buy, and they are very taken with the 'cultural diversity' of Poble Sec.

13 key informants: 3 members of the business association; the native priest who has been working with migrants since 2000; 2 social workers from Poble Sec per a Tothom (Poble Sec for Everybody: a social platform formed by individuals and sociocultural associations whose aim is to foster local coexistence); 2 teachers of Spanish and Catalan languages from an NGO and an institutional organization; interviews with members of the Catalan Parliament to find out the different conceptions of diversity, citizenship, the migrant population's access to political rights and the role of the different levels of government in the construction of immigration policy; interviews with the staff at the health centre.

Population Data

Bologna

Total population:

Bologna	374,944
Navile	64,593
Bolognina	32,751

Migrant population:

Bologna	39,480
Navile	8,969
Bolognina	5,594

Percentage of migrants in the total population:

Bologna	10.5%
Navile	13.9%
Bolognina	17%

Athens

Kypseli population	47,437
Migrant population	21%

Albania	49.2%
Poland	8.5%
Bulgaria	4.5%
Romania & Ukraine	3.5%

Barcelona

Migrant population in Poble Sec (January 2010)
11,360 (28.1% of total population)

Main nationalities (January 2010)

Pakistan	1,305
Philippines	988
Morocco	940
Italy	739
Dominican Republic	645
Ecuador	642

Coordinator:

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SEVENTH FRAMEWORK PROGRAMME