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The Effectiveness of Intercultural Centres in creating Convivial, Diverse Public Spaces and Enhancing Community Safety

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Introduction

Periodically in the post-war period, moral panics have arisen associating crime and perceived lack of safety with the presence of immigrants. The perception draws on older fears of the stranger and outsider in the anonymous city¹ and is given powerful and visual form through media representations. Since the mid 1990s at the same time as crime has gone down, the perception of crime and insecurity has grown in Europe. Clearly perceptions of threat and feelings of being unsafe are not grounded in the crime figures and bear little relationship to them. This research looks at safety strategies that engage communities in addressing the problem transversally. It considers partnerships and initiatives that have contributed to dissolving the atmosphere of fear and mistrust in cities that is focused on immigrants and ethnic minority groups. It identifies the role of intercultural centres in facilitating positive experiences of diverse interaction between locals and migrants that enhances their mutual sense of wellbeing, safety and belonging to the locality and city.

The presence of an intercultural centre and a community safety policy in a city served as indicators in the Intercultural Cities Index² for the quality of public space. The study considers the impact of neighbourhood-based intercultural centres in diversifying public spaces and redefining safety in intercultural terms of inclusion and conviviality.

The research assesses three case studies of community safety policies of different scales and size, initiated by different bodies:

1. **Reggio Emilia** city council's Pact for Convivial Living in the station zone;
2. GCAL's integration policies and the Safety Group's partnership with the Municipal Police in **Alta de Lisboa**, north Lisbon;
3. Second Wave Youth Arts'Centre's SWAGGA project with the Metropolitan Police in **Lewisham**, south-east London.

Then it will evaluate the contribution of intercultural centres – in particular *Mondinsieme* in Reggio and *Centro Interculturacidade* in Lisbon to enhancing safety in these cities, by creating inclusive, convivial public spaces.

¹ Georg Simmel, *The Stranger* The Sociology of Georg Simmel' New York: Free Press, 1976.

² Correlation Analysis between the Intercultural Cities Index and Other Data. A Study for the Council of Europe, October 2011

1. Defining Criteria of Intercultural Centres

'A third space'

An intercultural centre can be conceived as a 'third space' which is in-between³, a pluralist place belonging to neither one side nor the other, but which may begin to animate an intercultural public sphere in the city, involving culturally diverse, and often excluded young people in creative expression and dialogue.⁴ Italian theorists set out defining features of the intercultural centre as "*welcome, integration/interaction and interculturality*,"⁵ redefining integration through interaction – as reciprocal exchange and dialogue between migrants and locals, ethnic minorities and majority rather than insertion of migrants into a pre-given whole.

If they are first of all a place of aggregation,⁶ that brings together diverse people of different backgrounds including locals, offering a welcoming space where people can meet and socialise, discuss issues and ideas, they are not just that. An intercultural centre actively programmes interaction, debate, collaborative projects, rather than just being a meeting place or a place where diverse groups hold their meetings. It has a developed capacity to relate to people's cultural differences but also individual talents and interests to see how they can be imaginatively deployed. The centre itself actively builds relationships and commitment to its ideals and activities which realise them

Despite their diversity of form, and whether they carry out artistic projects, education training or language services, an intercultural centre is defined by "*the overall project... the political cultural dimension in which it locates its actions.*"⁷ Thus an intercultural centre can be understood as a shared space that develops a relational practice where the participants collaborate together over time on joint projects and decide the direction and priorities of the centre within shared ethical bounds – such as openness, cultural recognition, equality, anti-discrimination, dialogue, sharing of knowledge.

Paola Bonora suggests that

"intercultural centres... can represent a new model of aggregation in which societies can rediscover their sense of community and capacity for dialogue and critical self-reflection... [They can be] places of relationship where ethics take the place of

³ H. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 1994

⁴ C.Landry & P. Wood, *The Intercultural City, Planning for the diversity advantage*, 2008.

⁵ G. Favaro & Lorenzo Luatti, *Il Tempo dell'Integrazione. I Centri interculturali in Italia*, FrancoAngeli, 2008, p.44.

⁶ the only feature in common in all twelve of the intercultural or international centres surveyed in P.Wood , *A Review of International and Intercultural Institutions*, Comedia, 2009.

⁷ Favaro & Luatti *ibid*.

ideologies that pose the question of development as first and foremost how to live together convivially.”⁸

‘Commitment’

Autonomous intercultural centres are usually founded by a committed group of artists, community workers, amateurs, or innovative individuals who want to create a cosmopolitan, mixed environment, out of ethical or political impulses to post-colonial solidarity with the other, identification with different cultures, desire to be a bridge between them, bringing people of different backgrounds together, to work collaboratively and produce new culture. Such desires give an intercultural centre its drive and passion. As self-managed spaces they are non-hierarchical and democratic in ethos (though not always in practice). Fundamentally they are based on direct democracy in person, investing one's own time, energy and commitment to collaborate with others.

‘Non-profit’

Since they are non-profit third sector organisations, they rely on a mix of funding, from grant-aid, project funding, funding in kind, charitable donation and sale of services, renting out of rooms. Although enlightened city councils with an open relationship to civil society share resources with them, financial support tends to be one-off, or project by project. Those centres which are unfunded by the city council, as *Centro Interculturacidade* is, exist on a shoestring budget. However, as an open space with easy access and low barriers of entry, asylum seekers, poor migrants and marginalised youth are not excluded but welcomed like the ‘lost artist’ wandering the city to find a point of entry.⁹

‘Innovative space’

The informal artist-led centres which mobilise cultural energies for intercultural projects and interventions tend to be highly innovative, to break boundaries and allow a space for imaginative transformation and new connection to take place between people, especially powerful in situations of conflict. This has been described by playwright David Edgar in the following way:

“the secret is to create third spaces, unfamiliar to both sides in which different groups can share a similar experience of discovery. Sometimes such spaces allow people to detach aspects of their own identity from what they have hitherto regarded as its essential and dominating character..”¹⁰

⁸ P. Bonora and A. Giardini, *I centri interculturali in Emilia-Romagna; Un progetto di ricerca-azione per una territorialità attiva*, Bologna, Regione di Emilia Romagna, 2004, p.14.

⁹ A quote from an informant musician and maker of traditional percussion instruments Ottavio Chamba, see below case study of *Centro Interculturacidade*.

¹⁰ David Edgar, Speech to the Graduation Class of the ACS International School, London 2005.

These spaces are innovative in other ways too - understanding dialogue in much broader and diverse ways than formal dialogue between intercultural or interfaith representatives, recognising it can encompass visual, musical, new media forms of expression. They can confront conflict using artistic means to channel and transform it creatively. Often the innovative activity is not only intercultural but also intergenerational, spatial, ecological or focused on women or youth, finding alternative ways of seeing and doing improvising solutions.

‘City links’

In Italy, intercultural centres were set up by city councils as a positive response to growing migration and globalisation, in recognition not only of the material needs of migrants for services, but *‘also the symbolic and cultural obstacles that can prejudice every other form of social intervention.’*¹¹ The Emilia Romagna region passed a law in 2003 for the social integration of ‘foreign migrant citizens’ with policies for social inclusion including a protocol on intercultural communication, which led to the formation of intercultural centres throughout the region¹². These centres remain closely linked to city councils even when, as is the case of *Mondinsieme* Intercultural Centre in Reggio Emilia, they become autonomous foundations and have formed a regional network in the region. As well as carrying out strategic functions of advising the council on policy, doing training and dissemination of intercultural practices to business, the health service, museums and schools, *Mondinsieme* has been innovating in ways akin to arts-led centres, working with 2nd generation youth in media, developing new forms of communication, networks and experiments in cultural programming to diversify public space.

The UK, in contrast to Italy has no officially designated intercultural centres - they are more likely designated as community centres, cultural centres or youth arts centres without statutory recognition. Even though the youth arts centres like Second Wave are not referred to as intercultural, they attract intercultural artists and cultural producers who feel at home in the centre. Such centres reach parts of the population that formal institutions or adult-led community organisations find it hard to reach – such as recent migrants, asylum-seekers and disaffected young people of all backgrounds as well as artists.

In its origins Scottish Carnival Arts in Glasgow¹³ brought together recent asylum seekers with established refugee communities from Chile, Brazil and Argentina and local Scottish youths in weekend parties with cheap drink, Latin music and masked

¹¹ P.Bonora and A.Giardini, *I centri interculturali in Emilia Romagna. Un progetto di ricerca-azione per una territorialita*, Bologna 2004.

¹² A. Giardini, in P.Bonora and A.Giardini, *ibid.*

¹³ EU/ERICarts Good Practice Database on Intercultural Dialogue, under Diversity of Cultural Expression in Arts and Heritage, <http://www.culturalpolicies.net/web/intercultural-dialogue-database.php>

revelry. Such centres create a shared space particularly conducive to young people and marginalised peoples as they can enter it as equals, feel themselves recognised culturally and able to contribute their individual talents and capabilities to a shared artistic project. Not only does this enable them to express themselves through art, but to develop a collective voice as protagonists.

2. Community Safety Strategies

Community safety strategies have arisen in response to a number of perceived threats to 'security', from organised crime particularly drugs and guns in areas of high immigrant settlement in the inner city and urban periphery. Since 9/11 the security threat has been redefined in terms of Islamic terrorism. Yet this security agenda does not address the desires for safety on the street and in the neighbourhood of most citizens or the psychological and subjective dimensions of safety that depend on urban, social, environmental and cultural policies.

In such a climate, media or populist politicians can more easily play on fears that link these real or imagined threats to the presence of immigrants or specific ethnic minorities. One way of evaluating community safety policies is by how critically they challenge the terms of debate and redefine safety in human terms of everyday life rather than of emergency or public order. One dimension of safety concerns equal treatment, rights of access and participation in the city, free of discrimination and racism, another dimension is a convivial environment that is welcoming and open to everyone, symbolically reflecting the cultural and social diversity of the city.

Community safety projects are built around partnerships in the locality which define the dangers and causes of the lack of safety, the degree of community participation, the range of partners, the exclusion of certain groups will determine how the problems of safety are defined and solutions derived. Does community safety include diverse young people in the local community? How intercultural the safety policy is, is determined by whether the community is open and policies to counter racism and discrimination are integral to the understanding of safety and are acted on, or marginalised. It will also decide whether groups which are stigmatised as inherently problematic or anti-social are brought into the process or remain outside. This brings into play the specific competences of informal arts-led intercultural centres in enabling urban youths to express themselves culturally and become protagonists in the society. Diverse young people are more likely to feel at ease with the police on the street if they reflect in the diversity of their personnel and in their practice, the diversity of the community they serve.

A further criterion for evaluating community safety strategies is whether consultation and participation are planned into the process from the start or add-ons at a later

stage –decisive to the community feeling itself a full partner in the process. This will also be affected, certainly among communities with high levels of distrust of the national police by whether community policing is understood by the Municipal Police as a genuine process of engagement with the local community it serves or as a means of gathering intelligence.¹⁴ There is also a danger of overreliance on problem-oriented policing - POP –which locates geographical crime hot spots and targets individual criminals and known gangs, even when combined with community-oriented policing (COP) and even more so with intelligence-led policing (IOP) as they risk undermining the basis of trust in community policing.¹⁵ Likewise the reliance on video surveillance as a major instrument of crime prevention or detection bypasses the process of social engagement in defining and implementing safety policies. In the charged context of racial stereotyping and scapegoating, surveillance may distort the psychological balance between trust and fear of strangers, intensifying unease, and thus undermine the openness and sociability of public space.¹⁶

3. Methodology and choice of case studies

The study was designed to assess how effective intercultural centres are in creating diverse and convivial public spaces; what impact these have on enhanced feelings of safety and wellbeing in the neighborhood and more widely on community safety strategies.

Three cases of safety strategies were selected firstly because they were all generated ‘from below’, involving community participation in areas of high concentration of immigrants where fear of crime was high but crime rates were low. However they also provided contrast of scale and authorship.

The station area of Reggio Emilia covers 4,000 people, but the strategy was led by the city council which mobilised civic organisations, migrant associations and citizens. Alta de Lisboa has a population 34,000 people and the Grupo Comunitario de Alta de Lisboa - GCAL - the ‘Community Group’ acts as a consortium of voluntary, community and public service organisations which came together in response to the large-scale urban renewal programme.

¹⁴ For a contrary view see S.Virta “Community Policing innovations in Finland:Case Helsinki Police Department” in Malla N. & Newman G. eds.*Community Policing in Indigenous Communities*, CRC Press, 2012.

¹⁵ P.Versteegh, T. Van Der Plas & H. Nieuwstraten “The Best of Three Worlds: more effective policing by problem-oriented approach of hot crimes, hot spots and hot groups” *Police Practice and Research Journal*, 2012.

¹⁶ C. Norris, J.Moran, G.Armstrong, *Surveillance Closed Circuit Television and Social Control*, Ashgate, 1998.

Second Wave was chosen for its singular role as an intercultural centre which has initiated the safety strategy – a partnership with the police at the request of its own members – diverse and disadvantaged young people themselves more often on the receiving end of such a strategy rather than jointing shaping it. It was the only example of its kind known to me.

Mondinsieme and *Centro Interculturacidade* were selected for their innovative contribution to conceptualising and creating diverse and shared public spaces. While *Mondinsieme* is an official centre, which was set up and is still funded by the municipality, although it has subsequently become a foundation, both *Centro Interculturacidade* and Second Wave are independent and self-managed. On the other hand, while *Interculturacidade* has an unsupportive and unfunded relationship with Lisbon city council, Second Wave has a cordial and close relation to the borough of Lewisham in south-east London which has supported it financially and politically for over twenty five years. So this contrast tests the limits on the impact of intercultural centre on public space and safety set by its relationship to the local institutions of power. All three centres fall within cities – Reggio Emilia, Lisbon and Lewisham – which are part of the ICC network and so are of direct relevance to sharing of best practice.

What was not known to me at the time of framing the project was that *Mondinsieme* was not directly involved in conceptualising or implementing the safety strategy of the station area in Reggio and that the *Centro Interculturacidade* had no involvement at all in GCAL's strategy in Alta de Lisboa and had no relationship through networks of practice with GCAL.

Methods and sources:

- A **preliminary analysis** was undertaken of policy documentation from Reggio Emilia city council, the Municipal Police and GCAL in Alta de Lisboa, including statistical data and surveys. Evaluation studies, plans and other documentation were gathered during the research visits.
- **Two field trips** were undertaken, one to Reggio Emilia where twenty interviews were carried out with council and district officials, planners and civic activists in the Pact for Convivial Living, mediators, intercultural centre organisers and users, artists and cultural producers and entrepreneurs. A small joint interview was conducted with three collaborators from *Mondinsieme* (See Appendix 1). Informal short interviews were carried out with users of the *Centro d'Incontro Reggio Est* – Reggio East Community Centre and a short street survey with seven informants was conducted face-to-face in Piazza Sechi. In

addition site visits were carried out: on the first occasion I was taken round by Franco Corradini, the head of the Department for Immigration, Social Cohesion and Safety and witnessed his interaction with local residents.

On the second field trip to Lisbon, I was accompanied by a Portuguese interpreter who had worked in Alta de Lisboa and was friends with GCAL members and community activists. Fifteen interviews were carried out with members and supporters of the Intercultural Centre, GCAL and the Municipal Police and two Action Research Workshops were held, one at *Interculturacidade* and the other with GACAL in Alta de Lisboa (See Appendix 1) A short face-to-face street survey with twelve respondents was carried out in the immediate vicinity of *Interculturacidade* and questionnaires were filled in by the Creole class at the Centre. Questionnaires were also distributed via an intermediary organisation in Alta de Lisboa with fifteen respondents.

- The case study of Second Wave had to rely mainly on **secondary sources**, apart from a previous interview with the director five years ago, when the safety project was in its infancy. Access to interview Second Wave members, staff and partners was denied as researchers at the University of Greenwich have been collaborating with Second Wave on an ongoing practice-based research study. It was therefore reluctant to participate in another study which would have taken up more of their time and they felt would duplicate that research. Although I made strenuous efforts to discuss the research findings with the Greenwich team, only those findings in the published report were made available to me and no meetings took place. The case study therefore focuses on the features of Second Wave's practice that have succeeded in engaging urban youths in a creative safety strategy.

4. The Safety Strategy of Reggio Emilia: the Pact for Convivial Living in the Station Zone

Social Composition and Image of the Station Zone

Reggio Emilia is a small to medium sized town with a population of 166,000 16% of whom are migrants, with Albanians, Moroccans and Chinese each comprising between 1-2% of the population. However, migrants constitute a majority in the station area which is composed of just 31 streets with 4,000 residents. By 2007 it had come to be viewed as a place of environmental degradation and social neglect. The local press and many politicians under competitive pressure from the racist Northern League, including some even in the governing left-green coalition, attributed the

decline to excessive immigration and an over-concentration of migrants in the area. Even Carlo Cavazzoli, the Chair of the Centro d'Incontro Reggio Est - the Reggio East Community Centre - accepted this explanation: "*It is not easy to live and be integrated in a zone populated by 90% immigrants: the neighbourhood around the station is sick from an excess of immigration.*"¹⁷

However, other participants in the safety strategy have argued that the level of crime and danger on the street was exaggerated, blown out of all proportion by the press.¹⁸ They characterised most of the offences as forms of anti-social behaviour rather than criminal acts, typical of the social problems in cities rather than a specific pathology of migrants in the station area of Reggio Emilia. The mass media in Italy has been criticised for an alarmist rhetoric on migration, which simultaneously banishes coverage of migrants' lives to the margins, and reads migration through stigmatised representations of the most multicultural neighbourhoods - the port area of Genoa, San Salvario in Turin, Esquilino in Roma - as '*real life Bronx*'.¹⁹ Marina Pirazzi, the participatory planner brought in by the Council, pointed out that as insiders, the residents of the station area of Reggio took a perverse pride in the label of '*the Bronx of Reggio Emilia*', knowing that it was a false image which the outside world had of their area:

*"Why was there so much stress on image? ... We sought to respond to a problem that could be defined as 'perceived insecurity', perceived by the population, I underline perceived because...apart from the odd nasty episode in the past, in reality ...there never were any real problems of serious insecurity the whole time I was there, there were small acts of incivility."*²⁰

The Housing Crisis: social problem or criminal act?

The theme of preventing excessive immigration did nothing to reduce the power of speculative landlords or drug dealers - originally Italian, then gradually foreign who exploited migrants.²¹ Although the drugs trade has come to be dominated by foreigners, they are predominantly under the control of the '*Ndrangheta* mafia operating in Northern Italy, with their HQ in Milan. The strategy of the *assessore* at the head of Immigration Policies, Social Cohesion and Safety, Franco Corradini, was to contest the everyday assumption that immigrants are bearers of criminality, by establishing "*rules of the game for all*" - a project the city council implemented in 2008 - and recognising individual responsibility for criminal acts rather than inculcating people according to their foreign nationality. Contrary to the predominant populist

¹⁷ "Zona-stazione, un patto di convivenza - Cittadini ed enti alla firma: 'Quartiere malato d'immigrazione'" *Gazzetta di Reggio*, 24 February 2008.

¹⁸ Interview Samir Manai, head of Centro d'Incontro Reggio Est, 3.3.13.

¹⁹ M. Ghirelli, "Le parole sono pietre. Rappresentazione e accesso degli immigrati ai media in Italia", in S. Bodo, M.R. Ciffarelli 7 C. Scagliotti eds. *Quando la cultura fa la differenza. Patrimonio, arti e media nella società multiculturale*, Meltemi, 2006, p.177.

²⁰ Interview Marina Pirazzi, 7.3.12.

²¹ Interview Franco Corradini, 1, 6.3.12.

view, Corradini attributed the causes of decline in the station area to council neglect over many years, responding to a number of incidents of physical assault on the streets around the station between 1996-99, only by installing video surveillance cameras. By 2006 the cellars on *Via Turri* were full of homeless migrants that raised problems of public safety and public order,²² while also manifesting the scale of housing crisis.

A speculative crisis had arisen as parts of the area designed to house middle-class professionals were taken over by slum landlords, sometimes drug dealers and racketeers who filled them with migrants or used them for organised prostitution. As the Italians who could afford to moved out, some migrants took on 20-30 year mortgages which they could not afford and so they sublet to pay it off. Also many tenants did not pay the service charges of the condominium, either because they were not informed about them when they moved in, or were misled that the landlord had already paid them, or they could not afford them. As unpaid service charges stacked up over subsequent years, large debts accrued to the property which deterred people from purchase. In the worst cases tenants lost their homes as indebted apartment blocks were repossessed. In one tower block of seventy flats in *Via Turri*, the council experimented with a scheme to cut off the heating for 15 days to 35 families who had not paid their bills. Fifteen families who could not afford to pay, were given financial assistance by Social Services.²³ The problem has proved intractable in many blocks that benefit from district heating systems which deliver hot water and heating to the whole block, paid for out of the condominium. This system did not differentiate between which households did, and which did not, or could not, pay the service charges. Consequently when the utility companies sought to penalise those in arrears, they cut off services to all the tenants.

The domino effect of speculation and indebtedness have blighted the area. In *Via Paradiso* the shopkeepers moved out, so now there are boarded-up shops as was evidenced from our site visit. In December 2011, a council block in the street was squatted, other people, who cannot afford to pay the exorbitant rents that slum landlords charge, multiply occupy flats. People who have lost their jobs in the crisis and cannot afford to pay for rent and food, sub-let their flats. Samir Manai recounts: "*For an apartment of 57 square metres, I pay almost €4,000 in service charges a year.*" Some tenants testify to being forced to stay cold because they cannot afford heating, others to sleeping under the bridge or on the street because they cannot afford to pay the rent. One young man pointed out indignantly, "*You only see Africans sleeping rough, never Italians.*"²⁴ This situation has created entrenched social problems and a lack of transparency between '*furbi*'- cunning exploiters of the situation and '*seri*', people

²² Corradini I *ibid.*

²³ Corradini on Site Visit, 3.3.12.

²⁴ Testimonies from *Zona stazione. Privato ad uso pubblico* video dir. Alessandro Polambara, CESSP June 4 2010

genuinely poor or unemployed and people in the council committed to helping them.²⁵ The crisis has resulted in a severe slump in property prices with flats which for their size and quality should be fetching €200-250,000 on sale for as little as €25-30,000 as nobody, whether Italian or migrant wants to live there.

Participatory Planning and the Pact for Convivial Living

Consequent on the build-up of these problems, in 2007 the council made a commitment to invest energy and money in the area, mobilising the active support of citizens in dialogue to address the wide range of local needs - social, spatial and cultural as well as security, narrowly defined as public order. It took a pluralist approach seeking *“to reflect the social composition of the area and to consider different viewpoints of all the different interest groups: – shopkeepers, residents, Italians and foreigners,”*²⁶ as well as the recently established grass roots organisations - the Reggio East Community Centre and monitoring group. An alliance was formed around the *Patto di Convivenza* - the Pact for Convivial Living, signed and celebrated on February 23rd 2008. The mayor Delrio, spelt out its two underlying principles as civic responsibility and breaking down barriers implicitly redefining integration : *“Everyone must play their part so the city no longer has barriers and is based on everyday reciprocal interactions.”*²⁷

The safety strategy drew on Reggio Emilia’s long tradition of popular involvement in planning and retention of mixed populations in the city centre. The approach to migrants and cultural diversity was already set by the city’s immigration policy which combined commitment to regularisation of migrants’ legal status with universal access to services in collaboration with the migrant associations; it sought universal application of rules while valuing cultural diversity: *“ not as an obstacle to social integration but an enrichment of society, by promoting access to culture for everyone and to the culture of everyone.”*²⁸

Public participation was put at the heart of the safety strategy to identify the feelings and sources of insecurity across the diverse population and to find collaborative solutions to them. Marina Pirazzi, a specialist in participatory planning, was employed by the council from September 2007 to oversee the Pact. Deploying a ‘logical framework’ analytical and problem-solving methodology, she carried out over 150 interviews, from both the east side - the area of greatest migrant settlement, and the west side of the station - the area of upper middle class professionals, mainly of Italian and Italian migrant origin. Through snowball sampling, her team found 60

²⁵ Interview Orsetta Arno 4.3.12.

