

Comparison of open/heterogeneous - closed/homogeneous local systems in dealing with diversity: London and Rome [work in progress]

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Bow and Battersea are two inner-London neighbourhoods, which were identified by previous research as two different ideal types of local systems in dealing with diversity: Bow as being closed/homogeneous and Battersea as being open/heterogeneous. Diversity-Indicators were also defined. The two areas manage resources and organise access to such resources differently, defining a local according to ethnic group or to the degree the person 'fits with us', in contrast to 'them'.

London, as all large cities, offers many groups to belong to and many others from which being excluded, identification in THIS and differentiation from THAT is a very complex but interesting process when considered in a urban setting where there are just more boundaries. The focus of this research has been to investigate whether the distinction of 'open : closed' still holds today and whether the current situation could have been predicted from any of the initial indicators.

Official 2001 Census Statistics accompany findings from informal household interviews conducted to people of different age, gender and ethnic background, living in the areas. Longstanding and new residents' perceptions about changes are also explored looking at their livelihood options in the neighbourhood. Battersea is not as open as it used to be and Bow is not as closed. Some features have changed and more options have become available.

The co-existence of open and closed neighbourhoods is not only a British reality but it also works for other urban settings. Rome presents an important and quite revealing comparison, especially following the after-math of the recent anti-immigration laws that the government is exercising. We believe that diversity is beneficial for both hosting people and newcomers. Results are hoped to have an impact on people working on local planning and policy areas.

1. INTRODUCTION

Cities are urban settings that concentrate large numbers of people. They come to work, to live, to stay for good or to transit. It is inevitable to meet differences, and that is what makes cities such an interesting place to look at, to visit, and to tell about.

Following Wirth's definition of city as being a 'relatively large, dense and permanent settlement of socially heterogeneous individuals' (Wirth, 1938), we believe *diversity* reigns in cities, it's everywhere, as more people mean more differences. Jacobs made the question 'how can cities generate enough diversity throughout enough of their territories, to sustain their own civilization?' (Jacobs, 1961) and Page suggested 'the answer is in messy, creative organisations and environments with individuals from vastly different backgrounds and life experiences' (Page, 2008).

But why two areas with the same resources do not naturally evolve and generate the same 'good' diversity? What is that one system is lacking and the other disposing of? Why people chose to settle in one place and chose to leave the one they live in? What is that makes livelihood pleasant and functional and what makes it just bearable?

When things go wrong and change, 'the people in a district talk about it, they register both the fact and the effect of diversity's self-destruction long before slowpoke maps and statistics tell, too late, the misfortune of what happened' (Jacobs, 1961). Further, as 'there is no substitute for local knowledge' (Geertz, 1985), anthropology and the practice of ethnography is an extremely powerful and reliable source of understanding, of making the invisible visible, and the complex intelligible, as people look at different things and different things look different to different people.

If Jacobs identified generators of 'exuberant' diversity (more primary uses, short blocks, buildings of various age, dense concentration of people), what Sandra Wallman and her troupe have achieved was the creation of a **typology of urban systems**, which reflect and account for different styles of diversity, in different cities and different part of cities, and which main strength is to be a practitioner friendly typology of localised urban systems that can be applied to real situations (Wallman, 2005). The ethnographic study offered a prompt response to the need that 'new cities required new forms of analysis in which the urban built environment becomes a discursive realm' (Jacobs, 1993 in Low, 1999:4) and a significant progress to the fundamental methodological studies initiated by the sociologists of the Chicago School (Stevenson, 2003:26).

In addition to having being applied in London, Kampala and Turin, the model is currently being applied in Rome.

The **London** study, which is discussed in this paper, looked at two superficially similar areas and study their way of dealing with outsiders and of managing the local resources. The research concluded that although the two areas were similarly mixed both being low-income working class areas, with sprinkling gentry, they revealed different styles of DIVERSITY: Bow and Battersea, in fact find themselves at opposing poles of the continuum, being one closed / homogeneous and the other open / heterogeneous.

The aim of the current research has been to look at the situation 30 years after the original study was conducted and investigate people's perception about change, if change has

occurred, and asking whether some of the current features could have been predicted given the initial premises. Does the dichotomy hold today? And why? Is the typology applicable throughout time and space? Is any indicator more explicable than others?

In addition to comparing London THEN (1977) and London NOW (2007), it seemed reasonable and interesting to apply the same mode to another setting. Rome was chosen in comparison to London, because it includes within its territory two neighbourhoods which have similarities with Bow and Battersea, yet 'behave' differently: Esquilino and Pigneto, the two Roman *quartieri*, are both in-migrant places and offer a very mixed population.

Embracing the idea that 'micro-dynamics of life, the process through which individuals' and households' circumstances are maintained or transformed from year to year, may simply be the best, the most informative and most powerful way to describe the current workings of the society' (Berthoud & Gershuny, 2000:215), focusing on neighbourhoods has offered an insight towards the understanding of livelihood in inner city areas.

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2. THE FIELD

2.1. BOW AND BATTERSEA

The original study, which was conducted during the years of unslumming the slums that was perpetuated in London and other parts of England in the 60s-70s (Low, 1999:2), was born in an era when race seemed to 'explain' many of the issues that were going on. What Wallman and her troupe discovered was an unexpected and fundamental neglecting of such belief.

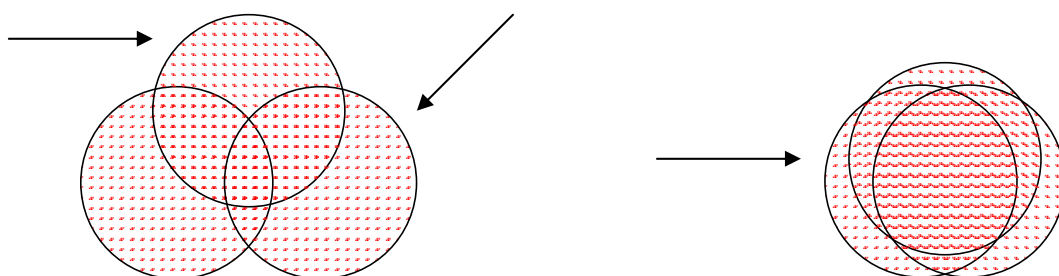
On the basis of the historic and economic survey of the two boroughs and the ethnographic study of the two neighbourhoods, the two areas were found to be dominantly working class, low-income areas with growing sprinkling 'gentry' and a visible ethnic mixture.

Battersea, located in the South-West London borough of Wandsworth, provided its residents with a wide range of work options facilitated by the absence of dominant gatekeeper(s) who controlled access to those jobs. Population was mixed and although being mainly working class this area was able to produce and accommodate a small proportion of middle class. Also, the vicinity to the river, the rail station and the city centre have advantaged Battersea enormously in the past, connecting residents to London centre. In addition to be open and internationalist, Battersea emerged as being a complete *a-ethnic* system. To start with, no one population had been associated to a particular industry or industrial role, and there was no evidence for ethnic niches or ethnic specific patterns of employment. What people perceived as an *outsider* was the *foreigner*, someone who was new to the area either because was not born there or never lived there or did not have

connections in the area, i.e. somebody that did not know about LARA and its residents and thus could not be accepted as ‘one of us’. However, the status of newcomer was lost soon after settling in the area, by making oneself visible and known to the neighbours. Hence, the *insider* status was given on the basis of one’s behaviour and involvement in the neighbourhood rather than on ethnic origin. Battersea welcoming attitude towards incoming migrants allowed them to enter the job-market as well as the residents and made them capable to enjoy the available-to-all resources. Access to those was not super-imposed and information networking was not restricted for the benefit of only some; membership, either at work or in the family, was achieved and not ascribed.

One of the reasons why the East End, and Bow in particular belonging to the borough of Tower Hamlets, was compared to Battersea was because of its relative-opposition on many fronts. In fact, the East End has been the centre of the London’s Docklands since the 19th Century to which big industries have followed; it was known to be a magnet for employment opportunities and as such people have moved to the area during the ‘profitable years’. In turn, when an industry closed down and another one was created, blocks of ‘new’ people moved in as other blocks of ‘old’ residents moved out. The East End was thought to be the place where relationships were very much ethnic-driven, e.g. the status of local, as much as access to any type of resources and information about those, was given on the basis of belonging to a particular ethnic group. Bow and Battersea also differ for political tradition: Bow has fed nationalist sentiments (the Bow Group, a centre-right think tank, got started in 1951 and the ‘National Front’ years are still part of the people’s memory), while Battersea has been known for being the centre of radical politics in the UK for years. All these factors together, made of Bow a not very supple/adaptable local system, in contrast to a more open and permeable Battersea-type, sustaining the idea that heterogeneity in cities ‘tends to break down stable identities because there are great opportunities for people to form relationships with others’ (Massey et al, 1999:48)

Boundary System and Network Effect



These diagrams show how residents in Bow and Battersea organise their livelihood: the rings representing the main feature of ones’ life (housing, work and social life), the Battersea-type system is more open than the Bow-type, in the sense that the newcomer (arrow) has access to the local resources by only finding an accommodation, or a job or by have a friend who lives in the area. As ‘great variety means a high proportion of small units’ (Jacobs, 1961), the small heterogeneity that reigns in Battersea has proved successful in letting the people using the most resources the most efficiently.

On the contrary, in Bow, a newcomer has to find a house, a job and most importantly being introduced by somebody who already lives in the area in order to be accepted in the neighbourhood. Hence, the local resources are managed and allocated differently within

the two urban systems, making it more or less accessible according to who decides how and where and when to release them. As a consequence, everybody's choices are driven not by what is available but are constricted to what is known and perceived as such.

At the same time, Battersea represents a very *localist* character versus a more neat and cosy community in Bow, where connections outside the area are limited and do not spread far. Battersea is able to keep the local identity and welcome and use outside resources. The Battersea ideal type results being more flexible and to have an extensive network, the Bow ideal-type produces instead narrow-focussed networks and encourages *ethnic* relations.

2.2. ESQUILINO AND PIGNETO¹

Rome, *the eternal city*, misleads people to think that it is a static and changeless city. It does change, one of those changes being the influx of foreign immigrants, increasing from 3.43% in 1959 to 9.8% by 1976-1981 as a proportion of the total immigrants (Agnew, 1995).¹ Esquilino and Pigneto, are two *quartieri* stretching out of eastern Rome, at very short distance one to the other, Esquilino being the immediate neighbourhood of Termini Station².

