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**The long-term impact of social mixing
policies on neighbourhood reputations:
A comparative study between Ponte Lambro
in Milan and the New Deal for Communities
area in Bristol**

Giada Casarin

A dissertation submitted to the University of Bristol in accordance with the requirements for award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Social Sciences and Law, School of Geographical Sciences. March 2023.

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Abstract

The fight against neighbourhood effects has been led by urban renewal policies through ethnicity, income and tenure mixing as well as demolition and poverty deconcentration strategies. These saw in the (perceived) homogeneity of the working-class social housing neighbourhood the spatialisation of deviance and disadvantage. While the existing literature has been critical in evaluating the impact of social mixing policies, particularly focusing on community cohesion, social mobility and wellbeing, studies have focused on short-term outcomes, neglecting longer-term assessments, especially in Europe. This thesis explores the impact of two government-led social mixing schemes (New Deal for Communities, Bristol; Contratto di Quartiere, Milan) by examining whether there have been improvements in the long run in internal and external neighbourhood reputations - as aspired by the policies - through a comparative and longitudinal qualitative analysis of discourse. The *internal neighbourhood reputation* is informed by focus groups and interviews, alongside remote Participatory Photo Mapping, with residents of the inner-city NDC area in Bristol and of Ponte Lambro, peripheral neighbourhood in Milan. Whereas the evolution of the *external neighbourhood reputation* in both contexts is investigated through the Critical Discourse Analysis of local newspaper articles mentioning the two urban areas before and after the implementation of the social mixing policies. Research findings demonstrate that local interventions involving community participation and long-term plans do not automatically correspond to positive reputations and that territorial stigmas can persist in contexts of urban divide and socio-economic inequalities. Although, in both contexts, reputations have not significantly improved, the neighbourhood of Ponte Lambro is still experiencing mainly negative discourse from both media and the local community of residents; whilst the reputations of Bristol's NDC area appear to clash more substantially, as the increased negative external reputation does not meet the more mixed or balanced perceptions of participants. By offering case study recommendations based on the research findings, this thesis concludes that both comparative and longitudinal approaches in qualitative urban research should be prioritised to provide an integrated picture of policy aims and impacts over time, at both the neighbourhood and the city levels.

Covid-19 Statement

This research project has been significantly affected by and readapted to the Covid-19 pandemic, which hit Italy as first country in Europe in March 2020, while I was about to start my ethnographic fieldwork in the neighbourhood of Ponte Lambro, Milan. The face-to-face and ethnographic elements of data collection that were initially planned as fundamental aspects of my research design and ethics had to be reconsidered and moved to a remote setting in response to the circumstances of social distancing: remote Participatory Photo Mapping paired with online focus groups and online/over the phone 1-1 interviews. Lockdowns and travel restrictions, however, represented a critical challenge for the research design but offered at the same time the opportunity to activate creativity and explore new and alternative forms of interaction and collaboration with research participants. I provide further details about the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic in the following sections of this dissertation: Chapter 3, sections 3.3, 3.5; Chapter 8, sections 8.2, 8.4.

Declaration

I declare that the work in this dissertation was carried out in accordance with the requirements of the University's Regulations and Code of Practice for Research Degree Programmes and that it has not been submitted for any other academic award. Except where indicated by specific reference in the text, the work is the candidate's own work. Work done in collaboration with, or with the assistance of, others, is indicated as such. Any views expressed in the dissertation are those of the author.

SIGNED:



DATE: 08/03/2023

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I dedicate this thesis to my grandmother, Carolina, my beacon.

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Chapter 1.

Introduction¹

*We're missing something that somewhere like Clifton has got that we haven't got.
And I'm not sure what that is.*
(Brooks, current long-term resident, 30-40, Barton Hill).

My academic interest in pursuing a research project on reputations of urban marginality was prompted by my master's dissertation and consolidated between 2017-2018, when I was living in Lille, France, working as teaching assistant in two schools (a middle school and a high school). The schools were both socially and geographically distant from each other: the *lycée* was in a peripheral but still well-connected neighbourhood in the southern area of the city, whereas the middle school was in Wattrelos, about 14 km away from Lille, but still part of the metropolitan area. Although these schools and their surrounding neighbourhoods are part of the same city, the gap – in terms of the pupils' backgrounds and educational attainment - between the two was evident to me. The contrasts between the two schools were also visible in the socio-economic, educational, and professional disparities surrounding pupils' motivations, curriculums, opportunities and, ultimately, career pathways. As I was meeting everyday with young individuals directly affected by such urban polarisation, I could perceive, both from within and outside the areas, how public narratives and place images were reinforcing the existing territorial inequalities. This reality of 'parallel worlds' (Butler and Robson, 2001) served to increase my interest in the field of urban studies and led me, one year later, to explore the origins, reproduction, and fight against urban marginality through case study research in Europe.

The introduction of this thesis provides the context and justification of my study, situating the research undertaken within the literature of urban regeneration and post-structuralist theories. In addition, I cover the research puzzle and questions that guided the research through the investigation of the long-term impact of social mixing policies. The last section then presents a general overview of the thesis structure.

1.1. Context and background

Socio-economic inequalities in European cities are not only a persistent but an increasing phenomenon that is reflected in the spatial polarisation of poverty and wealth, notably in capital and metropolitan urban contexts. Although rates of residential segregation are lower in European cities compared to the

¹ Parts of this chapter are based upon the paper Casarin G., MacLeavy J., Manley D., (2023) Rethinking Urban Utopianism: The Fallacy of Social Mix in the 15-Minute City, *Urban Studies*, 60(16). <https://doi.org/10.1177/00420980231169174>.

United States or other parts of the world (Tammaru et al., 2016), visible concentrations and marginalisation of disadvantaged groups remain persistent urban issues - which have also been highlighted and exacerbated since 2020 by the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic (Cole et al., 2020). In the common imaginary, urban peripheries, from inner cities to more suburban areas, represent the places where multiple disadvantages are concentrated, and where residents experience housing, income, and educational precarities, among others, excluding them from equal access to opportunities and social mobility (Harris and Vorms, 2017; Petsimeris, 2005). These same urban areas have also been historically (and repeatedly) targets of area-based interventions aimed at contrasting and mitigating, through various regeneration strategies, what the literature in urban sociology has identified as negative “neighbourhood effects” or “concentration effects” (Sampson, 2012; Friedrichs et al., 2003; Wilson, 1987). The focus on creating *mixed* communities, to address the (perceived) homogeneity of the ‘problematised’ neighbourhood, has dominated the scene of urban policies particularly since the late 1990s, with area-based and community-based projects funded at local and national scales (Tunstall, 2012; Briata et al., 2009). Yet, although social mix has featured among the most endorsed and applied strategies in Europe (and the US) to address poverty concentration through the mixing of residents’ composition by ethnic, income or tenure mix, spatial divisions between the richest and the poorest, the least and most vulnerable, and between those included and those excluded, remain (see for instance, MHCLG, 2019).

The literature on mixed communities has largely explored the outcomes of social mixing policies at the local level, to evaluate their efficacy from a variety of research perspectives. Most case studies, particularly when it comes to longitudinal analyses, are connected to the US experience on poverty deconcentration and mixing strategies (see for instance, Chetty et al., 2016; DeLuca and Rosenblatt, 2010; Chaskin and Joseph, 2011). In contrast to the US experience, in the European landscape this area of research has been generally overlooked, as research on social mix has predominantly focused on shorter-term impacts, on the one hand, and on the analysis of some recurrent dimensions, on the other hand, such as residents’ social mobility and education (Lipman, 2012) community resilience and cohesion (or ‘actual’ mix) (Barwick, 2018) displacement and gentrification (Bacqué and Fijalkow, 2012). Furthermore, with regards to the methodological framework, longitudinal analyses of urban policies seem to have privileged quantitative research at the international level, leaving qualitative methods to the investigation of social mix during or immediately after it was implemented, for a limited period and often focusing on a specific geographical space. Nevertheless, urban renewal policies operate change at the local level, and interventions can cover extended periods of time, affecting residents’ lives, choices, and social behaviours for the following years (Tyner, 2020; Pain, 2019). Hence, for the policy’s assessment to be consistent and provide a comprehensive overview of the neighbourhood change, the analysis of long-term effects of urban renewal policies - notably of social mixing policies - appears to be a crucial research area to further explore in the European context. Most

physical and social impacts at the local level are indeed visible over the long run and are often the result of narratives shaping the image of the place which consolidate over time (see Pain, 2019; Watt, 2021). The production and spread of discourses on the disadvantaged neighbourhood not only affect the community's social practices and perceptions but are also both product and source of the urban intervention itself, with final aim being - more or less explicitly - to improve the status and the reputation of the targeted neighbourhood (Permentier et al., 2008; Slater, 2021; Department for Work and Pensions, 2010). As renewed interest in area-based and community-based social mixing policies is covering again current debates on urban planning (see Camerin, 2021), there is a need to revisit the concept and application of social mix from an alternative point of view that can grasp the complexities of social impact and neighbourhood change over time. This thesis seeks to provide a response to this need in the literature and goes further in exploring the longer-term outcomes of social mix by employing discourse and neighbourhood reputations as analytical lens for holistic and more informative policy evaluation.

1.2. Questions and scope of the research

Scholars, so far, have focused on the analysis of the relatively short-term impact of social mix in disadvantaged urban areas, thus overlooking significant and important problems that it might take longer to develop and consolidate, such as the production and reproduction of neighbourhood's reputations. On the other hand, the literature on territorial stigmatisation (Wacquant, 2007; Slater, 2021) and discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1992) has generally paid less attention to time and the issue of neighbourhood change in the construction and internalisation of narratives, or where they have it has not been sufficiently engaged with the field of urban renewal policies, as major drivers of change and shapers of place images. Yet, both research and grey literature indicate the strong correlation between public discourse and urban and housing interventions (Watt, 2008; Jacobs, 2006; Arthurson, 2013), as well as between territorial stigmatisation and social exclusion and discriminatory practices (Slater, 2021; Permentier et al., 2007). With the aim of exploring connections between urban policy - social mix in this case - and discourse on the marginalised neighbourhood, this research project draws on constructionism and post-structuralist theories and focuses on the analysis of discourse as performance of 'symbolic power' (Foucault, 1981; Bourdieu, 1991) shaping realities and boundaries within the city and the neighbourhood itself. The discursive dimension of urban marginality is here employed as explorative tool through which social mixing policies can be evaluated in the long run, that is years after their implementation. Standing out from predominant contemporary urban research where Critical Discourse Analysis is adopted to analyse either internal or external neighbourhood reputations - particularly focusing on the narratives used by policy itself - I seek with this research to address the theoretical and methodological gap identified, among others, by Lees (2004) and Permentier et al. (2008), by drawing bridges between powerful and less powerful agents in the production of place images: on the one hand, the public discourse represented by the local media, that has observed and portrayed the targeted neighbourhood through change; and the perceptions and experiences of the

residents, on the other hand, who have been directly affected by both the social mixing policy and the external reputation.

To answer the overarching question informing this research project “*has the neighbourhood’s reputation improved since the implementation of the social mixing policy?*”, I build on Permentier et al.’s (2008) conceptualisation of neighbourhood reputation – as a combination of internal and external reputations – and go further in the analysis by addressing the following research questions:

Have the external and internal reputations of the neighbourhood changed since the policy implementation?

To what extent have they changed?

This research is designed and implemented as a qualitative study combining discourse analysis with community empirical research in a comparative and longitudinal perspective. The comparison runs across time and space as two marginalised urban areas in Europe are taken as case studies to assess whether their reputations (internal and external) have changed, and eventually even improved, years after the implementation of state-led social mixing policies started in the early 2000s. More specifically, this thesis looks at the outcomes of Contratto di Quartiere II (2004-2012) in the peripheral neighbourhood of Ponte Lambro in Milan, Italy, and the New Deal for Communities (2000-2011) affecting the inner-city area of Bristol, UK, including the neighbourhoods of Barton Hill, Lawrence Hill, Redfield, and The Dings. These distant geographical contexts present specific commonalities that allow their comparability in this research project, including: the timeframe of implementation starting from the early 2000s and running for a duration often years; the concentration of multiple deprivation and ethnic residential segregation; similar principles in the design and delivery of social mix, including the long-term goal to generate a positive impact on the areas’ image.