²⁶ www.municipio.re.it/sottositi/Reggiocittadeldialogointerculturale.nsf/SottoSitoDocumentiFull/4C2A5D12AECF5CC2C12575C300347E99?opendocument&FT=V&TAG=AmoReggio 15 January 2009

²⁷ *Gazzetta di Reggio*, 24 February 2008.)

²⁸ *Immigrazione a Reggio Emilia: proposta per una governance locale del fenomeno*, ottobre 2007, Assessorato Coesione e Sicurezza Sociale

people willing to commit themselves to longer-term participatory planning.²⁹ For four months this group of stake-holders, from both the east and west sides of the station, met for four day-long seminars to work out the problems and a plan of action which became embodied in the *Patto di Convivenza* – a pact for living together convivially.

The Pact had a galvanising effect of bringing people together. Whereas before migrants had hung out around the station, Pirazzi suggested opening a bar to enable them to meet and discuss together. Samir Manai, testifies firsthand to the impact:

*“I, who lived here from 1999 until 2008, didn’t even know of the existence of a community centre here.... I lived two steps away from here...I found out when there were the first preparatory meetings for the Pact for Convivial Living.”*³⁰

Claudio Meglioli, an Italian who had lived in Brazil for 6 years and had recently returned, wanted to get involved but did not know how. The Pact marked a turning point for him, bringing people together and instilling in him the confidence to organise:

*“People didn’t talk to each other. They didn’t know what was going on. They never discussed the real problems... So I proposed why not create a single voice for the area, set up a multi-ethnic association that meets every week, from volunteers obviously, and begin to give consciousness and voice to the area? The great value of participatory planning was above all that it put people in contact with each other.”*³¹

He began a newsletter to inform and draw in local people and the multi-ethnic association they formed became the *Centro d’Incontro Reggio Est* in November 2008 a neighbourhood multicultural-cum intercultural centre that emerged out of the Pact and safety strategy.

The Pact was launched in a fanfare celebration with all the individual participants, and representatives of the migrant and civic associations which had been involved, and the Reggio Est monitoring group continued its work of evaluating the implementation of the Pact. The Pact ensured the safety strategy was rooted in the experience of local residents, both Italian and foreign and had democratic legitimacy. But the findings of those who had worked on the Pact led to an understanding of safety as multifaceted, requiring a transversal policy of intervention – across the fields of urban renewal, media, mediation, local policing and culture.

Urban Renewal and Intercultural Public Spaces

A central plank of the safety strategy was to demolish the *ghetto*³² as the Lucchetto two-storey car park - scene of drug dealing and other mafia activities. – was termed

²⁹ Interview Marina Pirazzi 7.3.12.

³⁰ Interview Samir Manai, 4. 3.12.

³¹ Interview Claudio Meglioli , 4.3.12.

³² the term used by the city council planner, Cristina Campani in interview 6.3.12.

and to replace it with a new public square – Piazza Secchi with a non-alcoholic bar.³³ As part of the participatory approach, ‘planning for real’ methodology was used, working with adolescents from *Spazioraga* – (Space for Children) an organisation for young people at risk - to design the layout, trees, benches, kiosk and other street furniture in conjunction with the architects. Yet despite the involvement in the planning and layout of the square, it is devoid of a children’s play area and green and so children improvise by climbing on the concrete walls, bollards and benches. (See photo 1.)



Photo 1 Chinese children playing on street furniture by road next to Piazza Secchi

The refurbishment of the Paulonie Park aimed to turn it into a space for young families, with a children’s theatre and playground, rather than as a place for single men to congregate to drink or take drugs together. However, this means that these migrant homeless or addicts have been displaced without providing an alternative for them. As Campani put it – the idea was to make it functional for the neighbourhood instead of being used as an outdoor home. The Moroccan Consulate offered to donate €50,000 towards a 30 capacity children’s theatre in the Paulonie park, decorated with Moroccan mosaics. Storytelling, fables and plays will be presented there which schools and libraries have a role in programming. The basketball pitch has been removed and laid out behind the Reggio East Community Centre, and replaced by a children’s play area for hopscotch and other outdoor games. A Science Park catering for 6-12 year olds, has been designed to combine play and learning through optical illusions, distorting mirrors and sonic games with tin tubes. Although the games have been geared more to younger children, teenagers’ needs are partially addressed by the new artificial green sports area and changing rooms which will be shared between the

³³ Cristina Campani *ibid.*

adjacent school and park users.³⁴ The sports facilities and art workshops run by Remida³⁵ - to make games, furniture, art objects out of recycled materials - are designed to cater for the teenagers.

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The planning and implementation process engaged with citizens at every stage. Campani herself was involved in discussing and revising the plans at meetings with citizens and the migrant and neighbourhood associations. Although residents lost patience with the time-scale, intervention was phased over the short-, medium- and long term, with immediate cleaning up of the dirtiest parts of the area to stem decay, while the more costly interventions, such as Piazza Secchi and the Paulonie Park, were staggered over the term of the administration. In all, the council spent €1,390,000 on urban refurbishment of the area - including new lighting, video surveillances cameras on underpasses, dark corners and outside the station, new cycle tracks, a new mini car park in *Via Vecchi*, pruning and removal of bushes to create clear sightlines

³⁴ Francesca Manini "Zona stazione, pronto il campo da calcio. Sarà a disposizione delle società sportive, iniziati i lavori anche nell'adiacente parco delle Paulonie," *La Gazzetta di Reggio*, 13 May 2012

³⁵ the council recycling centre at erosei.comune.re.it/inter/remida.htm

³⁶ Francesca Manini "Zona stazione, pronto il campo da calcio. Sarà a disposizione delle società sportive, iniziati i lavori anche nell'adiacente parco delle Paulonie," *La Gazzetta di Reggio*, 13 May 2012

³⁷ the council recycling centre at erosei.comune.re.it/inter/remida.htm

and traffic calming measures at the crossroads of *Via Emilia*.³⁸ This represented a considerable investment and commitment to reintegrating the area with the rest of the city

Points of Proximity - establishing new social institutions

Allied to the urban renewal initiatives, a number of institutions were established as 'points of proximity' to act as a link to the local population and address specific needs.



The council has rented a flat in *Via IV Novembre* to house NGOs addressing the needs of young people. It opened an inlet of vending machines that sell snacks and soft drinks day and night (see photo 2.) catering discreetly for late-night arrivals from the train station while curtailing young men from getting drunk and making a lot of noise on the street. An ethical shop further up the road also opened selling Fair Trade goods and produce grown on mafia-confiscated land in the south of Italy. The woman who runs the shop has the ear of the locals - including migrants who come to look at the goods from their countries of origin even though they cannot afford to buy them.

Photo 2 Vending inlet on Via IV November

In addition, the council set up the *Amoreggio* (I love Reggio) information point - 'with specific functions to listen to citizens' a place where they can go to complain of civil disturbances and urban neglect.³⁹ In the new square, *Piazza Secchi*, a coffee bar has been established, run by the *Koiné* co-operative. (See photo 3.) The bar is part of a wider campaign against alcohol abuse in the station area, implementing laws against social nuisance, involving professional health workers, street safety teams and voluntary organisations such as the *Gabella* youth centre.⁴⁰ On *Via Turri*, the road with the greatest notoriety in the area, the Municipal Police relocated their office

³⁸ Plan of the area: *Area Stazione Proposte Interventi di Riqualificazione/Interventi Realizzati*, Reggio Emilia Council.

³⁹ *Sistema Integrato Di Sicurezza Urbana. Dieci Punti Per Una Piattaforma Programmatica Del Modello Reggio Sicurezza Urbana Da Attuarsi Nel 2010 Comune Di Reggio Emilia*

⁴⁰ (Point 4, *Sistema Integrato Di Sicurezza Urbana. Dieci Punti Per Una Piattaforma Programmatica Del Modello Reggio Sicurezza Urbana Da Attuarsi Nel 2010 Comune Di Reggio Emilia*)

beside the Centre of Social Mediation, and operate foot patrols from 7.30 in the morning to 7.30 at night. On site visits to *Via Turri* in daytime, there was always a lively multicultural mix of people shopping or walking along the street, with some inter-ethnic partners hand in hand, although few Italians were evident. However, it was far removed from the urban degradation or menace often associated with the area in the immediate vicinity of a station.



Photo 3 Sandra Canovi serving in the non-alcoholic bar

Both *Spazioraga*, the space for children at risk, and the Centre of Social Mediation are run by co-operatives independently of the city council, though in close co-operation with it. The operators who set up *Spazioraga* studied intercultural mediation in 2006 promoted by the council in conjunction with CESVIP - (Centre for the Development of Small Business) psychologists and *Mondinsieme*, the city's intercultural centre- an example of its training role in disseminating intercultural practice to social institutions across the city. Set up in May 2007, *Spazioraga* provides for 20-25 14-18 year olds a year who need educational and emotional support from adults they can trust. Many of them come from families which cannot afford to let them stay on at school beyond the age of 15 or 16, or if they go on to professional schools, to complete the five year vocational training because of the need for their earnings.

SpazioRaga opens for four hours in the afternoon, three times a week in the Reggio East Community Centre, providing intensive Italian classes for immigrant children with language learning needs in their care, an after-school club offering help with homework, recreational opportunities for sport, and twelve week workshops in theatre, photography, street art, video-making and cookery. Although the workshops sometimes culminate in an event - a photo exhibition or staging of a play, they focus on stimulating young people's interest in their education rather than in one-off performances. Their continuity and small-sized classes help the young people to develop longer term commitment. By acquiring fluent Italian the young people have been able to access jobs in restaurants or as mechanics at the age of 16 or 17. In 2012 for the first time, a good Nigerian student gained a university place. *SpazioRaga* also

runs special projects for 18-22 year olds who need help applying for jobs or dealing with family problems and the young people come back out of affection to see how the younger ones are progressing.

Social and Cultural Mediation

The Mediation Centre was set up in 2007 through collaboration of the council with the *Equilibrio* Association of Bologna, in response to the express demand from people going to *SpazioRaga* for advice beyond its remit. The assistants trained in social mediation of conflicts, whose ethos, methods and practice sought -

*“to enable dialogue and comparison between Italian and foreign citizens many have taken part.. among them representatives of the Senegalese, Nigerian and Egyptian communities in Reggio and residents of Via Turri, Paradisi, Sani and Viale IV Novembre .”*⁴¹

The training led to a shift in perspective from seeing intercultural mediation as purely ethno-linguistic or cultural, to understanding it as also social and intergenerational in character. ⁴²

In one of its early initiatives, the Centre of Social Mediation promoted the recommended practice of the Good Neighbour’s Handbook (*Vademecum della buona convivenza in condominio*, ⁴³ which aims to enable ‘*effective intercultural communication*’ in a reality of inevitable intercultural contact. It seeks to transform the potential for conflict through cultural misunderstandings into ‘*a positive resource.... a source of interest and mutual learning for the management of life in the apartment blocks.*’⁴⁴

The handbook in no way seeks to alter the rules to make them culturally sensitive, but in the main is concerned with equity - sharing costs and showing mutual respect, avoiding actions which cause harm to others, damage to health or communal facilities rather than with cultural differences. The handbooks were produced under the *Regole del gioco* - rules of the game - project promoted by the city council, and are addressed as much to Italian tenants - for example, at young people over noise and motorbikes, as at immigrants. The handbook was followed up by an intercultural guide for condominium managers to use - *Prontuario interculturale di condominio*, which proposes a series of visual and multilingual signs and standard letters and contracts, available on CD in Italian, English, Arabic and Chinese.

⁴¹ www.municipio.re.it/retectivica/urp/retecivi.nsf/0/F7AFE674D90E8B9FC12572AB002ECB48?opendocument&FROM=vntdllvtVvrlmbnt&ES=-1)

⁴² Elena Torelli Interview, 8.3.12.

⁴³ CERISS and Comune di Reggio Emilia, September 2008

⁴⁴ *Vademecum*, 2008, p.7

The Centre for Social Mediation mirrors this approach of focusing on practical social concerns, using a methodology which treats conflict as a consequence of failed relationships rather than of cultural differences, enlisting the efforts of both parties to the dispute to resolve it together. According to Elena Torelli, one of the mediators, “We have seen that humanistic mediation can work in a very interesting way with users who come ...always within a perspective of collaboration and not competition... This creates a relationship with a constructive rather than destructive dynamic.”⁴⁵ When the Centre reopened in 2010 after the staff had been fully trained, local people still turned to it as an arbiter which would impose rules, as though it were another tribunal to which they took grievances. Gradually a collaborative model of resolving problems has become more widely accepted. The statistics gathered by *Equilibrio* show that in 90% of the cases, the parties in conflict accepted mediation and 91% of conflicts reached an agreed solution.⁴⁶

As the Centre operates through consensual, relational practice, it does not enter the apartment blocks unless invited to by the residents themselves, but it has developed cultural animation as a way of building trust with local people. It actively engages local community artists, musicians and artisans, and collaborates with the *Federazione Anarchica Italiana* who have offered to organise free events and the *Scuola di Pace* (Peace Camp) - a large umbrella association of 40 member organisations - which has proposed setting up a time bank to exchange services and skills for free. So the Centre of Social Mediation has galvanised a number of other organisations, small businesses and artists to build closer relationships and embed its practice within the local community.

Centro d’Incontro Reggio Est

At the heart of the safety strategy has been the transformation of the Reggio East Community Centre into an active intercultural centre. Since being a run-down largely inactive outlet of ARCI - (the main civic cultural association in Italy), it has diversified its board of management with four immigrants from the neighbourhood: three men - a Tunisian, Ghanaian and Nigerian -and one Moroccan woman, and five Italians, and grown to over 120 members. In 2008, Samir Manai became the first ever immigrant to direct the centre. (See photo 4.)

⁴⁵ Elena Torelli, *ibid.*

⁴⁶ www.municipio.re.it/retecivica/urp/retecivi.nsf/0/F7AFE674D90E8B9FC12572AB002ECB48?opendocument&FROM=vntdl1vtVvrlmbnt&ES=-1



Photo 4 Left to right: Kacem, Manai, Meglioli and Arno

At the first meetings of the board they agreed to open the bar to the public every weekend to create a welcoming atmosphere, encouraging people to come and take initiatives:... *“We haven’t remained closed, we quickly opened up to the Associations who constitute the civil society of Emilia Romagna....Perhaps in a bit the young Italians will arrive to create some music....We have always given priority to creating moments together.”*⁴⁷

The centre serves many purposes – as a multicultural meeting place of the migrant associations, an adult and after-school education centre but more specifically a centre that programmes intercultural activities and exchanges. At one level, the approach is to attract the widest range of local people and organisations to the centre by responding to whatever their needs are:- soft gymnastics attracting older women, judo and karate for young people, men playing cards at the weekend. Yet, resisting a passive approach of just managing the space for migrant associations or individuals to use as they wish, they have encouraged the associations not just to meet there but to join together to create something of common benefit for the area. Where associations have refused, they have stopped renting rooms out to them. *“It ...has had positive effects but has also created tensions In this way we have managed to create stronger links than just managing the space.”*⁴⁸

Successful collaborations have resulted has been the case with the Tunisian Association. In response to members’ demands for their children to learn Arabic, the Centre enlisted the Tunisian Consulate’s support in 2009 to set up Arabic language classes. The Consulate supplies two primary school teachers at their own cost to teach the language, to take lasses at the weekend with over eighty students attending. Hafedh Kacem, who runs the course, stresses the value of teaching Arabic as a literary and scientific language, beyond the dialect spoken in the home, underlining the value of bilingualism in enhancing educational performance across the curriculum.⁴⁹ Formal teaching of the language has detached it from a purely familial or communal

⁴⁷ Samir Manai, Interview 4.3.12.

⁴⁸ Samir Manai, op.cit.

⁴⁹ Interview Hafedh Kacem, 4.3.12

expression of identity for Arab students to a secular, scholarly subject of study. At the moment some Italians, generally in mixed marriages, also follow the children's course and on completion receive a certificate recognised in Tunisia. The Centre also offers a course in Arabic to Italians who have contracts to work in the Gulf which is tailored to their economic needs rather than cultural language.

The varied demand illustrates the scope for Arabic courses to expand as a service offered to a range of adults - Italian and foreign -, who are interested in learning about the culture or in travel. Out of the language learning initiatives already the *Progetto Ampio*, a cultural exchange about the Mediterranean between Reggio and a Tunisian city - Jemmel - has arisen, involving librarians, teachers and children putting on travelling exhibitions.⁵⁰ The *Accademia della Vita Quotidiana* - Academy of Everyday Life - also provides an Italian course for up to 99 newly arrived Arab mothers, that includes aspects of everyday culture such as 'conscious consumption' - covering cookery, the costs, environmentally friendly sources and seasonality of food and a guided tour of the local Co-op. In this way, women who are often confined to the home and difficult to reach, have been drawn out of the home to the Centre.

The Centre has also been a stimulus to the setting up of new migrant associations such as the Albanian Association of Aquila, the Kosovar Association, two Ghanaian and two Nigerian Associations. Instead of establishing separate spaces, the Reggio East Community Centre has created a space which many different national and ethnic groups can share. Unlike many migrant associations which have become empty shells for the self-aggrandisement of leaders or unrepresentative groups, these associations attract new people and projects. Such is the case of a Nigerian woman who became a member of a national association, then served on the management committee of the Centre and is now proposing an advanced English course.

The main interactive work takes place in collaboration with intercultural organisations such as *Generazione Articolo 3* (GA3) the *Scuola di Pace* with which the Centre has run a series of joint initiatives for the Emilia Romagna region and *Quanto Basta* (Enough is Enough), a youth organisation active in civic participation, which was keen to build closer ties with the neighbourhood. Instead of renting them out a room, they invited them to put on musical events on Friday nights, which they now organise entirely themselves, including the food and candlelight.

Through sport, the centre has founded its own intercultural football teams, even before the council provided them with a proper pitch. Many of the players got to know the Centre through attending an event or festival and began to drop in and started to play, also going on trips abroad with them, e.g. in 2011 to Charleroi in Belgium. With the Italian Union of Sport for Everyone (UISP) championship, they

⁵⁰ Hafedh Kacem, *ibid.*

were able to develop a youth team and build up a permanent team, which has come first in the regional league. The teams attract about 200 people, predominantly Africans but with a number of other nationalities participating.

The involvement of the Centre team in a football tournament with the police – three teams from the *Questura* (Police Station) the *Vigili Urbani* (Traffic Police) and the *Prefecture* (Constabulary Office) has begun to change how migrants and police in the neighbourhood interact. As Hamed, the football coach views it, when one of the footballers went to the *Questura* to discuss his citizenship status and the policeman interviewing him discovered he had played against him in the tournament, there was greater reciprocal understanding and empathy.⁵¹ Through the tournament, as Samir Manai sees it: *“We destroyed that barrier.”*⁵² This is the only significant example of contact with the Municipal Police in the safety project, which has begun to change their relationship to migrants.

The Centre’s policy of combining popular and high culture has ensured it attracts a broad range of people and associations. The leadership of the centre justifies its pluralist approach thus: *“We, all the young people, our members and friends agreed the Centro d’Incontro must try to satisfy all needs. So if you can reach someone through football, let’s do sport, if you can reach someone through a bar, then let’s keep the bar open, so they can play cards, if you can reach someone through a language class, let’s make a language school. ... while some people say no, only high level initiatives.... But they are mistaken. The beautiful thing with us we put on many cross-cutting activities.”*⁵³

However its populist approach to catering for needs is also married to intercultural initiatives to foster mixing across groups. Samir Manai sees the Centre as a ‘laboratory of ideas’, pointing to the growth in the number of activities and range of participants as evidence of the positive dynamic that has been set in train. Where intercultural conflicts arise, they seek to resolve them by mediating. For instance, in the case of religious objections to dance, they have dealt with them, not by cancelling the dance classes, but by providing for objectors’ needs in other ways, such as through language classes.

The 167 Festival

Many of the Centre’s weekly activities are linked to the 167 Festival. The initiative was taken by Corradini’s department, in conjunction with artistic and civil society collaborators, led by the director Alessandro Scillitani. A native of the area, he began collaborating with the council fifteen years ago, organising small-scale music festivals which mixed gospel, choral, Albanian, Russian, Senegalese and Italian musics. As the cultural approach to integration and dialogue gained momentum, Scillitani began to

⁵¹ Interview, Hamed 4.3.12.

⁵² Samir Manai op.cit.

⁵³ Claudio Meglioli op.cit.

bring cross-cultural events to peripheral areas and to video them for promotional purposes to counteract the press and estate agents' negative marketing.⁵⁴ This became part of the strategy for changing the identity of the station zone as a ghetto and has succeeded in drawing in people from outside to join in the festival.

A broad range of workshops are held every evening in the Centre that involve around 300 people throughout the year, with up to 30 people taking part in each workshop. The range of workshops covers migrant theatre, City of the Future theatre, mask-making, giant puppet-making, making traditional games from recycled materials, percussion, djembe drumming, Arab dance, African dance and Chinese language. These culminate in a three day festival held in the squares of the station area.

The Immigrant Theatre Workshop run by Doughai Benour, an engineer and theatre director in his native Morocco, bases its plays on migrant stories of the neighbourhood – like *Via Turri* which has a roll call of local characters of diverse ages and ethnicities. It tells the story of the unique character of the place and was performed in Piazza Secchi to hundreds of people. For the 2012 Festival they prepared a play, *La Rivolta degli Immigrati* (Revolt of the Immigrants) on the exploitation of the seasonal fruit pickers from Africa, Asia and Eastern Europe – and their resistance and struggle for rights.⁵⁵

The City of the Future workshop run by professional theatre director, Franco Brambilla collects migration stories from the members of the workshop, other contacts and sociological sources, transforming them through images and poetry.⁵⁶ For the 2010 festival, they gathered narratives from immigrant women and then integrated them with the words from a series of poems recounting Arab women's lives. In 2011 he worked with narratives from different social groups – immigrants, Italians, young people, women – mixing them with the accounts of the homeless involved in the occupation of empty houses. Each year a group of 10-12 culturally diverse actors from the neighbourhood collaborate with him. Brambilla testifies to the growth of their confidence at public speaking and discovery of hidden talents. Many go on to do other courses, work with other dramaturges and also come back to work with him. Although professional work opportunities in the field are very limited, Brambilla points to the flourishing non-professional theatre in Italy. However, in his view beyond the benefits to individual participants:

“the most interesting thing is the way this project is gradually becoming rooted in the territory. This is the most extraordinary element. It's four years ...that I've been coming regularly to this area and I have seen this zone completely transformed. This bar wasn't here. It was a degraded area, where anything and everything happened....