Esquilino is a 'collection-point' for tourists, commuters and immigrants, as well as always being the preferable destination for big communities, who could live in large groups inside big apartments available in the area and so splitting the costs. The first ones were the Jews during the 1970s, followed by immigrants from the Maghreb during the 1980s, and by immigrants from the Indian subcontinent in the late 80s and early 90s (particularly Pakistanis and Bangladeshi who today are present in sizeable numbers not only as workers in the local Esquilino market, but also as owners of the stands). The newest arrivals are the Chinese, which community concerns Italian residents who lament this group's aggressive business practices and the excess of wholesale activities, as well as the insularity of their culture.

Unlike the Esquilino neighbourhood, where, beginning in the mid-1980s the presence of immigrants began to become quite visible, in Pigneto this presence was not immediately perceived. In 1995 empty premises of the *Snia Viscosa* Company on *Via Prenestina* were occupied as volunteer centres for cultural and social activities, intended for immigrants as well as Italians. Previous work in the area had damaged an underground water table, thereby creating an artificial lake hidden in the *Snia Park*. Immigrants from various countries began to congregate around this, over the years, reaching almost a thousand people before it was evacuated in 2004. For the residents of Pigneto, Italian and foreign, the inhabitants of the lake area exemplify 'outsiders', not so much understood as foreigners but rather as people who hold themselves apart. This is unlike the various other groups of immigrants that have integrated themselves in the area and therefore have justly become 'locals'.

¹ For a complete description of the social, demographic, geographical and economics characteristics of the two *quartieri* please see Montuori, 2007

² *Stazione Termini* is the main railway station in Rome, one of the busiest Italian hubs.

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1. LONDON

This study does not pretend to be an exhaustive retake of the original study carried out by Sandra Wallman, which included historic and economic survey of the two boroughs and an ethnographic study of the two neighbourhoods. The availability of past and present data about the areas helped to understand the setting of the research, which was weighted on the current availability of time, money, personnel and contacts in the neighbourhoods.

The first phase of the research consisted in collecting socio-demographic statistics from the 2001 UK Census in Bow and Battersea, within the Tower Hamlets and Wandsworth boroughs and in Greater London. Those data allowed comparison of the same dimensions on a small, medium and large scale³. During the second phase the interviewees walked about the areas and carrying out in-depth interviews with old and new residents, as well as shopkeepers. Two researchers were employed in each of the settings, all women and all non-English. One of the researchers who carried out interviews in Batterseaⁱⁱ had taken part to the original study and hence could count on previous knowledge and contacts. The personal attachment proved to be sensitive and invaluable in understanding the pace of change underwent in Battersea. On the contrary, the Bow-researchers had no previous knowledge of the area and its historyⁱⁱⁱ. This challenged their ability to find people to interview but made them capable of being extremely reactive to people's narratives and historical references, as well as being a naive but essential practice to get a first hand perception of both the fish tank and the fish that populate it (Wallman, 2005).

3.2. ROME

Four in-depth interviews were conducted in Rome during July 2007, and seven more during the previous semester. The last four, which I participated to, included two residents of Pigneto and two residents of Esquilino. Interviewees were of different ages and gender, moved in the areas between 1998 and 2003; the main researcher Alessia Montuori knew all of them. Interviews were taped with the consent of the interviewees, and lasted less than two hours. Walkabout in the area proved beneficial to get to know the areas and their character. Statistics and Demographics are not as widely and readily available for Italian neighbourhoods as for the UK. Therefore, information on the 'visible' features was mainly drawn by our fieldwork and personal literature review.

³ See Appendix for details

4. FINDINGS

4.1 LONDON

Results from the 2001 UK **Census Statistics**, which are produced at the city, borough and local level^{iv}, reveal that Battersea has a higher British population, with higher qualification and higher social grade. There are more houses than flats, therefore more people live in houses and private ownership is common. Population is mostly single and childless, young and professionals, and given the proximity to good transportation cover larger distances to work. Bow has a higher Bangladeshi population, which is the largest minority ethnic groups, as a reflection of the East End trend and of Tower Hamlets borough in particular. People have lower qualifications and tend to have secretarial and administrative jobs within close distance to the area. There are more Local Authority housing in the area, therefore people tend to rent and to live in flats of bigger sizes to supply the demand from local larger families^v.

Findings from the **interviews** seem to confirm and to significantly allude at the picture that the Statistics show so neatly. Yet, what the statistics do not tell us is the people's perception about change.

By interviewing long-standing and new residents, we built up a more complete picture, which takes into consideration the visible and invisible factors that are usually overlooked and not accounted for by the policy makers. As Jacobs also mentions 'much of what they (city planners) need to know they can learn from no one but the people of the place, because nobody else knows enough about it' (Jacobs J, 1961: p233). If Jacobs talked of 'planning for vitality' (Jacobs J, 1961: p532), what interest us here is to see how the choice or simple fact of living in a place A or place B affects and shapes people's livelihoods and wellbeing.

By accounting for what people told us and what the statistics showed, we took the Diversity Indicators that were proposed by Wallman following the initial study and tried to adjust them to the current situation. Are they still useful? Which ones are most significant and which ones should be indeed excluded?

Diversity Indicators London THEN – NOW (Wallman, S)

Battersea THEN	Battersea NOW		Bow NOW	Bow THEN
Small firms and industries, each with a relatively small work force	People have professional and managerial jobs, very high-skilled.	<u>Industrial structure</u>	Now that the industries have gone, people have semi-skilled, unskilled and manual jobs. The unemployment rate is high.	Grew up around the 3 big industries of the tradition industrial heartland of London (the docks, the rag and the furniture trade)
Service industries	Service and business.	<u>Industry Type</u>	Service.	Manufacturing
Employment opportunities are more numerous and more varied where there are many small employers, workshops and factories	People have high standard jobs; work outside the area and mainly in managerial roles.	<u>Employment Opportunities</u>	People tend to work in the area and have low-skilled technical jobs.	Even though more industries are in Bow, a narrower range of jobs are available
More than 65% of male workforce go further than Battersea	Train. Most people travel 5-10 Km to go to work.	<u>Travel to work</u>	Public transport (bus, tram, metro, walk) or car. Most people travel less than 5 Km.	65% of the workforce work within the boundaries of their borough (some at walking distance)
Battersea has always had easy access to the whole city of London through Clapham Junction railway.	Travel facilities are as good as they were.	<u>Travel facilities</u>	Transportation has got better, and people use tube and bus a lot now.	Transport link is still very difficult
Dormitory area during the day, as most of the residents work outside the borough.	Quite an affluent area at night; dormitory during the day but ideal for shopping.	<u>Labour movement day/night population ratios</u>	The area is still active during the day thanks to RR market which is on 3dw.	More active during the day, as Bow and East End was an employment centre
It greatly varies between owner-occupation, private and public rental properties, wide housing stock	Majority of private ownership (60%), half flats and half houses.	<u>Housing option</u>	Majority of public housing and flats (40%); only ¼ owns.	Houses are structurally identical (in Tower Hamlets 94% of housing is publicly owned). People have less choice in whether to buy/sell, where and when to move in/out.
Access to local resources is not monopolised	-	<u>Gatekeepers</u>	-	The possibility to control access to local resources is enhanced
A new-comer becomes a local person just by moving in, behaving accordingly to the community code-of-conduct and staying around (conquered?)	Very much local.	<u>Criteria for membership</u>	Group/Network	A newcomer becomes a local person by birth, by marriage and it is not always achieved in the short term (ascribed?)
Its working class ethos has described as internationalist and it has been little interested in people's origins. The first black mayor was popularly elected in 1913 followed by an Indian Communist in the 1920s. Both people were local people concerned with local issues, regardless their origin. Ethnicity played little part in the public domain.	People did not talk of politics / relaxed.	<u>Political tradition</u>	Present in the narratives of the people / conflictual.	The British fascist Sir Oswald Mosley began an effective racist campaign but the same people also stopped him. Some conflicts were race-driven

In a nutshell, old established residents in both areas feel similarly in the perception of change in the two neighbourhoods, and in both cases the change concerns people, newcomers, different in some way from those already there. In Bow, the Bangladeshi presence is greater or more visible, and the feeling of belonging to a certain group is still a statement. In LARA newcomers are white, young and belonging to a higher income group. If changes have occurred, they are both positive and negative: in Bow the transportation has got much better than it used to be, but the market is neither cheap nor friendly anymore; in Battersea the area looks better and it offers many shops and places where to enjoy the night life, but newcomers don't say hello and the only affordable place for the old residents to shop is ASDA.

The most interesting thing is the opposite path the two neighbourhoods are taking. Both areas have moved but towards opposing directions: Bow is opening a little bit to outsiders, and the very wide range of shops in Roman Road (from Italian, to Eastern European, Afro Caribbean, Bangladeshi...) is just an indicator of the mixture of the area; Battersea, on the other hand, is closing up a little bit in the sense that the people that are coming in are a much more homogeneous group that use the place for a few activities but does not seem to enrich it much. However, the area still encourages and relies on outsiders' resources (pensioners and nursery) to keep the local ones going.

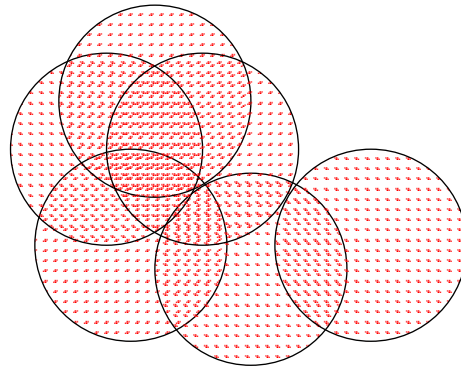
As for the *local* community, Battersea people recognise each other because they walk in the same street at the same time of the day or use the same shops, or they are neighbours, while in Bow the socializing is more led by the participation to group-activities of some sort (through the school, the community centre, language courses, activities promoted by the Residents Association, women found in the mothers group and the breastfeeding network a way to start up relationships and find solidarity with other women).

What it seems now the case is that Battersea has moved towards a system where there are still local and neat relationships, but not everybody uses the resources as potentially as they could. Some of the newcomers do not look for attachment to the area and for this reason they are not 'liked', but still are respected and communication is valued and encouraged. There is a kind of code-behaviour in the neighbourhood, which one can embrace or not. What stays the same is the feeling of being local, and the feeling of being in a locality that encourages everybody to settle, and that is able to adjust to the new needs and trends.