Among the different urban renewal policies developed in European countries, this thesis focuses on programmes aimed at social and tenure mixing in deprived and marginalised neighbourhoods, which have been affected by a combination of desegregating and revanchist practices. Given its final objective to combine regeneration with the mixing of residents holding different socio-economic characteristics and elements of community participation, the study of social mix was chosen here as a concept and a contributing literature as it offers the chance to explore long-term effects of regeneration policies by analysing their impact from a social perspective – notably reputation and discourse – and their implications for the local community. More specifically, the urban renewal policies selected as case studies in this research (Contratto di Quartiere and the New Deal for Communities) allow to address the study of social mix through a qualitative and ethnographic approach, as both mention among their aspirational aims the intention to improve the areas’ reputation in the long run and overcome their marginalisation. Contratto di Quartiere in Ponte Lambro refers to “the neighbourhood’s actual and

perceived disadvantage” (Calvaresi and Cossa, 2011: 17, emphasis added) that is producing isolation and abandonment, hence emphasising the power of perceptions and stigma. Similarly, the New Deal for Communities in Bristol aimed at turning the area into a place “that people want to stay in or move to” (CaH, 2005: 8), hence an urban area that can be appealing for newcomers and where residents don’t feel the need to leave. Previous literature concerning the development of the two areas in the early 2000s date back to the last years of interventions (2005-2015) and mainly focus on the first evaluations of the policies (Calvaresi and Cossa, 2011; Shaw, 2004; CRESR, 2005; 2015) and the critical analysis of specific aspects, such as the dynamics behind community empowerment and cohesion (MacLeavy, 2009, 2008) or the institutionalisation of the policy (Hohmann, 2013). The two programmes implemented in the case studies areas of Bristol (Barton Hill, Lawrence Hill, Redfield, The Dings) and Milan (Ponte Lambro) have indeed not been investigated yet in terms of their long-term social impact and neighbourhood reputation, nor from a qualitative and participatory perspective. Two main moments or timeframes in the neighbourhood change and regeneration over time are considered in the analysis of these two case studies: from the neighbourhood’s reputation prior to each intervention (I. *Pre-policy*) to its most recent evolution, after more than ten years of local transformation (II. *Assessment*). This comparison across time allows me to apply a longitudinal approach to qualitative analysis and to explore the complexity of impacts of the social mixing policies targeting the case studies in the years between the two timeframes (Bryman, 2012). By comparing the case studies across time and space, this thesis enables the identification of contrasts and analogies not only between the place images but also between the delivery of the two social mixing policies, which can lead to the study of best practices for future interventions. To engage with the research questions introduced above, the research approach considers first the evolution of the *external neighbourhood reputations*, identified in this study with the discourse proposed by the local media, and then completes the picture by including the narratives and perceptions of the neighbourhood residents, informing what is defined as *internal neighbourhood reputation* (Permentier et al., 2007). Both internal and external neighbourhood reputations are analysed and further put in comparison to each other to qualitatively evaluate whether they have improved over time with the implementation of the social mixing policies. To this end, I investigate variations in the external neighbourhood reputations of Ponte Lambro and the NDC area by applying Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) on local newspaper articles drawing on the analytical procedure and approach to the text adopted by Fairclough (1992; 2003; Huckin, 1997). Whilst collecting information on the internal neighbourhood reputations I adopt 1-1 semi-structured interviews and focus groups with residents of the two areas, and combine them with the employ of Participatory Photo Mapping (PPM) that serves as creative and collaborative method to actively involve participants in the creation of a digital map representing the neighbourhood through their own eyes (Corbett, 2009; Teixeira et al., 2020; McIntyre, 2003). With regards to the analytical process, in this case, CDA is used alongside Narrative Analysis. I refer specifically to Souto-Manning’s perspective of Critical Narrative Analysis (CNA), that enables me to

grasp external narratives on the area as ‘internalised’ or “recycled” by participants when exposing the neighbourhood’s internal reputation (Souto-Manning, 2014; Dunn, 2001).

The project’s theoretical and methodological framework creates potential for this thesis to provide significant contributions, not only to the current literature of urban regeneration, and social mix, but also to the field of discourse and territorial stigma, shedding light on the reproduction of further urban inequalities and discrimination through stigma and policy legacies. In so doing, this research seeks to (re)open debates among scholars and practitioners around the outcomes - notably longer-term outcomes - of state-led social mixing interventions, and inform future policy design and assessment with recommendations for more inclusive actions in marginalised and often stigmatised areas of the city.

1.3. Structure of the thesis

This thesis consists of three parts and eight chapters. The first part sets the scene and the argument of the research, and presents the theoretical framework and research design, outlining background, data and methods of research and analysis, as well as contextualising the case studies (Chapters 2, 3 and 4). The second part is dedicated to the empirical findings of the study and examines each case study through the lenses of external and internal neighbourhood reputations (Chapters 5, 6, and 7). In the final part of the thesis, I summarise the research findings and draw conclusions on their implications in a comparative perspective, considering theoretical and methodological contributions, recommendations for future policy making, and limitations (Chapter 8).

The first part of the thesis opens with Chapter 2, which illustrates the two main fields of literature representing the cornerstones and the research areas where this study situates itself: the literature of social mixing policies and the literature of neighbourhood reputation and territorial stigma. The chapter mirrors the dual grounds on which the research is centred, as it is divided in two main sections, building connections and opportunities of dialogue between the two. To be able to examine the outcomes of more recent forms of state-led social mix, I argue that it is crucial to trace the origins of the social mixing urban ideal, its definitions, and main applications at the European and international scales. In this chapter, I look back at the first debates on the ideal mixed communities in the 19th Century and Victorian England (Sarkissian, 1976), moving to the Garden Cities movements in Europe, the New Towns and *villes nouvelles*, and finally, touching on the interventions targeting most post-war social housing estates and related areas from the 1960s onwards, with more explicit social mixing plans from the 1990s across European cities. This historical overview of urban regeneration practices aimed at social mix is also accompanied by critical considerations I move towards the assumptions and paternalistic ideas that motivate, I argue, a constant approach pathologising the poor and the poor neighbourhood as a key urban problem (Bacqué and Fijalkow, 2006). Neighbourhood reputations and public discourses, in addition, are observed to be strictly connected to urban renewal actions, as notably

discourses of fear and narratives of decline, for instance, can build double standards and ‘invisible’ boundaries within the city, and, on the other hand, be able to influence local interventions (Van Altena et al., 2007; Department for Communities and Local Government, 2010; CRESR, 2005a). Drawing mainly on Foucault’s (1995; 1980) perspective on knowledge production and social power dynamics, and combining them with territorial stigmatisation (Wacquant, 2007; Slater, 2021) and neighbourhood reputations (Permentier et al., 2007), this chapter considers how infamous narratives can generate and affect residents and neighbourhoods as well as policies targeting such marginalised contexts.

Chapter 3 outlines the research data and the methodology I adopt to explore external and internal neighbourhood reputations of Ponte Lambro and the NDC area and their variations over time, that is before and after the implementation of the social mixing policies. The chapter presents, first, the research design and accounts for the epistemological and methodological framework of the study, which is based on discourse analysis of narratives of neighbourhoods affected by change, and more specifically by social mixing policies. The comparative and longitudinal approach that characterises this research features then the central part of this chapter, as it moves onto an overview of time and space comparisons, the justification of the research case studies and finally, the specific data sources forming external and internal neighbourhood reputations as well as the corresponding qualitative methods to address the research questions. For each dimension, I offer details relating to data collection, the resulting sample and the process employed to analyse the data and translate them, inductively, into findings. The investigation of external neighbourhood reputations entailed gathering newspaper articles about the two case study areas in the source language (Italian and English) and analysing them through CDA. Whereas internal neighbourhood reputations emerged from the perceptions and experiences of residents collected via focus groups and 1-1 interviews alongside PPM, and subsequently analysed through CDA, CNA, and thematic analysis. The last few sections of the chapter are then dedicated to reflections regarding research ethics, reflexivity, limitations, and benefits that I encountered while undertaking fieldwork at a distance during the Covid-19 pandemic.

Chapter 4 concludes the first part of the thesis and contextualises the research case studies in terms of geography and urban policy, to set the scene for the empirical and comparative analyses concerning the field sites. I provide here an overview of the areas’ most significant socio-economic developments, drawing an *excursus* in the history of both Ponte Lambro and the NDC area, from their rural and industrial origins to the implementation of urban renewal plans and social mixing policies from the late 1990s - early 2000s. This chapter shows how, despite their geographical distance, the research case studies share not only an historical past and identity of working-class and industrial area, but significant levels of residential segregation of disadvantage and similar interventions aimed at introducing social and tenure mix as well as at ‘empowering’ the local community (Calvaresi and Cossa, 2011; CaH, 2005). Both in Ponte Lambro and the NDC area post-war social housing estates symbolise the continuing neighbourhood change that has been affecting the areas to tackle concentrated multiple disadvantages.

From slum-clearances to the construction and subsequent demolition and regeneration, high-rise flats have been central to plans and practices seeking social and tenure mixing as well as the improvement of the areas' reputations (Calvaresi and Cossa, 2011; CaH, 2005).

Chapter 5 then moves onto the analysis of the empirical findings informing the production of the external neighbourhood reputation of both Ponte Lambro and the NDC area, and how it developed over time. In this chapter, the comparative approach is conducted not only across time, between the place images portrayed by local newspapers from the pre-policy to the assessment timeframes, but also across space, as the final section is dedicated to a comparison between the case studies. CDA is applied here following an inductive approach to identify and deconstruct the narrative on the two urban areas, by considering both positive and negative reputations emerging from the newspaper articles, as well as the discourse about the social mixing policies. Newspaper articles were subject to availability from online data sources (Factiva and Lexis News) for the selected timeframes and included *La Repubblica* and *Corriere della Sera* for the city of Milan, and *The Bristol Post* for Bristol. In both instances, CDA examines the evident and latent meaning of the text and looks at it from different levels of analysis considering the text, the context of production, the society where it is embedded (Fairclough, 1992; Huckin, 1997).

Chapters 6 and 7 focus on the analysis of the internal neighbourhood reputation of Ponte Lambro and the NDC area, respectively, which resulted from the investigation of 1-1 interviews and focus groups with residents on their perceptions and personal experience of the areas. Each chapter reflects the structure employed while conducting data collection with participants, following an inductive thematic approach, and covers three dimensions of perceptions: the changed neighbourhood, the social mixing policy, and the external reputation. The internal narratives collected from the changed neighbourhood include the element of the 'neutral' reputation (neither positive nor negative), hence standing out from the more polarised discourse of the external neighbourhood reputation. Furthermore, photographs resulting from PPM constitute of the visual place image of each field site and support the interpretation of the data, thus the collective narrative on the changed neighbourhood. Thematic analysis, CDA, and CNA are applied in Chapters 6 and 7 to provide a comprehensive picture of the internal neighbourhood reputation. While the experience of different groups of residents (past and current long-term residents and newcomers) is also considered to ensure that a diversity of perspectives and temporalities is included in the data.

The last chapter of the thesis, Chapter 8, explores the research core findings through a comparative perspective and reflects on their implications in relation to the study's research questions outlined above. I argue that the social mixing policies examined, although they have involved community participation and planned actions in the long run, have not sufficiently improved neighbourhood reputations over time. Place images in marginalised and persistently unequal contexts, in addition, are found to be

complex social constructs and difficult to eradicate or dismantle (Arthurson, 2013). Finally, neighbourhood change, as represented by social mix, as well as territorial stigma can produce powerful and long-term impact on disadvantaged urban areas. The chapter then explores both the theoretical and methodological contributions to the existing literature on social mixing, territorial stigma, participatory urban methods, and urban renewal practices more broadly, while also offering insights and recommendations for policy making and evaluation. The latter stress the importance for policies to perform real inclusivity, be more people-based and evaluate their social impact over time, considering the ‘temporal clash’ between time-limited projects and persistent, more widespread, spatial inequalities within the city. Necessary reflections on the development of future research leads me finally to consider this study’s limitations, which are mostly related to the (unavoidable) disruptions caused by the Covid-19 pandemic on qualitative data collection and fieldwork.

Part I: Theory and Methods of Research and Analysis

Chapter 2.

Social mixing and neighbourhood reputation²

2.1. Introduction

The promotion of neighbourhood ‘diversity’ or ‘mix’ by income, ethnicity or tenure has long occupied academic and urban policy discourses (Bolt et al., 2010). Apparent neighbourhood ills, characterised by cumulative and concentrated socio-economic disadvantages (neighbourhood effects) and seen to represent problematic imbalances within the city, have been treated with several urban policy ‘cures’, most of which aim to deliver renewal by ensuring higher-income households share residential and neighbourhood space with the lowest-income households. Neighbourhood reputations not only contribute to the construction of people’s and society’s images of a place, with crucial impacts on residents’ behaviour and experience (Permentier et al., 2007; Arthurson, 2013), but they can also influence the implementation of urban renewal policies, such as social mixing (Slater, 2018; Champagne, 1999; Glasze et al., 2012). Such interventions assume that disrupting the concentration of poverty produces significant benefits for the least affluent residents, as well as for the wider city region. Social mixing renewal policies – operating primarily through investments in housing and public services – seek to indirectly address the production of negative ‘neighbourhood effects’ and generally target disadvantaged and stigmatised urban areas within inner-cities or suburbs (Wacquant, 2007; Imrie and Raco, 2012). While a predominant focus in the literature on mixed communities has been on the US experience (Mendenhall et al., 2006; Popkin et al., 2009; Fraser et al., 2012), much less is known about the long-term outcomes of this approach in Europe, where social mix has often been assessed in terms of education, community cohesion (Davidson, 2012; Bacqué et al., 2011; Blockland and van Ewijk, 2012). Two crucial lacunas can be identified in the analysis of social mixing policies so far: their impact in the long run, several years after their implementation; and, the production and development of negative neighbourhood reputations, as further factors tackled by social mix.

This chapter presents the cornerstones of this research and is divided into two main sections. In the first section, I outline the origins and the main applications of the social mixing ideal at the international and European scales, with a particular focus on the studies exploring its outcomes at the local level. The second section, then, addresses the concepts of discourse and territorial stigma, framing the research in

² Parts of this chapter are based upon the paper Casarin G., MacLeavy J., Manley D., (2023) Rethinking Urban Utopianism: The Fallacy of Social Mix in the 15-Minute City, *Urban Studies*, 60(16). <https://doi.org/10.1177/00420980231169174>.

a post-structuralist approach, whereby both production and implications of place images, or neighbourhood reputations, are considered.