⁵⁴ Interview Alessandro Scillitani, 6.3.12

⁵⁵ Interview Doughai Benour 7.3.12

⁵⁶ Interview Franco Brambilla, 7.3.11.

it has transformed itself and created another image of the area."⁵⁷

The Traditional Games Workshop

The Co-op which opened a huge supermarket on Piazza Secchi, has been involved for over fifteen years in education in schools and community settings in the region on ethical consumption, cultural exchange and living together. As part of the 167 Festival, the local district of the Co-op in collaboration with the Education Faculty of the University of Modena and Reggio Emilia, developed a series of workshops making traditional games from the diverse cultures of origin of the participants. Raol Borciani, chair of the North-East Co-op Members Association, explains the intercultural thinking behind the initiative:

*"We could have thought of doing other things but you would have come up against cultural problems, ethnic problems, religious problems. Games, in fact, are common to all ethnicities, all ages, all religions, and so don't present problems of living together....The results went far beyond our expectations."*⁵⁸

Recruiting from the *SpazioRaga* intensive Italian class at the Community Centre, they drew in mainly Chinese and North African young people and a few Italians. With the help of youth and community workers and specialist engineers, designers and trainers from the university, they produced board games, such as Chinese chessboard with pieces made out of bottle tops, decorated with ideograms.

In 2011, on the final Sunday of the festival they put on *Giochiamo - Let's Play* - in Piazza Secchi, with the young people who had made the games, instructing the public who wanted to join in how to play them. A video was made, explaining the origins and functions of the games, who had invented them, with the designs on the Co-op website that could be downloaded to reproduce at home. They not only attracted a mix of youngsters but also their families, and, in the case of the Chinese, those who had previously been hidden:

*"the Chinese children had constructed the games, their fathers came to follow them and play, and the generation of the grandparents also appeared - those who are invisible who no-one sees or knows...., and a Chinese chess match was attempted between one of these and a well-known councillor who... knows how to play ...to a degree and in two minutes this grandfather taught him how to lose with honour, he destroyed him!...This old man was terrible... three moves and you were out!... Gradually with the fact that the children attend after-school club and with these games, they're beginning to go out, trust other people and interact with them."*⁵⁹

However, the festival still has to establish a firmer foothold in the neighbourhood.

⁵⁷ Franco Brambilla, *ibid.*

⁵⁸ Interview Raol Borciani 7. 3.12.

⁵⁹ Raol Borciani, *ibid.*

One street informant, an Italian supporter of the Community Centre, put its influence in perspective arguing he was *'one of the few'*, of the 50 or so who had attended out of the 3,000 possible local participants. The others who go are drawn from outside the station area. This can also be seen as a strength: by drawing people in from other parts of the city and the province signifies that the neighbourhood is no longer so cut off from the rest of Reggio but seen as a distinctive *quartier* worth visiting.

Popular Perceptions of Safety

As part of the city's evaluation of the effect of the Pact and safety policy, it commissioned a survey monitoring changes in popular opinion of the area over three years of the Pact 2008-11.⁶⁰ Although it was very limited in scope and biased in favour, 58% of respondents did not know of the Pact, and only 34.7% had a positive or neutral view of the area, many describing it as ugly, disorderly and insecure. Significantly Italians and foreign born residents did not differ markedly in their views of the area. Only representatives of local associations had a more upbeat assessment.⁶¹ However on the breakdown of certain issues, the survey provided some evidence of the realisation of the Pact's aims: 38% believed the Pact had improved safety while 44% felt the situation was unchanged, and 53% believed the level of criminality had gone down, bringing their perception more in line with reality. The same number, that is an overall majority thought urban degradation had been improved by the Pact and a third felt it was unchanged, and 38% had noticed improved opportunities for children while 39% felt them unchanged.

However, on the vexed questions of lack of integration and security in the flats and lack of integration of Italians and foreigners, over a quarter believed things were getting worse and 51% perceived no change. On the image of the area, 40% thought it had worsened and 42% stayed the same, and on the index of the integration of the station zone in the city, as a good place to live, attractive to all citizens, the score lagged below the halfway point of completion of the process. Yet 41% felt that citizen involvement in Council decision-making had improved – quite a strong endorsement of the participatory planning around the Pact and a massive 85% endorsed continued participation. On proposals to improve the area, 21.6% of Italians and 33% of

⁶⁰ It comprised only 350 questionnaires in hard copy, distributed to 16 key sites of transformation by the Pact – such as *Amoreggio* information point, Harmony Bar, Reggio East Community Centre, and so was biased towards users of the new facilities. An additional 240 were distributed electronically to those on the Pact's database, but with only 2 replies. Consequently the survey was slanted towards the beneficiaries of the Pact and to a lesser degree – because of the low level of replies, to participants in the Pact.

⁶¹ *Il Patto per la convivenza, le regole, la responsabilita in zona stazione Com'è cambiato la zona stazione a tre anni dal Patto? L'opinioni dei cittadini*, luglio 2011, Questionario, elaborazione e analisi, ed. Extrafondente, July 2011.

foreigners called for more police control, especially to resolve problems of incivilities, prostitution and insolvency in the flats owing to non-payment of service charges,⁶²

Immigrant perceptions of safety in the area, picked up on the street through a small sample of questionnaires in Piazza Secchi and Via Turri, registered a different understanding of insecurity from public order or urban decay. Both Moroccan and Egyptian workers attributed the level of insecurity to the economic crisis and complained of employers taking advantage. However the Egyptian skilled building worker recognized the improvement of the area which had been “*disgusting and full of delinquents*’ now you could sit in the square and meet friends in a congenial environment. Women and young unemployed people registered less awareness of the Pact or of any positive changes in the area. A 19 year old Nigerian man felt less safe physically, an unemployed 32 year old Nigerian woman, with one child in Reggio and one in Africa, did not feel safe going out with her baby during the day or going out alone at night because of drunkenness and boorish behaviour on the streets. She only went out to Church on Sundays with her Nigerian and Ghanaian sisters.

This underlines the uneven awareness of the safety policy or Pact, and low level of participation among young immigrants, who do not fall within the orbit of the Reggio East Community Centre or the other social institutions set up in the wake of the Pact.

Crime Levels and Police Intervention

Although disaggregated crime figures are not available for Reggio Emilia for 2008-12,⁶³ there are indicators of an increase in overall arrests and in the number detained for drug trafficking in the station area. Arrests went up from: 31 in 2007 to 42 in 2008 to 69 in 2009 and those for drug offences registered a small rise from: 20 in 2007 to 23 in 2008 to 36 in 2009. ⁶⁴ These modest increases may signify a small increase in offending behaviour or an improvement in detection rates. The impact of the 200 video surveillance cameras, installed in the station area as a result of the Pact, cannot be ignored either. The modest upward trend in apprehension has been attributed by the council to its investment in 2007 in 27 new officers on the beat, the extended opening hours of the Municipal Police and the prior institution from 2002 of a night patrol - “*the only city in Emilia Romagna, apart from Bologna, to put this service in place.*” The council itself redefined the role of the Municipal Police as “*the work of getting close*

⁶² *Il Patto per la convivenza, le regole, la responsabilità in zona stazione*, ibid, pp.21-23

⁶³ as the Department for Public Safety does not collect disaggregated crime data for the city and Reggio Emilia is not a member of the regional crime collection and data analysis agency, Rilfedeur, which does. (*Il Patto per la convivenza, le regole, la responsabilità in zona stazione Com'è cambiato la zona stazione a tre anni dal Patto? L'opinioni dei cittadini*, luglio 2011, ed. Extrafondente, p.3. Rilfedeur, Emilia Romagna regional crime database: <http://autonomie.regione.emilia-romagna.it/sicurezza/polizia-locale/tecnologie/rilfedeur-1/rilfedeur>

⁶⁴ *Sistema Integrato Di Sicurezza Urbana - Dieci Punti Per Una Piattaforma Programmatica. Del Modello Reggio Sicurezza Urbana Da Attuarsi Nel 2010*, Comune Di Reggio Emilia.

to the community,⁶⁵ (*lavoro di prossimità*) but although it has moved physically closer to the area, informants made no reference to any informal or social relationship with the Municipal Police with the exception of the joint football tournament with the Reggio East Community Centre. The complaint that the Municipal Police is reluctant to intervene and enforce order is far more widely echoed. Survey respondents argued for the police to enforce the rules more as they do in other areas, elderly pensioners on the site visit complained the police do not see it as their role to clear Chinese prostitutes off the street.⁶⁶ This has also been an ongoing bone of contention between the *assessore* and the Municipal Police.⁶⁷ I was unable to interview the Municipal Police Chief to verify their view of community policing and their role within it, as a result of friction between the *assessore* and the Chief's Office.

Despite quite frequent resort to anti-prostitution ordinances (for example in March, July and August 2012) the stated aim of the council is to ensure these play only a small part in a wider, more coherent action on prostitution. Yet crackdowns by the *carabinieri* national force have become more frequent.⁶⁸ On site visits to *Via Turri* I found five or six Chinese women prostitutes on the street, aged between 40 and 50, dressed ordinarily, and hanging around inconspicuously talking on their mobile phones. They were shy, unable to communicate in Italian and rather afraid by attempts at contact. The way Chinese prostitution comes up in the press and political debate, and in popular fears about the area, seemed from site observation to be very inflated. Nevertheless, the council has maintained a level-headed, social approach to dealing with prostitutes who are victims of rackets and sex trafficking through the Rosemary project. Social and community workers with mediators befriend the prostitutes on the street, listening to their stories and gaining their trust by offering services and support.⁶⁹

Social and Economic Impacts - Towards Resolution of the Housing Crisis and Marginalisation of the Area

⁶⁵ all references from *Sistema Integrato Di Sicurezza Urbana - Dieci Punti*, *ibid.*

⁶⁶ Site visit, 4.3.12.

⁶⁷ Corradini II, 7.3.1

⁶⁸ While 82 prostitution violations were recorded in 2009, in March 2012 over 100 people and 70 cars were stopped and searched, several Chinese women on the street were questioned and put under further investigation and five undocumented migrants were arrested, pending deportation. In a raid on October 30 2012, 13 prostitutes were arrested and 13 apartments sequestered in the station zone. *Sistema Integrato Di Sicurezza Urbana - Dieci Punti*, *op.cit.* point 7; "L'ordinanza antiprostituzione è entrata in vigore da alcuni giorni," *Reggionline*, 13 August 2012; "Reggio Emilia, maxi-retata anti-prostituzione nella notte," *Reggionline* 30 June 2012; Stazione, controlli contro la prostituzione. I carabinieri hanno passato al setaccio stamattina le vie limitrofe a piazzale Marconi: cinque denunce" *Reggionline* 13 March 2012

⁶⁹ Testimony of Laura, a street worker on the Rosemary project, 4.3.12.; "Fausto Castagnetti, presidente della circoscrizione Ovest: "Lavoriamo in rete per il cambiamento," *Reggionline*, 13 August 2012

The housing crisis, compounded by the economic crisis seems to have renewed negative feelings about poor immigrants. On a site visit, elderly Italian pensioners approached Corradini in the street to express their fears about people cooking on primus stoves and sleeping in basement garages in *Via Turri*, a problem also occurring in two apartment blocks on *Via Paradiso*. They also expressed a more diffuse malaise – for example in their retreat from participating in intercultural dinners which they had participated in in the past.⁷⁰

The Department of Immigration, Social Cohesion and Safety has sought to get tough with non-payers, separating out those that can but will not pay, from those who cannot. It has advised the national police about the worst cases of slum landlords, drug dealers and prostitution racketeers but has focused on embedding a new culture in the flats – through ‘rules equal for all’, the manual and guidebook for living together convivially and the social mediators. In 2012, Corradini’s department began buying up hard-to-sell in the station area such as *Via Paradiso* and *Piazzale Marconi*, for students and young couples. In collaboration with Urban Planning, the public housing agency *Fincasa* and private housing company, *Acer* – twenty have been purchased so far. This forms part of a conscious effort to stabilise the finances of the condominiums and change the demographic, ethnic and social mix of the area, to counter ‘ghettoisation’. Finance to the tune of €2.1 million has come from the regional government⁷¹.

Another aspect of changing the ethnic mix concerns the retail and hotel sector. In conjunction with the Pact, the restoration of hotel San Marco, opposite the station led to a marked improvement in its occupancy rate to 15-20 beds full daily. It caters for visitors to the famous eye clinic in *Via Turri*, sales reps. of regional firms, local theatres and educational study groups to the Malaguzzi Children’s Centre. Since the refurbishment, it has widened its client base to those attending major events such as the Fiera, the horse race and big swimming tournaments.⁷² Initially the improvements to the area, particularly the new lighting and video cameras in the immediate vicinity of the station, and the opening of a Chinese restaurant next door to the hotel, were responsible for this boost, according to Valentina Rondanini, marketing executive for the hotel, but she notes in the last two years a degree of stagnation. In particular, her clients comment on the predominance of foreigners and lack of Italian-owned businesses, a problem she sees as an economic imbalance: *“In reality it’s not that there are too many Chinese but ...there are no longer any Italians. ...There are Italians who live here but no Italian commercial activity.”*⁷³

⁷⁰ Site visit 3.3.12.

⁷¹ *Il Comune compra alloggi in stazione per coppie e studenti 11 gennaio 2012, Reggio Emilia, Cronaca, etvl’informazione.com*

⁷² Interview Valentina Rondanini, at Albergo San Marco 8.3.12.

⁷³ Rondanini, *ibid*

Consequently, the hotel is promoting ideas to the council for investment in meeting places – a bar or upmarket café in the centre of the station zone which would attract tourists and locals, a market selling regional produce and a secondhand market to attract young people from other parts of the city. This policy direction addresses the tendency to monoethnic concentration in neighbourhoods which is markedly higher in Reggio than in other cities in the European Intercultural Cities network (ICC): 88% compared to the average sample rate of 58%.⁷⁴ However Reggio's civic activism in fostering mixing across ethnic divides through culture and sport, recognised as a countervailing tendency to ethnic segregation in housing and settlement, is very pronounced in the cultural dimension of the safety strategy.

Social Risk and Poverty Indicators

The limitations of the safety strategy for addressing the underlying causes of anti-social behaviour were made explicit at a conference of cities held in Reggio Emilia in October 2008:

“ The project does not address the reasons that underly the many forms of incompatible behaviour of marginalized groups which lead to situations that can only be resolved by invoking national laws (immigration policy) and comprehensive programmes of intervention covering extreme poverty, precariousness at work and public housing that go far beyond the remit and possibilities of those working at local level.”⁷⁵

Even in this rare acknowledgement of the link between socio-economic privation and incivilities, ‘incompatible’ behaviour was attributed unilaterally to migrants.

Nevertheless, some of the new social institutions and partner organisations in the area have marked indications of success at containing social risk and even economic decline. The Co-op Reggio Est which borders Piazza Secchi actually registered a 1% increase in sales in 2010-11, compared to the two other branches in the city and a much slighter drop of 0.7% in sales in 2011-12 than in the other two stores.⁷⁶ In the opinion of the chair of the Coop for the North East region, the sales figures are testimony to the success of the Pact in maintaining social cohesion in the station area.⁷⁷

The impact of *Spazio Raga* in containing young people at risk has also been estimated by its facilitators. Of the 80-100 children who have gone through its programme in the six years between 2005-11, only one student, a Moroccan has been in and out of prison

⁷⁴ Reggio Emilia; Results of the ICC Index, December 2010

⁷⁵ “Patto di Convivenza, le Regole e la Responsabilità in Zona Stazione”, Comune di Reggio Emilia in Donatella Della Porta ed. session on Democrazia partecipativa, i cambiamenti nei processi decisionali, 14 Ottobre: Rappresentanza Regole, Responsabilità, in *Governare con i cittadini: le esperienze*, Volume: *Casi*, 14-15-16 October 2008, p.10.

⁷⁶ Borciani, 7.3.12; see Appendix 1

⁷⁷ Borciani, 3.12.12.

and one student, a Tunisian who has suffered extreme family hardship, was contentiously imprisoned for a minor offence but retains a strong attachment to the centre. All the rest have completed their school certificate, even if a year later than others in their cohort. Overall c. 20% of students have stayed on at school but no longer attend *SpazioRaga*, but drop by occasionally; c. 30% are unemployed but not at risk, doing casual work or odd jobs to help their families out and 50% are in work.⁷⁸

These figures underline the persistence of high unemployment and poverty but also indicate the impact of social support and of the strong relationships built through *SpazioRaga* in minimising criminal outcomes for these young people.

Similarly the impressive uptake of the Centre of Social Mediation's services in cases of conflict and success rate of over 90% in resolving disputes consensually indicate a cultural change in the area of acceptance of negotiated solutions, maybe even of enhanced empathy towards others.

Cultural Impacts

A number of active participants and organisers in the Pact remarked on the wider cultural change which they particularly attributed to the *Centro d'Incontro Reggio Est* and the cultural dimensions of the safety strategy. Marina Pirazzi, the specialist in participatory planning defined the greatest success of the Pact as the establishment of the *Centro d'Incontro Reggio Est*:

*"We haven't managed to make much headway with the larger objectives... let's say ... of getting people - Italians and foreigners... talking to each other more ... however the Centro d'Incontro Reggio Est is one of the places in reality, where this encounter has taken place... Certainly not for all of the residents...but they all know.... the residents all know of the Centro d'Incontro Reggio Est."*⁷⁹

Franco Brambilla, the theatre director of City of the Future workshop points to positive changes in the area - the decline of conflicts between migrants and of diffidence towards them which he attributes to the Centre's influence:

*"The fact of there being this shared Centre in Via Turri has helped people in some way. ...a decisively positive transformation because it is a place where people can get together with all these facilitators and activities... a place of aggregation not only for the Festival but all year. ... a strategic place for this policy of aggregation."*⁸⁰

In Corradini's eyes, it is through art and culture that citizens became protagonists and came to know each other.⁸¹

⁷⁸ Interview Elena Torelli, 6.3.12. See photo of *Spazio Raga*)

⁷⁹ Marina Pirazzi, 7.3.12

⁸⁰ Franco Brambilla, 7.3.12.

⁸¹ Corradini I, 6.3.12.

Yet despite the presence of the Centre and positive shift in attitude and engagement, inter-group relations remain problematic. Many groups are still resistant to engaging with others, or have even retreated into a bunker-like mentality. The older Italian residents have lost interest, retreated into nostalgia or exaggerated fears of the present. In Corradini's terms, they are elderly now and tired. Different migrant groups retain prejudices against other migrant groups: *"The Chinese stay with the Chinese and they don't want to stay with Africans."* (Italian survey informant who criticised the small number coming to the festival) As the participatory planning expert pointed out *"if the Centre is frequented by Mahgrébins, the Sub-Saharan Africans don't want to go. The problems are complex ... there's still a lot of work to do. This doesn't mean that no Africans go there but certainly for the most part one perceives a veto on Arabs being there and they don't want to go."*⁸² However, when I went on field visits to the Centre, the Nigerian migrant association and the Ghanaian migrant association were holding meetings there. Yet in the new public spaces, while people of different ethnicities are co-present, they do not appear to mix very much. (See photo 5.)



Photo 5 Africans and Chinese in Piazza Secchi

Media Representations of the Identity of the Area

A key element of the City's own evaluation of the success of the Pact and safety policy was focused on how far it had changed the identity of the area, as reflected in press coverage of the station zone over 2008-11.⁸³ It saw Amoreggio the information point and Zona stazione newspaper as providing an alternative narrative of the city in the four issues from 2008-2010. Part of their evaluation of the success of the Pact and safety strategy was based on a survey of the local press. This found that between Autumn 2007 and mid 2008, when the national moral panic over security was at its

⁸² Marina Pirazzi op.cit. 7.3.12

⁸³ *Patto per la convivenza, le regole, la responsabilità in zona stazione. Come la stampa ha raccontato la zona stazione dal tempo del Patto*, Comune di Reggio, July 2011

height immigrants were perceived 'more as a threat than as a resource'⁸⁴ endangering personal safety and property, and the station zone attracted disproportionately negative attention in the press, as a dangerous area of social decay. In the subsequent years to 2011, the Pact had a countervailing effect on this negative image, with the local press reporting in over a third of stories on the progressive impact of social interventions, almost half of these articles giving a positive image of the Pact as a source of enrichment to the station zone and over 40% of articles portraying *Via Turri* in a positive light.

The change has also been reflected in the shift in themes. Whereas in 2007 criminality dominated the reporting, from 2008-10 festivals, integration and urban improvements became predominant, linked to activism around the Pact. The press focus on the notoriety of particular streets also diminished with sharp falls in named references: *Via Turri*, for example, was singled out in 2007 in 96% of articles which fell to 15% in 2011; likewise *Via Paradiso* experienced a drop from 85% to 15% in 2007-8, falling to 2% in 2011. Reporting of stories concerned with serious and violent crime - drugs, rape, violence - and with vandalism all declined between 2007-11, but reports of prostitution and theft grew enormously from 1.2% in 2007 to 14.3% in 2011 and 5.5% in 2007 to 34.3% in 2011 respectively, ensuring that the number of stories in 2011 concerned with criminality once again overtook those concerned with positive social changes. Nevertheless, the press concern with security dwindled from 13.4% of coverage in 2007 to a mere 1.4% in 2011.

Overall the representations of the station zone in the local press between January 2007-May 2011 divided into three: 1/3 as socially problematic (with problems of prostitution, minors etc.; 1/3 as a dangerous place to live and 1/3 as a source of enrichment (positive solutions and initiatives for the city). This still means that 2/3 of the articles represented the area as either problematic or dangerous. Nevertheless the view of both Marina Pirazzi who commissioned the evaluation study and of Corradini is that the press shifted from overwhelmingly negative portrayal of the area to a third positive, a third neutral and a third negative.⁸⁵ They consider the strategy to change the identity of the station area into a shared civic identity of convivial living as broadly successful. Corradini's assessment is that it has prevented the neighbourhood from becoming a ghetto. He sees the Pact as a process of capacity building over time which has increased the confidence of people to engage in dialogue and build a sense of belonging to the place.⁸⁶ The Pact contributed to redefining safety not just in terms of shared rules and resolution of disputes, but also in terms of a convivial social environment with cultural animation and spaces to socialise and mix. Its success was

⁸⁴ Ivan Diamante, *Demos and Pi per UNIPOLIS*, 2008.

⁸⁵ Pirazzi op.cit.; Corradini, II op.cit., 7.3.12

⁸⁶ *Tre anni dall'avvio del Patto per la convivenza, le regole, la responsabilità in zona stazione* and *Sulla realizzazione delle azioni per il Patto per la convivenza, le regole, la responsabilità in zona stazione 2008 - 2010*, Il Comune di Reggio Emilia, March 2011

in implanting this very different social and intercultural concept on safety in the press coverage.

Political evaluation

After three years of the Pact, public participation has become a renewed reality in decision-making and planning, rather than an afterthought or *ad hoc* form of consultation. The station zone is now integrally connected to key city projects, the historic centre and the new high speed train link to the Central Po station a few kilometres away. Although Corradini acknowledges some drift in knowledge of, and support for the Pact, he estimates 80% of its aims have been realised but it needs to be discussed and disseminated more widely than the 150-200 active participants in the process out of a potential 3,000. In particular, he highlights the need to attract Chinese elders and the younger generation of immigrants.⁸⁷

The wider political success of the Pact and safety strategy in his view has been in containing a xenophobic reaction to immigrants and the electoral influence of the Lega Nord – Northern League – an explicitly racist, northern secessionist force. The results of the local, provincial and regional elections since the Pact was enacted corroborate this to a modest degree. (See Appendix 3) It has been significant in showing the efficacy of democratic mobilisation in generating effective, imaginative and joined-up policies. The political limitation to the safety policy is the lack of migrants' representation as they are excluded from voting and unless organised by the migrant associations or community centre, have no political voice or informal clout, unlike the Italian residents.