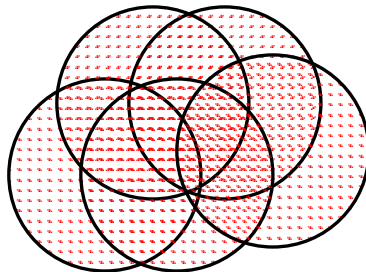
Bow has instead moved towards a more open system in the sense that more and diverse people are coming in, but the closeness of the way the locality is managed is sustained. People, who live in Bow, do not necessarily work there, and can afford to live and go out and shop somewhere else, following a better transportation and the need for wider choice.

If in Battersea now mainly mononuclear families, childless single professionals have settled, Bow remains the place for big families belonging to one prevalent ethnic group to live. The truth is that physically Bow has changed remarkably little, but people's feelings about it have changed. The neighbourhood has shown a strange 'inability to update itself' (Jacobs J, p 259) and boundaries remain *thick*, in contrast to the *thin* that reign in Battersea.

Battersea: open / heterogeneous / thin



Bow: closed / homogeneous / thick



How far are the original differences between the two areas maintained?

What has not change is the ethic character of Bow: people refer to newcomers starting from their ethic provenance, while in Battersea the place of origin is not even contemplated, and never was. In fact, Bow has a history of ethnic conflict. This appears to be continuing. Perhaps in Bow the hottest issue in ethnic relations currently is Muslim fundamentalism; in LARA, either because there are no Muslims or because even if there are they are not visible, this is not an issue. Conversely, in LARA the increase of white residents brings to some Black people a sense of loss of their neighbourhood. It is seen now as a white area and black presence there is questioned. It raises the issue of Black South London identity.

4.2. ROME

Although very recent, the preliminary findings in Rome suggest similarities between what was visible and felt in London THEN. Esquilino and Pigneto appear respectively as closed / homogeneous and open / heterogeneous as Bow and Battersea were. The analysis of the *Italian* interviews highlights surprising but significant matches with the *English* ones, in particular the open-type.

Pigneto

The two people we interviewed who live in Pigneto do so for economical reasons. One of them moved in his grandmother's house soon after she died, and the other one because it was affordable to buy. Regarding housing stock, the market now has changed, it has become much more upmarket, as the area has become more desirable and therefore more residential as more people move in. Only ten years ago, houses were empty and shops were closing down while currently the picture that one sees walking around Pigneto is the one of quite a lively place: seven libraries, each targeting a different public, have opened, pubs, wine bars, hand craft shops have mushroomed and the cinema of the area is under refurbishment. The area looks better. Both of them also admit that if they had to move out they would keep looking for something in the area.

Extensive-thin sociality:

Despite not knowing anybody in the area, both people moved in. It was relatively easy to get to know neighbours and non. One of them could count on his remembering of when he was a child and used to go to his grandmother's house. The other was approached by the residents and the shop-keepers, who were curious about *him*. He became curious about *them* too, and adapted to the 'know-the-newly-arrived-attitude'.

Visibility:

There is curiosity of knowing the newly arrived. 'Most people I know them like this... they came to me and I went to them... we all know each other, this is the reason why you have to be careful about what you do or you'll get in troubles'. There is an invisible control and hidden code behaviour, which allows lives to run smoothly and at everybody's benefit.

Protection / safety:

Protection does not come from police, but rather from the same people you live near to, your neighbours... 'The plumbers down the road are my *protectors*'. The 'eyes on the street', which Jacobs talks about (Jacobs, 1961), make people feel safe during day and night-time.

Informal:

People get involved and want you to get involved too. This inclusion in the life of the quartieri is part of the way of living in a *popular* area⁴. It's easy to talk with one today and have an argument the following day.

Informality is mirrored in the architecture of the neighbourhood, which is a result of the *autocostruzione* and spontaneous building boom in the 1950s spontaneous⁵ (Agnew, 1995). 'Pigneto has a history... it feels like living in a village'.

⁴ In the Italian meaning of the word, popular means 'for the people', perhaps the most likely expression in English would be 'working-class neighbourhood'.

The street:

The street is the place where you meet and talk. 'Shop-keepers are ON the street and keep an eye... I would certainly meet somebody I know on the way to the shop...'

Palazzina: neighbours living in the same palazzina⁶ know each other, and there is always willingness to chat when they meet. 'The woman downstairs brings me fruit when she comes back from the countryside...'

Confidential:

Confidentiality is extended to shopping. 'The baker keeps the bread for me... the one who makes the fresh pasta always asks me to pay the same, whatever I buy... I am a client'.

Dormitory area.

People live here but work somewhere else. 'The area is a dormitory during the week', but the it's quite vivacious during the weekend.

Frontier / Liminal place:

Pigneto it's a place of frontier, it's because of this that was easy to settle in; I found it convenient, and so did other people... it's a matter of similitude...'

Mixture that fits:

'Diverse realities co-habit here... there are all the communities here... Africans are the best. They look after their place... they colour their door... they don't try to look ugly, they smile...' which underlines the idea of *decoro urbano* that people who live in Pigneto look for and value.

Foreign immigrants:

There is quite a are number of immigrants, it's easy to meet them in the street, the same as other people. The fact that one interviewee said 'I have got the same relationships with them that with the rest of the people I told you about' is a sign of the unimportance attributed to the provenance of the residents. Wherever they are from, they are residents of the Pigneto, and as such hey are expected to respect the code as everybody else. Immigrants are not discriminated for being immigrants, ethnic group is not an issue.

Complains:

Complains in fact are not addressed to the increase of immigrants in the area as one might think, but rather to the carelessness about keeping the roads clean and tudy, and to the indifference and mistreatment of elderly people.

'Down the road... it's a particular thing... there is something going on... sooner or later something will happen... it's an *explosive*... it's a *powder keg*... there is a *tepid* atmosphere...'. There is a general tiredness of the small crimes going on in the area. Everybody knows about them and suspect of who can be, but nobody is doing anything, which makes people feeling in a waiting-mood.

⁵ In fact a variety and mix of building types are scattered around the fringe and with little or no correspondence to the design of the 1962 plan

⁶ house with stairs that divide left and right side

Esquilino

The two people we interviewed who live in Esquilino do so because they chose to live there. One of them moved in with her partner and has always liked Esquilino and its verve, and the other one found a place which was big enough to have a B&B and wanted to live the area she was living because 'it has become too touristy and lost its *romaness*'. She was looking for a area *popolare*. Both interviewees like the place because it's dynamic, joyful, messy and stimulating, and because there are always many happenings.

Palazzina:

'One side of the stairs is habituated by Chinese, with whom is impossible to talk to, and the other one by Bangladeshi, with whom I do not have any relationship either'. Although the interviewee recons that the neighbours are nice, she also admits not to have any contact with the people living in the same house. Two factors are here clearly highlighted: not only the ethnic-issue in Esquilino, similarly to Bow, between Italians and non-Italians, but also between different ethnic groups of non-Italians: each group keeps apart.

The Square:

Vittorio Square is the dynamic place per antonomasia, the market being the physical representation of such dynamism and mixture of people. The proximity to Termini Station certainly encourages the fast and constant movement of people transiting from one place to another.

Polarisation / contrast:

Together with a large presence of immigrants and especially Bangladeshi and Chinese shops, some old shops remain, 'lo zoccolo duro di Roma', which will never abandon the area. Roman shopkeepers love Esquilino and feel it's their territory. Historical and contemporaneous coexist: new immigration and old tradition.

Foreign immigrants:

'There are some [immigrants], but I don't happen to meet them or talk to them... it's *complicated*... I entered in Chinese shops more than once and they did not treat e well, they encourage you to live rather than stay in the shop...'. Complication in making friends with immigrants is common, unless one is an extremely outgoing character like one of the interviewees, who speaks to every person she meets and kept in contact with mates from the elementary school years. She recons there are 10% foreign immigrants in Esquilino.

Intensive-thick sociality:

Relationships in Esquilino have much to do with the frequenting of groups of some sort. One of our interviewees has friends in the area, which she met through several groups she joined and created during the years: genitori affidatari, scuola internazionale, ludoteca, Associazione Intermundia, Esquilibri⁷.

⁷ Association that involves parents who wish to foster a child; International school, public place where to play games, Intermundia Association, Esquilibri is a bookshop that promotes activities, cinema, theatre, reading groups etc. with particular attention to multiculturalism.

5. DISCUSSION

How does *homogeneity* and *heterogeneity* feel today? London and Rome are two metropolitan cities, which were here described and compared in their ways of dealing with *urban diversity*. They are both capitals, with different history and architecture, yet sharing similarities on their streets and among their neighbourhoods.

Our research aims were: (1) to understand how change had affected Bow and Battersea, the two London neighbourhoods, from the original ethnographic study conducted in 1978; (2) to compare pairs of open and closed neighbourhoods in London and Rome.

As the interviews and the account for the hard material revealed, **Battersea** has become such an attractive place that people who move in are the ones who are not simply ‘people who can pay the most in general, but people who can pay or will pay the most for the smallest place’ (Jacobs, 1961: p325). As a consequence of this exploded desirability, families fled the area and were replaced by a relatively homogenous group of young childless professional people who still enjoy the good transportation and local resources of the area, but import little to it. The local long standing residents lament the newcomers come and go and that they hardly say hi when you meet them in the street, while the newcomers, on the other hand, shows accomplishment to live in such a lively area but do not feel like spending too much time in building up local relationships, as they already have their friends who come and visit.

The same seems to be happening in **Pigneto**, one of the Roman *quartieri*, which presents the same *localist* flavour and the same resident’s awareness and attention to safeguard the area. Although Pigneto sounds very similar to what was Battersea in the past, with its search for familiarity, mutual respect among neighbours, spontaneous inclusion and extended-thin sociality, it is now becoming a very desirable place to live in, hence begin transforming into a residential and more affluent area, which also students are choosing to settle.

One of the interviewees mentioned the general disappointment about small crime going on in the area, and anticipated that something would have happened and that somebody would have gone into trouble. A year later the interview something has in fact occurred: a man was caught for aggression to an immigrant (as the newspaper defined him)^{vi}. What the man said in his defence was that what happened was not a matter of politics, but rather a matter of respect. He says he was a son of Pigneto and acted for the benefit of the neighbourhood and not for his own interest. He proved being a *giustiziere*, and not a racist. He did not consider the shopkeeper as an immigrant or as a non-Italian but simply as someone who did something wrong that the residents did not accepted and wanted to make justice for all. Seemingly to *Battersea then*, the way the neighbourhood reacted mirrors the *a-ethnicity* of *Pigneto*.

Both in Pigneto and Esquilino there have been some tensions lately, but for different reasons. If in **Esquilino** the matter is always *ethnic* in Pigneto the reason for tension is the non-respect of the *decoro per il quartiere*. Hence, it is no surprise that a huge demonstration took place in Esquilino against the decision taken by the current right-wing government of expulsing the Roma and to have their fingerprints taken, and that in Pigneto the residents have organised the *puliamo il quartiere* initiative.