2.2. Social mixing in Europe: urban ideal and real impact

Defining what social mix is and how it has been pursued over time is crucial to situate this thesis within the literature and contextualise the case studies in the next chapter (Chapter 3). To tackle urban problems such as residential segregation and socio-economic marginalisation, urban renewal strategies have often relied on practices aimed at creating a mix to the apparent social and structural homogeneity of the neighbourhood. Although generally indicated with the term ‘social mix’, such forms of desegregation can involve processes of social, ethnic and/or tenure mix, from poverty deconcentration to regeneration (Kintrea, 2013). Either monetary incentives or forms of coercion were employed by substantial and influential US programs to ‘move’ the poor from specific urban areas into different neighbourhoods: this was the case of the Gautreaux Program (1976), the Moving to Opportunity project or MTO (1994), and the Housing Opportunities for People Everywhere or HOPE VI (late 1990s). The Gautreaux Program, proposed in 1976 by Dorothy Gautreaux – representative of the black residents of the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) – is known as the first court-mandated programme by which African-American residents living in low-income areas were randomly assigned either to urban or suburban accommodations (Galster, 2013; Barwick, 2018). By allocating them in both more affluent and segregated neighbourhoods of Chicago through Housing Choice Vouchers (HCV), the Program also tested if moving out from disadvantaged areas would lead to more positive living conditions (Rosenbaum, 1995). This was followed by the Moving to Opportunity (MTO) demonstration, a second but larger experiment, run in five metropolitan cities, from 1994 to the late 1990s: not only in Chicago, but also in New York, Boston, Baltimore and Los Angeles (Cheshire, 2007). The 4,600 poor households that volunteered to participate in the project were again randomly divided into three groups: the ‘experimental’ group had to move to “a neighbourhood with less than a 10% poverty rate” (Galster, 2013:224); a second group had no mobility restrictions to use HCV and no counselling; the ‘control’ group remained in the same neighbourhood and received no additional help. Whilst the federal social mix program Housing Opportunities for People Everywhere (HOPE VI) was carried out to transform distressed public housing sites into mixed-income communities through local partnerships (Thurber et al., 2018), demolition of thousands of estates, and relocation of the original residents (Crump, 2002). Their effects, including in the long-run, have been monitored and explored in numerous longitudinal studies, notably in the fields of education and employment before and after the policy implementation (Thurber et al., 2018; Rosenbaum, 1995; Chetty et al., 2016). In the contribution of Chetty et al., for instance, the accent is upon the “duration of exposure to better environments during childhood” (2016: 855), whereas Rosenbaum (1995) highlights the fact that without an effective social integration within the new neighbourhood both employment and education are compromised (see also Bauder, 2002).

Unlike poverty deconcentration, a common European approach to social mix can be identified with regeneration or, in other words, with the neighbourhood's physical regeneration through restructuring and/or demolition of social housing. Representing in social mythology monumental structures of concentrated problems and threat, blocks and towers of post-war housing estates are demolished or restructured in many Western European countries to create a diversity of housing units "by price, range and tenure" (Galster, 2007: 20). Diversification through regeneration has been put forward in France in the early 2000s, for instance, with the implementation of area-based programs addressed to *Zones Urbaines Sensibles* (ZUS): urban vulnerable zones characterised by concentrated low levels of home ownership, high unemployment, and poor educational outcomes (Briata et al., 2009). Policies of demolition and renovation targeted social housing estates in ZUS and promoted the influx of middle-income residents (Kintrea, 2013; Bacqué and Fijalkow, 2012). In the Netherlands, demolition and reconstruction practices have played a dominant role in the social mix agenda, notably with the Urban Renewal Act of 2000, and subsequently with housing diversification policies targeting ethnic minority concentration (Costarelli et al., 2019). Whereas countries that have operated on "housing development outcomes and housing choice" (Kintrea, 2013: 144) as important factors shaping segregation, include France, and the Netherlands, but also Germany and the UK. These are examples of practicing 'remaking' social housing by changing the residents' social composition in terms of income or socio-ethnic background, or the allocation criteria: in the UK, the promotion of mixed communities has also been addressed in the early 2000s through choice-based letting "to empower people in social housing to make decisions over how and where they live" (van Ham and Manley, 2009: 408). Approaches related to land use planning are documented, instead, in countries such as Spain and Sweden, where social mix is fostered through tenure diversification projects, regulated by national land use laws or local government actions for 'affordable housing' (Graham et al., 2009; Kintrea, 2013). However, attempts to address urban poverty through area-based interventions have often proved unsuccessful in achieving their goals, highlighting the disjuncture between the vision of the harmonious mixed community and its implementation facing eradicated socio-spatial inequalities and emerging conflicts over the 'right to the city' (Lefebvre 1968; Harvey, 2008), both within peripheral and inner-cities areas. For example, in the former working-class and immigrant banlieue La Goutte d'Or, Paris, the influx of households from higher-income brackets into both rented and owner-occupied properties, as well as the emergence of 'fancy' businesses, saw gentrification and growing tensions between socio-economic groups (Bacqué and Fijalkow, 2006; Milliot, 2015). The selective demolition of high-rise blocks has brought households from higher-income brackets into both rented and owner-occupied properties, bolstering a sense of superiority and entitlement among newcomers to the neighbourhood: owner-occupiers believed they were more entitled than "people living in *HLM* [council flats]" (Bacqué et al., 2011: 129) to complain about the problems facing the neighbourhood and – buying into the social mix ideal of 'emulation' – called for further interventions that legitimised the greater presence of people 'like them' as necessary for the area's improvement (Milliot, 2015). In London, Brixton's experience of the City Challenge

scheme produced a rapid increase in affluent white residents, which instead of multicultural renewal and a balanced social mix yielded ‘separate worlds’ of micro segregation within the district, or what Jackson and Butler (2015: 2358) call a “tectonic social structure” (see also Butler and Robson, 2001). Similar social and tenure mixing policies were implemented in the Milanese neighbourhood of Stadera, where interventions mandated the displacement of ‘problem tenants’ – mostly of immigrant backgrounds - from their social housing flats, in favour of specific social groups such as students. Elderly residents and students now co-exist in the same neighbourhood, but they do not co-habit or interact in public spaces, providing what can be identified as a sign of ‘studentification’ (Smith, 2005; Bricocoli and Cucca, 2016).

Despite the extensive literature on the implementation and outcomes of social mixing policies, case studies have largely focused on the analysis of residents’ social mobility, education, community cohesion, displacement and gentrification affecting longer-term residents and newcomers in mixed communities. Davidson’s (2010) study, for instance, explores, through mixed-methods analysis, the quality of class and social interactions in London neighbourhoods where social mixing policies have led to processes of gentrification. In Rotterdam, Blockland and van Eijk (2012) investigate through questionnaires whether social and tenure mixing practices within an inner-city neighbourhood result in actual diversity and integration. Whereas the study of social ties across ethnic minorities, class and neighbourhoods carried out by Barwick (2018) in Berlin challenges the common conceptions promoted by social mixing programs whereby ethnic minorities are not actors within the neighbourhood change, but only beneficiaries of socio-economic resources, supposedly brought by native middle classes. These examples among others, are also indicative of the European trend of investigating social mixing policies in ‘snap shots’, overlooking significant elements for the analysis of impact such as time and discourse inside and outside the targeted area. In contrast to US examples, research studies on longer-term effects, specifically comparing local change before and after social mixing interventions, have hardly been applied to European case studies. Inspired by the longitudinal approaches from the US context of deconcentration programmes, this research project addresses such gaps in the European literature by looking at the long-term outcomes of specific social mixing policies which have operated for ten years in the early 2000s in Italy and the UK.

2.2.1. Social mix as international answer to the urban problem

Although the scale and the nature of the neighbourhood’s socio-ethnic segregation may vary across European countries according to the national and subnational contexts, a consistent part of the literature on urban sociology has identified similar processes at work. From the Chicago School (Wilson, 1987), to more recent contributions, the academic literature on urban studies has been questioning the impact of the marginalised neighbourhood on the socio-economic chances of its residents (Sampson, 2012; Galster, 2012). In particular, various scholarly studies have pointed out the strong correlation between

disadvantaged neighbourhoods and specific local effects – neighbourhood effects or concentration effects (Sampson, 2012) – which are broadly indicated to rely on both endogenous and exogenous variables. As it is emphasised, among others, by Friedrichs et al. (2003), segregation not only implies physical and social marginalisation, but it also can lead to social problems and deviant behaviours. On the one hand, *endogenous variables* can include physical degradation of the area, social exclusion, poverty, deviance, and less social cohesion, that might lead, in extreme cases, to serious social problems, eventually affecting the image of the neighbourhood itself (Friedrichs et al., 2003).

Such endogenous variables are shown to be further affected by the external neighbourhood reputation (*exogenous variables*): a common feature of disadvantaged neighbourhoods is the negative imaginary they are associated with, both in the media and public discourse. Additionally, these variables are found to produce a third category of relevant outcomes – *correlated effects* – eventually resulting in forms of stigmatisation and the creation of the ‘urban problem’ (Permentier et al., 2007). In this light, residents living in deprived areas are perceived as ‘condemned’ to a vicious cycle of exclusion and cumulative problems, that go from poor quality education and disadvantaged schools (Hastings and Dean, 2003; OECD, 2018) to higher rates of unemployment and poverty, also driven by “post-code discrimination” (Department for Work and Pensions, 2010: 4). From Wilson’s “underclass ghetto” and “black ghetto”, to “deprivedhoods” (Lelévrier and Melic, 2018), “sink estate” (Tyler and Slater, 2018:739) and other “different” or “deviant” connotations (Hastings and Dean, 2003: 172), the cultural labelling of poor neighbourhoods and social housing estates has contributed to conveying territorial stigma to such urban areas within a pathologising framework (Murray, 1996; Wacquant, 2007). Such notions usually tend to evoke otherness, undesirability, thus inferiority, recalling to socially constructed representations, or “phantasms” (Bourdieu, 1999: 123).

Therefore, as the segregated community – the urban ghetto (Wilson, 1987) – is associated with the ‘bad’ threatening society, the opposite, the *mixed* community must mean nothing but ‘good’. This new ideal of the neighbourhood to be achieved through a fair and balanced social mix of population started indeed to be developed with the aim to fight against a common urban disorder: the spatial concentration of particular social groups, such as low-income households or ethnic minorities, is perceived as detrimental to integration, and cohesion at the urban and neighbourhood levels (Bolt et al., 2009). Since the late 1990s, area-based and community-based deconcentrating strategies began to be employed by local, national, and transnational governments (e.g., the European Union), in response to growing inequalities and geographical polarisation (Tunstall, 2012; Briata et al., 2009). Despite the widespread diversity of social mixing strategies at the international level, a consistent pattern in the application of social and tenure mix can be highlighted: it is applied to and upon deprived communities, as concentrations of middle- and high-income groups are rarely perceived as problematic, nor presumed to produce negative externalities. To contrast, gated communities are present across countries where

income disparity levels between the poorest and the richest social groups largely exceed those of the European Union, as a clear example of undisturbed, and oft celebrated, concentrations of wealthy residents (Cséfalvay and Webster, 2012). Thus, it appears, that urban polarisation is tackled only through the assimilation of the poor to the norms and lifestyles of the wealthier and not vice versa, owing to a constant middle-class normativity: poorer residents are assumed to hold a temporary status, as if they must just be “aspirational middle-class actors” (Elwood et al, 2015: 132). This perspective follows “an entrenched stereotype – that is, the poor are a problem because they are dependent and deviant” (Imrie and Raco, 2012: 16). Despite its contested application, however, the ideal of the mixed community characterised by social cohesion and equality of opportunity has been regularly revisited and re-promoted in a range of contexts.

2.2.2. An historical overview of social mix

Although social mix was extensively used as a regeneration vehicle in the latter part of the 20th Century, the narrative of a balanced society is not a modern phenomenon. Discussions about ‘ideal mix’ appeared in Europe at least as far back as the 19th Century and in Victorian England some of the earliest discussions around the advantages of residential mix appear to respond to early recognition of social segregation in new industrial cities. Drawing on Sarkissian’s (1976) work, two main schools of thought arose in urban studies: a first ‘wave’ opposing to the densely populated, deprived, and divided city based on a sentimental and conservative politics, followed by a second more utilitarian movement. Within the former, social critics and philanthropists who believed in anti-urbanism and felt nostalgic for the “pre-industrial village” began to idealise the concept of the neighbourhood as a romantic ideal – a self-sufficient small town where harmony and social balance worked together as an “antidote to new class antagonisms” (ibid: 234). By contrast, the utilitarian perspective proposed that mixed communities would be a fairer solution to the overcrowded polarised cities resulting from the industrial revolution. Common to these two approaches was a ‘revolutionary’ notion: engineered social balance for equality of opportunity – an “Apollonian utopia” (Blanc, 2010: 269) that aimed to restore the lost community spirit of the small village through residential mix. In Europe, from the 20th Century, the first urban ‘cures’ to the segregated city ranged from idealistic town planning models to social mixing initiatives at the neighbourhood scale.