At a personal level Corradini has found affirmation through the Pact. The Egyptian gymnastics teacher in the street survey who runs a dance class at the Community Centre summed up the view that *“Corradini when he wanted to change the area ... did a lot. He has been brilliant. He gave me the encouragement.”* In Franco Brambilla's estimation, *“He is a very capable person, who is very determined but who knows how to listen.... He is a model politician, isn't he?”*⁸⁸ The pensioners on the street on the site visit had no qualms about approaching him and expressing their fears to his face. As one woman pensioner put it, *‘é un'uomo onesto'* – he is an honest man.

5. The Safety Strategy of GCAL in Alta de Lisboa northern Lisbon

In contrast to Reggio Emilia where the city council took the political initiative to stimulate civic action, GCAL – an umbrella association of NGOs, community groups and social institutions has been the prime mover in Alta de Lisboa, - Northern Lisbon

⁸⁷Corradini, I & II, 6. & 7.3.12

⁸⁸ Brambilla, op.cit. 7.3.12.

- in addressing integration and safety. The safety project is completely separate from the Intercultural Centre in the south, in Lisbon city centre, although it has drawn on independent cultural associations and groups in developing its social and artistic interventions.

Covering the areas of Lumiar, Charneca, Cruz Vermehla, Musgueira North and South in northern Lisbon in an area originally of wasteland near the airport, GCAL (the *Grupo Comunitario de Alta de Lisboa*) arose in 2005 out of a massive urban renewal, rehousing programme, currently covering 34,000 people, but which will grow to 80,000 by the time it is completed. Its starting point was to facilitate social integration and improved services for the local community through better inter-agency co-ordination.⁸⁹ The population of the area is very young, composed predominantly of single people and large families, and 20% of which are single-parent, overwhelmingly led by Portuguese women. The ethnic composition of the area has been changing 2004-9 with a slight downward trend of foreign nationals from 15% to 14.4% p because of high naturalisation rates - over 90% of Lusophone migrants are Portuguese citizens and they constitute well over 80% of the migrant population. So although the concentration of foreign nationals in Alta de Lisboa is not high, the concentration of foreign origin Portuguese citizens who are Portuguese speaking is. Yet language figures equally with discrimination as a key barrier to social integration for 13.6% which affects primarily recent global migrants who cite problems with regularisation, (9.6%) and indicate the changing composition of contemporary migration. The more so since 81.8% of people of foreign origin consider themselves integrated, according to the survey carried out by the Aga Khan Foundation organization, K' Cidade , operative in the area.⁹⁰

However, the area has a concentration of social and economic problems which GCAL's activity has not been able to stem: a high and growing unemployment rate of 27.7%, increasingly composed of unskilled workers in personal services and retail and benefit dependency of almost half the population. Yet some of the social indicators are positive: a quarter of the population are students; illiteracy has halved (a fall from 17.7% to 8.5% between 2004-9) and there has been a dramatic increase in children in day nurseries (from 1/3 to a 1/2) and in nursery school (from 1/4 to almost 3/4) over the same period. Unlike Reggio Emilia, 60% of the housing is social, (designated PER) and though predominantly three-bedroomed, service charges are low.

Deficiencies in the Urban Renewal Model

⁸⁹ *Alta de Lisboa Inquérito em painel aos agregados familiares, Percepção da Segurança, [Resultatods Definitivos]*(March 2010)

⁹⁰ All figures cited are drawn from *Alta de Lisboa Inquérito em painel aos agregados familiares. [Resultatods Definitivos]*' (Outubro de 2009), October 2009, K' Cidade,)

The area was a shanty town, illegally occupied by squatters, both internal migrants from the countryside to the city and the first generation of migrants from the colonies, who built shacks as homes from whatever materials they could acquire, without any public amenities, transport or sanitation. The Urban Development Plan of 1980-90 provided a blue-print for planning without any sociological research or consultation, or what the Commander of the Municipal Police defined as '*a culture urban planning and regeneration.*' In his view, this generated insecurity, a lack of feeling safe in their own neighbourhood.⁹¹ The area was redeveloped disregarding the layout, social organisation, neighbourly relations and informally built houses except in one area, Bairro das Calvanas⁹² In that quarter, the African migrants had earned enough to buy more durable materials and the land on which they built low-rise housing with attractively laid-out gardens and were able to mobilise to defend it. It remains one of the most pleasant and successful estates in the whole sprawling development, the best kept and least vandalised as it retains a human scale and sociability in its design.

The early phase of housing management 1982-5, compounded the problem, by arbitrarily relocating people in the new social housing, so former slum residents did not know each other. There was no policy to ensure any continuity of communal bonds, nor to create a degree of intercultural or social mixing within blocks.⁹³ Neves, a specialist in urban renewal for crime prevention suggests that self-management of their blocks by social housing tenants could provide a solution, including the selection of new tenants. However, it appears that several blocks have become exclusive ethnic enclaves. This may be innocuous, for example a distinctive Cape Verdean colony has grown up in one set of blocks, but in another, a criminal gang of Roma arms dealers has managed to seal itself off physically, controlling a whole block at the end of a long, unlit no-through road.

The new flats were often built to a high quality, but on a gigantic scale in anonymous blocks with some narrow, dark corners. The development lacks urbanity as the blocks were not set in a bustling urban landscape of squares, parks, seating areas, cultural and social amenities that would have softened boundaries and facilitated people socialising and mixing. One of the most significant social divisions in the area is the split between social and private tenants. Some blocks designed by the same architect are indistinguishable from the outside but have a swimming pool on the roof or other luxury features incorporated by private developers. Under the 1998 Alta de Lisboa Urbanization Plan (PUAL) new development plots have been sold off by the council, for exclusive private developments.⁹⁴ Rather than develop a new intercultural model of urban regeneration that learns from the deficiencies of the earlier phase of

⁹¹ Interview Commander of the Municipal Police, André Gomes, 28.3.12)

⁹² Peter Gomes, Action Research Workshop, 30.3.12; Interview, Veronica Neves 19.9.12.

⁹³ Veronica Neves, Action Research Workshop, 30.3.12)

⁹⁴ See <http://portugal.cushwakeproperty.com/en/size/over-5000-m2/portfolio-of-plots-for-development-alta-de-lisboa-urbanization-plan/>

redevelopment, there is no interdisciplinary collaboration and only one sociologist is involved in the whole redevelopment.⁹⁵

The estates are still set among large stretches of barren wasteland, crying out for a coherent public space strategy. The lack of green outdoor spaces and places to meet continues to be a persistent cause of complaint among local residents. A large park, Parque Vale Grande, Oeste - West Park - was established adjacent to the poor Cruz Vermehla district but with a purely scenic layout of large pools and ornamental gardens unsuitable for the active recreational and social needs of a diverse, deprived population. It also proved unsafe as a small child drowned in the unguarded waters four years ago.⁹⁶ Another large and more successful park, Quinta da Conchas on the prosperous side of Alta, near South Musgueira, differs markedly in having recreational grounds and courts, a café, well-lit paths and nature trails, and is used at night by both men and women, to walk dogs, train or jog. This park is accessible to some of the private flats in Alta but too far from the social housing to be readily accessible for the low-income tenants and so is not an intercultural meeting place.

The deficiencies in urban planning and economic disparities have had a knock-on effect in social segregation of primary schools. According to the Deputy Commander of the Municipal Police, children from vulnerable or deprived families in social housing have priority in local schools with high numbers on free school meals. So private tenants who would prefer to send their children to the highly regarded local schools, are forced to send them further afield.⁹⁷ This prevents social and ethnic mixing. In the case of school no.34 in Alta, only one child, whose mother is a professor from the private flats, goes to the school. All the other pupils are from social housing.⁹⁸

The Weak Economy, Illicit Trade and Crisis

A further obstacle to a safe environment has been the failure of economic and job growth to keep pace with the population in Alta, attributed by the deputy Commander of the Municipal Police, Rodrigues to discrimination against migrants in the labour market and the lack of business relocation to the area.⁹⁹ Many of the migrants employed on construction in Alta - Africans, Rumanians, Ukrainians, Moldavians and a few Brazilians live outside in other peripheral areas of Lisbon. The weak employment base was also compounded by lack of early years education, high truancy rates and low-level completion of the school diploma -problems which have markedly improved through GCAL intervention in schooling.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁵ Veronica Neves op.cit. 19.9.12.

⁹⁶ Veronica Neves, *ibid.*

⁹⁷ Rodrigues, op.cit. 28.3.12

⁹⁸ Interview Monica Diniz, sociologist with the Municipal Police, 2.4.12.

⁹⁹ Rodrigues, *ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ Peter do Gomes of Parent's Association, 30.3.12.

With the dearth of employment and other meaningful activities which affected the first generation migrants, Alta became a breeding ground for an illicit drug economy. This has developed inter-generationally as sub-cultures within specific minority groups, and especially among unemployed youths. The economic crisis has spread the drug trafficking net wider, trapping younger children, who act as lookouts warning dealers of police approaching, in its orbit.¹⁰¹ Geu Garçia, one of the two Municipal Police officers operating in Alta, connects high youth unemployment and social neglect to the sense of alienation which expresses itself in anti-social behaviour and attitudes:

*People do not feel supported, especially the elderly and young people. This has created a vacuum for illicit activities – assault, drug problems...when the city council relocated people to new housing, they didn't give the resources to the people, they didn't give them education that this should be an exemplary area to preserve for the future. The little garden opposite has been vandalised. People don't feel they have that power to preserve. Also inside the buildings they feel it's not theirs....."*¹⁰²

The Role of the GCAL

GCAL is comprised of community organisations, local social and cultural institutions and religious foundations including residents' and parents' associations, health, community and sports centres, a library, local black schools and African student associations, children's clinics, day centres and cooperatives. Self governing through an open monthly plenary, with a rotating chair, it prides itself on its autonomy from the council: – *" We decide areas of intervention, the elderly, young people..... We decide here together what to do and not the municipality. Here it works differently."*¹⁰³

It has experienced growing organisational participation: between 2006 -10 the number of community organisations involved grew from 1 to 8, foundations from 7 to 19 and public service organisations from 7 to 9. But this also indicates a problem of growing professional involvement without a parallel growth of participation by local residents, especially young people, something reiterated as a problem by regular GCAL activists and participating NGOs. As a *'diversified innovative group... an important network of partners...a pioneering project.... and ... a collection of entities which meet more or less informally'*, it aims *'capacitar e dar voz à comunidade'* – to enable and give voice to the community, by organizing local people to participate actively in the locality and city and to create an effective lobby.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹ Neuza Pestana, K'Cidade operative, 20.9.12.

¹⁰² Geu Garçia, op.cit.

¹⁰³ Jao Tito Basto, Action Research Workshop, 30.3.12.

¹⁰⁴ *Do domínio simbólico ao domínio das dinâmicas: Redes de Parceria Local da Alta de Lisboa*, (Programa K'Cidade) Instituto Superior de Ciências do Trabalho da Empresa, p. 18.

The grass-roots association adopted a transversal approach, not dissimilar to Reggio Emilia, of integral intervention in the framework of the Urban Development Plan with working groups which reflect core concerns –a Schools Group; Belonging and Memory Group (focusing on identity and history) a Jobs and Training Group and a Media Group with a co-ordination commission run by *K’Cidade* . Only in 2009 did they set up the Safety Group. ¹⁰⁵

K’Cidade, the local arm of the Aga Khan Foundation, and key NGO in the area, has committed itself for a ten-year period (2004-14) to urban community development in Alta de Lisboa with the aim of capacity building through local network partnerships. One of the key areas of their engagement has been countering drug addiction and trafficking, which is concentrated in Cruz Vermehla, the poor area in the heart of Alta. As a centre of drug consumption and distribution, it attracts people from outside Alta, and so is a lucrative source of income. *K’Cidade* runs a dependencies group engaged in prevention work, which carries out training with parents, children, educators and playground assistants in schools. ¹⁰⁶ It has also employed specialist cultural mediators, who work with minority ethnic community groups such as the Roma.

Among the other NGOs engaged in GCAL and in the area is the AVAAL environmental association. This is developing allotments in a horticultural park to enable poor migrant families to produce cheap food and thus retrieve wasteland. It has begun establishing vegetable gardens in four schools, fostering partnerships between them and organisations of the elderly, and engaging the local community in planning the project, running short courses and producing rooftop and indoor growing containers with neighbourhood associations. ¹⁰⁷

Since 2009, protracted and difficult negotiations with the city council over the release of wasteland have taken place and the results so far have been limited to a small piece of land for 105 disabled people to cultivate, funded by a small grant of €16,000 from EDP Foundation ¹⁰⁸. (See photos 6 a, b, c.) The association awaits the issuing of further tracts of land either side of this patch, which are rough and steeply sloping in part.

Three other established organizations do preventive work with young people. The Musgieira Social Centre provides drug treatment and social support, and also runs a kindergarten for small children. It also is comprised of a daycare centre for the elderly and the Mediateca for teenagers. The latter is a dynamic space where young people can hang out in the coffee bar, and take part in gymnastics and theatre workshops.

¹⁰⁵ GCAL Grupo Comunitario da Alta Lisboa *Quem Somos?*

¹⁰⁶ Interview Neuza Pestana, *K’Cidade*, 20.9.12.

¹⁰⁷ Case 1: A Local Partnership for Promoting Urban Agriculture in Lisbon, Portugal docs.china-europa-forum.net/t31d_case_1 _ lisbonexp_en.pdf Version 5. 9 June 2010)

¹⁰⁸ EDP Foundation Report 2011 pdf, p.31.

It runs an after-school club and residential summer camp in a different resort each year for 30-40 young people from the adjoining neighbourhoods, since Musgieira is no longer the centre it was before the redevelopment, as private tenants predominate. They tend to keep their children from mixing with those from the social housing, and the poorer children from Cruz Vermehla have kept away because of this. So this has acted as a barrier to intercultural mixing.

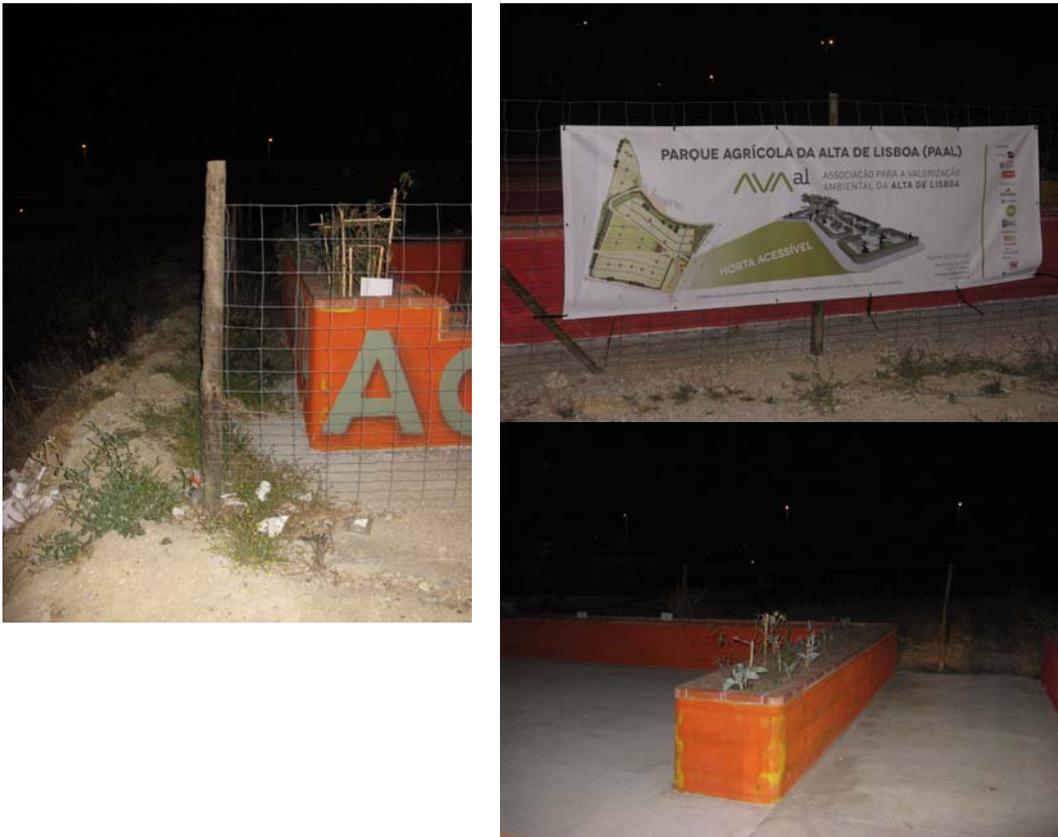


Photo 6 a, b, c Allotments

ARAL – the Residents Association of Alta de Lisboa set up an All-Arts project which has developed art and performance skills of young people, training them in dance, music, film- and video-making, graffiti art, *capoiera* and Forum theatre. The latter exemplifies the ethos – not just to impart skills and social capital but also to enable critical thought and action, by build the narrative out of the group’s own experience, and in presenting it to the community, soliciting their intervention to change the action and conceive other possibilities. All-Arts acquired a space in the Klip resource centre to set up a music studio and they too run summer camps, encouraging young

people to pursue their passion for art or music and to stay on at school.¹⁰⁹ A third key organisation working with young people, the University Institute of Solidarity (ISU) offers a space for young people with free digital access and support in finding a job, training and skills and promotes some initiatives with youth groups.

Perhaps most significant of the youth groups is TDK, an independent group set up by young people to develop activities meaningful for themselves, which initially received support from *K' Cidade*. From 2009, they began to branch out by disseminating their activities more widely among young people, collaborating with external partners, including the Municipal Police in training youth mediators. In the course of the training, the Municipal Police invited them to their HQ so they could see how the police operated and get to know some of the police officers. (See photos 7a and b.)



Photo 7 a, b Young people with MP and on Segways

The training empowered those who participated, including young women, who traditionally do not take part, because so many are teenage single mums. From the survey taken of their opinions, the young people associated with TDK do not feel they are treated as equal partners either by the institutions, or by GCAL. The perception of GCAL as too structured and formal means that TDK prefers to remain outside and unfunded. However it has built strong local links with the religious institution, Sisters of the Priest whose space it shares for meetings, music-making and after-school tuition. They jointly put on 'neighbour parties' – street parties to reconstitute the local community, at which African food, funded by local businesses, is prepared and sold at a symbolic price.¹¹⁰ It is this kind of neighbourhood-based intercultural organisation that has an arts-led, shared practice which is akin to an intercultural centre. Although without its own space, it generates interaction and creative exchange between a mix of young people and intercultural festivity which is also intergenerational on the streets. The absence of such youth

¹⁰⁹ <http://grupocomunitarioalta.wordpress.com/2012/11/21/all-arts-no-sao-luis-lisboa-mistura/>

¹¹⁰ Neuza Pestana, op.cit.

organisations in GCAL deprives it of the commitment cultural energy and initiative that autonomous intercultural youth organisations bring.

Despite the long-term commitment to the area by GCAL and its partners, and having made substantial headway in expanding social intervention, the take-up of services and range of activities on offer, nevertheless after five years it was felt necessary to establish the Safety Group.

Perceptions of Insecurity

The irony of the perception of insecurity in Alta de Lisboa as in the station zone of Reggio Emilia, is that it is much greater than the reality of crime in the area. The true figures for burglary and assault, the Deputy Chief of the Municipal Police, Rodrigues confirms, were low before and remain low since the redevelopment.¹¹¹ According to the *K'Cidade* Survey of Perceptions of Crime over the first five years of GCAL action, 2004-9, there was a small increase overall in crime from 9.3% to 11.9% with sharp rises in violent crimes such as bodily injury, (up from 18% ↑ 34.6%) and the registering of gun crime for the first time (up from 0 to 15.45%;) and likewise vandalism (up from 0 ↑ 7.7%). These figures have to be treated with caution since there is no systematic collection of crime data in Lisbon on a geographic basis, at neighbourhood level.¹¹² The figures *K'Cidade* used are estimates and perceptions which exaggerate the rise in crime, for example from zero base for gun crime and vandalism before 2004. However, the figures are indicative of perceived trends but these should also be seen in the light of substantial perceived falls in theft (from 40.9 to 7.7%) burglary and street robberies.(both from 9.1% to 3.8%)

While two-thirds of residents thought security in the area was reasonable or good, a third thought it was poor. Likewise almost two-thirds (61.5%) liked the neighbourhood but of the 46.4 % who were dissatisfied, 70% of them considered security bad, compared to 32% of the overall sample. The key reason cited for dissatisfaction in the neighbourhood from all those surveyed was insecurity and lack of policing (14.8%) while lack of neighbourly relations, environmental degradation and lack of facilities, services and shops figured as other causes. Surprisingly, drug consumption and trafficking were ranked fifth as a cause of neighbourhood dissatisfaction. Yet over a quarter of those surveyed (26.4%) attributed the main cause of insecurity to drug trafficking and just under a quarter (23.3%) to muggings, 14.1%

¹¹¹ Interview, Deputy Commander Rodrigues, 28.3.12.

¹¹² The work of geographic mapping of crime has been undertaken for eleven months by Veronica Neves, whilst on leave from the Ministry of Defence, in external collaboration with the Municipal Police, but without a secure footing or guaranteed future.

physical and verbal aggression and 10.4% lack of policing.¹¹³ These figures may seem contradictory but indicate that while drugs were perceived as the key cause of insecurity and crime in the area, neighbourhood dissatisfaction was focused on the inadequate responses – the lack of policing, of neighbourliness, of effective services that compounded the deficiencies of the social and urban fabric.

The research also picked up significant social divisions in perception. People who felt most insecure were older residents who had lived for 30-40 years in the area, whereas almost 80% of recent arrivals considered security good or reasonable, and only 21 % bad. Yet a higher number of victims were young (19% 20-29 years old) or middle aged (15.5% 50-59) than elderly. A slightly higher rate of Portuguese nationals (12%) than foreigners (9.1%) figured as victims of crime – although this does not mean they were predominantly of European origin, as a high percentage of Portuguese nationals in this area are Lusophone.



Photo 8 a, b Your neighbourhood is your face

The significant division between social housing and private tenants, as well as elderly Portuguese and young new migrants appears to underly differing perceptions of

¹¹³ *Alta de Lisboa Inquérito em painel aos agregados familiares, Percepção da Segurança, [Resultatods Definitivos]*(Março de 2010).

safety. Although these are referred to by informants and commentators, they are not defined ethnically. However, from observation and analysis, these are not only generational and class differences but also ethnic differences between Portuguese private tenants – who are European middle class engineers, doctors and teachers – and the more culturally diverse social housing tenants.¹¹⁴ These divisions are visualised in a publicly sponsored clean-up litter campaign, which exhorts people to see the neighbourhood as reflecting their self-image, under the slogan *'Your neighbourhood is your face'*. One poster depicts elderly European Portuguese collecting litter while youths of diverse ethnicities stand idly by, and in another migrant children play amidst the rubbish whilst an immigrant man tips waste from his window. (See Photos 8a and 8b.)