In Esquilino, old and new cohabit but keeping apart from each other and relationships are not spontaneous and street-led but rather the result of sharing an interest and joining the same group. The same applies to past and present Battersea and Bow. It follows that fluidity and permeability are characteristics of open systems, while a less viable way-in is typical of closed systems.

Bow seems to be moving towards the process of gentrification that perhaps Battersea is concluding. New people are coming into the area, which do not use the area much and drive their children to schools, shop and work outside the area. Resources are not brought into the system.

The most important aspect of the open:closed dichotomy I believe, in London as much as in Rome, is the approach to what is perceived as diverse, either social, architectural, economic: in one place diverse things are tried to be spontaneously included in the routine as long as respect is ensured, in the other one the contrast between *us* and *them* is more visible and physical. This does not want to say that one place is better than the other, but it wants to suggest that different type of livelihoods and of dealing with mixture, of whatever nature, exist and can function even within the same city and between neighbouring neighbourhoods.

Hence, the contrast between the closed/homogeneous/thick type and the open/heterogeneous/thin type is sustained vis-à-vis the changes occurred in the London areas and is perceived and visible nowadays in Rome too. This means that different ‘styles of diversity’ exist and can be identified. We hope that policy makers will find this useful in preparing to respond to what current dynamics, economic and demographic waves demand.

Diversity is everywhere, some people like it some don’t. *Mixture* sometimes leads to fruitful exchange and dialogue, sometimes tension and conflict may arise. What our case studies, both in London-then and in recent-Rome, indeed suggested is that even when conflicts do arise, they are not consequence of a *bad* diversity, but more of a strong attachment and feeling about the neighbourhood.

Although ‘it is by no means impossible to envisage in quite practical political terms, what such an outward-looking politics of place might look like’ (Massey, 2007:188), ‘the purpose (and genius) of anthropological ethnography [is that it] takes people seriously’ (Cohen, 2000) while revealing their complexity. Meanwhile we keep looking at *our* neighbourhoods, we hope the reader has gained a more comprehensive picture of how living in an inner city is like. We believe that ‘cities have the capability of providing something for everybody, only because and only when they are created by everybody’ (Jacobs J, p312).

[6,361]

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Appendix: 2001 Census Statistics

Table 1. Age

Years	Bow Survey Area	Tower Hamlets	London	Wandsworth	Battersea Survey Area
0-4	5.2	7.7	6.7	6.4	4.4
5-9	4.4	6.8	6.3	5.0	3.1
10-14	5.5	7.0	6.1	4.2	3.5
15-19	5.6	6.9	5.8	4.1	2.8
20-24	12.4	10.7	7.4	9.3	8.1
25-29	11.9	13.4	9.7	16.1	23.9
30-34	10.0	10.2	9.7	12.5	16.4
35-39	8.7	7.6	8.8	9.2	9.8
40-44	6.0	5.8	7.1	6.6	6.3
45-49	5.6	4.5	5.8	4.5	4.9
50-54	5.8	3.7	5.7	4.6	4.4
55-59	4.0	3.0	4.5	3.6	3.1
60-64	3.3	3.2	3.9	3.4	2.7
65-69	3.3	2.8	3.5	2.9	1.9
70-74	3.2	2.6	3.1	2.5	1.2
75-79	2.6	2.0	2.6	2.2	1.3
80-84	1.3	1.1	1.7	1.5	1.3
85-89	0.9	0.6	1.1	0.9	0.4
90-95	0.3	0.2	0.4	0.4	0.3
95-99	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0
100+	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

Figure 1. Age structure

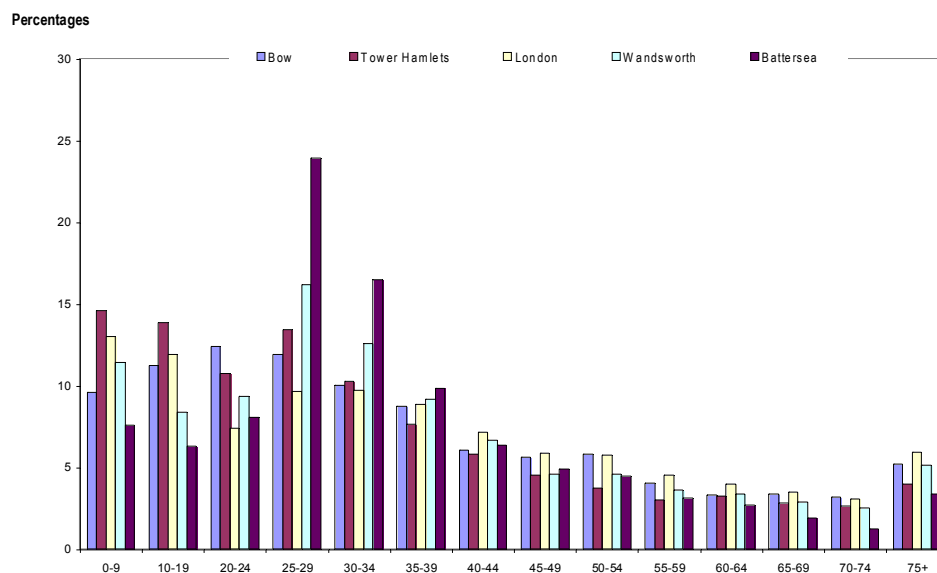


Table 2. Country of origin

<i>Country of origin</i>	Bow Survey Area	Tower Hamlets	London	Wandsworth	Battersea Survey Area
All Europe	85.1	70.3	80.1	80.9	81.9
United Kingdom	94.7	93.0	91.1	90.3	92.3
England	95.1	95.4	95.8	93.9	91.9
Scotland	2.4	2.3	2.1	3.0	4.6
Wales	1.7	1.4	1.4	2.0	2.2
Northern Ireland	0.9	0.8	0.7	1.0	1.3
Republic of Ireland	2.0	2.0	2.7	2.8	2.1
Other Western EU	2.7	3.9	4.0	5.1	4.6
Eastern EU	0.6	1.2	2.1	1.6	0.7
All Africa	2.9	3.6	6.3	6.5	5.6
North Africa	7.0	8.7	7.2	6.3	0
Central/W. Africa	34.9	32.0	34.0	25.1	19.1
South/East Africa (South Africa)	58.1	59.3	58.8 (17.0)	68.6 (40.4)	80.9 (45.8)
All Asia	6.9	22.1	8.9	6.0	6.0
Middle East	10.6	2.6	17.9	14.7	9.4
Far East Asia	17.8	9.7	21.0	30.5	30.2
South Asia (Bangladesh)	71.6 (89.9)	87.6 (94.6)	60.8 (21.9)	54.6	57.3
All America	3.4	2.2	3.5	4.1	4.1
North America	96.1	83.7	82.3	77.4	81.8
South America	3.9	16.3	17.7	22.6	18.2
Oceania	1.3	1.4	1.0	2.2	2.1
Elsewhere	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.2

Table 3: Ethnic origin

<i>Ethnic group</i>		Bow Survey Area (N=3,010)	Tower Hamlets (N=196,106)	London (N=7,172,091)	Wandsworth (N=260,380)	Battersea Survey Area (N=1,580)
White	British	68.5	42.9	59.8	71.5	64.8
	Irish	2.3	1.9	3.1	2.7	3.1
	Other White	6.3	6.5	8.3	8.8	10.1
	Total	77.1	51.3	71.2	82.9	78.0
Mixed	White & Black Caribbean	1.2	0.8	1.0	1.1	1.1
	White & Black African	0.2	0.4	0.5	0.2	0.5
	White & Asian	0.3	0.7	0.8	0.4	0.9
	Other Mixed	0.6	0.6	0.9	0.3	0.9
	Total	2.3	2.5	3.2	2.0	3.4
Asian	Indian	2.0	1.5	6.1	3.4	2.9
	Pakistani	0.1	0.8	2.0	0.9	2.1
	Bangladeshi	7.5 (72.0)	33.4 (91.3)	2.1 (17.8)	0.9	0.4
	Other Asian	0.8	0.9	1.9	1.1	1.6
	Total	10.4	36.6	12.1	6.3	6.9
Black or Black British	Caribbean	5.6	2.7	4.8	4.0	4.9
	African	2.6	3.4	5.3	3.2	3.9
	Other Black	0.4	0.5	0.8	0.6	0.9
	Total	8.6	6.6	10.9	7.9	9.6
Chinese		1.0	1.8	1.1	0.4	0.9
Other groups		0.5	1.2	1.6	0.6	1.3

Figure 3. Non-white ethnic groups

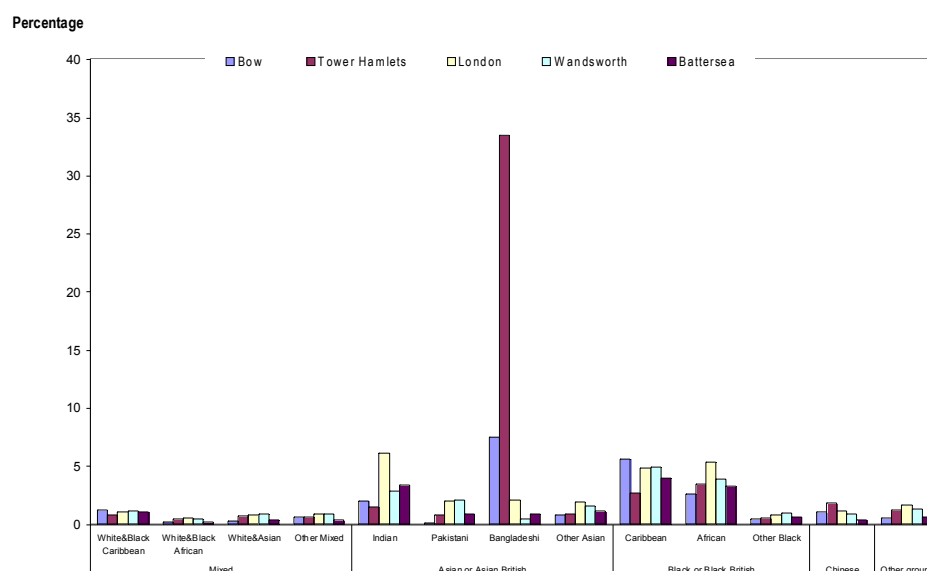


Table 4. Religious groups

Religious group	Bow Survey Area (N=3,011)	Tower Hamlets (N=196,106)	London (N=7,172,091)	Wandsworth (N=260,380)	Battersea Survey Area (N=1,580)
Christian	58.8	38.6	58.2	61,8	65,5
Buddhist	0.7	1.0	0.8	0,7	0,8
Hindu	1.0	0.8	4.1	2,3	3,0
Jewish	1.4	0.9	2.1	0,7	0,4
Muslim	9.9	36.4	8.5	5,2	3,0
Sikh	1.0	0.4	1.5	0,3	0,2
Other religions	0.3	0.3	0.5	0,4	0,3
No religion	20.3	14.2	15.8	20,0	20,6
Religion not stated	6.6	7.4	8.7	8,8	6,3