Garden Cities movements combined village nostalgia with a desire, for some, to escape from polluted and overcrowded industrial cities (Miller, 2010; Ravn and Dragsbo, 2019; Richert and Lapping, 1998). Ebenezer Howard’s movement integrated earlier urban planning blueprints based on a first form of social mix in bucolic locations (Rockey, 1983). For example, Buckingham’s Victoria, a “small utopian city designed to accommodate all classes (albeit segregated) in a semi-rural setting” (Sarkissian, 1976: 235), provided many garden city aspects. Buckingham’s 1849 urban model implied a circular, open city where multiple groups could live near each other and with free social services accessible to anyone.

Similarly, Cadbury's project, Bournville, extended this idea to provide decent housing to "workers of many types – employers and employed, managers and operatives, tradesmen and clerks" (Bournville Village Trust mentioned in Sarkissian and Heine, 1978: 22) within a mixed community of dwelling types and social classes not far from Birmingham, UK. Inspired by the model villages, Garden Cities were intended to offer a compromise between the options and services of a town and the wide spaces of the countryside, resulting eventually in what Howard called the "town-country magnet" (Miller, 2010: 4). Both "the growth of slums" (Batchelor, 1969: 185), where the urban poor were clustered, and the widespread insalubrity of housing within the industrial city prompted the design of smaller settlements, in which agriculture, as opposed to factories and trade, would support, and unite communities. Following the example of the British Garden City, similar aspirations for new and 'healthier' forms of housing were also developed in continental Europe, where, instead of terraced houses, slums were represented by "huge tenement houses with narrow and dark backyards" (Ravn and Dragsbo, 2019: 5). In both Denmark (Danish Garden Housing Association) and Germany (Deutsche Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft) garden city-like neighbourhoods were built to improve the wellbeing of workers through the revitalisation of gardening traditions. Although critical for the health and wellbeing of workers, the regeneration of slums alongside the housing of the urban working poor presents similarities, I argue, with contemporary discourses around social mix, including the most recent plans for the 15-minute city (Pouzoukidou and Chatziyiannaki, 2021). In both instances, interventions reflect a utopian idea of 'togetherness' that is conceived and sold as the 'remedy' for the many problems affecting the city, including separation, mistrust, crime, and clustered unemployment (see also MacLeavy, 2008; Manley et al, 2012). The implicit assumption was that social housing tenants and new homeowners would socialise together and that this proximity would be sufficient to improve the living standards of the poorer residents (not least by raising their aspirations to live more like their affluent neighbours).

While continental Europe saw modernist town-planning and large-scale housing development to tackle the post-war "housing needs of the masses" (Ravn and Dragsbo, 2019: 8), in Britain the 1946 New Towns Act endorsed the decentralisation of London and other large metropolises through the creation of over 20 towns, inspired – at least in ambition – by Howard's Garden Cities (Batchelor, 1969). Within these, it was suggested that housing should be organised in 'neighbourhood units' containing a primary and nursery school, a pub, and shops selling staple goods, as well as a hall for clubs and voluntary groups to meet regularly (New Towns Committee, 1946). This ideal reflected a desire to maintain the spirit of fellowship, comradeship, and "classlessness" (Sarkissian, 1976: 239) said to have been experienced during the Second World War, while also recognising that deprived neighbourhoods are not just symptoms of disadvantage, but also potential causes. Corresponding with plans of social development at the neighbourhood level and inspired by the advent of New Towns, French *grands ensembles* or *villes nouvelles* were similarly conceived as a way of building cohesion through the housing of immigrants alongside "workers and those who had been displaced from the old, derelict

slums of the country's city centres" (Lelévrier and Melic, 2018: 313; Vadelorge, 2006). Large social housing estates, made of distinctive tower blocks and located at the outskirts of cities grew rapidly in the 1960s and 1970s, not only in France but over all of Europe, owing to the high demand for accommodation resulting from high birth rates, increased immigration from colonial territories, and wealth (Wassenberg, 2018). However, a few decades after their construction, these examples of 'decentralised modernity' in Europe (Corbusier Le, 1942) experienced a rapid decline in physical and socio-economic conditions and since then have been seen as historical symbols of urban poverty, as well as homogeneous and excluded places (Hess et al, 2018; Tyler and Slater, 2018). The cheaper construction materials and techniques that often allowed for the building of housing estates in a very short timeframe led to the quick infrastructural decay of tower blocks, which gradually turned into spatial clusters of socio-economic disadvantages, because of the high concentration of cheap housing (Hess et al, 2018). Indeed, if the original mixed interventions were visionary attempts of town planning during the mid-20th Century, they eventually became targets for neighbourhood desegregation themselves, with social mix again proposed to tackle clusters of concentrated 'social ills' within post-war social housing estates (Gans, 1961; Brophy and Smith, 1996). Such actions were adopted to improve both suburban areas and inner-city neighbourhoods, also seen as homogenous and dangerous examples of marginalised and "parallel societies [...] cut off from the norms and values of 'mainstream' society" (Kintrea, 2013: 136). Simultaneously, the socio-spatial exclusion of low-income groups was associated with the perceived or effective concentration of minority ethnic communities, whose presence was regarded as equally detrimental to integration, civic participation and city wide social order: the same terms, 'inner-city', 'social housing estate' and increasingly 'sink estate' have since been used within public debate as synonyms of social decline, failed integration and economic desolation, contributing to the discourse of poverty and disadvantage as spatial problems (Slater, 2018; Rhodes and Brown, 2018). Although initially designed as neighbourhood units able to "flourish by [themselves]" (Wassenberg, 2018: 40) through the diversity of social classes and ethnic groups, large housing estates became segregated, increasingly disconnected from the rest of the city, and (over time) economically and socially abandoned. As physical degradation increased, with critics and complaints left unheard, a "downward process" (ibid: 48) followed, whereby those residents who could afford to moved out from (often) high-rise flats and incoming residents came increasingly from lower social classes and immigrant backgrounds. The resulting concentration of deprivation contributed to socio-economic decline and territorial stigmatisation, with state actors playing a significant role in the discourse. Despite the apparent failures of the utopian mixed society symbolised by tower blocks, since the 1990s further tenure and social mixing interventions have been pursued across France (Bacqué and Fijalkow, 2012), Germany (Busch-Geertsema, 2007), Italy (Briata et al., 2009), the Netherlands (Bolt et al., 2009), Spain (Ponce, 2010), Sweden (Andersson, 2006), and the UK (Imrie and Raco, 2012) to address the social disparities originating from the same urban ideal. As it is also demonstrated by the gradual lack of interest in the years to follow by the related literature, regeneration policies aimed at creating social and

tenure mixing were mainly implemented between the late 1990s and early 2000s in the European context. Although social mixing programmes experienced during that timeframe were often designed and applied at national level and covered several years of interventions, with the start of international economic crisis of 2008-2009 and the resulting time of austerity in Europe two important changes to the approach on urban renewal can be identified at the macro level. On the one hand, austerity policies from European governments have limited the efficacy of plans and actions towards the urban margins, shifting, in the UK for instance, from “Neighbourhood Renewal” to more explicit “localism” narratives producing further challenges within deprived areas and the third sector (Jupp, 2020). The literature on social mix and mixed communities has evolved accordingly and studies have either turned to the analysis of alternative forms of mixing (Costarelli et al., 2019) or have explored emerging urban phenomena, such as gentrification (Slater, 2006), though rarely focusing on both impact and neighbourhood change produced by social mixing policies in the long-run.

2.2.3. Social mixing effects and impact

Although the specific implementation of mixed communities has moved from planning to area-based renewal, the paternalistic idea of educating and raising the urban poor remains a constant within the ideology that, in turn, perpetuates the ‘problematisation of the poor’ and the poor district as a key urban problem (Bacqué and Fijalkow, 2006). Behind the desire to desegregate lies an assumption that the most disadvantaged will be discouraged from adopting ‘deviant’ behaviours coexisting alongside “decent folks” – as argued by Hill (1875: 182-183) in the late 19th Century. Recently, terms such as “hyperdiversity”, used by Costarelli et al. (2019: 136), highlight how social mix is still thought desirable, secured through systematic housing selection procedures. For instance, in two recent housing initiatives in Italy and the Netherlands prospective residents were required to provide motivation letters and attend interviews to verify their socio-economic status and their commitment to local regeneration, before being granted entry to live in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Such an approach harks back to Hill’s arguments, whereby the poor are considered to lack the necessary exemplars and need to be “brought into the presence of the light” by the “near presence of honest, respectable neighbours” (Hill, 1875: 182-283). Indeed, in the Italian project, newcomers are “resourceful” and regarded as the “driving force” (Costarelli et al., 2019: 136) of reforms, so that deprived residents can learn new skills and ‘be saved’ (from themselves).

Whilst the terminology has changed over time, the underlying sentiment stigmatising the deprived neighbourhood and its residents is embedded within the policies of supposed “integration” or mix, which have more to do with practices of assimilation and “social control” than the alleviation of poverty and disadvantage (Uitermark, 2014: 1422). Crucially, the spirit of emulation results in nothing more than a local, urban form of assimilation, which Lees (2016) highlights mirrors wider, colonialist practices (see also Atkinson and Bridge, 2005; Kipfer, 2007). Lees’ term “class-based colonisation”

(2016: 209) refers to a progressive but radical transformation of the demographic composition of a targeted area in favour of more affluent urban residents. In a similar vein, Addie and Fraser (2019: 9) discuss “settler colonialism” and “racial capitalism” in reference to practices that involve the “dispossession of land and property and at the same time disavow[al of] the presence of indigenous other”. In this post-colonial urban scenario, settlers are usually represented by white middle-class tenants and/or homeowners introduced into the desegregating neighbourhood, whereas “indigenous others” correspond with the long-term residents – usually those from lower income groups or minority ethnic backgrounds. Indeed, the traditional approach practiced thus far by social mixing agendas is founded, I argue, on both class and racial pathology discourses addressed to “urban marginality” (Wacquant, 2008: 1) also identified as “‘problem estates’ and ‘problem people’” (Phillips and Harrison, 2010: 229); an entrenched biased approach that is far from ensuring spatial and social justice. Underneath the social mixing ideal there are not just implicit forms of “racial cleansing” (Lees, 2016: 209) and cultural assimilation, but also traces of social class revanchism: the re-conquest of territory by the most affluent contradicts the once-claimed spirits of ‘classlessness’ and accessibility in social mix and lays the foundations for conflicts over the right to the city (Harvey, 2008). While (unconsciously) contributing to systemically pricing out underprivileged groups, affluent newcomers reclaim their right to the neighbourhood and the inner-city “from those who had supposedly ‘stolen’ [it]” (Smith, 1996: 216). This sentiment underlies most housing demolition programmes that ignore the needs and wants of locals, and their right to be involved in decision-making processes affecting their neighbourhood (Crump, 2002; Davidson, 2008; Bacqué and Fijalkow, 2006).

The revanchist and pathologising approaches that underpin social mixing show it to be ineffective in addressing concentrated urban disadvantage but are also responsible for new inequalities and tensions – from gentrification and the displacement of residents to micro-segregation. By regenerating, or ‘improving’ the place image of marginalised districts often through private investment and services, the entry of new and more prosperous groups tends to yield the progressive displacement of longer-standing residents, changing the character of the neighbourhood and resulting in rootlessness and a loss of community feeling and cohesion (Marcuse, 1985). As urban renewal strategies have been abandoned by national governments, a more spontaneous form of social mix involving “mass tourism, short-term housing, real estate (re)development and speculation, and even greening” has occurred in the most recent time (Cole et al, 2020: 2). Yet, despite this being arguably more organic, evidence suggests such developments have also delivered “gentrification by stealth” (Kintrea, 2013: 138) or “gentrification disguised as social mix” (Slater, 2006: 751). Gentrification, one of the most significant outcomes of unfettered neoliberal development, is the result of incoming of private investments, which are supposed to foster social renewal, but more frequently raise prices and property values in urban neighbourhoods, leading to population displacement and homelessness, and thus enduring rather than diminishing forms of spatial inequality (Lipman, 2012; Rhodes and Brown, 2018).

Alongside gentrification by stealth, scholars exploring the long-run effects of social mixing policies have identified further significant limits and failures at the local level. There is currently little evidence that mixing increases social capital or the wellbeing of residents within targeted neighbourhoods (Arthurson et al., 2015; Barwick, 2018) whilst it is demonstrated that spatial proximity – in and of itself – is insufficient to create “meaningful everyday interactions or mutually supportive relationships” (Elwood et al., 2015: 127), especially between groups that differ in fundamental ways such as income, ethnicity, or social class. For instance, if incoming residents are perceived as ‘intruders’ this can result in indifference and avoidance from existing residents, often turning into classism, racism, and conflict (Lipman, 2012). If, at first, intolerance towards difference is expressed by what Davidson (2012: 239) calls “social distance”, other forms of behavioural responses can emerge later, such as cultural isolation, racism or more generally, interethnic tensions pertaining to the right to the city (Amin, 2002; Harvey, 2008). Ultimately, the urban utopia underpinning the idealised and cohesive community only works if societies are constituted by “average, anonymous and exchangeable individuals” (Blanc, 2010: 269) living in average spaces, and in which mixing would inevitably result in a perfect balance. However, as Blanc (2010) argues, this ideal does not represent the heterogeneous or unequal nature of society – itself stemming from the divided and conflictual urban system – where people become attached to their own places and networks and where the right to choose where and who you live with remains the privilege of the wealthy. Forms of “soft exclusion” (Hyra, 2015: 785) - income or ethnicity divisions - are encountered in mixed communities in the context of public places or institutions, where groups who are supposed to interact, simply do not mix. Furthermore, calls for different uses of neighbourhood space, as well as different “social network geographies” (Davidson, 2012: 533), are registered to determine the difficulty of social cohesion and the intensity of community spirit over the long run.