However there are also tangible and imposing causes of insecurity. Social decay manifests itself visibly on the streets in groups of young unemployed men, who hang around and jeer at passersby. The GCAL informants account for the problem in socio-cultural terms: Sandra Menezes, who works in the Urban Planning department of the council, attributes the problem to *"a habit of not working ...but there's a low school level and a habit of not studying as well... This is the condition for unsuccess at school..... They have the whole day just to hang around!"*¹¹⁵ Jao Tito Basto of the Residents' Association, presents it more dramatically as a conflict of power over who controls the streets: *"The streets belong to them. It happens like an appropriation of the territory."*¹¹⁶

The effects spill over, as Peter do Gomes of the Parents' Association points out

*"children aren't safe anymore and people don't want to have their children outside. Cars have been vandalised. It is true that there may be some people living here who do these kind of crimes, and that's the economic question that there are a lot of people here receiving income from social security because there isn't any employment."*¹¹⁷

Isabel Vaz Pinto of the Musgieira Social Centre also identifies the problem of social mixing where drug culture is pervasive: *"....the population and institutions want to create safety by the appropriation of the space by different cultures but now people feel it is not their culture that others are invading their space. So there is a need to give these people space to criticise this culture [sic of drugs and doing nothing - author] It has to do with parallel economies..... They don't feel the space is theirs....It has to do with the way people live and their habits. It doesn't have to do with multiculturalism."* Nevertheless, on my site visits, the young men in question were all of African origin¹¹⁸. But as the informant

¹¹⁴ Rodrigues, op.cit. 28.3.12.

¹¹⁵ Sandra Menezes, Action Research Workshop 30.3.12.

¹¹⁶ Jao Tito Basto, op.cit.

¹¹⁷ Peter do Gomes, op.cit. 30.3.12.

¹¹⁸ One of the young participants in GCAL, who fiercely defended Cruz de Vermehla against its negative depiction as the centre of drug trafficking, street robbery and assault in Alta, nevertheless insisted on accompanying me and my Portuguese interpreter (who had done prior research in the area and was a friend of his) through wasteland and en route to the day care centre, to ensure our safety.

underlined the issue for her was defending those *'who don't identify with drug culture.'*¹¹⁹

As a result of this harassment, people were excluded from the streets or deterred from going to certain places. Those who do venture there *'don't feel comfortable because they hear other people mocking them.'*¹²⁰ One GCAL activist who runs the *Loja entre Nos - Among Ourselves* community shop, disagreed that assaults and street robberies were carried out by Cruz Vermehla locals, attributing them to outsiders. However a member of the Cruz Vermehla Residents' Association refuted this from his own experience of being assaulted by people he knew, but could not name to the police because of intimidation, knowing that they would beat him up if he spoke out. (Action Research Workshop, 30.3.12)

One survey respondent, a young Portuguese volunteer, identified a disparity in the perception and experience of insecurity between Cruz Vermehla residents and those from outside: *"I feel safe here. People from other places who come here, are the ones who get frightened because of the neighbourhood's reputation. For me 'Alta de Lisboa', the neighbourhood, is safe."* This sub-text recurs in a number of accounts, including that of the Deputy Commander Rodrigues, that the place has become stigmatised, as an element of fantasy and exaggerated fear has coloured the perception of the neighbourhood, of people who live outside of Cruz Vermehla, in other parts of Alta and especially under more privileged life circumstances:

*"I can tell you that for people who bought houses here, maybe half of them usually they don't go on the streets here because they are afraid. I'm not sure about what.... (laughter from participants) That's the perception I was talking about so we thought it was a good idea to start working about security and safety together. Not only the police alone but the police and the community."*¹²¹

The Safety Strategy

Consequently in 2009 the Safety Group was established, focusing specifically on building a relationship between the local community and the Municipal Police. Unlike Reggio, whose safety strategy had integral urban renewal, cultural and media dimensions to it, in Alta de Lisboa, apart from urban renewal, these other aspects were included in the broader integration strategy, covered by existing sectoral working groups. The Safety Group, in contrast, concentrated on partnering the Municipal Police in its shift from being a local adjunct of the feared PSP national police force, to a community policing role. The commander of the Municipal Police, André Gomes defined the strategy as *'proximity policing'*, drawing on his experience

Consequently on my site visits, I did not personally experience any jeering or intimidation, just mild curiosity or indifference

¹¹⁹ Isabel Vaz Pinto, Action Research workshop 30.3.12.

¹²⁰ Jao Tito Basto, op.cit.

¹²¹ João Tito Basto, op.cit.

on the streets in Alta de Lisboa , where he found *"It was necessary to listen and join in the community to prevent crimes."*¹²² Monica Diniz, a sociologist who had worked for the municipality brought the experience of prevention and local partnerships to the Municipal Police. She had previously worked on preventive projects, including training in social skills and emotional literacy to adolescents in Lumiar – part of Alta de Lisboa, and set up partnerships with local associations in the field of drugs, homelessness and prostitution in other deprived parts of Lisbon. Influenced by the experience of Bexley in the UK, community policing was understood as a process developed from the start with partners – NGOs, residents associations and the police together:

*"From what we've learned ...of community policing you have to plan it within the community, otherwise people don't see it as their own...You couldn't plan it from inside the Municipal Police, you have to go to a place where you have some dynamic and local partnership and from my experience I knew Alta de Lisboa and GCAL... So I proposed them."*¹²³

In the first stage, they took a number of small steps to build trust, by getting to know their partners and for their partners to get to know them. From 2009 MP officers participated in meetings of the GCAL Job-Training and Schools working groups. This gave proof to the partners of the Municipal Police's commitment, in contrast to the PSP, which had previously refused to attend GCAL meetings. Building on the study that had been done of perceptions of insecurity in the area, they developed a series of joint activities to explore residents' feelings, through talks in schools and discussions in day care centres for the elderly and with women's sports clubs, using photographs as emotional triggers to provoke discussion. They discovered that the elderly felt unsafe going home from the daycare centres and so rescheduled the MP patrol cars to pass by the area at that time. Identifying women's fears at night, they gave advice on assertiveness and techniques to minimise opportunities for attackers, that they also discussed with groups of young people. 'A Safer Community' series of workshops was devised to address problems such as violent dogs, dangerous car-tuning and joy-riding and drug use that led to small, practical interventions such as sleeping policemen on the streets and better lighting. The MP also invited young people from Lumiar to their headquarters, showing them the electric cars, patrol cars and segways to try out, and through the process engaged them in conversation which began to erode the fear of talking to the police. This same method was used with other youth groups such as TDK.

Between March 2010 to November 2011 they followed up with focus groups with young people, the elderly, as broad a range of residents as possible including those

¹²² Interview, Commander André Gomes, 28.3.12.

¹²³ ¹²³ Interview Monica Diniz, 2.4.12.

normally excluded by work or family schedules, by holding the sessions at different times of the day. The focus groups asked people what mattered to them, and what they wanted to happen. Then they synthesised all the findings from the partners, the workshops and focus groups to develop appropriate training for the officers to work in the field and also gave feedback to the plenary monthly forum of GCAL, not just the Safety group, so the whole network of partners were kept informed. ¹²⁴

Training

Only those police officers who were suited to the special demands of community-based work were chosen as part of the community. The two-week training was carried out by the two professionals from the social field, permanently attached to the Municipal Police, Monica Diniz and psychologist, Claudia Santa Cruz. Officers gained an overview of the social, ethnic and cultural composition of the local population, defined as 'at risk' and learnt how to work with it, rather than an approach based on repression. Anna Paola, one of the two police officers chosen to patrol Alta, identified the difference in approach: *"Here [there was] a different role - more a connection with people to find out their needs....we always to try and see from the other point of view... and we try to be with the population, not to intervene as PSP agents"*

The transition to a non-interventionist role imposed demands on officers to change their mindset and behaviour. When Ana Paola held herself back in this way, she found her *'stomach bloated with tension'*. ¹²⁵

The other MP officer employed on the beat, Geu Graça, a Mozambican Portuguese, is one of the very few ethnic minority officers employed in the MP force. He underlined the specific problems of Alta as a multicultural, social neighbourhood where partnership and dialogue were crucial to gain the trust of the local population, and facilitate integration. He recognised the long-term work of GCAL in building strong community relationships and linking to local agencies, including the MP, prepared the groundwork for their acceptance in the area.

This concept of community policing based on a relational model of partnership, listening and negotiating was seen in contrast to one of intelligence gathering and not as complementary. According to the head of the Municipal Police in Alta:

"The first objective of the project is to interact with the community and not be an interlocutor in a bad sense.... to understand their needs and not be inside the community to get information to inform the national police (PSP.) But still if we know some cases, cases of crime that people come to tell us, we can't pretend we don't know. We need to tell -for instance in the case of rape and other serious criminal activities... we have to inform the national police, but this is not the objective.... This policing model aims to reach out to the community like a

¹²⁴ Monica Diniz *ibid.*

¹²⁵ Interview Ana Paola, 29.3.12.

*religion, one that gives it the social values to work as a community.....The tendency of thinking that the MP operate as informers to the other police force, is not the case.”*¹²⁶

This approach is in sharp contrast to the concept of combining community policing with intelligence gathering, and designed to assure the community of the MP's genuine commitment which would be undermined if it acted instrumentally or repressively. The MP has given proof of this approach in distancing itself from PSP methods in relation to undocumented migrants whom it no longer confronts on the street. In the past heavy-handed policing drove the undocumented underground to live in abandoned houses or sleep on friends' floors so the authorities did not know their whereabouts or numbers. Now the MP use the influence of the community and the National Service to Support Foreigners to encourage undocumented migrants to regularise their position. The only surveillance the MP undertakes of undocumented migrants is where criminal gangs are involved – for example in subcontracting rackets on large construction sites.¹²⁷

First and foremost through GCAL, defined by Commander Gomes as an 'excellent partner', the MP has worked hard to overcome the hostility that the local community feels towards the national police, on account of its intrusive policing against squatters as well as drug traffickers.¹²⁸ In contrast, the MP work with social worker teams and GEBALIS, the social housing agency, to prevent evictions or to insulate the rest of the community from the effects of the drugs trade. Although the MP works with a range of institutions and NGOs, it does not have a close collaboration with the city council, only contact with specific departments as required, but it collaborates to a greater degree with the district councils, although it is independent of them.

The Implementation of the Safety Strategy

It is standard practice for the officers on the beat to leave their cars at the PSP station: *"We always walk round the area to be close to the population,"* Ana Paola affirmed, so people can stop them in the street or come up to them to talk. The officers are deployed in three main ways - cleaning up the area and removing hazards, diverting young people from criminal and anti-social activity and thirdly, smoothing the way for intervention by relevant agencies. In the first role, officers act as 'eyes and ears', identifying preventive action – such as clearing sightlines, moving on drug addicts, removing abandoned cars which are used for illicit activities or to sleep in by drug addicts from outside Alta. They also deal with road safety issues such as potholes and

¹²⁶ André Gomes op.cit.

¹²⁷ interview Deputy Commander Manuel Lopes Rodrigues, 27.3.12.

¹²⁸ Still on a site visit to Alta de Lisboa in a PSP bus, with delegates from the ICC Safety Conference, (18 .9.12) the bus with us in it was met with stony indifference and a few open expressions of hostility, such as a boy simulating stone-throwing at it.

street lighting. When conflicts erupt into physical violence, the MP officers intervene to break up fights, if they are not outnumbered. In the latter case, they call for emergency support.

Their educational work is conducted in schools and with youth organisations, transmitting values of living together sociably in a multicultural, deprived environment. They also work with older children to redirect them to social organisations which can give them support, networking with specialists who work on the street. Finally using what Monica Diniz defined as '*their privileged relationship to the municipal services*', they smooth inter-agency working by contacting the relevant public bodies for example, to get permits to close roads for community events such as the All-Arts music festival, or to get GEBALIS to cut back bushes or mend broken windows. In this way they remove bureaucratic obstacles in the way of local initiatives and make the institutions more responsive to local people's needs.

Municipal Police activities are not specifically referred to in intercultural terms, but more as dealing with anti-social behaviours which arise from social deprivation and conflicts. The only anti-social behaviour which is explicitly ethnically defined is that of gypsies watering their horses in public gardens. A team of agents remove the animals, take them to animal welfare centres, imposing fines on the owners for veterinary care, warning them not to repeat the offence. If they repeatedly offend the horses are confiscated. The Municipal Police has three horses which were confiscated from Roma owners who did not pick them up or pay the penalties. Deputy Commander, Rodrigues pointed out that the Environmental Police Team needs horses and makes good use of them.¹²⁹

Social Impact of Community Policing

The Safety Group of GCAL recognise that it is too early to evaluate the strategy since the Municipal Police have only been deployed on the beat since November 2011. However, they point to a number of positive early indications that the strategy is working:- the presence of the MP officers has already led to a growing perception of safety in the area:- it has been cleaned up and problems such as abandoned cars and overgrown bushes have been resolved.¹³⁰ The cultural change in values and behaviour is a slower process but there is a consensus among active GCAL members that it is underway. The two officers now go into schools, to which previously the Municipal Police had no access. A tangible sign of their acceptance by school children is that they are on first name terms, with primary school kids calling after Geù. Mothers have begun to inquire about the police role in the school and locality.¹³¹

¹²⁹ Rodrigues, op.cit.

¹³⁰ Neuza Pestana, op.cit.

¹³¹ Madalena Penha of the Centre of Social Promotion, Action Research Workshop, 30.3.12.

Some residents and activists register no change, either because like one GCAL activist who feels loyalty to *Cruz Vermehla* and dislikes it being stigmatised as the crucible of drugs and crime, (Action Research Workshop 30.3.12.) they felt safe before as insiders, or because they felt insecure before and still do. However, women informants from the GCAL Action Research Workshop, who do not live in Alta, and therefore are outsiders, feel more confident. As Sandra Menezas testified, *"I walk and don't have any problems with that."*¹³²

The responses from our small survey of Alta residents picked up a mixed reception but indicated uneven change. Some of the diverse, young local residents felt secure, yet nevertheless still expressed fear of the police (the PSP), and were insecure about close policing and what it might entail. They argued for wider dissemination of information about GCAL and the community policing strategy. Older, retired residents, unless they knew of GCAL's work, tended to perceive security as worsening in the neighbourhood or remaining the same although one 82 year old female lace-maker, 50 years resident in the area who knew of GCAL *'through the convivial space of the Cruz Vermehla' Residents' Association'* felt the area was safer although she herself had always felt safe. By contrast, a 73 year old female carpet-maker who also knew of GCAL through the Residents' Association, felt the area had become less safe.¹³³

The collaboration with partners and institutions has produced more tangible results: for example, the removal of the tent from which drugs were being dispensed under cover of tall bushes in the ISU garden. The MP negotiated with GEBALIS to have the bushes cut down so visibility was restored and the drug dealer moved on. However the MP officers recognise their limitations in dealing with drug traffickers: *'We are always following them and the locals intervene to chase them but they move on to other areas and we follow but it is almost impossible to put an end to the problem. ...We didn't come here to put an end to the drug situation. That is the role of the PSP and judiciary and they are working here. We try to reduce the nuisance to the local population.'*¹³⁴

Cruz Vermehla is the most deprived neighbourhood and locus of the drug market which attracts users from outside Alta. The MP officers' role is to prevent drugs from impacting on the children at the two schools, one primary and one junior, in the area. Since the drug trafficking deters elderly people from going out, the Project C3 was set up by a local association in Cruz Vermehla, to provide a Dial-a-ride service to take people shopping or to visit friends. Geu Garçia highlighted the success of partnership working and the multi-dimensional approach to safety in creating a network of support – such as the Centre of Arts and Training and the *Mediateca* both with

¹³² Sandra Menezas, 30.3.12.

¹³³ Answers to questionnaires to residents of Alta de Lisboa.

¹³⁴ Ana Paola, op.cit.

programmes of drug rehabilitation and cultural activities to divert young people from the streets.¹³⁵

The broad cultural approach has also brought some success in social and intercultural mixing. Private tenants who live in the vicinity of social housing have complained to MP officers about the discomfort they feel going out at night to a bar or coffee shop where they are exposed to slang or swearing from social housing tenants or to begging by young people who offer to park their cars for them. As a result they keep their children away from what they perceive as bad influences. Under the auspices of the All-Arts initiative, a cinema festival is now held each year in the local public gardens. It has brought together teachers, lawyers, engineers from the private flats, dressed informally rather than in professional garb and their counterpart social tenants who have met and mixed socially for the first time. According to Deputy Commander, Rodrigues, a dialogue has begun between the two groups as they have got to know each other.¹³⁶

Towards a more Collaborative Process of Urban Planning

On the underlying problem of the exclusion of the neighbourhood from decision-making about the urban renewal little change has occurred. The model of top-down rational urban planning has not opened up into a collaborative, community-based process. GCAL produced an 8 point plan in response to the draft Urbanisation Plan in 2008, but it was asked belatedly without time to prepare a considered response. It sketched out generic principles which received no reply.¹³⁷ The strong move to privatise urban development in Alta, has reduced further the influence that GCAL can exert over the planning process. However, a recent change in personnel in the Urban Planning department has led to some opening up to GCAL so they have been invited to participate in the city group, and Sandra Menezes, who works on social services with architects and planners in the North Lisbon Urban Planning office has become an active member of the Safety Group of GCAL, facilitating access to the department and efficiency in getting things done.¹³⁸

An alternative model of planning of crime prevention through environmental design, is being developed in Alta by Veronica Neves, in association with the Municipal Police. Collaboration began in a workshop with planners in 2011 to attune them to safety issues in the design of buildings, to prevent entrapment, poor lighting and blocked sightlines, thus reducing the opportunities for crime. She has gone on to develop training courses on crime prevention through environmental design to train planners in Alta to follow guidelines on safety in planning public spaces. This

¹³⁵ Geo Garcia, op.cit.

¹³⁶ Rodrigues, op.cit.

¹³⁷ *Assunto: Relatório de Monitorização do Plano de Urbanização do Alto do Lumiar de 1998 a 2008 – versão preliminar | Alteração ao PUAL*

¹³⁸ Interview Veronica Neves, 19.9.12.

approach to planning is limited, however, by focusing on crime prevention or easier detection in design without addressing other culturally or socially specific dimensions of safety such as feeling culturally at home and welcome in the public space which only intercultural processes of planning can build into the place. Her 11 month research project on geographical referencing of crime from Municipal Police reports, has pinpointed crime in particular hotspots, at street and house level within Alta. This will enable accurate reporting of crime levels and their geographical and social spread. Whilst important for accurate data and detection work, this cannot substitute for inclusive safety policies that recognise and value cultural difference. While accepting the biggest challenge is to include people of difference, she sees the potential of the crime data to dispel ethnic stereotypes of criminality – for example raising the status of the Roma community because of the absence of paedophilia, child abuse and pornography in their community.¹³⁹ However this will not advance a cultural understanding of Roma practices which are deemed anti-social and may rather reflect unmet cultural needs.

Intercultural Limitations

From an intercultural perspective, the safety strategy has limitations on the Municipal Police side. The MP force itself lacks a diversified intake of officers although the ideal for the Municipal Police to have people of diverse backgrounds, particularly Africans and gypsies (Roma) as agents working on community projects is supported in principle by the MP Commander, Gomes.¹⁴⁰ Geu Garcia is one of 3 or 4 African or Indian origin Portuguese working in the Municipal Police¹⁴¹ Since all MP officers are drawn from the national police force, the PSP, even though the MP is paid for by the city council, it is circumscribed by the recruitment policies of the PSP. Although there is a desire for a diversified MP force, there is no policy to promote it. The requirement of Portuguese citizenship to join the national police force does not account for the almost total absence of Africans and Roma in its ranks, the overwhelming majority of whom are Portuguese citizens. This requirement has been a barrier to new migrants, for example, from the Maghreb joining the force, although this should change since access to citizenship has eased since the 2000 nationality law came into being. Operating within these constraints, Commander Gomes has relied on intercultural training to sensitise and educate MP officers in the field and on agents learning in practice through building relations with diverse groups and communities – for example through links with the Muslim community, providing for the security of the nearby mosque..

Although discrimination against migrants in the labour market was raised by Deputy Commander Rodrigues, the issue of discrimination did not come up in the discourse

¹³⁹ Veronica Neves, *ibid.*19.9.12.

¹⁴⁰ Interview Commander André Gomes, 28.3.12.

¹⁴¹ Deputy Commander Rodrigues, *op.cit.*

on safety in GCAL or in individual interviews, except when I explicitly asked about it. There are at least two groups where the lack of sensitivity to discrimination and to their histories of being marginalised on racial or ethnic grounds, inhibits the potential for intercultural solutions which would accord positive value to their culture and engage them as equals in resolving problems.

The Municipal Police's relationship to the Roma communities in Alta reflects this limited approach treating the problem of watering horses in public gardens as simply a form of anti-social behaviour, without understanding the meaning of horses in Roma culture, both their historic economic importance when the Roma were travellers and their current symbolic value as dowries for their daughters. Although *K' Cidade* has employed mediators who have worked in the Roma community, the Municipal Police has not used mediation to find a solution to the problems of watering the horses. Consequently neither has it challenged the discrimination and lack of esteem in which Roma people are held or overcome the ignorance of their culture.

The problem is not just one of entrenched ethnic discrimination, but a conflict over the use of space and understanding of whose space it is and whether all groups are recognised as part of the neighbourhood. Some of the scholarly research on gypsies and travellers is sceptical that they can be accommodated by any planning system based on modernist assumptions, as they are deemed too different or 'other'.¹⁴² The redevelopment of Alta de Lisboa has been carried out on the unquestioning assumptions of hierarchical planning from above, without engaging the communities whose ties were disrupted as they were 'decanted' and relocated. Yet the Roma have shown a high degree of urban and economic adaptability at great cost to their traditional way of life. The removal of doors, keeping the apartment block permanently open expresses the discomfort they feel at being boxed into enclosed homes. (See photo 9.) In Alta they have been able to hold onto their horses, as the symbolic vestige of their travelling days, so they represent a high cultural and emotional investment. Where gypsies have lost this possibility entirely, "*The removal of the horse has taken the heart out of their life.*"¹⁴³

¹⁴² Huw Thomas, *Race and Planning The UK Experience*, London: UCL Press, 2000, p. 123.

¹⁴³ Ade Adeagbo, *Travellers and Involvement*, Final Report of Workshop "Involvement of Gypsy, Roma and Traveller Communities in Health & Social Care Policy & Practice", London, 30 September 2009, pdf, p.14.



Photo 9 Roma block of flats without doors

New schools of collaborative planning have arisen in response to the growing diversity of cities, that value local knowledge in an interactive social learning process between residents and professionals, using imaginative communication skills to facilitate the telling of people's stories, listening and understanding the culturally diverse meanings of particular places to their culture and aspirations for their neighbourhood.¹⁴⁴ These methods have been applied to tease out fears and aspirations in much the same way as techniques employed to establish community policing in Alta de Lisboa. Yet this process has not elicited or listened to Roma stories or found an intercultural way to respond to them.

While solutions could only come out of such a collaborative process, many projects bringing together diverse and stigmatised groups have successfully established community gardens, diverse use of parks and open spaces, allowing space for cultural practices thought unseemly or anti-social by others- such as barbeques¹⁴⁵ or graffiti art¹⁴⁶, as well as spaces for socialising and shared activities. Since there is a surfeit of wasteland in Alta on which horses could roam and be watered, a parallel project to AVAAZ's environmental retrieval of wasteland for food, could be envisaged - a children's city farm - like the one run by the UFA Fabrik International Centre of Culture and Ecology in Berlin ¹⁴⁷ or an animal farm like the original city farm in

¹⁴⁴ See Leonie Sandercock, *Towards Cosmopolis*, John Wiley, 1998, pp.94-99; and *Cosmopolis II Mongrel Cities in the 21st Century*, London, New York: Continuum, 2003, pp183-204.