Figure 4. Religious groups

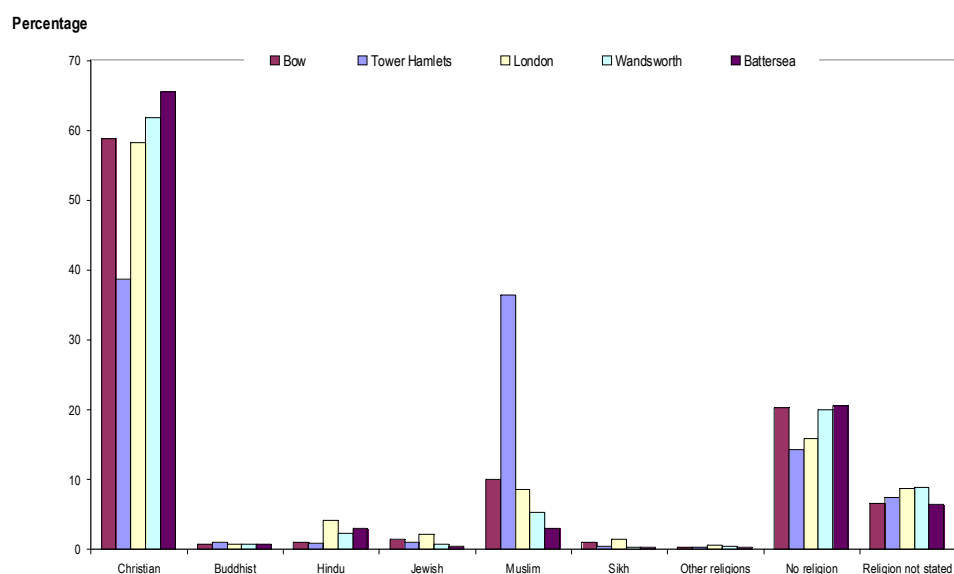


Table 5. Education/ Qualification

Education and Qualification	Bow Survey Area	Tower Hamlets	London	Wandsworth	Battersea Survey Area
People aged 16-74	N = 2,369	N = 143,429	N = 5,300,332	N = 204,647	N = 1,344
No qualification	30.0	34.3	23.7	16.3	12.1
Highest Qual level 1	11.0	10.3	13.0	8.1	5.9
Highest Qual level 2	12.3	12.3	17.1	13.3	12.2
Highest Qual level 3	9.8	9.5	9.8	11.1	9.7
Highest Qual level 4/5	33.0	29.6	31.0	47.3	57.6
Other Qualification	4.6	4.0	5.4	3.9	2.6

Figure 5. Education/ Qualification

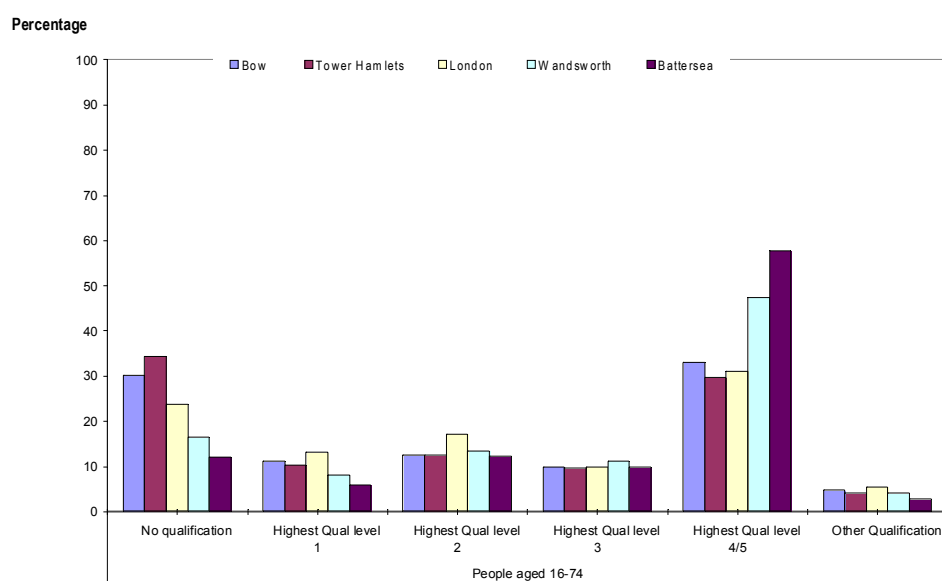


Table 6. Social grade

<i>Social grade</i>	Bow Survey Area (N=2,524)	Tower Hamlets (N=149,108)	London (N=5,632,491)	Wandsworth (N=213,559)	Battersea Survey Area (N=1,398)
A/B Higher and intermediate managerial / administrative / professional	21.2	21.2	26.5	35.8	41.2
C1 Supervisory, clerical, junior managerial / administrative / professional	31.3	26.0	33.0	34.1	35.3
C2 Skilled manual workers	11.0	11.4	11.0	7.1	5.4
D Semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers	16.1	18.3	14.3	10.7	9.0
E On state benefit, unemployed, lowest grade workers	20.3	23.2	15.2	12.2	9.1

Figure 6. Social grade

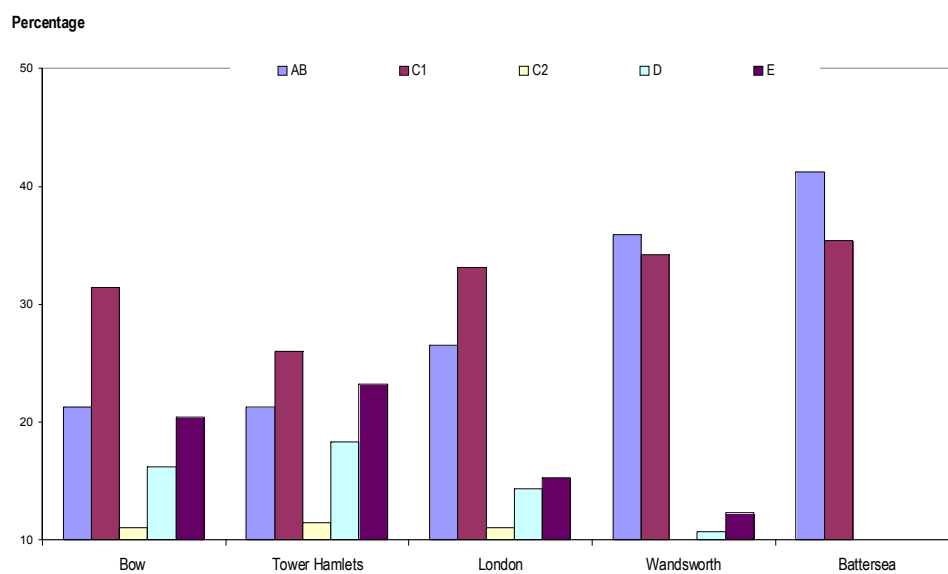


Table 7. Socio-economic Classification

<i>National Statistics Socio-economic Classification</i> □	Bow Survey Area (N=2,370)	Tower Hamlets (N=143,429)	London (N=5,300,332)	Wandsworth (N=204,647)	Battersea Survey Area (N=1,347)
1. Higher managerial and professional	11.5	11.7	12.1	19.5	25.8
2. Lower managerial and professional	21.7	17.5	22.2	28.0	32.5
3. Intermediate occupations	8.5	7.2	10.2	9.0	8.2
4. Small employers and own account workers	4.9	4.3	6.4	5.5	6.8
5. Lower supervisory and technical occupations	4.8	4.3	5.0	3.6	2.8
6. Semi-routine occupations	8.2	9.5	9.0	6.7	5.7
7. Routine occupations	5.9	6.4	5.8	4.2	4.3
8. Never worked and long-term unemployed	7.9	13.8	6.0	4.2	3.1
Not Classified	26.6	25.4	23.2	19.3	10.8

Figure 7. Socio-economic Classification

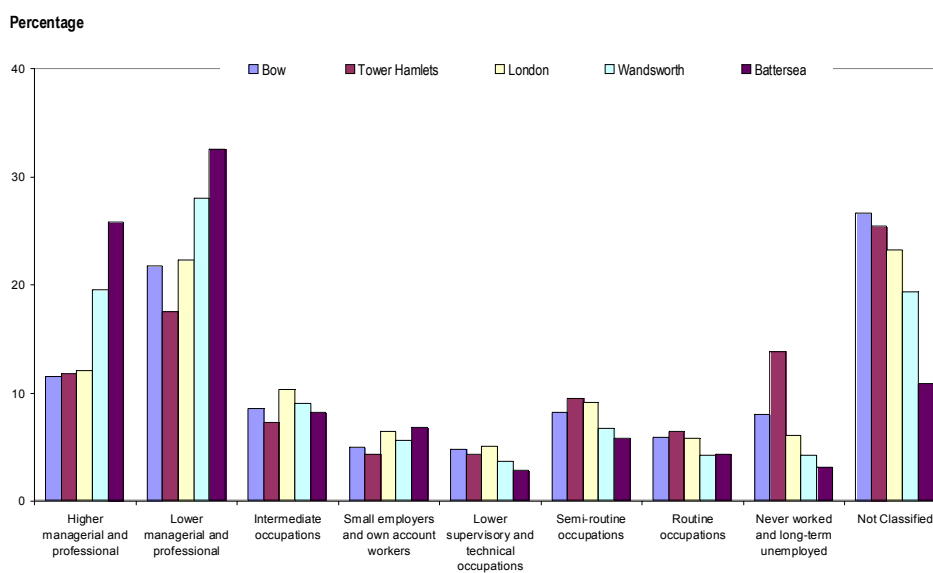


Table 8. Dwelling Types

<i>Dwelling Type</i>		Bow Survey Area (N=1,316)	T.Hamlets (N=80,781)	London (N=3,109,657)	Wandsworth (N=121,566)	Battersea survey Area (N=828)
One family Dwelling	House or Bungalow	42.7	16.3	22.1	35.7	51.1
	Flat, Maisonette or Apartment	56.8	82.6	77.1	63.3	47.9
	Caravan or other Mobile or Temporary structure	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1
Shared Dwelling		0.5	1.1	0.9	1.0	0.8