As outlined so far, the literature suggests that the implementation of social mix tends to produce superficial change at the local level and often pays little attention to the wider structural processes that lead to the concentration of urban disadvantage – focusing on the “symptoms of inequality”, rather than its causes (Cheshire, 2007: 34; Marcuse, 2009). Although social mixing interventions initially foster investments into the targeted area providing new opportunities and socio-cultural exchange, it is only in the long-term that their impact begins to be visible.

2.3. Territorial stigmatisation: targeting the urban margins

To investigate the effects of social mix on neighbourhood reputations, I draw here on post-structuralist scholarly work and combine studies on discourse, as crucial social-cultural tool to produce knowledge and power dynamics (Foucault, 1995) with concepts of territorial stigmatisation (Wacquant, 2007; Slater, 2021) and neighbourhood reputations (Permentier et al., 2007, 2008). Narratives on marginalised neighbourhoods, notably infamous reputation, have been broadly addressed by the literature on neighbourhood effects and identified among the so-called ‘exogenous variables’ of the neighbourhood

(Friedrichs et al., 2003; Murray, 1996; Bauder, 2002). The way urban areas are depicted by the public discourse significantly affects not only residents' everyday social practices and perceptions, but also the urban interventions that can be implemented in disadvantaged contexts, which are usually waiting and calling for local change. When deprived neighbourhoods are affected by forms of stigmatisation, social and residential segregation as well as forms of discrimination against residents can occur, perpetuating a pathologising approach towards the urban poor and, as a result, towards the poor neighbourhood (Imrie and Raco, 2012; Wacquant, 2007).

This thesis builds on the conceptualisation of internal and external neighbourhood reputations expressed by Permentier et al. (2008) and provides an alternative methodological approach for the investigation and analysis of reputations. As the work of Permentier et al. (2007, 2008), among other studies, employs extensive quantitative surveys to explore residents and non-residents' perceptions of neighbourhoods, it presents limitations in providing in depth and integrated information on the "dynamics of reputations" and on the "power actors" responsible of their construction (Permentier et al., 2008: 851). An only quantitative approach to neighbourhood reputations, as it has often been the case in the literature on territorial stigma and place image (Jones and Dantzer, 2020), prevents not only to understand the roots of such perceptions, but tends also to keep significant stories and experiences of the place out of the analysis, ignoring, for instance, the role of additional factors, such as the impact of reputations themselves on the residents' behaviours. By responding to such limitations, also listed in Permentier et al. (2008: 851), this research goes further in providing a novel approach to the study of internal and external neighbourhood reputations that is based on qualitative methods of discourse analysis and PPM alongside semi-structured focus groups and interviews. These, as outlined in Chapter 3, contribute to the literature of regeneration policies by considering neighbourhood reputations and discourse production as pillars in the processes of neighbourhood change affecting residents and the public opinion. Thanks to the deployment of a qualitative methodology, this research sheds light on the importance of investigating external and internal neighbourhood reputations together, given their mutual influence of active and passive actors playing at the local level. Moreover, as further suggested by Arthurson (2013: 437), whose analysis of mixed tenure communities' impact focuses only on the residents' experiences, such integrated investigation of neighbourhood reputations needs to be undertaken through a "before and after measure" in order to establish how perceptions and experiences of the place have evolved over time and with local change.

2.3.1. Stigmatising and excluding the urban margins and their residents

Disadvantaged populations affected by residential segregation are usually associated with negative images, which tend to recall to homogenous forms of representation as well as stereotypes in the public and media narratives (Pickering, 2001). The working-class poor, coming from any ethnic background, not only is perceived as "welfare dependent" and "socially excluded", but is depicted, among others, as

“lowlife”, “losers”, “yobs” (Haylett, 2001: 354) as well as “chav” (Valentine and Harris, 2014); a variety of terms, dominating the media and the academic contexts, which tend to evoke alterity, undesirability, inferiority. Such names can be associated with Wilson’s “underclass” (Wilson, 1987; Watt, 2008), a concept that Haylett (2001: 358) defines as “a discourse of familial disorder and dysfunction, of dangerous masculinities and dependent femininities, of antisocial behaviour, of moral and ecological decay”. As Bourdieu argues (1999: 123), deprived neighbourhoods are far from recalling to “realities” or facts concerning people and places, and do instead immediately bring to mind “phantasms”, socially constructed representations. The “abjection” (Tyler, 2013) and “otherness” (Pickering, 2001) of disadvantaged areas and residents are pointed out as their main characteristics: their features are decontextualized to highlight uniformity, while erasing complexity and producing, as a result, stereotyped images. The concept of stereotype itself operates through practices of exclusion and isolation: certain behaviours or features are identified as standards and used to label individuals into a certain social group and category, thus promoting spatial boundaries and power dynamics (Foucault, 1981). The production and the spreading of both representations and homogenous stereotypes towards the ‘Other’ contributes to a simplistic view of society based on order and control, which entails “dividing the normal and the acceptable from the abnormal and the unacceptable” through an ‘us vs them’ narrative (Hall, 1997: 258; Pickering, 2001). Additionally, such practices support what Pickering refers to as the “illusion of precision”, and the resulting “feeling of security or superiority” (2001: 4): the imprecise, misleading nature of stereotyping constitutes nevertheless an expression of power through judgement and bias. Drawing on the social constructionist and post-structuralist theoretical approaches (Hall, 1997; Foucault, 1981), the potent aspect of every form of cultural representation and discourse is not to be underestimated, as these “signifying systems” play a fundamental role in the production of meaning and knowledge, hence of socio-spatial inequalities (Hall, 1997: 5).

2.3.2. Constructing discourses and place images: discourse of fear and narratives of decline

Moving on from the concept of representation as carrying meaning and identity, Hall defines discourses as those ways of “referring to or constructing knowledge about a particular topic of practice” from a collection of “ideas, images and practices” (Hall, 1997: 6). Language, hence, discourse is responsible within each societal context for sustaining “*régime[s]* of truth” (Foucault, 1980: 131), which involve the constitution of knowledge – “true statements” – and the exclusion of what is established as not belonging to such discourse – “false statements” – producing as a result forms of power and control. Discourses on the ‘Other’ may be attributed to politics as well as to mainstream media, whereby subjectivities and identities of difference of both people and places are often re-proposed through “myths” and one-sided images (Pickering, 2001: 48; Bauder, 2002). Rather than giving voice to those living at the margins, public representations risk instead to endure their stigmatization and have

significant effects in terms of social relations (Bauman, 1991). The perpetuation of stigmatized social groups or categories is indeed convenient to the maintenance of existing relations of supremacy and control, particularly as a way of finding a rationale behind marginalisation, “bigotry, hostility and aggression” (Pickering, 2001: 48; Foucault, 1995). Tyler (2013: 25) points out the close relationship between political ideologies and social mechanisms of “othering, distinction-making, distancing and boundary formation”, as examples of powerful strategies employed to exclude and control social abjection (see also Bauman, 1991). Similarly, stigmatising discourses can encourage action and law and order from local authorities, who might then “justify special measures, deviating from both law and custom” (Wacquant, 2007: 69) to be addressed to a particular group and/or place. Assimilation and exclusion are, as Pickering (2001) observes, the most adopted practices and aggressive expressions of the authority against ‘strangerhood’. Through the first approach, the ‘assimilated’ is deprived of their social identity, to be accepted by the wider society and move from the ‘them’ to the ‘us’ group. In the second scenario, the ‘cultural boundary’ (Bauman, 1991: 68) finds expression at the local level and aims at keeping the different or the deviant at proper and secure distance, through a mechanism of purity and defilement that eventually promotes the creation of the urban “ghetto” (Wacquant, 2013: 22). Although both practices appear to reproduce ethnocentric and colonial legacies (Hall, 1997), I focus here on socio-spatial exclusion as one of the primary outcomes of territorial stigmatisation, by drawing, among others, on Sandercock’s (2002) and Wacquant’s (2007) contributions.

Stigma can be attributed not only to particular people, class, or ethnic groups (Goffman, 1990), but also to physical spaces and urban areas, from neighbourhoods to streets and large housing estates (Tyler and Slater, 2018; Valentine and Harris, 2014). Places carry images, discourses, and reputations, which define them and shape boundaries within the city, eventually creating territories of exclusion and inclusion: this process is principally dictated by fear, that divides, for instance, “the dangerous multi-ethnic city” from “the safe white suburbs and countryside” (Watt, 2006: 779). Place images are indeed conceived as “the various discrete meanings associated with real places or regions regardless of their character in reality” (Shields, 1991: 60). The perceived or effective concentration of working-class and ethnic minorities usually corresponds with discourses of fear and narratives of urban decline, which are registered to have significant impact on the neighbourhood reputation and to contribute, therefore, to its social stigma (Watt, 2006; Rose et al., 2013). Sandercock (2002), for instance, observes that discourses of fear are predominant in the contemporary debate about the city, especially in the fields of urban planning and management. Fear of disorder, violence, disease is thus associated to the fear of “those bodies thought to produce that disorder or dis/ease” (ibid.: 219), that is generally the marginal, the alien. To make the population feel safer in disreputable areas, one of the most popular solutions promoted in the past hundred years – together with “spatial containment”, “moral reform” and “assimilation” – involves the “call for more law and order”, through increased control and policing (ibid., 2002). The risk in this case would be “ecological contamination” or profiling, whereby the police

tend to suspect individuals according to the “moral liability” of the neighbourhood they come from (Sampson and Raudensbush, 2004: 321).

Forms of ecological contamination, moreover, might be influenced by narratives of decline (Watt, 2006; Rose et al., 2013), which portray the disadvantaged neighbourhood as urban problem by assigning meaning to visible signs of grime and disorder, perceived as presumed symptoms of an inevitable “downward spiral of urban decay” (Sampson and Raudensbush, 2004: 319). The fear of ending up in a dangerous situation seems indeed to be related not only to crime and violence, but also to those “disreputable or unpredictable” individuals, living in places of marginality, such as “panhandlers, drunks, addicts, rowdy teenagers, prostitutes, loiterers, the mentally disturbed” (Wilson and Kelling, 1982: 2). Attitudes of fear and avoidance are the exact expression of the theory of urban decline, introduced for the first time by Wilson and Kelling (1982) and broadly accepted by both police officers and social psychologists of the time. The so-called Theory of Broken Windows – a ‘broken window’ works here both as synecdoche and practical example – implies that a growing sense of insecurity and episodes of criminality would be more likely to occur in those urban areas where there are visible cues telling the residents’ indifference to the care of neighbourhood and its public spaces. The presence of broken windows, but also of graffiti, abandoned cars, dirt and garbage would indeed attract on the one hand even more deprivation, according to this perspective, since the carelessness of people living there would allow criminals to take advantage of an ‘unsupervised’ part of the city. On the other hand, such signals of urban decline may have some impact on the residents’ behaviour as well, hence promoting anti-social practices.

Similar discourses of fear and decline can increasingly be found in places of residential segregation, such as disadvantaged inner-cities and suburban areas. Affected by what Wacquant defines as “territorial stigmatization” (2007), these are routinely exposed to narratives of vilification by the popular and media representations, particularly in the case of social housing estates. The rapid decline of housing estates all over Europe in terms of both physical and socio-economic conditions has progressively led to a “cycle of labelling and exclusion” (Taylor, 1998: 821; Hess, 2018). From “problem tenants” (Watt, 2006: 779) and “sink estate” (Tyler and Slater, 2018: 739), to black inner-city, “banlieues youth” (Wacquant, 2007: 72) or again “outlaw estate” (ibid.: 69), both the neighbourhood and the social housing residents are depicted as “inferior, negative counter-spaces” (Glasze et al., 2012: 1201) and “urban outcasts” (Wacquant, 2007: 68). Additionally, these ways of public representations are often accompanied by figurative maps of “spatial dualisms”, delineating the city limits through ‘here/there’ as well as ‘inside/outside’ mechanisms (Glasze et al., 2012: 1193).