¹⁴⁵ See examples of Mile End Park and Afrikaanderplein in S. Bigwell, G.Evans, A.Witting and K. Worpole, Public Space Management Report of the Intercultural Cities Research programme

¹⁴⁶ as free expression it is given wall space in Ruskin Park, South London *Lost Stories of Ruskin Park*, Embrace Cooperation, Borough of Lambeth, 2012.

¹⁴⁷ UFA Fabrik International Centre of Culture and Ecology www.ufafabrik.de/intro.php and children's farm see www.kinderbauernhof.nusz.de/Philipp/Start.html

Kentish Town, North London that breeds horses and runs a riding school¹⁴⁸, or a circus - that would serve as a place where the Roma could share stories of their horses, their travels and history, in return for the use of the land and watering rights. An alternative solution would be to remake West Park interculturally, so that it could accommodate the diversity of cultural expression, needs and desires of different groups and interests - where a stables and riding area near a water source would fit in with other recreational and sporting activities. However, this would challenge a purely aesthetic conception of the park and transform it into a much more dynamic and diverse setting for social interactions. A project of this kind led by animateurs, artists and mediators would draw on Roma culture and history, finding creative ways of sharing it to the benefit of others in the community, particularly children, whilst also opening the resources of public space to the Roma, legitimising their usage of it.

Another group who did not figure as victims of discrimination, with the exception of a single informant, were the young black men - of African origin - who had expressed strong resentment in the initial exploratory workshops with the Municipal Police, at being harassed by the police when they go to clubs.¹⁴⁹ The acceptance by the new, younger PSP Commander, fresh from the field in Cruz Vermebla, to join the Safety Group, at GCAL's invitation, may signal a willingness to interact more with residents. However neither GCAL nor the Municipal Police referred to the racism experienced by these young people, who generally featured negatively as an intimidating and alien presence on the street. It remains a challenge to GCAL to reach some of these alienated young people and the youth organisations that relate to them like TDK, in order to draw in the younger generation, and try out new ideas and ways of working.

Civic successes and weaknesses

Inter-agency working and coordination of institutions which previously worked in isolation and now work together with a common purpose has significantly improved through the safety strategy.¹⁵⁰ The strength and diversity of organisations on the ground is also testament to the vitality of civic and cultural life and the stimulus that GCAL has given to independent initiatives. The *K'Cidade* 2008 programme of work raised the question of whether GCAL suffered from over-dependency on it - *K'Cidade*, identifying weak partnerships, weak leadership and lack of initiative, lack of consistent participation of residents in planning, implementation and evaluation as the concerns. It saw these as deficiencies of the national culture which "*does not promote participatory democracy and proactive citizenship in the collective process.*"¹⁵¹

In 2014 *K'Cidade* will withdraw from Alta de Lisboa and has already handed over its building to GCAL as the *Platform for Civil Society*. This may yet turn into an informal

¹⁴⁸ Kentish Town City Farm <http://www.aapi.co.uk/cityfarm/home.htm>

¹⁴⁹ Interview Monica Diniz, 2.4.12.

¹⁵⁰ Leonel Pereira, Action Research Workshop, 30.3.12; Geu Garçia, 28.3.12.

¹⁵¹ *Do domínio simbólico ao domínio das dinâmicas: Redes de Parceria Local da Alta de Lisboa, (Programa K'Cidade)* Instituto Superior de Ciências do Trabalho da Empresa, Sept. 2008, pp.19-21.

intercultural centre but will certainly serve as a community resource. Between 2008 and now, it is clear that GCAL has consolidated and extended its local partnerships into new areas, and gained new adherents. But it has been more successful in mobilising professional bodies responsible for service delivery than with informal community groups. This can create a problem of credibility also, as most of the professionals do not live in Alta. At the GCAL Action Research Workshop, only three of the fifteen people attending were local residents. The difficulty of winning the commitment of young people to GCAL, especially the independent youth organisations which have grown up in Alta, remains a challenge – for GCAL’s overall vision of shared living in a safe neighbourhood. This problem of attracting youth and generational renewal is common also to the safety strategy in the station area of Reggio.

Second Wave Youth Arts in Lewisham, south east London, offers an interesting comparative experience as an intercultural centre based on young people which has helped them to address safety issues around gangs, violence and racist policing artistically and through dialogue with the police. Unusually urban youths more often disaffected and alienated by racial victimisation by the police and press, asked for the project.

6. Profile of Second Wave Youth Arts - meeting the police with SWAGGA

Second Wave Centre for Youth Arts is an innovative urban arts organisation for young people in Deptford, a poor, highly diverse working class area of the borough of Lewisham, in south-east London. The borough has a population of 250,000 with the highest percentage of black and minority ethnic residents in inner London, and also, in part, among the 10% most deprived areas of the country. The make-up of the centre reflects the highly ethnically mixed population of the area with young people, particularly African-Caribbean 2nd or 3rd generation, African and other global migrants and white British inner city youth.

The centre has a long history as a producer, specialising in musical and theatrical production, emerging from the mass of radical cultural organisations, which grew up in the 1970s and 80s funded by the Greater London Council, to enable people from different cultures and histories to have a voice and tell their own stories.

Individual Nurturing in a Community of Practice

In contrast to conventional youth ‘provision’, Ann Considine the founder and director of the Centre sums up the ethos and purpose of Second Wave:

“Second Wave has never run youth projects for or on behalf of young people but sought to take their own ideas seriously and create means and ways for them to pursue their aspirations and talents so they can express themselves. It’s absolutely key that they

redefine and recreate their own image of themselves and this is the place that nurtures and supports them and gives them the structure to do that.

So it is committed to the empowerment of each individual and their personal development but through active engagement and collaboration in a 'community of practice.' Its creative arts practice allows young people to experiment and take risks to find their own voice, identity and place within a defined and shared space:

This was summed up at the Second Wave seminar *Taking Risks, Staying Safe*:

*"The search for safety is set against the search for adventure: for young people who feel most vulnerable, the creative process allows expression and helps establish boundaries."*¹⁵²

Consequently it offers a framework for the transition from adolescence to adulthood especially of disadvantaged or disaffected young people which fosters their independence outside of familial constraints.¹⁵³ Distinctive in its participative, developmental approach, it offers peer group support as well as that of Second Wave's tutors and youth workers to young teenagers finding their feet. In the participatory workshops they can share their ideas, acquire skills and cultural capital, working out their particular creative path within the group. They are encouraged to collaborate, develop dedication to their craft and audience and to the wider community through volunteering. By the age of 16 they can train as peer leaders to mentor the younger ones and help them find their way, so their own experience feeds back into the organisation.

Outreach and Partnership

From 16-21 years of age, they also develop and jointly deliver workshops with the outreach team working in partnership with youth workers, police officers, teachers and students. Thus they accrue competences in strategic thinking, planning and collaborative problem-solving which enable them to go on to train – the Centre has a number of apprenticeships – or to university or to take up skilled work and also to become active citizens.

Through the process of critical reflection and open dialogue, a group in Second Wave devised work they took into Pupil Referral Units working with angry white working class boys. Out of the experience they developed contacts with young people who had been in such places and did collaborative research feeding back their stories into a dramatisation workshop.¹⁵⁴ In a similar way, the safety project with the police grew out of the direct experience of feeling unsafe on the street with the threat of violence and gang intimidation, police harassment and racial profiling through stop and

¹⁵² Second Wave seminar *Taking Risks, Staying Safe*, 4 August 2006.

¹⁵³ Research Report on Second Wave Youth Arts, op.cit., p.17

¹⁵⁴ Ann Considine, op.cit. November 2007

search. Second Wave provided a framework and process through which the young people who had experienced danger and discrimination could express their feelings and respond creatively. As Talmud Bah, lead writer and Associate Director at Second Wave put it:

*“Most young men are not in gangs but they get drawn in, or become victims. Our writing process enables young people to explore their stories and anxieties, support each other and even find positive solutions. At Second Wave young artists create the narrative.”*¹⁵⁵

Although Second Wave is an independent arts trust, Ann Considine has always recognised the sustained support of Lewisham council not only for Second Wave but also for the flourishing of community-based arts in the borough:

*“Lewisham is a really special borough in that respect, with so much knowledge and understanding of the arts, respect for youth arts particularly ... it’s become a centre of excellence for that in the borough.”*¹⁵⁶

The council has always encouraged community arts organisations to participate in wider networks and partnerships in the borough. Second Wave was already involved in a community partnership with the police – on the Lewisham Community Police Consultative group as far back as 2005 when Phil Turner, Second Wave’s Learning and Development Officer, began to attend meetings.

The SWAGGA Project

At Second Wave those involved in the project set up a safe place for a Speak Easy where young people who had any dealings with the police could feel free to express their feelings. Not everyone was willing to participate in the project –one young rapper did not want to sit in the same room as the police but chose to write lyrics about the issues instead.¹⁵⁷ The partnership was set up between Second Wave and the Metropolitan Police Service,¹⁵⁸ the Lewisham Community Police Consultative Group and the Territorial Support Group 4 (TSG4) and later the Lewisham Police.

In 2007 Second Wave initiated the SWAGGA project¹⁵⁹ with TSG4 as the special unit against gun crime and therefore armed, unlike the Met. constables on the beat. So this collaboration with the police stands in sharp contrast to community safety partnerships with the Municipal Police in Continental Europe, reflecting the greater gravity and scale of crime in a large metropolis, as well as the lack of a Municipal Police force directly paid for and accountable to the city in Britain.

¹⁵⁵ Second Wave website, <http://www.secondwave.org.uk/swagga.html>

¹⁵⁶ Ann Considine with the author, November 2007.

¹⁵⁷ Ann Considine *ibid*,

¹⁵⁸ The Metropolitan Police until January 2012 came under the control of the Home Office, though they were operationally independent, and paid for by the Greater London Authority (GLA) through a levy on council tax. Since 2012 the Met. is under the control of the Mayor’s Office and GLA.

¹⁵⁹ SWAGGA an ironic acronym for the assertive walk (swagger) African Caribbean men are often accused of on the street, turned back as a positive attribute in

However TSG4 officers at all levels, from constables to the Chief Inspector became involved in *Critical Encounters*,¹⁶⁰ coming to the monthly workshops out of uniform as the centre insisted:

*“The participation of police dressed in civilian clothes enables a different understanding of identity to merge during improvisation and interactive work, freeing up both the police and the young people present to move into new understandings of the person behind the mask of authority.”*¹⁶¹

Workshops on particular themes used improvisation and other interactive techniques including role play reversal, which proved so effective that the stop and search role reversal was performed at the Metropolitan Police Association’s London Conference on the subject. From the workshops, in 2008 the young people produced a training video - *Moving On: Young People and the Police* of their relations with the police and stop and search. They also developed stories, characters and narrative which went into the production in 2009 of *Swagga*, a musical dramatisation of their relationship to the police and the territory, gangs and drugs, which toured the borough.

A series of symposiums such as ‘*Walk In My Shoes*’ on stop and search in July 2007, ‘*Working in partnership*’ at Lewisham Police station, in May 2009 and ‘*Youth Creativity and Social Justice*’ in December 2009 were co-hosted by Second Wave and TSG4, combining discussion of different issues with performance to a wide range of partners and members of the community.

Second Wave also branched out into international partnership with the Open Society Institute’s Youth Initiative *My City Real World; Youth and Police in Europe* offering interactive workshops to an international weekend event it hosted in London in June 2010 and at the Rotterdam Conference *Together in Europe* in November 2010, where it collaborated with the Dutch police and youth groups.

With the further development of the *Critical Encounters* programme, the Outreach team set up drama workshops exploring safety issues and challenging stereotypes and mutual misconceptions of the police and young people. The workshops have toured to other London boroughs - Croydon, Kensington & Chelsea and South Lewisham - in partnership with TSG4, the local youth service and youth offending teams. The dynamic of the collaboration has not only brought in new partners, but extended to a new youth leadership training programme. Following short courses for 15-24 year-olds, Second Wave is now piloting a course “*Youth And Community Skills For Safer Neighbourhoods*” - designed by project participants with Lewisham Police.

¹⁶⁰ *Dying to Belong: An In-depth Review of Street Gangs in Britain*, Centre for Social Justice, 2009, pp. 178-9

¹⁶¹ Research Report, op.cit. pp.10-11

The Open College Network, London Region is working with Second Wave and the Metropolitan Police to ensure it is recognised as a national qualification.¹⁶²

Success and Further Development

The report on gangs by the Conservative thinktank, the Centre for Social Justice, *Dying to Belong*, recognised the special qualities of non-statutory youth projects such as Second Wave in offering:

“ ‘neutral’ ground for police and young people to interact. The relationship between third sector youth workers and young people is usually one of trust, and because the project is seen as independent from enforcement agencies there is greater potential for collaboration without the young people seeing police presence as a threat.”¹⁶³

It was so impressed with the workshops, it advised following Second Wave’s methods to break down barriers and hierarchies, recommending making them an integral part of police training and ensuring the rest of the police force underwent a minimum one-day workshop.

Second Wave’s innovative work in the SWAGGA project was recognised with awards from the Metropolitan Police Authority for Good Practice in Community Engagement in March 2007 and 2009 and a Commendation for Professionalism in Partnership Work. However the impact of the project on participants needs to be evaluated independently, to determine whether their relationship to the police whom they come across on the street, outside the safe confines of the project, has changed and whether the police treatment of young people in the borough has noticeably changed.

The question of other subjective feelings about the area, whether it feels safe from a spatial perspective are not addressed by the SWAGGA project. Yet the issue of safe space was raised in the past as the director of Second Wave recalled an apprentice from Catford:

“she didn’t feel safe in Deptford, she didn’t feel safe coming to Second Wave... the area, the streets, the neighbourhood didn’t feel safe at night and [then] Second Wave didn’t open at night ... [when] the first floor is all lit up... the rest of the building is completely dark.. if we didn’t exist here, this area would be darker and more foreboding.”¹⁶⁴

This underlines the need for safety strategies to go beyond community partnerships with the police, and become transversal, integrating other aspects of safety such as the built environment and urban design which are not in Second Wave’s remit – at least at present! - but are problematic. The perceived problem of heavy drinking on

¹⁶² Cheryl Brown, Second Wave Trustee, Report to the Lewisham Community Police Consultative Group, Annual Report 2011/2012

¹⁶³ *Dying to Belong* op.cit. p.178.

¹⁶⁴ Ann Considine, op.cit.

Deptford High St., opposite Second Wave's premises, was dealt with heavy-handedly by removing all the street benches. As intercultural planner, Richard Brecknock points out: "*A simple solution, but one which had the unfortunate consequence of depriving the public of a place to rest and a place to sit and soak up the wonderful multicultural atmosphere.*"¹⁶⁵

Nevertheless Second Wave's strength in this project derives from its creative capacity, as a producer, channelling young people's energies to give cultural form to their ideas and emotions so they have a powerful impact. Through creating and producing together, the young people have become highly skilled not only in their chosen art form but in listening, exchanging ideas, problem solving, negotiating, collaborating – the dialogical skills needed for civic participation and mediation. Second Wave as a space of dialogue between diverse young people and the police and other partners has linked them to the city's social and political networks and institutions, giving them confidence they can effect change.

7. Mondinsieme Intercultural Centre – between the strategic and local

Mondinsieme's Influence on the Safety Strategy in the Station Zone

Mondinsieme, the intercultural centre set up and funded by the city council which has now become an independent foundation still collaborates closely with the city in developing its intercultural policies. Yet, despite its citywide focus, it did not play a direct role in the safety policy in the station zone, although its influence can be felt in three distinct areas. Firstly it provided intercultural training for mediators at *SpazioRaga* and the Centre for Social Mediation. Elena Torelli referred directly to the impact of the director, Adil El Marouakhi's teaching on the course.¹⁶⁶ However one of the weaknesses of the safety project was that not all institutions undertook intercultural training, notably the Municipal Police. Marouakhi is critical of their failure to treat migrants and Italians with equal respect. Although they attract a very high volume of calls from Italians, they refuse to act as mediator, quelling the anxieties of the minority white population.¹⁶⁷ This echoes the disquiet that the Municipal Police have not co-operated fully with the Pact.¹⁶⁸ *Mondinsieme* has also provided training and occasional collaboration on individual projects to the leaders of the Reggio East Community Centre, but sees it as servicing its neighbourhood and local groups rather than as an intercultural centre with a city-wide remit.¹⁶⁹ Such a view underestimates the bridging role of the Community Centre, in bringing together

¹⁶⁵ Richard Brecknock, *More than just a bridge – planning and designing culturally*, Comedia, 2006, p.57.

¹⁶⁶ Elena Torelli, 8.3.12. op.cit.

¹⁶⁷ Interview Adil El Marouakhi, 8.3.12.

¹⁶⁸ Interview Franco Corradini I and II, 7.3.12.

¹⁶⁹ Adil El Marouakhi, *ibid.*

migrants and locals –artists, musicians and youth groups and different migrant associations under one roof, creating a mixed social space. This diminishes the importance of the mixed football teams and 167 festival, in taking an intercultural dynamic beyond the confines of the Centre into local public spaces.

A second feature of *Mondinsieme's* influence was felt in the relations with the Moroccan Government in the refurbishment of Paulonie Park. Samir Manai, the director of the Reggio East Centre referred to this 'beautiful initiative' as the product of contact with the Moroccan Consulate. In reality that was a small, but conspicuous part of a much bigger agreement between Reggio Emilia city council and the Moroccan government, covering the teaching of Arabic in all secondary schools.

Mondinsieme first of all made a cultural pact with its Moroccan counterpart, ONLUS for a pilot project to teach Arabic in two schools – one the *Liceo Moro* – a grammar school with only 6% foreign students, and the other *Filippo Re* secondary school with 38% foreign pupils. The Arabic course, offered to all students, had a high take-up particularly among Italian students:- 62 in the *Liceo* and 15 in *Filippo Re* - 12 Arabs and 3 Pakistanis. It showed that incorporating a minority language into the curriculum was not just for the benefit of foreigners but offered an intercultural experience to everyone. The Arab students felt their cultural esteem and confidence was also enhanced as they acted as language assistants in the final part of the lessons, doing oral practice with their peers.

*"They feel very motivated now because they feel bearers of a culture that now interests the other students. But until yesterday many risked being ashamed of their culture of origin because it was always badly presented. ... Now the teachers are happy, school is happy the teaching method is good, and the students are happy because they feel protagonists whereas yesterday they were seen very differently."*¹⁷⁰

It proved so successful that in the three-year cultural accord signed with Morocco, Arabic teaching was extended to all secondary schools in the city, with the teachers being provided and paid for by the Moroccan government. The scope of the project extended to include a language exchange of 14-18 year old school students and a university exchange of 18-24 year olds giving them the chance to study the language and culture in Morocco. The refurbishment of Paulonie Park with Moroccan mosaics decorating the children's theatre sought to integrate local Moroccan and Tunisian youth by incorporating familiar cultural symbols that would make them feel at home and build their attachment to the park and its care. The contribution of €50,000 by the Moroccan government was a gesture of support for the upgrading of the area enhancing the prestige of Moroccan culture in the eyes of the Reggio's citizens as well as a gesture of recognition of Moroccan youth.¹⁷¹

¹⁷⁰ Adil El Marouakhi, *ibid.*

¹⁷¹ Reggio Emilia guarda ad un progetto di convivenza e responsabilità rivolto ai giovani Mercoledì 16 Novembre 2011 www.immigrazioneoggi.it

Mondinsieme's role was strategic in linking an element of the urban renewal in the station area to the Cultural Accord, but its innovative impact derived from the far-reaching implications for intercultural education and for a new kind of 'urban foreign policy' it has opened up between the city and the countries of origin of its migrant population. In this case it enhanced the learning (and travel) opportunities and cultural offer to Reggio schools. Potentially such an urban foreign policy could include accords with other countries of origin of migrant groups, such as the Chinese and could extend beyond language to wider cultural and scientific exchanges and trade links.

The other background influence of *Mondinsieme* on the safety strategy was in its critical understanding of the media and how it shapes perceptions, and can be countered through undermining stereotypes and stigma. Changing the image and representation of the area in the media from a negative to a positive identity was as crucial to the safety strategy as renewing the physical environment. *Speciale Mondinsieme* dossiers in *Gazzetta di Reggio* from 2008 began to broaden the scope and change the tone of reportage on migration, basing it more on personal stories reflecting the interculturality that was a living reality in the city: for example a university researcher inspired by living for years with Arab neighbours, to learn Arabic and do his PhD on the Al-Jazeera network, who was proud to speak Arabic everyday on the street in Reggio.¹⁷²

Damiano Rizzoli, a specialist in cultural identity and the media, in charge of press and PR at *Mondinsieme* since 2009, insists that intervention in urban public space cannot succeed if divorced from intervention in virtual space,¹⁷³ which reshapes perceptions of the people and the area. The *Mondinsieme* approach has been to challenge both the negative image of migrants and the narrow conceptions of safety based on individual physical protection. It has shifted the focus onto universal symbols expressed through particular stories which are widely identified with and shared. Through the monthly page in *Gazzetta di Reggio* which it has supplied stories to since August 2008, and close editorial collaboration with *Il Resto del Carlino* since September 2011, it began to get intercultural voices and material into the mainstream press. The editor of *Il Resto del Carlino*, an old conservative provincial paper, is looking for talented 2nd generation journalists who can gather such human interest stories, but infuse them with new intercultural content which will attract new readers to the paper.

Rizzoli has been cultivating a group of 2nd generation and young Italian journalists – who are gathering and writing stories with an intercultural slant – globalisation stories of the 'New Reggiani' a new column in the *Gazzetta* - like that of J. Frozen a

¹⁷² *Gazzetta di Reggio*, 29th June 2008

¹⁷³ Interview Damiano Rizzoli, 6.3.12.

Nigerian Afro-pop star, winner of the South South Music award who lives in Reggio¹⁷⁴, or of the head of the Italian Institute in Tokyo who comes from Reggio. Since 2004, they have also made 10 tv. programmes in the *TV Bianco Nero e Colori - T.V. Black & White and Coloured* series, to give a different perspective on immigration with a mixed group of journalists funded by the region. The *Voci Plurali - Plural Voices* - project funded by the region under the protocol for intercultural communication, has been researching how both the Italian and immigrant population view migrant representation on the regional TV news networks. The website has also been developed as an interactive means to share intercultural stories and photos, reflecting the diverse make-up of the society. So their approach is not only concerned with foreigners, but foreigners in all their diversity and in their interactions with Italians and vice versa.

Young journalists are often recruited through schools workshops which also serve as a source for stories of discrimination and resistance which are otherwise difficult to track down as people are too afraid to speak out. Rizzoli has been fostering the group of young journalists by doing website training and running a monthly editorial group - *Mondinsieme Reporters* - with 12 of them, girls and boys of diverse backgrounds including 2 Pakistanis, a Nigerian and an Italian¹⁷⁵ -who bring ideas for stories, scout call centres or sports events to pick up good stories and hone their writing and editing skills in different media. Yet despite the new talent they find in schools, attracting young people with long-term commitment remains hard, except where world events galvanise a group as Egyptian youth like Randa Ghazi were by the Arab spring, which stimulated a wave of new writing.¹⁷⁶ To draw in and train more young people, the editorial group has recently set up a free course in critical analysis of the media and its coverage to set news events in their wider, historical and global context.¹⁷⁷ In these ways, the centre is building a pool of skilled intercultural journalists who have begun to have an impact in diversifying the media landscape.