Table 9. People living in Dwelling Types

<i>Dwelling Type</i>		Bow Survey Area (N=3,011)	Tower Hamlets (N=193,987)	London (N=7,078,632)	Wandsworth (N=255,973)	Battersea Survey Area (N=1,579)
One family	House or Bungalow	49.1	20.4	29.4	44.4	60.4
	Flat, Maisonette or Apartment	50.3	78.0	70.2	54.9	38.9
	Mobile/temporary structure	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1
Shared Dwelling		0.6	1.4	0.6	0.6	0.4

Table 10. Number of people per household

<i>Number of people within household</i>	Bow Survey Area (N=1,301)	Tower Hamlets (N=78,530)	London (N=3,015,997)	Wandsworth (N=115,653)	Battersea Survey Area (N=795)
1	35.6	38.9	34.7	36.6	41.4
2	28.2	26.7	29.4	31.6	34.8
3	16.6	11.8	15.0	15.1	13.1
4	11.2	8.8	12.5	10.4	6.5
5	6.5	6.3	5.5	4.3	2.4
6 or more	1.8	5.4	2.8	2.1	1.8

Table 11. Household composition

<i>Household composition</i>	Bow Survey Area (N=1,304)	Tower Hamlets (N=78,530)	London (N=3,015,997)	Wandsworth (N=115,653)	Battersea Survey Area (N=795)
One person	35,5	38,9	34,7	36,6	41,4
One family	3,9	2,9	5,4	3,5	2,1
All pensioners					
Married couple	21,7	22,7	28,5	22,1	16,9
Cohabiting household	9,4	8,4	8,1	10,0	13,6
Lone parent	11,4	10,5	11,1	9,2	6,9
Other household	18,0	16,6	12,2	18,6	19,1

Table 12. Tenure-People

<i>Tenure - People</i>		Bow Survey Area (N=3,011)	T. Hamlets (N=193,987)	London (N=7,078,632)	Wandsworth (N=255,973)	Battersea Survey Area (N=1,579)
Owned	Owns outright	13.1	6.7	14.1	17.7	19.2
	Owns with a mortgage or loan	26.6	17.9	34.3	34.3	38.2
	Shared ownership	1.7	1.2	0.3	0.8	0.9
	Total	<i>41.4</i>	<i>25.8</i>	<i>48.7</i>	<i>52.8</i>	<i>58.3</i>
Social rented	LocAuthority	27.8	41.4	4.7	14.5	16.7
	Other	13.0	16.5	14.3	7.5	8.8
	Total	<i>40.8</i>	<i>57.9</i>	<i>19.0</i>	<i>22.0</i>	<i>25.5</i>
Private rented from	Private landlord or letting agency	15.6	13.4	28.5	22.1	13.4
	Employee of hh member	0.1	0.1	0.8	0.4	0.2
	Relative /friend of hh member	0.5	0.6	1.9	1.1	0.6
	Other	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.3
	Total	<i>16.4</i>	<i>14.5</i>	<i>31.5</i>	<i>23.9</i>	<i>14.5</i>
Living for free		1.4	1.9	1.7	1.3	0.8

Figure 12. Tenure – People

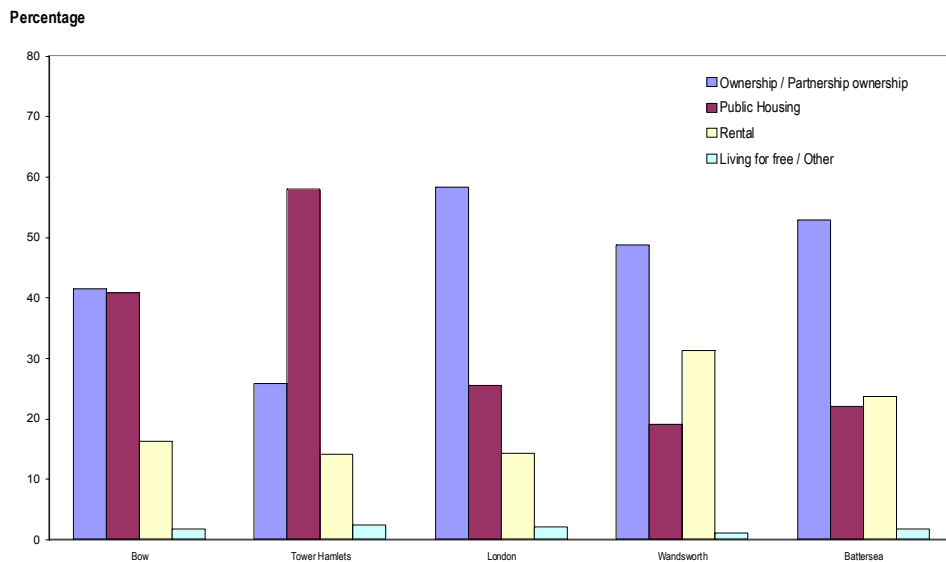
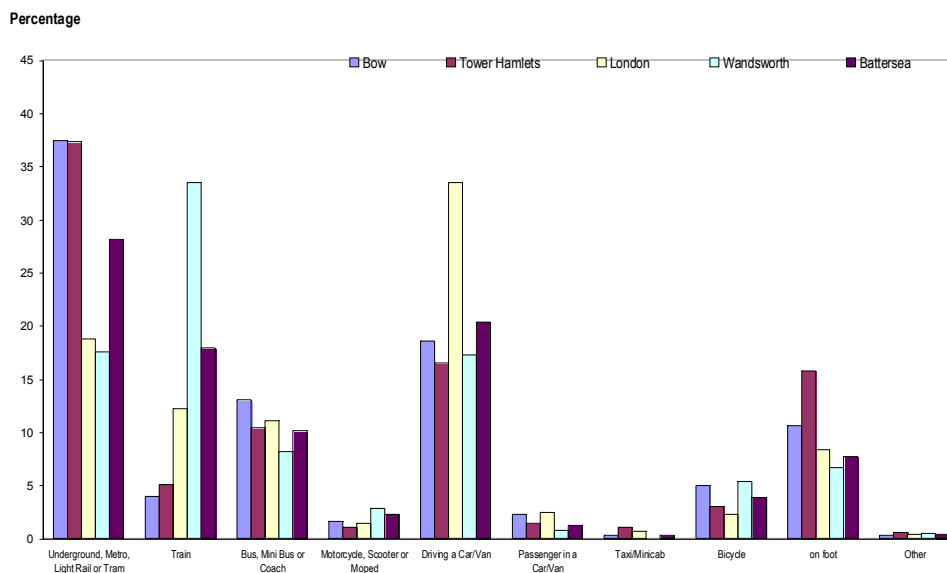


Table 13. Travel to work

<i>Travel to work</i> [□]		Bow Survey Area (N=1,391)	Tower Hamlets (N=73,938)	London (N=3,319,164)	Wandsworth (N=141,191)	Battersea Survey Area (N=1,066)
People who work mainly at or from home		7.0	7.7	8.6	7,7	7,5
People who usually travel to work by	Underground/Metro/ Light Rail/Tram	37.4	37.3	18.8	17,5	28,1
	Train	4.0	5.1	12.2	33,5	17,9
	Bus/Mini Bus/Coach	13.0	10.4	11.1	8,2	10,1
	Motorcycle/Scooter/ Moped	1.6	1.1	1.4	2,8	2,3
	Driving a Car/Van	18.6	16.5	33.5	17,3	20,4
	As Passenger in a Car/Van	2.3	1.4	2.5	0,8	1,2
	Taxi/Minicab	0.3	1.1	0.7	0,0	0,3
	Bicycle	5.0	3.0	2.3	5,4	3,9
	on foot	10.6	15.8	8.4	6,7	7,7
Other	0.3	0.6	0.4	0,5	0,4	
Average distance (km) travelled to work		7.8	8.2	10.4	9,7	9,5
Public transport users in household	with car or van	57.5	47.6	64.5	60,2	62,1
	without car or van	42.5	51.9	35.1	39,8	37,5

Figure 13. Travel to work



ⁱ Undoubtedly, the official census data underestimate the presence of foreigners in Rome because many are in Italy illegally and fear immigration law in 1989 (*la legge Martelli*) to make existing illegal immigrants eligible for a 'regularization' of their status does not yet appear to have had much effect on the relative proportion of legal and illegal immigrants from outside the countries of the European Community. The vast crowd of Filipinos who gather to fraternize with one another on Sunday afternoons in the Piazza in front of the Stazione Termini, many of whom have come to Italy as domestic servants, give the impression of being the public face of a large immigrant population that is yet largely uncounted and officially unacknowledged.

ⁱⁱ In Battersea, five interviews were conducted in LARA in May 2007 by two interviewers. The selection of interviewees was made partly by the interviewees themselves. An owner-occupier who has lived in the area since 1970 was first approached and asked to identify three long-standing residents living in different streets and three newcomers. People had strong feelings about particular streets in the area and it seemed important to select interviewees living in different streets. Then, each of the three long-standing residents, all well known women to the interviewer, was asked to identify one newcomer each. The interviews, one to two hours long and taped with the consent of the interviewees, were semi-structured and based on the network diagrams (Geographical distance and Affective Distance diagrams, described in Wallman, 1984). The focus was on people's networks and their perception of the neighbourhood. The discussion with long-standing residents naturally focused on change.

ⁱⁱⁱ In Bow, the focus of the interviews has been to understand people's perception about changes in the area as well as to map their movements in/out the neighbourhood. As Bow was believed to be a rather closed system, changes in the mobility of its residents proved productive in the investigation of how social networks are constructed, perceived and used. During walkabouts in the area, the two researchers collected short interviews and shot a half-day video of Bethnal Green market. Shop keepers and people working in association or organisations were first approached and then interviewed inside their working place: conversations were not recorded, but notes were taken after each interview. Six household interviews, preceded by talks with a few people who used to live or work in the area, were carried out in June 2007. Old and new residents of both sexes and of different ages living in the area were involved. They lasted between one and two hours and mapsⁱⁱⁱ and diagrams were used according to each interviewee's comfort:

- (1) Perception of changes in the area was explored by asking questions about their life in the immediate area they lived in (their street and a few more) and a map of a greater area (with a few tube stations); details about further areas followed naturally.
- (2) Network Diagrams were used to understand distance in space and distance in feeling between the interviewee and the people he/she interacts with (acquaintance-friend-relative-family member)
- (3) Shopping patterns and social networks were explored by showing the London boroughs map and the London tube/train map.