2.3.3. Internal and external neighbourhood reputations: origins and implications

As the literature on discourse and neighbourhood reputation points out, discourses shaping place images can generate direct and indirect outcomes on the urban areas they are portraying (Permentier et al., 2007,

2008; Bauder, 2002; Foucault, 1981). Neighbourhood reputation is conceived as the combination of “meaning and assessment assigned by residents and outsiders” (non-residents) (Permentier et al., 2007: 202) and plays a crucial role both inside and outside the neighbourhood’s boundaries: it not only affects residents’ behavioural practices with regards to their community (internal reputation), but it can also influence outsiders’ perceptions, either contributing to further marginalisation or attracting visitors and newcomers (external reputation) (Arthurson, 2013). In the construction of both internal and external neighbourhood reputations several factors might come into play, although these are also likely to be further influenced by the neighbourhood’s history (Permentier et al., 2008: 834). Neighbourhoods carrying a negative reputation may register, for instance, some common objective features, including residential segregation from the city (functional factors), run-down social housing estates, notorious public institutions – such as low-performing schools – (physical factors) and a concentration of socio-economic disadvantage (social factors). Nevertheless, as Permentier et al. (2008) point out, internal and external reputations on the same neighbourhood can differ, as the factors shaping residents’ perceptions and experience might not match with non-residents’ image of the area. On the one hand, residents’ view on the neighbourhood they inhabit is expected to be more authentic, and closer to ‘reality’, since it would be (primarily) based on personal experience and would more likely provide a complex and comprehensive picture – although it is not to be excluded that this can also be influenced by external reputations, coming principally from non-residents and the media (Arthurson, 2013). External reputation, on the other hand, is determined by the narrative coming from a variety of actors living outside the neighbourhood: inhabitants from the same city as well as “council workers, estate agents, police officers, teachers” (Permentier et al., 2008: 836), including potential employers (Tunstall et al., 2014). Their perceptions tend to be based upon “simplified images of neighbourhoods” (Permentier et al., 2008: 836), which can contribute to build a polarised view of the city. Alongside the internal and external images, the “self-reflecting image” is described as the “image residents believed, was found among outsiders” (Skifter Andersen, 2008: 5). The self-reflecting image provides additional depth to residents’ perceptions and is mostly affected by the interplay of “social inconveniences and visual qualities” of the neighbourhood (Skifter Andersen, 2008: 5).

Despite the varied terminology (image or reputation) to designate neighbourhood’s meanings and assessments, the contributions of Permentier et al. (2008) and Rijpers and Smeets (Skifter Andersen, 2008) highlight similar patterns when it comes to external neighbourhood reputations: even though they are in constant interaction and mutual influence with the internal reputation, external neighbourhood reputation (or image) tends to not fully coincide with the one residents might have of the same area. This clash of experience and perceptions may involve, as a result, significant implications in terms of responses and practices concerning the neighbourhood, its residents, and non-residents overall, from social behaviours to urban policies and planning interventions (Hastings and Dean, 2003; Sandercock, 2002; Permentier et al., 2007; Tach, 2009). The model of social reactions developed by Permentier et

al. (2007: 207), and inspired by Hirschman's theory (1970), distinguishes three main behavioural strategies that residents tend to adopt as a response to the negative external reputation of their neighbourhood: "exit", "voice", and "loyalty/neglect". A radical effect to the dissatisfaction with the neighbourhood's reputation is the exit response, that is the residents' decision of leaving their home and moving out the neighbourhood; this is considered when residents' wellbeing is mostly affected by the territorial stigma (see also Skifter Andersen, 2008) or, when they feel their status risks being compromised by belonging to a certain group or place and they wish to distance themselves from it – the "third-person effect" (Tsfati and Cohen, 2003). However, moving to 'better' areas generally involves relatively "high (transaction and/or emotional) costs" (Permentier et al., 2007: 207) and is thus far from being the straightforward option. Whereas voice can be practiced in various ways from within the neighbourhood and implies an active role of the residents in communicating and sharing their dissatisfaction with the external reputation, through community participation, such as neighbourhood committees, or by reaching out to the local government. Alongside exit and voice, the loyalty/neglect option occurs when social relations inside the neighbourhood are either reinforced or avoided: if sense of community is perceived as strong despite the area's image, a sense of trust, thus of loyalty prevails; by contrast, when it comes to neglect, residents start to put into practice attitudes of avoidance, and distance themselves from both fellow-residents and areas of the neighbourhood. In this last circumstance, the territorial stigma is confirmed in the local scale, as people will be more likely to "use the streets less often [...], moving with averted eyes, silent lips, and hurried steps" (Wilson and Kelling, 1982: 3).

On the other hand, external reputations can influence outsiders' behavioural responses and mobility choices, which tend also to affect and be affected by the socio-ethnic composition of the neighbourhood. Socio-spatial effects such as white avoidance (Hamnett et al., 2013) and school segregation (Cheshire, 2007; OECD, 2018) can be identified among the most common effects of territorial stigma, alongside discriminatory practices (Slater, 2021). Widely investigated in the American context, the white avoidance – white residents' preference for predominantly white areas – has been found to have a significant impact on the demographic composition of a disreputable neighbourhood (Permentier et al., 2007), as whiteness is culturally represented as an expression of "order, rationality, rigidity" opposed to "black disorder, irrationality and looseness" (Dyer, 1993: 130). Similarly, the process of schooling is also affected by stigmatizing mechanisms of avoidance, which focus on the performance, socio-ethnic composition, and overall reputation of the school. As Hamnett et al. (2013: 572) show, school preference and selection are driven again by an "imperative of avoidance", whereby parents will avoid not only schools with a bad reputation due to educational attainments or location, but also those schools detaining a high level of "perceived undesirability" (ibid.: 571), such as an overrepresentation of students coming from non-white backgrounds. The territorial stigma is then reflected in the everyday life of residents, who can experience discriminatory practices as soon as they step outside the

neighbourhood's borders (Wacquant, 2007; Slater, 2021). Discrimination can include limited access to specific services, such as “getting a taxi to pick you up from your home address or take you home [...] after a night out, or having a pizza delivered to your home” (Mckenzie, 2012: 468). The reputation of segregated schools, in addition, can influence the future career and aspiration of disadvantaged young residents, leading to various social barriers in achieving both educational and occupational opportunities (OECD, 2018). When such forms of discrimination are operated by employers, we attend to “postcode selection or address-based discrimination” (Department for Work and Pensions, 2010: 4; Bauder, 2002; Arthurson, 2013), partly responsible for the higher rates of unemployment and worklessness in UK deprived urban areas. Both everyday practices and future career developments of residents are thus impacted by negative neighbourhood reputations, contributing as a matter of fact to further social fragmentation as well as spatial inequalities within the city.

Negative discourses amplified by mediatised phenomena are found in the literature to be related to urban policy interventions. Slater (2018: 16) highlights the relationship between territorial stigmatization and “punitive policies directed at those living at the bottom of the class structure [causing] enormous disruption”, from gentrification to the demolition of social housing estates, and land clearance. In the UK for instance, the stigmatization of council housing in media and policy representations has fabricated what Shields (1991: 61) qualifies as a “place-myth”, a static place image of the “sink-estate” (Slater, 2018), in this case, which has inevitably played a crucial role in the definition of area-based initiatives tackling concentrated poverty and ‘problem’ neighbourhoods (Rose et al., 2013; Slater, 2021). One of the major European examples of mediatization leading to desegregating urban renewal policies is the French case of *banlieues* (suburbs) between the 1980s and early 2000s, when news about urban riots with “burning cars, broken shop windows and rampaging teenagers” dominated the national and international media, contributing to the construction of suburban social housing as a policy problem (Glasze et al., 2012: 1192; Champagne, 1999). In this case, amongst others, we attend to Champagne’s “fabrication of the event” (1999: 46): a “representation of the extraordinary”, of a spectacular disorder, that eventually calls for and justifies social mixing interventions.

2.4. Conclusions

Social mix has historically been endorsed and developed as effective strategy to tackle urban disadvantage and residential segregation (Addie and Fraser, 2019; Galster, 2007). Nevertheless, the process of going from ‘poor’ to ‘mixed’ and eventually, in many instances, to ‘gentrified communities’ is slow, often problematic and can cover decades of neighbourhood change (Pain, 2019; Tyner, 2020). The literature on neighbourhood regeneration often describes local development not as a continuum, focusing on specific moments in time, often during or after transformation, and rarely before. This, I argue, fails to provide a comprehensive view and ongoing assessment of any social impact at the local level. Furthermore, when outcomes of social mixing policies are analysed after a few years from their

implementation, they generally focus on social capital and social cohesion (Barwick, 2018; Chaskin and Joseph 2011), social mobility or education (Lipman, 2012; DeLuca and Rosenblatt, 2010), displacement or gentrification (Tunstall, 2012; Bacqué and Fijalkow, 2012). The analysis of longer-term effects by either funding bodies of urban policies themselves (e.g., local or national government) or research very rarely include a crucial aspect for the neighbourhood's development, that is reputation (over time), although narratives of decline and discourses of fear pathologise the marginalised neighbourhood and contribute to its problematisation, often leading itself to intervention (Arthurson, 2013; Van Altena et al., 2007; DCLG, 2010; CRESR, 2005a).

With this project, I address this research gap and contribute to the literature of social mix, by looking explicitly at the long-term impact of state-led social mixing policies on the reputations of the neighbourhood targeted. The study of this phenomena over time as well as across space and in a comparative approach allows us to consider longer-term effects of local change, such as urban renewal policies implemented in the neighbourhood, and can, as a result, better inform future policies on more inclusive regeneration practices facilitating the 'right to the neighbourhood'. With this thesis I stand out from the mostly quantitative literature on neighbourhood reputations – represented here by the work of Permentier et al. (2008) – and challenge their conceptualisation by providing a more integrated overview of the constructions of power and place images within the case studies. I hence consider the discourse produced by the local press as external reputation; while internal reputation is, in this specific case, the result of the interplay between three levels of perceptions (a. the changed neighbourhood; b. the social mixing policy; c. the external reputation). To this end, I not only apply a longitudinal and comparative qualitative approach to the study of mixed communities, but I also draw connections between internal and external reputations before and after the policies, to explore variations and implications of the impact. Drawing on post-structuralist theories of discourse production, territorial stigmatisation and social mixing effects, the following chapter (Chapter 3) provides details on the data and research methods I employ to explore how neighbourhoods' reputations have been affected by years of interventions.

Chapter 3.

Data and Methods of Research

3.1. Introduction

Research on urban neighbourhoods and, notably, on state-led regeneration and social mixing policies has primarily focused either on territorial stigmatisation and neighbourhood reputations, including social housing estates (Wacquant, 2007; Slater, 2021; Permentier et al., 2008; Kearns et al., 2013), or on the effects of social mix or tenure mix on the residents' social fabric and mobility (Arthurson et al., 2015; Barwick, 2018). From a methodological point of view, quantitative research is emphasised in both fields of study, and when qualitative methods are employed, they generally focus on specific moments in time or discrete events (during or immediately after a specific event), rarely considering the long-term effects of local phenomena such as neighbourhood change. Social mix and territorial stigma literatures also appear to rarely meet either theoretically or methodologically, although existing studies have demonstrated the close relationship between neighbourhood change and reputations as well as their implications on further inequalities and discrimination (Arthurson, 2013; Slater, 2021; Permentier et al., 2007). This international comparative research project goes further in assessing the impact of social mixing policies over the longer term, by addressing both literatures through the analysis of neighbourhoods' reputations as the main aspirational policy aim of social mix. Drawing on Permentier et al.'s (2008) conceptualisation of neighbourhood reputations, this research explores both internal and external place images as they were constructed before and after social mixing interventions using a qualitative and comparative approach, to holistically consider the production and the implication of discourses inside and outside the targeted areas.

This chapter outlines the research data and methods employed to investigate the internal and external reputations of Ponte Lambro, Milan, and the NDC area, Bristol, in the early 2000s and post-intervention years, drawing on the period 2017-2019. First, I set out the research design, outlining the methodological approach, the comparative aspect of the project and the research questions. Then, I present the research methods of data collection and analysis used to explore variations in the external neighbourhoods' reputations (Critical Discourse Analysis, CDA, of newspaper articles) and in the internal neighbourhoods' reputations (Participatory Photo Mapping, PPM, via focus groups and interviews). The last sections of the chapter place emphasis upon ethical and reflexivity considerations that were considered while conducting social research 'at a distance' during the Covid-19 pandemic, and address advantages and limitations encountered in the process.

3.2. Research design

3.2.1. The epistemological and methodological approach

Although the literature on state-led social mixing strategies has analysed their long-term effects on the targeted neighbourhoods, especially in the US mixed communities' context (Mendenhall et al., 2006; DeLuca and Rosenblatt, 2010; Popkin et al., 2009; Fraser et al., 2012; Chetty et al., 2016), insufficient attention has been paid to the specifics of the European context, in terms of both comparative and longitudinal approaches. Studies focusing on European mixed communities have mainly looked at their benefits and downsides for residents' living conditions, ranging from health and education outcomes through housing conditions to social cohesion and social interactions (Agustoni et al., 2015; Bacqué et al., 2011; Bolt et al., 2009; Moreira de Souza, 2019). By contrast, the literature on neighbourhoods' reputations (Permentier et al., 2008) and territorial stigmatisation (Wacquant, 2007; Slater, 2021) has rarely considered the impact of change, and social mixing interventions, in shaping and re-shaping perceptions both inside and outside the affected urban area. In order to provide an integrated perspective and additional insights into policy aims and the impacts of policy implementation over time, this project draws ontologically on constructionism and post-structuralist theories considering the performative feature of discourse as powerful tool in the construction of "truths" (Foucault, 1981; Bourdieu, 1991), thus taking an epistemological approach based on the discourse analysis of place images and territorial stigma of urban areas affected by change.