2nd generation civic activism and intercultural dialogue

The centre also specialises in projects with second generation young people capitalising on their dual cultural heritage to facilitate dialogue and cultural interchange with Italian youth. They have fostered their civic activism by encouraging them to use the space for meeting and debating issues such as denied citizenship, racism, national identity and cultural denigration. The young people have developed a high degree of articulacy in argument combined with mutual respect, captured in the series of videos they have co-produced such as *Il Razzismo spiegato dai Ragazzi - Racism explained by young people-* and *Reggio Città Mondo - Reggio, City, World.*

¹⁷⁴ *Il Resto del Carlino* 17 October 2011

¹⁷⁵ Daniele Petroni, one of Mondinsieme Reporters, joint interview Mondinsieme, 9.3.12.

¹⁷⁶ on Randa Ghazi, see *Gazzetta di Reggio*, 25 March 2012.

¹⁷⁷ <http://www.mondinsieme.org/2012/progetti/leggere-il-mondo>

Video has been developed in an innovative way to capture distinctive cultural symbols and voices and the intercultural dynamics of dialogue between them and is prized as:

*'one of the key languages of the Intercultural Centre, Mondinsieme as it can offer not only an expressive space, accessible to everyone but also an authoritative perspective which allows the recording and framing of reality, albeit through the subjectivity of the filmmaker'*¹⁷⁸

Under GECCO - *Giovani e Voluti e Consapevoli* (Youth eVolved and Conscious) - a national cultural initiative which ran from 2007-9 supported by the region, *Mondinsieme* proposed an intercultural-dialogue project to link up the informal youth groups and movements scattered throughout the region, many inspired and trained by *Mondinsieme*, who could initiate intercultural dialogue projects in schools, neighbourhoods and at dedicated events.¹⁷⁹ GA3 (Generazione Associazione 3 - Association of Youth mark 3) was set up to bring all these movements together, attracting other youths from different backgrounds who brought other kinds of skills from the internet and web design and rap. GA3, based in Reggio, came together with five other associations- *Asso Cina*, Bologna; *Wor(l)d* in Sassuolo, *Arcobaleno* in Rimini; *Arcimondo* in Bologna and Next Generation Italy in Imola to form the *Together* Network at the regional level. *Together* is committed to diffusing the practice of dialogue in schools -among youth groups and in local neighbourhoods throughout the region. The bilingual video - *Being young in Emilia Romagna. Conversations*, and *Giovani di ER* (Youth of Emilia Romagna) recount the history of the *Together* network.¹⁸⁰ The project brought together dispersed groups of 2nd generation and Italian intercultural practitioners, creating a coherent network across the region to spread dialogue practice at micro level, enabling them to pool their experiences and resources and end their isolation.

Mondinsieme Initiatives in Urban Public Space

Mondinsieme has begun to foster cultural expression of urban youth in the city through working with secondary schools in the *RemixRemake* project, to promote a Rap Day, showcasing hip hop, breakdance and performance poetry of culturally diverse solo artists, and bands like the *BadStardi*, (a mix of Somalian, Moroccan, German and Po river plain). It has also started to programme urban and world music, such as inviting the F.E.W. collective from Chicago - a socially engaged and Muslim-inspired rap group -for the UNESCO World Day of Cultural Diversity in May 2012.

Yet as an intellectual thinktank, focusing an intercultural lens on social institutions throughout the city - encompassing local media, schools, museums, business and the

¹⁷⁸ *La terra, i luoghi, la memoria, la storia e il transitare del migrante*, Centro Interculturale Mondinsieme, www.mondinsieme.org/wp/wp-content/uploads/downloads/2012/01/S-Paesamento-La-terra-i-luoghi-la-memoria-la-storia-e-il-transitare-del-migrante.pdf

¹⁷⁹ Interview Marta Woldigz, 5.3.12.

¹⁸⁰ Mahta Woldigz, *ibid*

healthcare system, *Mondinsieme* itself does not function as a public space of interaction – as a neighbourhood intercultural centre would, producing new culture through cultural mixing and joint projects. Although an imposing country-style lodge, it functions more as an office and place for meetings – for the national migrant associations, the editorial group, the 2nd generation youth and other collaborators. At the intersection of two wooded roads, it is situated in the southern district – *Circoscrizione Sud* – which paradoxically has the lowest density and yet highest absolute number of migrants in the city. (See photo 10.)



Photo 10 *Mondinsieme* building

Nevertheless it is also branching out into intercultural public space in the adjacent, unfortunately named Baden Powell park. The project is an initial experiment testing out ideas of how the public space can be transformed to reflect the cultural diversity of the local population. Adil El Marouakhi conceptualises the cultural differences in the use of space between north and south – within Italy and beyond, between an aesthetic concept of the public garden to be viewed and admired without touching and a relational concept of public space as a place for socialising and chatting, eating and drinking in the open air. This carnivalesque and informal use of space, which many migrant groups share with southern Italians, is often misread as transgressive or even as anti-social behaviour and foreigners are made to feel unwelcome. *Mondinsieme* seeks to redefine public space in an inclusive way, incorporating diverse symbols of the plural cultural make-up of the city, at the same time as introducing shared recreations or new games. As a place of conflict as well as intercultural exchange, El Marouakhi argues that the public space has to be kept open by openly contesting threats to it – whether from drugs or cultural prejudice.

The project to create an intercultural park on its doorstep began modestly responding to the separate usages of the park by mothers and babies and the elderly who did not interact. Through using the cultural expertise of different national migrant

associations, they offered activities to address both needs – to keep fit and exercise but also the desire to beautify the body through a summer taster programme in 2011. Every Saturday, Ahmed, a young Egyptian instructor with the UESP sports federation offered outdoor gymnastics for older people, and every other Saturday Asma, a young Muslim woman who collaborates with the Centre, carried out henna tattooing on women of all ages. They were so surprised at the size and warmth of the response that they extended the gymnastics to young children the following summer. The henna tattooing created an opportunity not only to learn about the cultural meaning of henna in Morocco, but also to get to know each other and share a certain intimacy. The elderly Italian women rejected henna tattooing on the hands and feet at first because of the use of needles but two Egyptian women broke the ice while the others watched. Then many small children wanted it done and gradually the older women, even an 80 year old succumbed. The women felt comfortable enough to ask Asma, who wears a headscarf, about what it meant to her. She had only ever experienced prejudice in wearing it, never curiosity. For her this initiative represented “*the maximum of integration.*”¹⁸¹

Mahta Woldigz, who is responsible for projects and partnerships with Associations, youth, women, including the park project at *Mondinsieme* sees it as a step in a process of diffusing new kinds of recreational activities, traditional games and sports of different countries across the existing spaces in the city, multiplying the occasions for intercultural exchange.¹⁸² The success of the method depends on finding pursuits which have resonance across different cultures, in which people actively participate themselves and do not just watch from the sidelines. Such active engagement is what brings people into contact and dialogue with each other.

The director also envisages changing local public space by diversifying the cultural offer in the neighbourhood, drawing on the resources of the migrant associations and foreign artists – enabling them to gain recognition and livelihood. Since this entails considerable financial outlay and sponsors to invest in costly equipment, it remains a longer term objective. However the Chair of the *Circoscrizione* who oversees the park and funds small-scale cultural initiatives raises the problem of ‘*of doing things for others*’, underlining the concern that “*people must feel protagonists of the thing.*”¹⁸³ rather than occasional consumers. In the mean time, *Mondinsieme* has begun to transform the centre itself into a more open cultural space. It remains to be seen whether it can bridge the gap between being a strategic intercultural centre spreading an intercultural methodology, programming and practice across the city and also act as a neighbourhood intercultural centre which enables local residents to become

¹⁸¹ Asma in Joint Interview, Mondinsieme, 9.3.12.

¹⁸² Mahta Woldigz, op.cit.

¹⁸³ Interview Gianni Prati, Presidente Circoscrizione Sud, 6.3.12.

protagonists in sharing and producing new culture, transforming the local public space in a permanent way.

8. Centro Interculturacidae, Lisbon - producing Conviviality on a shoestring

The *Centro Interculturacidae* –the ‘Centre of the Intercultural City’ – has played no role in the safety and integration strategy of GCAL in Alta de Lisboa as there has been no collaboration between the two. The Centre is situated in Baixo Chiado in *Poço de Negros*, the historic place of African settlement in the city centre in the south, far from the periphery of Alta de Lisboa - north Lisbon. However the lack of contact not only reflects the geographical distance but also gaps in the networks of those working interculturally in local communities and the lack of direct links between them and the city council which deprives GCAL as much as *Interculturacidae* of an exchange of ideas and practice.

A meeting place to socialise and interact

The Centre itself is a self-managed, unfunded public space which grew out of an NGO *Etnia* founded on international solidarity and cultural exchange with cultures of former Portuguese colonies and Brazil. Its founders were a mixed group of artists and cultural activists of the ‘68 era, including the director, Mario Alves, Vera Rocha –a Cape Verdean who studied performance and street arts and is now project manager, the famous Portuguese theatre director, Helda Costa and Cape Verdean photographer Jorge Martins. The centre is multi purpose and pluralist - not just for migrants but for a mix of Cape Verdeans, Angolans, Mozambicans, people from Guinea Bissau, São Tomé and Príncipe, Brazilians, Portuguese and others. People come to do workshops or see an exhibition but are often drawn in by intercultural dinners where food, poetry and music of different cultures is shared.

As a meeting place, it is the first port of call of migrant artists –who are lost in the city and looking for a home. It is also a place that sets their talents to work. Ottavio Chamba, a Mozambican musician and artisan came upon the centre by chance when he caught sight of the Mozambican flag in its window: “*Discovering the centre was a good thing for me because it was a space to implement my project - above all to teach people to construct musical instruments from recycled materials.*”¹⁸⁴ For artists it is a place where they mix and make close friends with people from many different ethnic backgrounds.¹⁸⁵ For Portuguese civil engineer, Luis Alves, it has enabled him to get to

¹⁸⁴ Interview Ottavio Chamba 27.3.12.

¹⁸⁵ Interview Jorge Martins, 26.03.12.

know the local community in a deeper way, not just in passing, and has helped him cope with the economic crisis and his own job loss.¹⁸⁶

The Centre's approach to identity

As a magnet for artists, it is a centre of collaborative artistic innovation, improvising solutions which link cultural production to ecology and recycling. Mario Alves, the Centre's director defines the value of culture as '*a tool of local development*' as the artistic work always expresses both individual and collective emotions and identities. The Centre's approach is informed by the belief that the denial of identities is a major cause of xenophobia, so it gives space to them but through the artistic process of crossing cultural boundaries, opens up possibilities of change. Mario Alves sums up their philosophy:

*"Live together, don't give up your identities but also don't stick too much to an immobile notion of identity because identity is something that is always changing and try to value the good things that exist in this diversity....We all have things that are very interesting in our identities but ... we don't know it."*¹⁸⁷

The Centre is rooted in the locality, a compact area of close-knit sloping cobbled streets and alleyways. It has built close relationships with local people, retrieving the cultural history of diverse settlement in the neighbourhood. In 2004, they put on a special anniversary exhibition to celebrate the life of B'Leza, the beloved Cape Verdean songwriter responsible for most of Cesare Evora's songs, who had arrived with his band in 1940, and stayed on in the Little Cape Verde district, mixing in with the local people. His memory is implanted in the neighbourhood through a commemorative plaque on the wall, picturing him playing his guitar and every year his life is celebrated in an anniversary party. Another project aimed at retrieving the intercultural make-up of the area, by producing a pamphlet *Gentes do Meu Bairro* (People of my Neighbourhood) of photos and interviews with 11 people in *Poço de Negros* - including Portuguese, Bangladeshi,¹⁸⁸ Nepalese, Pakistani¹⁸⁹, French - about their lives and what they particularly liked about living there. (See photos 11 a, b, c.) Antonio Tovaes, the Cape Verdean dance teacher at the Centre, stressed the importance of the Centre's location in *Poço de Negros* because it makes visible the history of the city as multicultural, from as far back as the 16th century.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁶ Interview Lusi Alves, 27.3.12.

¹⁸⁷ Interview Mario Alves, 24.3.12.

¹⁸⁸ Soraya, Surama a Bangladeshi shopkeeper, 32 years old, 8 years in Portugal – the caption says: "I like living in this neighbourhood.... because I know everybody"

¹⁸⁹ Mohammed Ameen Pakistani tailor, 34 , 8 years in Portugal –the caption reads "I like living in this neighbourhood because Lisbon in Portugal is like Lahore in Pakistan"

¹⁹⁰ Antonio Tovaes, Action Research Workshop, 29.3.12.



Photo 11 a, b, c Cover, Bangladeshi & Pakistani

Neighbourhood Identity and Safety

The sense of the Centre enlivening the area making it convivial and feel safe - though not a focus of the Centre - is reflected in the feedback from the street survey.

A forty year-old Portuguese waitress who had visited an exhibition at the Centre which she had liked, praised it as *“unusual; here in this area we do not have anything..... As I can see they are doing a good job and it is essential at least for the elderly people to feel safer”*. She felt the area had become safer over the previous five years as *“before we could not walk on the street, we were afraid.”* A Cape Verdean woman shopkeeper who knew of the Centre because it was nearby responded *“I know that the centre has helped many people, mainly young people and children for instance, providing them with internet; they used to have a lot of children and young people there [in the old premises]”*. One Portuguese man calling himself *‘a son of the neighbourhood’*, who used to attend the centre and made a lot of Cape Verdean friends there, recognized the centre as a stimulus to young people- *“...children from the neighbourhood (the new generation), of different cultures, ... learned new things there - internet, sports - there had been an event with two of the best Portuguese athletes which stimulated them.”* A Portuguese economist affirmed that *“the centre plays an important role in this area, an intercommunity role, and it can develop this function, but it is still poorly supported by the official authorities.”*

Yet conviviality does not translate automatically into a sense of safety for everyone. The Portuguese coffee shop owner who has lived in the area for 35 years and knows the Centre members as customers, argued that while it contributes to the liveliness of the area, *“I don't think that the centre's role is to work in that specific area [of safety] it would be essential to have more safety, especially now that we do not have agents at night.”* An Angolan Portuguese bricklayer who had heard of the centre, though not used it, thought the area was calm, except at weekends in the downtown part of the neighbourhood where more police were needed on the streets. One person also commented on the limits of the Centre: *“they normally just open the centre for those who are invited to go there.”* Although it is open to everyone to drop in, and events are only restricted by the need to know numbers in advance, its opening hours are

restricted by lack of staff resources. In practice this inhibits local people from dropping in and treating it as an open space.

Making intercultural art and creating conviviality

As well as retrieving the historic identity of the neighbourhood it also retrieves diverse artistic traditions from artists' backgrounds or training. Although the arts practised in the centre draw on traditional skills and crafts they are translated through an intercultural idiom.



Photo 12 Ceramics and Sculpture Workshop

The Portuguese ceramicist, Miguel Morais works with the quieter and more tactile traditional wheel, having learnt his craft from Indian masters, the elder of whom had learnt his ceramics techniques in Japan. Morais also learnt a coil technique from a Cape Verdean potter so he can make *cous cous* pots.¹⁹¹ He shares the studio with an Angolan sculptor, Malenga who makes both traditional African wood sculpture and modernist metal forms, and both offer workshops to the centre. (See photo 12.)

¹⁹¹ Interview Miguel Morais, 26.3.12.



Photo 13 a, b Ottavio Chamba with musical instruments he made

Ottavio Chamba also runs workshops making traditional musical instruments – drum, percussion and string instruments from recycled materials. (See photos 13 a & b.) The instruments, particularly the drums are used in music workshops and music making forms an integral part of programming with young people – for example when a European youth exchange was held at the Centre in March 2012. (See photos 14 a & b.)



Photo 14 a, b Drumming workshop and European youth exchange spontaneous concert

Whenever they take a workshop out to communes or community centres around Lisbon, it is very popular with young Portuguese but it also attracts young people from African communities who have only vague knowledge of African drums but

have never seen or played them and are drawn to an African teacher. To satisfy the demand they bought 15 djembe drums to set up a permanent percussion workshop. They are hoping to form a percussion band from the neighbourhood that will be able to tour and spread the idea of intercultural music-making. Mario Alves defines the purpose of the intercultural centre as disseminating the intercultural practice of living together – rather than reproducing itself in other centres:

*“maybe we should replicate an idea,....a concept, not of space but ...of conviviality. So perhaps the best way to replicate what we try to do here is not to open a centre but to set up ten percussion bands. Or in another neighbourhood we might come to the conclusion the best thing to do is open an intercultural restaurant.”*¹⁹²

As a cultural animator the Centre acts an intercultural lifeline to small, scattered parishes, community centres and schools around Lisbon, offering workshops and Creole classes. Children’s workshops like the project in Villa Franca de Xirca and Alverca, paid for by the community centre, which aimed to improve relationships between the parents and children, engage them in shared activities – such as percussion and painting workshops using recycled materials, theatre, sports races and discussion of racism.¹⁹³

They recognise that such initiatives are needed on a regular basis in the local neighbourhood. Although the Centre was prevented by the Ministry of Education from doing a project with the local school, it has built close relations with the head teacher and is collaborating with him to set up an after-school club to help children with maths and Portuguese homework. Toni, a youth and community worker from the neighbourhood who collaborates with the Centre, is developing a football team to draw young people off the streets, reutilising the spare equipment and kit of the now defunct Sports Association.

As an intercultural space that helps people develop projects, it also attracts many young arts practitioners and young people with ideas or knowledge they want to share – a Chinese girl has offered a workshop on shadow puppets, an English girl wants to put on an English language course, a Portuguese theatre specialist has proposed doing expressive theatre for children but also wants to experiment with theatre for the elderly. The Centre has already worked inter-generationally with internees from a school who put on an afternoon tea concert for 14-15 grandparents at the Centre. It has proposed a follow-up programme of participatory cultural activities including drama to the Day Centre looking after the elderly people.¹⁹⁴

Experimenting and Capacity Building

¹⁹² Interview Mario Alves, 24.3.12.

¹⁹³ Interview Vera Rocha, 20.9.12.

¹⁹⁴ Vera Rocha, op.cit.

Through collaborating with the Centre, young people, artists, women and marginalised people have the opportunity to experiment with an idea, but also find the support to develop it into a project and bring it to fruition. Vera Rocha, the only other paid worker at the Centre, as well as graphic designer, website curator and cook, operates as project manager. Her work is to gather ideas, challenging people to develop them into projects and then she looks for the resources to implement them.

Through collaborating in projects, people also gain new skills and confidence which enhances their cultural and social capital, improving their opportunities.

Working with a group of 18-25 year old Angolans, Cape Verdeans, Brazilians and Portuguese who had been using the Centre for the internet, Vera Rocha challenged them to dream up a project - 'Paint the music' - resulted, combining art and music. The group began to meet regularly to develop the idea, and she found them the funding. But they only completed the first phase as some of the unemployed members found jobs and one member, Danilo Lopes, who moved away, now plays in the *Todos* festival orchestra.

While one strand of the Centre's work focused on training and skilling of economically marginalised people, such as migrant women, has been funded by the EU EQUAL programme, one of its innovative features has been to address economic issues artistically - making something out of nothing - through using recycled materials, exchanging skills and talents as services, or objects or time, creating value in kind rather than money, that not only addresses the Centre's financial hardship creatively but also has a wide resonance in the economic crisis among people who are on low incomes or unemployed.

Alternative Economy - creating value

Another group in the Centre is dedicated to exploring the conceptual and practical possibilities of the alternative economy. They began holding fortnightly social fairs or solidarity markets, experimenting with barter and showcasing some green innovations like a solar-powered oven. In the summer they aimed to the social market to the square outside as part of the wider aim of retrieving public spaces.¹⁹⁵ For Ottavio Chamba it serves as one of the few contact points in Lisbon to find fellow musicians, offering opportunities to make trade contacts and friends. Through it, he met a Peruvian store-owner, who sells musical instruments with whom he collaborates transporting them in her van to other fairs. As she is Latin American, he helps her relate to the Africans who are the main customers at the market. Through the *Interculturacidade* fair, he made friends with a girl who exchanges DVDs of films she has already seen, establishing a network of friends who swap and discuss films. She also helps Chamba to source low-cost musical equipment and find contacts. So the fair expands the social capital of its participants, by connecting them to networks which create economic, social or cultural value and also become friendship networks.

¹⁹⁵ Alexandre Periera, Action Research Workshop, 29.3.12

As Chamba sums up the ethos of the solidarity market: *"It's better to have a friend than a lot of money in the bank."*¹⁹⁶ Meeting in the Centre every week, the alternative economy group seeks to develop the space for collaboration with social activists and ecology movements, implementing and spreading ideas it has experimented in the social fairs. As Luis Alves, one of the members of the group expressed it: *"We have ideas, meetings, we need to do things in the field and not only speak.... We need to act. This is good for us... We have the space here to implement these ideas."*¹⁹⁷

The Development of Intercultural Services

Originally the Centre developed services for migrants to counter discrimination and deficits in provision for them, especially those migrants deemed 'illegal'. Funded through the EU's EQUAL programme, it started Portuguese language classes open to all without inquiring into legal status. These classes have met ongoing demand for example from local Nepalese and Pakistani residents: in April 2012 25 people registered for the course but numbers have dwindled through lack of funding for the teacher and lack of publicity.

In thinking interculturally about potential services, the Centre drew on the fact that two out of three Portuguese have a relative who is a migrant or former migrant as an untapped resource of fellow feeling or curiosity about the other. So it decided to provide Creole classes. Starting in 2010 in the Centre's old premises, the classes struck a chord not only with existing Creole speakers, but with Portuguese interested in learning the Cape Verdean language, drawn to it by family ties, or love of the country and its culture, or because they work for companies which operate there. The classes of ten have continued to run – so far eight times. Partly under financial pressure to find new funding streams for the centre, it proved the potential of services to fill cultural gaps and draw on intercultural propensities in Portuguese people.

International network of cultural exchange and artist' residencies

From the early days of ETNIA, the Centre developed an international network of artistic exchanges especially with Brazil and Cape Verde. These grew in scale from a language festival in Lagos in the Algarve to the 2004 *Ponta de Lengue - On the Tip of the Tongue*- festival of Portuguese speaking peoples in five cities in Brazil, the Lusophone African countries and Cape Verde which included photography, music and theatre. Such international exchanges connect the intercultural public space beyond the locality and reconnect it to migrants' places and cultures of origin while transforming historically exploitative economic relations of the colonial era into a reciprocal cultural exchange.

¹⁹⁶ Ottavio Chamba op.cit.

¹⁹⁷ Interview Luis Alves, 27.3.12.



Photo 15 a, b St. Andrew's Manse, glimpse possible artist's room

These international networks feed back into art projects in Lisbon. One of most ambitious yet unrealised projects which has come out of *Interculturacidade's* international networks links them to intervention in local urban public space. The project was for international artists' residencies based in St Andrew's Scottish Presbyterian Church, in Lapa, - a diplomatic quarter of Lisbon 20 minutes away from the Centre. (See photos 15 a & b.) The huge manse adjacent to the church offered comfortable rooms for up to twenty artists and shared studio space. The *Arriaga Manse Arts* project, developed by two collaborators with the Centre - Alexandra Pereira and Fernando Cardoso in partnership with the Church, was aimed at socially engaged international artists who would, as part of their brief, provide on the one hand for the needs of St. Andrew's congregation through concerts, debates, art auctions and activities with the youth group. On the other hand, they would engage with the local communities, particularly through animation of the local square opposite the Museum of Ancient Art in Lapa, and by holding workshops, screenings and debates in the Manse and at *Interculturacidade* which would also host weekly intercultural dinners. The partnership married the values and perspectives of both organisations :- equality, mutual respect and a positive valuing of cultural and religious diversity, support for the most excluded "*whose access to culture and education is too often disregarded or defective;*" ¹⁹⁸ dialogue and sharing knowledge between generations and social groups, solidarity, and compassion. It sought to promote sustainable ecology, animation of cultural spaces and engagement of marginalised through artistic projects.