^{iv} **Definitions:** Bow Survey Area (BoSA) belongs to Tower Hamlets (East London) and Battersea Survey Area (BaSA) belongs to Wandsworth (South London) boroughs. The two survey areas are easily identified on the map, but figures for small areas are difficult to obtain, and boundaries have changed since the earlier study. The smallest area for which 2001 Census results are available is the Output Areas (OAs), which have an average population size of 125 households and around 300 residents. Those boundaries were created to enclose as compact an area as possible and to contain populations with *homogeneous characteristics*. The Battersea area [BaSA] falls within Wandsworth 012A LSOA, but the Bow area [BoSA] is subdivided. Half of its streets fall in Tower Hamlets 003A LLSOA, and the other half in Tower Hamlets 003AB LLSOA. There are marked differences between them but they are combined here to constitute a Bow-type. As a consequence, our Bow survey population is larger: 3,011 against 1,575 in Battersea. The appended census data are presented for Bow / Battersea survey areas, Tower Hamlets / Wandsworth Boroughs and Greater London.

The distribution of people living in Bow is more homogeneous than in Battersea. This latter has a peak at 25-29 years old, five years later than Bow has, and remarkably 40% of the total population is between 25 and 35 years old. Tower Hamlets has the largest percentage of people of 20-34 years old in the whole country, but as interestingly the proportion of people aged 45-79 years old is much smaller overall. [*Age structure* - Tab and Fig 1]

Europeans and Americans are spread equally across the two areas: East (Bow and Tower Hamlets) and South (Battersea and Wandsworth). Bangladeshis are strongly present in Bow and in the whole Tower Hamlets borough, where they compile 72% and 88% of the total South Asian population respectively, in contrast with a much smaller presence in the whole of London (22%). 81% of all Africans in Battersea and 69% of all Africans in Wandsworth are from South/Eastern African. [*Country of origin* - Tab 2]

Wandsworth is a predominately 'white' settlement, with 78% of whites living there, whereas the average in the whole London is 71% and only 51% in Tower Hamlets. Mixed, black and Chinese are spread equally across the areas (Bow/Battersea, Tower Hamlets/Wandsworth and London), while Bangladeshi remains the biggest community in Tower Hamlets with a third of the total population being of Bangladeshi origin. [*Ethnic groups* - Tab and Fig 3]

As a consequence of the ethnic origin of the people living in those areas, a very large Christian population live between Wandsworth (62%) and Battersea (65.5%). Bow has the same proportion of Christians as in the whole of London but about a third of Tower Hamlets population is Muslim. One person out of five said of having no religion belief. [*Religion* - Tab and Fig 4]

Among people aged 16 and 74 years old, one third has no qualification and one third has a 4/5-qualification level in Bow and in Tower Hamlets. Very interestingly, nearly half of Wandsworth population and three out of five people in Battersea have a 4/5-qualification level, and very low proportion of people have level 1 or no qualification. [*Education and Qualification* - Tab and Fig 5]

Being Social Grade classified in A/B (higher and intermediate managerial / administrative / professional), C1 (supervisory, clerical, junior managerial / administrative / professional), C2 (skilled manual workers), D (semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers), E (on state benefit, unemployed, lowest grade workers), more than 70% of population on Battersea and Wandsworth has at least a C1 social grade, both higher than the average for the whole London. About 20% of people in Bow and Tower Hamlets are categorised as having an A/B social grade and the same proportion is in social grade E. The majority of those living in Bow and Tower Hamlets have social grade C1 jobs. [*Social grade* - Tab and Fig 6]

The National Statistics Office produces socio-economic classification of employment in a scale from 1 to 8: 1 (higher managerial and professional), 2 (lower managerial and professional), 3 (intermediate occupations), 4 (small employers and own account workers), 5 (lower supervisory and technical occupations), 6 (semi-routine occupations), 7 (routine occupations), 8 (never worked and long-term unemployed). According to the 2001 data, about 11-12% of people living in Bow, Tower Hamlets and London have a higher managerial and professional job, against 20% in Wandsworth and twice as much in Battersea (26%). In Battersea, managerial and professional jobs include more than half of the total population, while the same proportion in Bow covers as low as rank 5. Bow and Tower Hamlets are closer to the overall London situation, except for the proportion of people who have never worked and have been unemployed for a long-term (rank 8), for which Tower Hamlets has twice the London proportion. [*Socio-economic Classification* - Tab and Fig 7]

There are more flats than houses in all areas except Battersea, where they are equally distributed. Tower Hamlets has more than 80% flats, London has 77% and Wandsworth 63%. As a consequence most people who live in Bow, Tower Hamlets, London and Wandsworth live in flats. Most households are single person, and this is a general trend across all areas. Battersea has the smallest proportion of married couples (17%) when the London average is nearly 30% and just over 20% in the other three areas. Battersea also has the largest proportion of cohabiting households (14%) and of one-person households (41%). [*Household type and composition* - Tab 8, 9, 10, 11]

Twice as many people own their homes in Wandsworth than in Tower Hamlets (53% against 26%), and the proportion is even higher in Battersea (58%). Less than one quarter live in public housing in London,

Wandsworth and Battersea, against 41% in Bow and 58% in Tower Hamlets. Proportions of private rentals are higher for the whole London than the constituent study areas. [*Tenure* - Tab and Fig 12]

37% of people living in Bow and Tower Hamlets travel by public transport (underground, metro, light rail, tram) while the average across the other areas is below 30%. One person out of three in Wandsworth and 18% of the people in Battersea travel by train, against a 4-5% in Bow and Tower Hamlets. More people in Bow and Tower Hamlets walk to work (11% and 16% respectively) than in Battersea and Wandsworth (8% and 7%), but the latter work further away (about 10 km) than in the other two areas (8 km). Nearly 50% of the people living in Battersea travel between 5-10 Km, versus a proportion as low as 25% in the whole of London. On the other hand, in Bow more than half of the population (including people who work from home) travels less than 5 Km. [*Travel to work* – Tab and Fig 13]

vi

'Macché razzismo, al Pigneto mi sono fatto giustizia' Repubblica, 29 Maggio 2008

ROMA - L' uomo del raid del Pigneto, «l' italiano sulla cinquantina» cui la polizia cerca da cinque giorni di dare un volto, il più vecchio tra i mazzieri, il "Capo", arriva all' appuntamento ai tavolini di un bar che è notte. Ha i capelli brizzolati, gli occhi lucidi come di chi è in preda a una febbre. Allunga la mano in una stretta decisa che gli fa dondolare il ciondolo d' oro al polso. «Eccome qua, io sarei il nazista che stanno a cercà da tutti i pizzi. Guarda qua. Guarda quanto so' nazista...». La mano sinistra solleva la manica destra del giubbotto di cotone verde che indossa, scoprendo la pelle. L' avambraccio è un unico, grande tatuaggio di Ernesto Che Guevara. «Hai capito? Nazista a me? Io sono nato il primo maggio, il giorno della festa dei lavoratori e al nonno di mia moglie, nel ventennio, i fascisti fecero chiudere la panetteria al Pigneto perché non aveva preso la tessera». L' uomo ha 48 anni. Delle figlie ancora piccole. Una storia difficile di galera e di imputazioni per rapina. E, naturalmente, un nome. «Quello lo saprai molto presto. Il giorno che mi presento al magistrato, perché quel giorno il mio nome non sarà più un segreto. Mi presento, parola mia. La faccio finita co' 'sta storia. Ma ci voglio andare con le gambe mie a presentarmi. Nun me vojo fa' beve (arrestare ndr.) a casa. Perciò, se proprio serve un nome a casaccio, scrivi Ernesto... «. Indica la foto sulla prima pagina dell' edizione di "Repubblica" del 27 maggio. Quella scattata durante il raid con il telefono cellulare da uno dei testimoni dell' aggressione. «Ecco. Io sono questo qua. Questo cerchiato con il marsupio e la maglietta rossa, che si vede di spalle. La maglietta è una Lacoste. Adesso ti racconto davvero come è andata. Ti racconto la verità prima che mi si bevono. Perché la verità, come diceva il Che, è rivoluzionaria. La politica non c' entra un cazzo. Destra e sinistra si devono rassegnare. Devono fare pace con il cervello loro. Non c' entrano un cazzo le razze. Non c' entra - com' è che se dice? - la xenofobia. C' entra il rispetto. Io sono un figlio del Pigneto. Tutti sanno chi sono e perché ho fatto quello che ho fatto. Tutti. E per questo si sono stati tutti zitti con le guardie che mi stanno cercando. Perché mi vogliono bene. Perché mi rispettano. Perché hanno capito. Io ho sbagliato. E non devo e non voglio essere un esempio per nessuno. Ma per una volta in vita mia, ho sbagliato a fin di bene. E allora è giusto che il Pigneto veda scritta la verità. Se lo merita. E quella la posso raccontare solo io». La «verità» di "Ernesto" ha un incipit. Giovedì 22 maggio. Quarantotto ore prima del raid. «A metà mattina, a una donna di cui non faccio il nome e a cui voglio bene come a me stesso, rubano il portafoglio in via Macerata. Non faceva che piangere. Un amico mio - un immigrato, pensa un po' - mi dice che se lo voglio ritrovare devo andare nel negozio di quell' infame bugiardo dell' indiano. In via Macerata. Perché il ladro sta lì. E' un marocchino, un tunisino, mi dice l' amico mio. Venerdì, verso mezzogiorno, ci vado. Trovo questa merda di marocchino, o da dove cazzo viene, questo Mustafà, seduto davanti al negozio con una birra in mano. Una faccia brutta, cattiva, con una cicatrice. Mi fa cenno di entrare e nel negozio mi trovo lui, l' indiano bugiardo e un vecchio, un italiano. Il marocchino mi dice: "Tu passare oggi pomeriggio e trovare portafoglio". Io dico va bene e, te lo giuro, non mi incazzo, né strillo. Dico solo: "Dei soldi non me frega niente. Ma dei documenti sì". Ripasso il pomeriggio e quello mi dice: "Scusa. Non fatto in tempo. Torna domani". Io ripasso sabato mattina e quel Mustafà là, ridendo, sempre con quella cazzo di birra in mano, mi fa segno che i documenti l' ha buttati dentro una buca delle lettere. Allora non ci ho visto più. Mi è partita la brocca. Ho cominciato a strillare, dentro e fuori del negozio. In mezzo alla strada. E ho detto: "Se vedemo alle cinque. E se non salta fuori il portafoglio sfascio tutto"». Alle 17 di sabato, dunque, arriva "Ernesto". Ma non da solo. «Eh no. Fermati. Fermati qui. Io arrivo da solo. Perché io voglio andare a gonfiare il marocchino da solo. Io quando devo fare a cazzotti non mi porto dietro nessuno. Il problema è che quando arrivo all' angolo con via Macerata non ti trovo una quindicina di ragazzi del quartiere? Tutti incazzati e bardati. Te l' ho detto. Mi vogliono bene. Avevano saputo della tarantella ed erano due giorni che