Instead of looking at the discourse framed either by residents (see Arthurson, 2013) or by the urban regeneration policy, as urban and housing studies have largely explored (Jacobs, 2006; Hastings, 2000; Lees, 2004, Richardson, 1996; Watt, 2008), this project looks at the narratives produced by both the media (external reputation) and the local community (internal reputation) while representing the case studies neighbourhoods through change, that is before and after the policy implementation. In particular, the research challenges what Permentier et al. (2008: 851) suggest as research agenda on internal and external neighbourhood reputations, by addressing three of the methodological gaps they identified: this project employs a qualitative methodology combining discourse analysis with an ethnographic approach as it seeks to "shed more light on the dynamics of reputations and the shifting of power actors in the construction of reputations"; it takes into account the past representations of the neighbourhoods, as "history can be an important factor in determining the reputation of a neighbourhood"; within the analysis of the internal neighbourhood reputation, "effects of (negative) neighbourhood reputations on the behaviour of residents" are also considered. Standing out from the literature on social mixing effects, in which quantitative methods are predominantly used, I adopt qualitative research methods to assess the impact of two social mixing policies (Contratto di Quartiere and the New Deal for Communities) affecting Ponte Lambro, Milan and the NDC area, Bristol, by exploring pre- and post-policy reputations. The use of qualitative methodology has been judged particularly helpful in this context to address the

sources of discourse production and the social contexts where they are embedded, as well as to ‘give voice’ to the local communities, while providing an empirical contribution to both the urban studies and the territorial stigmatisation fields (Winchester and Rofe, 2010; Watt, 2020).

To investigate the long-term outcomes of social mixing interventions, the research adopts a comparative approach within and between internal and external neighbourhoods’ reputations as well as between case studies. Neighbourhood reputations are compared across time and space to evaluate whether one of the main aspirational aims of the renewal policies – the improvement of the place image – has been achieved in the long-run. This approach not only provides in depth temporality to the research of internal and external discourses, drawing trajectories between past and present perceptions in a qualitative longitudinal approach, but it also allows for the identification of differences and similarities between the place images themselves and the delivery of social mixing practices in two distant but similar urban contexts. Comparing times and places further enables the research to identify whether and how similar social mixing strategies produce different long-term outcomes in similar urban contexts, leading to a learning process of best practices and avoidable risks in urban renewal policies, such as those that perpetuate social disparities at the neighbourhood level.

3.2.2. A comparative and longitudinal design

In line with studies exploring the effects of social mixing policies at the neighbourhood level (Costarelli et al., 2019; Ponce, 2010), this research uses a comparative case study analysis. As foregrounded above, the comparative aspect of this project brings together two perspectives pertaining to both time and space (Baxter, 2010). First, the comparison across time is employed with the aim of investigating neighbourhoods’ reputations before and after the implementation of the urban renewal interventions, hence, to identify whether both planned and implemented policy actions have been beneficial to the areas’ image, conceived as the combination of both internal and external reputations. As the table below shows (Table 1), this research considers two main moments constituting the neighbourhoods’ change over time: the *pre-policy* (I), and the *assessment* (II) timeframes. To assess each social mixing policy on the evolution of the neighbourhood reputations, it is necessary to consider not only the design and the delivery of the policy itself, but also the neighbourhood’s history, that is how the urban problem was constructed in the first place in the past, before the start of the social mixing policy (I. *Pre-policy*); and finally, how it is perceived today after more than ten years of local transformation (III. *Assessment*). Since I employ qualitative methods of analysis, with manually conducted discourse analysis (CDA) on NVivo, I decided to limit the sample of newspaper articles to two years for both pre-policy and assessment timeframes. Table 1 below provides details on the years selected for comparison: pre-policy years correspond to the two years immediately preceding the start of each urban policy; whereas 2017-2019 are picked as assessment years as they allow a sufficient period from the (estimated) end of each policy to the time of data collection and research (five to six years), which was carried out from 2020.

This longitudinal perspective, when addressed to the analysis of both internal and external reputations, allows for the exploration of inferences concerning the overall impact of the social mixing policies as they took place in the years between the two timeframes considered (Bryman, 2012). As will be illustrated in section 3.2.3. below, the longitudinal element of the analysis is addressed differently according to the research method employed.

Table 1. Comparison across time and space: Research case studies.

	I. Pre-policy	Policy years	II. Assessment
Ponte Lambro, Milan (Italy)	2000 – 2004	<i>Contratto di Quartiere II: planned for 2004 – 2012</i>	2017 – 2019
NDC area, Bristol (UK)	1998 – 2000	<i>New Deal for Communities: planned for 2000 – 2011</i>	2017 – 2019

Source: Author’s elaboration.

The second comparative perspective is the cross-national comparison across case studies, contrasting Italy and the UK in the implementation of long-run social mixing policies at the neighbourhood level. This methodological strategy, which is often carried out within quantitative and deductive approaches in urban and housing studies (Permentier et al., 2008), allows for the assessment of whether and how state-led social mixing policies developed in the early 2000s have produced similar outcomes in the long-run in different European contexts, while drawing connections between remote but comparable urban neighbourhoods. The impact of such urban renewal interventions is not only assessed on the reputations of a single disadvantaged neighbourhood, but it is compared with a second case study presenting similar socio-spatial characteristics; this offers the opportunity to gain deeper understanding of the power and social dynamics underlying the production of place images and stigmas as well as their correlation with social mix as the largely endorsed ‘desegregating’ strategy to tackle urban poverty.

3.2.3. The case selection process

The case studies selected for this research are two disadvantaged and historically stigmatised neighbourhoods which have been targeted by state-led social mixing policies. Studies on the long-term effects of mixed communities have mainly focused either on the US context (DeLuca and Rosenblatt, 2010; Fraser et al., 2012; Chetty et al., 2016) or on single neighbourhoods within the same national context (Bacqué and Fijalkow, 2006; Mugnano and Costarelli, 2015; Davidson, 2010). This research draws a cross-national comparison of two European urban areas meeting three selection criteria: in the early 2000s (a), social mixing policies with the common long-term goal of improving place reputation through regeneration and community empowerment (b), have targeted deprived and ethnically segregated neighbourhoods in Europe (c). The research focuses indeed on the comparison of similar

social mixing policies (Contratto di Quartiere II, CdQ, and the New Deal for Communities, NDC), implemented in the same timeframe and with similar final goals, which targeted similar marginalised areas, but located in different national contexts.

a. A specific timeframe

With regards to the social mixing policies observed, the research focuses on a specific starting period, between late 1990s and the early 2000s, when social and tenure mix as ‘solution’ to the urban problem were highly promoted by several European planning agendas (Imrie and Raco, 2012; Busch-Geertsema, 2007; Bolt et al., 2009; Andersson, 2006). This timeframe is of particular interest for the aims and objectives of the research as it allows for the analysis of already implemented and completed interventions, the effects of which can be visible at multiple levels, from the neighbourhood’s change to its reputation. Social mixing policies taking place before the 1990s would have resulted in being too distant from the socio-economic dynamics of the current urban context, limiting the chances to identify their effects. While most recent initiatives would have covered an insufficient period to allow the research to explore their impact on neighbourhood reputations. Variations of neighbourhood reputations need to be analysed in the long run, as both collective discourses and individual perceptions over places, and over changed neighbourhoods, tend to take years to develop and consolidate (Watt, 2020; Schwarze, 2021). The actions planned by CdQ were implemented from 2004, while the NDC started to be developed in 2000.

b. A common long-term policy aim

For the social mixing policies investigated to be comparable, they need to have a clear set of commonalities. Firstly, there needs to be a comparability in terms of the design and delivery of the local actions. Secondly, they also need to have a specific long-term policy aim(s) in common. With regards to the former, the research considers state-led urban renewal policies which aimed at the ‘desegregation’ of specific marginalised urban areas through social and tenure mixing as well as community involvement in the decision-making process, enabling the constitution of community, private and public partnerships (MacLeavy, 2009; Briata et al., 2009; Calvaresi and Cossa, 2011). Secondly, to explore the development of neighbourhood reputations over time, the policies’ long-term aims are considered as related to the improvement of the neighbourhood’s image, in terms of changes in both outlook and reputations. CdQ and NDC aimed at creating opportunities for the neighbourhoods to overcome marginalisation and social stigma, by attracting non-residents to the area (CaH, 2005; Comune di Milano and Politecnico di Milano, 2004).

c. Marginalised neighbourhoods in unequal European cities

The choice over two specific cities and areas targeted by the selected policies, CdQ and NDC, which acted at national level, was determined by the concentration of two socio-spatial factors, which was

indicative of multiple disadvantages and ‘problematised’ areas: the Index of Multiple Deprivation, and the distribution of minority ethnic groups and immigrants across the city indicating ethnic residential segregation. The geographical polarisation mirroring socio-economic inequalities is a common feature of both Bristol and Milan, which are also considered in the comparative analysis for having historically been important sites of immigration and development. During the post-war period, Milan attracted people from the South of Italy, and in the last two decades foreign immigrants have started contributing to the rise of the urban population concentrating in the suburban neighbourhoods (Petsimeris and Rimoldi, 2016; OttomilaCensus, 2011); whereas Bristol, which played a central role “in colonial trade and slaving” (Chivallon, 2001: 351), features, from a recent report, amongst the worst UK cities for ethnic diversity’s spatial concentration and inequality (Centre on Dynamics of Ethnicity, 2017).

Ponte Lambro (Milan) and the NDC area (Bristol) are selected as research case studies (Figures 1 and 2 below). The neighbourhood of Ponte Lambro presents the highest concentration of both local deprivation and minority ethnic population in Milan (Comune di Milano, 2011a), and was at the centre of CdQ from 2004 (Regione Lombardia, 2019; Pinto, 2008). The policy aimed particularly at the regeneration of the area, also through tenure mix, as well as at tackling the territorial stigma through social development and community participation (Comune di Milano and Politecnico di Milano, 2004). The Lawrence Hill ward – one of the most deprived and diverse wards in Bristol (Bristol City Council, 2018) – and part of the Easton ward benefited from the New Deal for Communities from 2000 (Sovereign Housing Association, 2012): the NDC area included Lawrence Hill, Barton Hill, Redfield, The Dings/St. Philips. Such policy aimed at regenerating the inner-city neighbourhoods through community empowerment and local partnerships programmes: social cohesion was supposed to foster local services and eventually improve the wider neighbourhood’s reputation (Hohmann, 2013; MacLeavy, 2009).

Figure 2. Map of the city of Bristol highlighting the NDC area: Redfield, Lawrence Hill, Barton Hill, The Dings.



Source: Author’s elaboration from Bristol City Council, Pinpoint, 2022.

3.3. Data and methods

The comparative and longitudinal elements of the research applied to the discourse on the case studies seek to address Lees’ suggestion (2004: 127) of moving away from the discursive to ‘create social justice’, by collecting narratives from both powerful and ‘powerless’ actors (Foucault, 1981; Bourdieu, 1991). To assess the impact of social mixing policies on reputation, the *external neighbourhood reputation*, corresponding in this case to the local media discourse, is not the only dimension explored in this research. The research methodology process begins with an analysis of the external reputation – how it was constructed and how it evolved before and after the implementation of each policy – and

proceeds with the investigation of the *internal neighbourhood reputation*, the local community's perceptions. Furthermore, to elicit further reflections and provide a comprehensive picture of the internal reputation, the two dimensions of the neighbourhoods' reputations are combined within the data collection process itself, as informants are confronted with the external discourse on the area.

The evolution of external neighbourhood reputation is investigated through a *Critical Discourse Analysis* (CDA) of local newspaper articles, covering the period prior to the implementation of the urban regeneration schemes and in the subsequent years, focusing on the most recent period. Whereas the internal reputation is explored through a creative research method, *Participatory Photo Mapping* (PPM), paired with *focus groups* and *semi-structured 1-1 interviews* with former and current residents on the neighbourhood change and its public discourse. Below, I outline in detail the data sources and sample groups used, the research methods employed to study the development of both external and internal neighbourhood reputations, and the analytical approaches taken for the interpretation of each resulting reputation in relation to the research questions:

Table 2. Research questions and applied related methodologies.

Research questions	Data sources	Data content	Research method
1. Has the external reputation of the neighbourhood changed after the policy implementation? How?	Newspaper articles covering pre-policy and assessment periods	Press discourse on the neighbourhood	<i>Critical Discourse Analysis</i>
2. Has the internal reputation of the neighbourhood changed after the policy implementation? How?	Neighbourhood current and former residents	Residents' perception of the neighbourhood	<i>Focus Groups and 1-1 interviews</i>

Source: Author's elaboration.

3.3.1. External neighbourhood reputations: Critical Discourse Analysis of newspaper articles

To uncover social and power mechanisms that underpin the dominant external reputations of marginalised urban areas, this research study adopts CDA as research method. The large application of discourse analysis in human geography confirms its importance in the 'dismantling' of social identities and realities that particular "knowledge systems" contribute to normalise through specific linguistic hence discursive practices (Foucault, 1981; Waitt, 2010). Hastings (2000: 138) on the one hand reflects on the use of discourse analysis in housing studies and highlights its 'critical potential' in helping "democratize not only language use, but the policy process more generally". On the other hand, policy discourses have been challenged and scrutinised to inform studies on both urban and regional planning (Jacobs, 2006; Richardson, 1996; Lees, 2004). Yet, less attention has been placed upon the analysis of non-policy discourses on targeted urban areas, such as media and public discourse, equally and largely responsible for the construction of place images and the 'urban problem' (Kearns et al., 2013; Watt,

2020; Watt, 2008; Sriskandarajah, 2020; Schwarze, 2021; Martin, 2000). CDA draws on Foucault's (1995: 112) post-structuralist theory of discourse, which is understood as the linguistic "vehicle of the law" in terms of power and control within society, and combines it with Wacquant's (2007) conceptualisation of stigma in relation to places and neighbourhoods. To observe the production and the action of territorial stigmatisation at the neighbourhood level (Slater, 2021) through the Foucauldian lenses of "production and circulation of knowledge" (Waite, 2010: 218), I deploy CDA on local newspaper articles referring to the case studies in the timeframes selected. This research method is applied on the textual analysis as operationalised by the linguist Norman Fairclough (1992; 2003), that is by following an inductive approach within a three-dimensional framework that goes from the micro (the text) to the meso (the discursive practice or context of production) and macro (the social practice or the society where it is embedded) levels of analysis (Huckin, 1997). Before focusing on the coding and analytical procedure applied on newspaper articles, I address here the data collection steps, including the databases and samples used.