¹⁹⁸ "Arriaga Manse Arts. Inclusive and Creative International Residencies – proposed partnership between ACI – Interculturacidade Centre and St. Andrew's Church (Lisbon)" p.2.

The many possibilities of the project foundered on the break-up of the personal relationship between the two collaborators, one of whom had brought with her an extensive network of artistic partners, without which the project would have no collaborative base. It underlines the dangers when the core group promoting a project is too narrow and personalised, rather than shared within a wider group. It undermined both the project and the partnership with the Church, losing an extraordinary space and opportunity. Nevertheless the idea of socially engaged artists' residencies combines *Interculturacidade's* strengths in international networks and in intercultural interventions in public space and remains a project-in-waiting.

Future Development of the Space

There is no shortage of ideas for the future development of the Centre. It is envisaging establishing permanent workshops that would provide paid employment to a dozen artistic collaborators and be sold as services to other neighbourhoods and community centres. The space itself of *Interculturacidade* would also become more multifunctional with a documentation centre and archive of its history and as an arts space become convertible to a cinema and concert room. Yet the Centre is so financially constrained, it produces many more ideas for projects and uses of space than it can support.

Constraints

The main constraints on the Centre reaching its full potential in its new building are limited publicity and communications and insufficient paid staff which, at root, come back to the lack of secure funding. That, in turn, is linked to a political constraint - the lack of recognition of the Centre by the city council and its distant relations with it.

The Centre has not developed a communications strategy until very recently, tending to rely on Facebook, word-of-mouth, talking to people who come to the Centre for one event and getting them involved on a more regular basis. In May 2012 the photographer, Jorge Martins set up a team on a voluntary basis, including Vera Rocha as website curator and intern and volunteer students of media and film, with the commitment of the Centre to employ him on a paid basis in a public relations role as the budget allows. The team began to produce flyers to advertise events, distributing them on the surrounding streets. So the reach of publicity is still quite limited although more professional. It still needs to plug into city networks so it can extend its reach beyond the neighbourhood.

The constraints on funding have led the Centre to improvise in imaginative ways - selling services, such as communications work, renting out rooms as rehearsal spaces to artists and musicians, running a catering service for special events - group dinners birthday parties, conferences; developing internships to draw on students' specialist skills and time, while giving them the space to experiment and gain experience. In a new Leonardo da Vinci funded partnership project, the Centre will receive three internees, organise a programme for them including work experience with partner

organisations in Brazil and Cape Verde and be paid for the service. One of the innovative sources of finance has been crowd funding for small projects with partners who themselves have little or no funding – as is the case of the Daycare Centre. Previously these projects were part funded, through small grants for overheads and expenses, but the funding was not continuous or secure and has dried up.

Educational and training projects have been funded by the EU through the EQUAL programme and Grundtvig support for lifelong learning which pays in advance. However, the myriad of small arts initiatives which make up the Centre's core activities are funded on an *ad hoc* basis. The *Fregesia* district council, while it has no money is supportive through free loan of equipment, projection and seating for events. But the central problem remains that *Interculturacidade* has no core funding from the city council, nor any of the concessions – of free use of premises, centralised marketing and publicity and being linked via the city's networks to all the other intercultural and community centres and initiatives which other unfunded intercultural centres enjoy. It remains an unrecognised and undervalued resource for the city, improvising solutions that are extremely time-consuming and one-off, that can divert the Centre from its main aims and undermine its strategic development.

However in 2012 for the first time *Interculturacidade* was invited to participate in the *Todos* festival, previously located exclusively in Moreria but which shifted part of the festival to Poço de Negros. As the key intercultural festival in the city, it marks an important first step of recognition of the area and of *Interculturacidade's* significance in it. It put on music courses and performances, a photographic exhibition, and *Todos* brought people to intercultural dinners at the centre. All the events were centrally marketed and advertised in the Festival brochure. However, the work was poorly funded with musicians being paid but not the craftspeople and photographers.

The Festival organisers also expected volunteers to transport the photographs to the exhibition space and handicrafts to the centrally located store showcasing them. Since many of the Centre artists and collaborators are unemployed, they were reluctant to transport their artwork without being offered expenses or hospitality. They also felt it competed with the showcase that had just been established in the studio at the Centre. The ambivalent attitude of the organisers in treating the labour of artisans on very low incomes as though it came for free and could be transported for free caused resentment. While including the Centre in *Todos* festival gave recognition and publicity to the Centre, some of the artists felt it had not respected or valued them. The *Todos* festival has been handed over to a private company with a well-paid executive, who runs it on behalf of the council, not on equitable lines. It did not collaborate with the Centre as a partner on an equal footing. This touches on a wider problem that the political authorities – not only the council but also the Ministry of Education refuse to engage in equal partnership relations with civil society organisations.

For its part, the Centre has its own democratic limitations often aggravated by the constant financial insecurity and frenetic search for funding. This can also cause friction if one moment the studio has been promised to artists and then is rented out because of pressing financial need. The overreliance on a small historic core which was very big at the start but has now shrunk to two paid staff, three board members and a general assembly that meets only twice a year can lead to too tight a circle making decisions without fresh eyes or the alternative views of outsiders. It gives room to personal rivalries and conflict which would be curbed by a wider group of collaborators. The idea of setting up Friends of the Centre could help stabilise it with a regular, if modest income stream, but it does not address the issue of more open debate and critical reflection on the priorities and strategy for the Centre, how to deepen young people's involvement and commitment from one project to another and build a lively and ongoing community of practice.¹⁹⁹ That would enable the Centre to become as the reference point for intercultural experiment and conviviality in the neighbourhood and in public spaces in and around the city.

9. Conclusions

The characteristics of intercultural safety policies

Synthesising the feedback from all the surveys done in Reggio, Alta on the impact of the safety strategies on public perceptions, no decisive pattern emerges - there is no overwhelming endorsement of any change or even agreement that it has taken place, except for expanding participation in Reggio. Genuine ongoing participation of civic, and migrant associations, social and community groups at the outset in the planning stage accounts for the degree of success of both the Pact for Convivial Living and GCAL's community policing project with the Municipal Police in Alta.

The varied and rich feedback also indicates the complex interaction of many factors that make up safety. The quality of public space - such as access to open spaces, meeting places to socialise, neighbourly relations - figures in many guises in the mosaic of reactions. To be responsive to these myriad elements, safety has begun to be redefined, not in terms of crime but in terms of the positive qualities of public space that make all groups and individuals feel safe, recognised and accepted in their locality and city and feel part of it.

Reggio and GCAL safety strategies were more effective because they were transversal: in Reggio's case ranging across institutional renewal as well as urban renewal, public space, mediation and conflict management, the media and cultural policy. In Alta safety strategy centred on community policing that touched on cultural policy, social

¹⁹⁹ E.Wenger *Communities of Practice: Learning, Meaning, and Identity*, Cambridge University Press 1998

institutions and support, drug rehabilitation, neighbourly relations, inter-institutional relations – between the Municipal Police and different departments of the city council. The Municipal Police and Sandra Menezes in the Urban Planning department of the council are performing a function of ‘linking capital’ – enhancing the social capital of the community by plugging it in directly to local government departments, short-circuiting bureaucratic obstruction.²⁰⁰ The effect of linking policy areas set in train fruitful collaborations and a creative dynamic. Participatory planning in the urban renewal had a galvanising effect on migrants and younger locals, bringing the new social space into being – the Reggio Est Community Centre – and through its activity a newsletter, cultural programme and festival. This underlines the demand for social aggregation, a place to debate ideas and organise a communal voice. The Pact revitalised participation in planning but also in its early phase engaged migrants without representation or voice in democratic processes.

While political legitimacy for the council relies primarily on Italian voters as new migrants and even 2nd generation youth are excluded from citizenship and voting rights, the danger remains that politicians, even those initiating the Pact for Convivial Living, will be more influenced by the fears of their ageing white voters, the more so in times of crisis, than by the needs of new migrants and 2nd generation young people. So despite the innovative media strategy to counteract racial stereotyping with stories of individual lives, there is still a certain reticence in challenging stereotypes head-on in political discourse and face-to-face with elderly residents.

Community policing through partnership with the Municipal Police forms only one element of an intercultural safety policy, but a significant one as it works in a preventive way to de-escalate conflict, acting to minimise the potential for violence to develop. The head of Municipal Police in Alta showed clear leadership in affirming that community policing could not be a technique for increasing police efficiency at detection or intelligence gathering without undermining trust. The practice of the MP in Alta has been committed to integrating into GCAL and to getting close and collaborating with the civic and social organisations representing the community from the start. Although only two officers patrol the streets for the whole of Alta, and one of them is a Mozambiquan Portuguese, the team as a whole is not representative of the population it serves, not only in a strict proportional sense but in terms of deep cultural knowledge and understanding. The lack of diversity in the police-force weakens the relationship of the MP to such a diverse community. An active policy to promote particularly Roma and African Portuguese in the force would also symbolise a commitment to act positively to counter discrimination and to become fully representative of the diversity of the local community.

²⁰⁰ R. Putnam, *Bowling Alone. The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000.

The lack of an active anti-discrimination discourse and action limits the impact of the policy on the safety of those migrant and ethnic minority groups which have already been stigmatised or victimised. While the media associates specific ethnic groups with particular crimes, there is a reluctance by the authors of the safety policies to challenge the racialising of cultural differences where these are associated with anti-social behaviour, such as single homeless African men sitting at a table and drinking in Paulonie Park or Roma taking their horses to drink in the park. Part of ensuring that cultural differences enhance safety is by valuing rather than deriding them. This requires actively enforcing an anti discrimination framework and intervening to change mentalities. Intercultural Centres with a specialism in artist-led projects can help to unstick these stereotypes and create new, more positive connections to the cultures behind them. The intercultural centres are a resource which could help challenge the demonization of particular ethnic groups.

Yet a de-ethnicised approach to dealing with social problems is bearing fruit.

The social roots of problems of unemployment, indebtedness, deprivation have been implicitly recognised as problems of class and poverty and not as ethnic problems peculiar to migrants. In Alta children in social housing are given priority in the local primary schools over private tenants because of social deprivation, rather than their ethnicity. In Reggio they are getting to grips with the indebtedness of the condominiums by practically disentangling those too poor to pay service charges - both Italians and migrants who have lost their jobs - from freeloaders.

The promotion of mediation as a way of resolving conflict and helping people to live together with understanding in Reggio Emilia has set in motion a cultural change among the flat dwellers, young and old of different ethnicities. The city council's policy of housing management has also begun to modify the overall ethnic and social composition of the population, albeit modestly, in an intercultural direction. Such a policy shift in housing management by the city council has not taken place in Alta de Lisboa.

The safety strategies underline the importance of mediation as a relational practice that brings people into a safe space and process of negotiation, in which they can express their own feelings and reasons, and listen to the other. In the process they find commonalities across the divides of ethnicity, culture, age, class which are the basis of empathy, understanding and a new relationship. Although mediation is intercultural, the commonalities which enable boundaries to be crossed are often social or generational or familial.

Value of intercultural centres in safety and public space -

Intercultural Centres have special capacities and practices in public space which enhance safety.

Firstly they take the discussion of safety away from crime - to conviviality of neighbourhoods and animation strategies starting with the centre itself as a place of welcome, meeting and mixing with others, cultural exchange of food, languages, ideas and culture.

People with an intercultural disposition or background who feel uncomfortable in mainstream culture or monocultural settings, feel at home in the mixed environment of an intercultural centre. They are places which are conducive to diverse young and marginalised people, to women, children, artists, innovators, improvisers and ecologists but also to the curious or culturally engaged elderly.

The dynamism of autonomous cultural centres is determined by a particular kind of practice, generating ideas and turning them into projects which produce culture at the same time as they build relationships, tending towards a committed community of practitioners.

Through trying out their ideas, and creating projects participants - be they migrant women, artists and young people - can learn to become protagonists and active citizens.

Second Wave's approach to adolescents as young people offers a striking contrast to that of the Municipal Police in Alta. By creating a safe space, it enables young people to develop their artistic personality and their own voice and moral agency, in interaction with a community of equals. In Alta the discourse of the Municipal Police who work primarily with young people in school or youth groups is 'to transmit values', making up for what is deemed to be missing from the young people's families.

Second Wave also encourages a creative way of dealing with conflict which enabled the safety project to get off the ground. An artistic practice developed in dialogue with a community of equals which offers a safe place to experiment has an empowering effect on the individual practitioners, giving them the creative skills, critical competences and confidence to engage in partnership even with the police.

This difference in this approach to partnership is powerfully symbolised by Second Wave's insistence that the police engage with the young people out of uniform removing the 'the mask of authority'. This enacted an equal relationship of mutual respect. In GCAL's project, it is very important to familiarise young people with the uniformed police to overcome the fear of talking to them. To this end they allow them to ride on the segways and sit in the patrol cars, to make the relationship more informal but without transforming it.

The practice of intercultural centres is underpinned by a dynamic of building relationships on an equal and inclusive basis that tend towards a community of shared practice and equal partnerships that extend beyond the centre.

They search for commonalities in projects and in practice on which empathy can be built as the basis of successful intercultural exchange

Mondinsieme has pioneered new forms of participation of second generation people excluded from formal politics and institutions. by training a group of facilitators in intercultural dialogue, who have themselves disseminated the process of dialogue through producing videos and using new media. Through establishing communicative network and a regional network of facilitators in dialogue they are developing a political form of networking that includes existing social networks and movements in both cyber space and the regional territory
 `The capacity that *Mondinsieme* has built up could lend support to other intercultural centres which have found it harder to attract diverse young people who live locally, to collaborate with them, like the Reggio East Community Centre.

It could also foster public debate on sensitive issues of citizenship, national identity and civic identity and belonging taking dialogue physically out into the city and encouraging a renewed interest and boldness in confronting contentious issues. Second Wave and *Mondinsieme* have both succeeded in training of new activists and youth leaders by creating a space of dialogue which has imbued them with skills and confidence at expressing themselves bot verbally and in artistic and mediated forms. Through this experience and informal training they have developed links to the city's social and political networks and institutions, enabling to become advocates democratic change.

Mondinsieme through its collaborative groups of young intercultural journalists, 2nd generation dialogue practitioners, *Interculturacidade* through its artistic animateurs - Second Wave though its youth leaders programme are creating new competencies and new kinds of intercultural professions, just as the more institutional intercultural centres train social workers, therapists and mediators. The growth of qualified intercultural practitioners in different fields is already impacting on public space - for example by diversifying the image field and reportage of the media, by enabling imaginative forms of dialogue to reach small and geographically scattered communities and groups.

Convivial Public Space

Neighbourhood based intercultural centres such as *Interculturacidade* has a presence in the locality and has a practice aimed at retrieving the intercultural history of the area and developing imaginative narratives about it - through the pamphlet and commemoration of a local intercultural musical hero, with the potential for guidebooks, intercultural trails and tours of the neighbourhood. Already however, the presence of the centre and these small initiatives have developed a certain pride in the

neighbourhood that the centre exists, produces cultural benefits and socialable occasions. Through cultural animation workshops, exhibitions, dance and music it disseminates conviviality on small scale to the outlying areas of Lisbon as well as local public spaces where it can gain access. But these occasions are precarious and ad hoc, so the impact of such intervention in public space is far below its transformative potential.

Mondinsieme in its experiments in cultural exchange in public space has now begun to spread in a similar, small scale way across the local public spaces of the city of Reggio Emilia where it faces less opposition. In its wider strategic city-wide role it has also been diversifying public space by intervening in the communicative public space through its media strategy to diversify images and stories, changing perceptions of migrants, so they are no longer the other but the new *Reggiani*.

In the broad imagination of public space, in an age of globalisation and migration, it has to extend beyond the confines of the local and national to encompass those global networks of exchange that connect migrants to their countries of origin and transport material and cultural goods and artistic output from former colonial countries to local public spaces. The possibilities of diversifying these spaces remains to be developed.

The limits of the impact of these intercultural centres on public space and safety seems largely to be determined by their relationship to local institutions of power.

Although all three cities have centre-left local governments they differ quite radically in their form of governance, with divergent political cultures and traditions of local democracy. These serve to facilitate or constrain their development Reggio Emilia has a strong tradition of participatory planning and decentralised alliance with civil society. The initiative and control can pass to civic organisations, for example *SpazioRaga* and Centre for Social Mediation are both run by co-operatives. Although the city was responsible for their training and they retain a close relationship with it, they develop their own initiatives. Likewise with *Mondinsieme* which is now autonomous, but very well funded and a key source of ideas and initiatives while continuing to advise the council on policy, whereas Lisbon city council has run things until recently directly from above, without engaging the community, as happened in the Alta de Lisboa redevelopment. It has begun to sell specific projects off to the private sector as it has done with large plots of the land in Alta and with the *Todos* festival. Alternatively it has no relationship with civil society organisations, does not fund them or support them in other ways, as has been the case with the *Centro Interculturacidade*. Lewisham provides a sharp contrast to Lisbon as well. Although it has not had financial autonomy, it has given consistent backing to Second Wave, not only on project funding but encouraging its work and involving it in wider local networks. Only through valuing the special competences and vision of intercultural centres will they be recognised as a key resource for creating convivial, open public spaces in which people feel safe.

10. Appendices

Appendix 1 List of Interviewees, participants in Action Research Workshops and other named informants

Reggio Emilia

20 Interviews

Orsetta Arno, volunteer <i>Centro d'Incontro Reggio Est</i>	4.3.12.	
Raoul Borciani, Chair, North East Regional Association of Co-op,		7.3.12;
3.12.12.		
Franco Brambilla, theatre director, City of the Future workshop,	7.3.12.	
Cristiana Campani, planner in council Planning Dept.	6.3.12.	
Franco Corradini , <i>assessore</i> Immigration, Social Cohesion & Safety	6.3.12.;	7.3.12.
Benour Doughoui, director <i>Teatro Immigrato</i> -Immigrant Theatre	7.3.12.	
Hafedh Kacem, Arabic teacher, <i>Centro d'Incontro Reggio Est</i>	4.3.12.	
Hamed football coach, <i>Centro d'Incontro Reggio Est</i>	4.3.12.	
Laura outreach worker Rosemary project	4.3.12.	
Samir Manai, director, <i>Centro d'Incontro Reggio Est</i>	4.3.12.	
Claudio Meglioli, board member <i>Centro d'Incontro Reggio Est</i>	4.3.12.	
Adil El Marouakhi , director, <i>Mondinsieme</i>	8.3.12.	
Ana Pelli, librarian	7.3.12.	
Marina Pirazzi, specialist in participatory planning	7.3.12.	
Gianni Prati, Chair of <i>Circoscrizione Sud</i> district	6.3.12.	
Damiano Rizzoli, media strategist, <i>Mondinsieme</i>	6.3.12.	
Valentina Rondanini marketing executive San Marco hotel	8.3.12.	
Alessandro Scillitani, director 167 Festival	6.3.12.	
Elena Torelli facilitator <i>SpazioRaga & Centro di Mediazione Sociale</i> ,	6.3.12.	
Mahta Woldigz, project manager, <i>Mondinsieme</i>	5.3.12.	

3 in Joint Interview

9.3.12.

Asma , henna artist and collaborator <i>Mondinsieme</i>
Daniele Petroni, collaborator editorial group <i>Mondinsieme</i>
Francesca Guiscini Arabic teacher, <i>Mondinsieme</i>

Alta De Lisboa

6 Interviews

Monica Diniz, sociologist with Municipal Police	1.4.12.
Geu Garçia and Ana Paola Municipal Police officers, Alta	29.3.12.
Commander Andre Gomes Municipal Police	28.3.12.
Veronica Neves, researcher georeferencing crime	19.9.12.
Neuza Pestana, K'Cidade operative	20.9.12.
Deputy Commander Manuel Rodrigues Municipal Police	28.3.12.

Action Research Workshop GCAL 30.3.12.**16 attended, 12 spoke**

João Tito Basto, ARAL

Claudia Santa Cruz, psychologist, Municipal Police

Monica Diniz, sociologist, Municipal Police

Geù Garcia, Municipal Police officer on the beat in Alta

Pedro Gomes ARAL and Parents Association

Sandra Henriques, Lumiar Health Centre

Sandra Menezes, UIT -Norte/CML Urban Planning Office, North

Maria Madalena Penha, Centre for Social Promotion, SCML

Marco , community shop

Veronica Neves, researcher georeferencing crime for Municipal Police.

Ines Periera, interpreter

Leonel Periera, Municipal Police officer

Neuza Pestana , K'Cidade

Isabel Vaz Pinto, Centro de Dia, CSM

Francisco Robalo, Residents' Association, Cruz Vermehla

Ana Paula do Val, Municipal Police officer on the beat in Alta

9 Interviews *Centro Interculturacidae*

Luis Alves, collaborator in studio and on alternative economy 27.3.12.

Mario Alves, director *Centro Interculturacidae* 24.3.12.

Ferdinand Cardoso, collaborator artists' residencies project 1.4.12.

Ottavio Chamba, musician/traditional instrument-maker 27.3.12.

Helder Costa, theatre director, Chair, *Centro Interculturacidae* 26.3.12.

Jorge Martins, photographer 26.3.12.

Miguel Morais ceramicist 26.3.12.

José Nascimento, bookseller, neighbour of the Centro 27.3.12.

Vera Rocha, project manager *Centro Interculturacidae* 20.9.12.**Action Research Workshop *Centro Interculturacidae*** 29.3.12.**14 attended, 10 spoke**

Luis Alves, collaborator

Mario Alves, director

Felipe collaborator

Graça friend

Jorge Martins photographer

Malenga, sculptor

Antonio Tovarès Cape Verdean dancer/dance teacher

Toni collaborator Centre from neighbourhood

Oswaldo, visiting artist, former habitué of Centre

Alexandre, artist, collaborator on artists' residencies project

Appendix 2 Comparison Co-op Sales Performance in Reggio Emilia

Coop branch €	Sales 2011 % on previous year	Sales 2010 % on previous year	Average annual sales
Ipermercato Ariosto 87,000,000	-4.70	-3.10	
Supermercato Canalina 17,000,000	-2.30	-2.60	
Supermercato Reggio Est	-0.70	+1.04	15,000,000

Appendix 3 Electoral fortunes of the Lega Nord and Pd-left alliance in Reggio Emilia, local, provincial and regional elections 2009-10 and in local elections in Bologna 2011 in % share of the vote.

Local Elections Reggio Emilia 2009

Delrio for Left-green civic alliance 47.8%
Lega Nord 16.6.%

Provincial Elections Reggio Emilia 2009

PD-Left alliance 52.5%
Lega Nord in PdL alliance 34.2% Lega Nord individually 15%

Regional elections Emilia Romagna 2010

PD-Left-green alliance 40.6%
Lega Nord in PdL alliance 24.5% Lega Nord individually 13.67%

Local election Bologna 2011

PD Left alliance with Vendola 38.3%
Lega Nord 10.7%