sentivano questa storia di questo portafoglio. Evidentemente volevano starci pure loro e si sono presentati. Non l'ho mica chiamati o invitati». "Ernesto" fa un cenno al cameriere. Chiede un whiskey di malto scozzese. Un "Oban". Strizza l'occhio. «Lo vedi questo? E' cresciuto con me al Pigneto». «Che stavo a di? Ah sì, i piscelli. Io davvero non riesco a capire come si sono inventati la storia della svastica. Ma quale svastica? Io questi piscelli non li conosco personalmente, ma mi dicono che sono tutto tranne che fascisti. E, comunque svastiche non ce n' erano. Quei piscelli, per quanto ne so, si fanno il culo dalla mattina alla sera. E hanno solo un problema. Si sono rotti il cazzo di vedere la madre, la sorella o la nonna piangere la sera, perché qualche vigliacco gli ha sputato o gli ha fischiato dietro il culo. Te lo ripeto, io non l'ho chiamati. Io ce li ho trovati. E poi, scusa tanto sa, ma hai mai visto tu un raid nazista senza una scritta su un muro? Qualcuno si è chiesto perché, se era un raid, nessuno ha toccato per esempio i sette senegalesi che vendevano i cd taroccati in via Macerata? Lo vuoi sapere perché? Perché i senegalesi non avevano fatto niente. Perché sono amici. Perché portano rispetto e quando stava per cominciare il casino al negozio dell' indiano, gli ho detto di mettersi da una parte». Forse "Ernesto" vuole solo coprire quei ragazzi. Forse la sua storia comincia a pattinare. «Aspetta. Io ti ripeto che i nomi di quei piscelli non li conosco e, comunque, se anche li conoscessi non li farei mai. Ma la dimostrazione che dico la verità sai qual è? E' che loro erano tutti coperti. Con i caschi, con i cappucci. E io invece ero l' unico a volto scoperto. Perché, come t' ho detto, io se devo andare a fare a cazzotti ci vado a mani nude, da solo e a viso scoperto. Te ne dico un' altra. La dimostrazione che sto dicendo la verità è che quando l' indiano di via Macerata mi vede e se la dà, dopo che gli ho sfasciato le vetrine, i piscelli si mettono a correre verso via Ascoli Piceno. Per me è finita lì. E non capisco quelli che vogliono fare. Allora li raggiungo a piedi e quando all' angolo tra via del Pigneto e via Ascoli Piceno vedo che stanno a fa' un macello con i bengalesi, che si sono messi a sfasciare le macchine della gente del quartiere, comincio a gridare. Grido: "A pezzi de merda che state a fa' ? Annattevene da lì, a rincojoniti!". Per questo, come ho letto sui giornali, dicono che hanno sentito "il Capo" dare ordini in italiano. Ma quali ordini? Io li stavo a mannà a fanculo perché mi era presa paura. Avevo capito che casino stava montando». Cosa aveva capito "Ernesto"? L' uomo butta giù il fondo di "Oban" rimasto nel bicchiere. Accende una Marlboro rossa. «Avevo capito che, senza volerlo, avevo slegato la bestia. Avevo capito che il veleno mio era il veleno di tutti. Sai perché penso che i piscelli sono andati dai bengalesi in via Ascoli Piceno? Perché quell' alimentari là, quello dove è andato a chiedere scusa Alemanno, due anni fa l' avevano chiuso per spaccio. Perché sotto il sacco dei ceci che dice di vendere, il bengalese ci teneva la droga. So che è andato assolto perché ha detto che la roba la nascondeva un marocchino. Sta di fatto che lì davanti è sempre un circo. Stanno sempre aperti. Anche alle cinque de mattina. Mi spieghi che cazzo si vendono?». "Ernesto" chiede un altro wiskey. «La storia potrebbe finire qua. Ma non finisce qua». L' uomo, ora, ha voglia di raccontare chi è e come è cresciuto. «Perché tutto si deve sapere. Tutto. Perché poi, quando ti si bevono, i giornali scrivono un mucchio di cazzate». E' il quarto di cinque figli, "Ernesto". Suo padre è un carabiniere. Lo perde a 8 anni e finisce in collegio, perché a casa, al Pigneto, non si riesce a mettere insieme il pranzo con la cena. Quando esce dall' istituto, comincia a rubare. «Per fame. Ho sempre rubato solo per fame. E mai al Pigneto». A 24 anni perde anche la madre. Comincia a entrare e uscire di galera. Regina Coeli, Sollicciano, «dove a Pacciani, j' ho fatto 'na faccia tanto. Sto schifoso...». «Sempre accusato di reati contro lo Stato...». «Contro lo Stato? «Sì, rapine in banca. Perché, le banche non sono dello Stato?». Ride, per la prima volta. Poi si fa di nuovo cupo. «Il Pigneto era bellissimo. Da ragazzino giocavo a ruzzichella dove adesso ci sta' quello schifo di isola pedonale. Dove adesso vomitano e pisciano fino alle cinque de mattina, ci stava il cocomeraro e quello che vendeva le cozze col limone. Posso sopportare che mentre vado al mercato a comprare il pesce per mia figlia che è una ragazzina, lei deve vedere uno che se tira fuori l' uccello e sui banchi del mercato ci piscia? Eh? Lo posso sopportare?». Il colore della pelle, dice, non c' entra. «Io ho litigato con tutti quelli che non portano rispetto alla gente del Pigneto. Bianchi e neri. Io ho fatto casino qualche settimana fa al pub di via Fanfulla, perché quattro stronzetti italiani non mi facevano rientrare a casa con le bambine e quando ho chiesto di spostare una macchina in doppia fila, mi hanno imbruttito dicendo: "Perché, se no che succede?". "Succede che te gonfio", ho detto. E si sono spostati. Ho litigato con degli algerini sotto casa, che mi stavano fregando il motorino. Ne ho appiccicati al muro un paio e da allora sai come mi chiamano? "Grande mujaheddin. Grande talibano". Beh, l' altra sera m' hanno riportato le chiavi della macchina che mi ero dimenticato sul cofano. Hai capito, sì? Io non ce l' ho con nessuno. Io voglio bene ai neri e ai bianchi che rispettano gli altri. Che rispettano il Pigneto, che insieme alla mia famiglia è l' unica cosa che ho. Io sono cresciuto al bar Necci, hai presente? Sai, no? Quello del film di Pasolini "Accattone". Vai a chiedere di me lì. Vedi che ti dicono. Vai a chiede di me allo stagnaro di via Ascoli, o al bar di fronte. Vedi che dicono. Io ci sono poche persone che non rispetto. I bugiardi, i laidi, gli ipocriti, le pecore. E ti racconto ancora una cosa che mi devi promettere di scrivere». "Ernesto" tira fuori l' ultima sigaretta del pacchetto di Marlboro, che poi accartoccia come carta velina. «Pifano. Daniele Pifano, hai presente? Collettivo di via dei Volsci. Autonomia, anni '70 e compagnia cantante. Beh, stai a sentire. Viene a vivere al Pigneto e due anni fa becca un fascistello che gli rompe il cazzo. Ti dico: questo qua lo umilia e gli distrugge la bici davanti a tutti. Io mi metto in mezzo e da

allora, quando vedono Pifano, si scansano. E lui che fa? Sabato, dieci minuti dopo il casino, si mette con i centri sociali nell' isola pedonale a strillare che sono arrivati i nazisti al Pigneto. Ma come si fa? Ma che uomo sei? Ma che dignità c' hai a giocare sulla pelle del Pigneto e del sottoscritto? L' altro giorno ho provato a chiamare anche Luxuria, quella di Rifondazione. Gli ho detto: "Dovemo parlà". E lui: "Si ma al telefono perché sono a Cosenza per una riunione". Allora io dico. Tu starai pure a Cosenza, ma al Pigneto, che è dove vivi pure tu, chi ci pensa?». Chi ci pensa? "Ernesto" ride. «A pagare i wiskey ci pensi tu, perché io sto' in bianco e devo pure pensare a trovare un avvocato bravo. Poi, quando sarà finita tutta questa storia, offrirò io. Ora vado. Mi raccomando. La verità. Io non sono un esempio per nessuno. Ma stavolta, davanti alle mie figlie, voglio che sia diverso. Non come le altre volte che m' hanno visto andare in Centrale o carcerato. Stavolta l' ho fatto per loro. E per il Pigneto. In fondo, non ho ammazzato nessuno. E tutto 'sto casino, non l' ho armato io» - *CARLO BONINI*

'Fears of racist violence rise as gang goes on rampage in Rome'

Tom Kington

The Guardian, Monday May 26 2008

Fears of rising intolerance towards migrants in Italy grew after a masked group armed with sticks went on the rampage in a multi-ethnic Rome neighbourhood, smashing shop windows while hurling abuse.

In the 10-minute blitz on Saturday, the group of between 10 and 20 men attacked a food shop owned by an Indian migrant and two stores operated by Bangladeshis, disappearing before police arrived.

The assault comes as Silvio Berlusconi's administration launches a crackdown on illegal immigration, and days after a mob firebombed Gypsy camps in Naples. Last month crowds at Rome's town hall welcomed newly-elected mayor Gianni Alemanno with fascist salutes.

Alemanno, a former neo-fascist, was voted in after promising to expel 20,000 migrants from Rome he said had broken the law. Yesterday he said he was "outraged" by the attack and promised "exemplary punishment for the guilty". Opposition politician Piero Fassino spoke of "an unbelievable wave of racist violence that can only provoke horror".

The Pigneto neighbourhood, where the attack took place, is a traditionally working-class area, recently settled in by migrants as well as students and artists. It has a reputation for peaceful co-existence, although locals said the masked assailants were probably from the area.

Police yesterday suggested the trouble had started earlier in the day with a row between an Italian man and a migrant over stolen money.

"Italy is not a racist country," said interior minister Roberto Maroni of the anti-immigrant Northern League party. "Episodes of this kind are sometimes inflamed by crimes committed by illegal immigrants."

Also on Saturday, Cristian Floris, who works for a gay website in Rome, was assaulted outside his house by two men.