3.3.1.1. Data source and sample

To gather a significant sample of newspaper articles in the source languages (Italian and English) and for each local context (Milan and Bristol respectively), multiple online database options were explored. After considering accessibility, size, and availability of resources, two online databases were selected: Factiva³ and Lexis Library News⁴. Local newspapers about the Italian case study were found on the former, while those about the English case study were collected on the latter (see Table 3 below). In both instances, data collection followed two steps, involving, first, collection through advanced search and secondly, after downloading the data, the exclusion of those newspaper articles that were not specifically informative on the discourse of the neighbourhoods.

In terms of the NDC area, the words "Barton Hill" and "Lawrence Hill" were selected as keywords for the Lexis Library News search to have a comprehensive perspective of the discourse produced on the area. Drawing from both academic and grey literature, the Bristol area involved in the NDC is both referred to as Lawrence Hill and Barton Hill, as being respectively the main ward and the neighbourhood involved (MacLeavy, 2009; CRESR, 2005a and 2005b; CaH, 2005). For this reason, the neighbourhoods of The Dings and Redfield were not included in the search. Moreover, as first data collection step, the advanced search options allowed me to exclude from the corpus newspaper articles with the following headlines "in the courts", "coffee morning", "soap box", which mentioned the case study in irrelevant contexts, such as verdicts of civil suits and letters from readers. The search focused on the only local newspaper available in the database, the Bristol Post, and was carried out for the following timeframes: 1st January 1998 - 1st January 2000; 1st January 2017 - 1st January 2019. Secondly, after a first review of the sample, additional newspaper articles (including duplicates) were excluded

³ Factiva, <https://global-factiva-com.bris.idm.oclc.org/sb/default.aspx?lnep=hp> .

⁴ Lexis Library News, <https://www-lexisnexis-com.bris.idm.oclc.org/uk/legal/news?sourceid=1061905> .

from the analysis, as their topics were not relevant to the area’s reputation: articles about sport matches, weddings, obituaries, and lottery wins mentioning the area belonged to this group.

Newspaper articles about the Italian neighbourhood were collected on the Factiva database. As with the Bristol case study, the search needed to be carried out using two keywords to get a more comprehensive result: the neighbourhood is also referred to as “Parco Monluè-Ponte Lambro” in city council statistics and literature signifying that, statistically at least it includes the adjacent neighbourhood of Parco Monluè (Comune di Milano, 2011a). By narrowing the search down to the city of Milan, local newspapers such as La Repubblica Milano and Corriere della Sera could be identified as data sources. In this case, the timeframes selected were the following: 1st January 2002 - 1st January 2004; 1st January 2017 - 1st January 2019. Data collection was, once again, followed by a review, which this time was necessary to exclude from the analysis newspaper articles about the homonymous town in the province of Como as well as those articles that emerged as irrelevant. After having gathered and reviewed the data, the final sample for each case studies looked like the following, as indicated in the table below: 453 articles for the NDC area; and 168 articles for Ponte Lambro.

Table 3. Critical Discourse Analysis data sources and sample.

	Source	Newspapers	Specific timeframes	Pre-policy sample	Assessment sample
NDC area	Lexis Library News	The Bristol Post	01.01.1998-01.01.2000	373	80
			01.01.2017-01.01.2019		
Ponte Lambro	Factiva	La Repubblica; Corriere della Sera, Milano	01.01.2002-01.01.2004	89	79
			01.01.2017-01.01.2019		

Source: Author’s elaboration.

3.3.1.2. Analysis

The newspaper articles selected via the process above and which met the selection criteria were downloaded from the two online databases and organised on the NVivo software for the qualitative analysis and coding procedure. Drawing on the “strategies for doing discourse analysis” through the Foucauldian lenses outlined by Waitt (2010: 220), the analysis of the data followed an inductive approach, as before proceeding with coding, I “suspend(ed) pre-existing categories” (see section 3.4) and focused on the texts. A first in-depth read of all newspaper articles allowed me to have a general overview of the corpus and familiarise with the material. This was an essential step to grasp information on the “social circumstances of authorship”, “the text” and its “audience” (Waitt, 2010: 226), hence the social practice and context in which the discourse on the neighbourhoods is produced (Huckin, 1997). Considering these elements while reading the newspaper articles enabled to address the text critically

and anchor it within specific social, historical, and geographical contexts related to the timeframes observed. Subsequently, I carried out two coding phases for each sample groups, drawing on Waitt (2010) again, and Saldana (2016) for the coding strategies.

To pursue a comprehensive CDA of the newspaper articles, the coding procedure consisted in two rounds: first was the organisation of the data (descriptive coding) and then the interpretation of the data (analytical coding). Both descriptive and analytical codes were not determined *a priori* but through an inductive approach: coding units (each whole article or parts of it) were labelled and categorised according to the main theme(s) emerged from the text. In the first round, newspaper articles were analysed through *Evaluation Coding* (Saldana, 2016), whereby I assigned a positive (+) or negative (-) value to each news or coding unit. Such descriptive coding allowed to undertake a first categorisation of the sample in positive (e.g., +Community Spirit) and negative discourse (e.g., -Crime) on the case studies, while starting to build a qualitative codebook (see Appendix D) that could provide rigour and consistency to the discourse analysis (subjective and manual by nature).

Unlike common practices of thematic coding, CDA imposes to apply a second round of coding to the same material to investigate further in the interpretation of implicit meanings within the text, revealing reputations and power relations. This additional review of the coded articles into analytical themes involved operations of rearranging existing Evaluation Codes to form interpretative cases (sets of codes). Through “abstraction or reduction” (Waitt, 2010: 232), codes identified in the first phase were organised in further categories and subcategories, which eventually composed two main groups of cases reflecting the general discourse that emerged from the newspaper articles: positive reputation and negative reputation (see Table 4. below). The analytical themes suggested by this second coding were named after the same labels encountered in the newspaper articles through *In Vivo Coding* (e.g., “Needy”) (Saldana, 2006); alternatively, cases were also inspired by terms used in either academic or grey literature about the areas (e.g., “sink estate”, Slater, 2018). Coding units referring specifically to plans or implementation of urban interventions and social mixing policies were not included in the positive or negative reputation cases and formed a third group of codes. I decided to analyse these data separately so that the place image produced on the case studies could be authentic and not influenced by positive or negative narratives on the urban policy.

To fully detail and record the complexity of the discourse produced, during both organisation and interpretation coding phases on NVivo, I oftentimes accompanied coding units with annotations on the latent meanings of words and phrases, practicing what Fairclough (1992) refers to as the text analysis at micro level. In the context of each newspaper article, I paid attention not only to the “social” and “discourse practice” hinted in the text (Fairclough, 1992: 232-237), as ideological and political information, but I also took a closer look at the features of sentences and word choices employed by the text. To operationalise such investigation, I draw on the strategies suggested by Huckin (1997: 86-89)

and Fairclough (1992: 234-237), involving the analysis of the following: genre of the text, framing, foregrounding/backgrounding, metaphors used, omission of information, presupposition, topicalization at sentence level, insinuation, and connotations.

Table 4. Analytical codes categorised in positive and negative reputation groups.

POSITIVE REPUTATION	
<i>Cohesive and vibrant</i>	+Events +Facilities +Community participation +Culture +Employment
<i>Clean and green</i>	+Environment
<i>Connected</i>	+Transport and connections
<i>Good school</i>	+Education
<i>Social housing</i>	+Housing
NEGATIVE REPUTATION	
<i>Unsafe</i>	-Crime -Disorders -Law and order
<i>“Needy”/ “deprived”</i>	-Deprivation -Facilities -Environment -Ethnic diversity -Unemployment
<i>Isolated</i>	-Transport and connections
<i>Bad school</i>	-Education
<i>Poor housing</i>	-Housing

Source: Author’s elaboration.

3.3.2. Internal neighbourhood reputations: Focus groups and interviews through Participatory Photo Mapping

To investigate the production and the evolution of the internal neighbourhood reputations of Ponte Lambro and the NDC area, I have undertaken fieldwork, both remotely and in person, with residents of the two areas and employed qualitative in-depth methods alongside a visual and participatory method (PPM) to collect data on residents’ perceptions. Although residents’ perceptions of urban areas have often been gathered through quantitative or qualitative surveys in the academic and grey literature (Permentier et al., 2008, 2007, 2011; Jones and Dantzler, 2020), I believe that qualitative research methods, such as focus groups and 1-1 interviews, allow the appreciation of the complexity of personal experiences and how they interact with neighbourhood reputations, with nuances of emotions as well as potential contradictions (Bryman, 2012; Arthurson, 2013). Focus groups and 1-1 in-depth interviews have been chosen as they could also better accompany the construction and discussions over the PPM, as creative and collaborative tool to involve participants in the collective construction of meaning and place image through their own eyes. PPM positions itself between community mapping (Corbett, 2009;

Teixeira et al., 2020) and photovoice led by participants (McIntyre, 2003): it involves the active participation of the local communities in the creation of a map, in this case a cognitive map, representing their own neighbourhood, and it also allows participants to inform the map through a visual method, and negotiate meanings during focus groups and 1-1 interviews. In addition, as it is often the case with the application of photovoice (McIntyre, 2003), the final product of PPM was also presented to the local community in the form of a small exhibition, to bring the discussion further and share knowledge about how the areas' change is perceived by its residents over time (see photographs of the exhibitions in Appendix H). Within geography, urban and housing studies, as well as social science research more broadly, PPM, with or without elements of photovoice, has been shown to be generally an inclusive and empowering research method, that not only asks for participants to express their creativity, but more importantly provides them the opportunity to 'take control' over their neighbourhood's image and acknowledge the space they are or were inhabiting (Teixeira et al., 2020; Rose, 2016). As such, PPM was selected as most suitable method to help collecting data – paired with focus groups and 1-1 interviews – on the internal neighbourhood reputations of Ponte Lambro and the NDC area. In this section, I provide details on the sample of participants recruited in the field for each case study, I outline the PPM process and the interviews and focus group's structure, and I conclude by describing the analytical approach.

3.3.2.1. Data source and sample

Considering the travel and social distancing restrictions in place during the first year of the Covid-19 pandemic (for more details see section 3.4.), data collection from the field sites had to take place remotely, observing the lockdown and social distancing requirements in place at the time. As a result, the recruitment and sampling of research participants had also to be carried out predominantly at distance, although contacting and meeting with local community centres and institutions resulted to be crucial in building trust with residents and spreading the word about the project. To respond to the research question on the internal neighbourhood reputation and how this has evolved after the social mixing policies in Bristol and Milan terminated, I sampled both long-term residents (current and former), living in the areas since the late 1990s, and 'newcomers', who have been living in the neighbourhoods for 5 years or less. As the focus of the analysis is on the perception of the neighbourhood before and after the implementation of the regeneration policies, the years of residency, rather than other socio-economic characteristics, represents the most significant category and lens through which evaluate change and provide temporality (longitudinality) to the data collected from participants. While the experience of the neighbourhood from long-term residents can often cover decades of stay in the area and their contribution to the project can give an overview of the policies implemented, the perspectives of newcomers reveal different uses of the place, including reasons behind their recent intentions to move in the neighbourhood. Former residents are also considered for two main reasons: they either have lived before and during the implementation of the social mixing policies in

the area, or they have moved in the neighbourhood's surroundings and kept a strong relationship with it allowing to express their view also on the most recent developments. In both instances, the only 'restrictive' criteria applied in terms of social identity was age: eligible participants needed to be over 25 to ensure more flexibility on the one hand, and a long-term experience or knowledge of the area on the other hand; except for this, all sexes and socio-ethnic backgrounds were welcomed, although, together with socio-economic characteristics, were not considered as features to identify participants within the sample

When the allocation of participants to focus groups was possible, and could meet their availability and preferences, groups were often composed of a mix of long-term residents, former residents, and newcomers. Despite the limitations to inclusivity due to Covid-19 pandemic circumstances, the mixed composition of focus groups represented an added value to the project and the findings. The discussion between different categories of participants during both synchronous and asynchronous focus groups (for the Bristol case study) not only provided an interesting variety of perspectives and perceptions on the neighbourhood change, which resulted in significant data for the analysis of regeneration, stigma and gentrification as phenomena affecting communities at different times of their stay in the area; this also gave the chance to both former or current residents to learn different points of view on the neighbourhood, and (digitally) explore through the PPM areas and features at the local level they were not fully aware of or had biases about. Perceptions and experiences collected through both focus groups and interviews are then supported by participant observation in Ponte Lambro and the NDC area, where the interaction with local organisations, history groups, and community centres allowed the data to be contextualised and confirmed through triangulation. The combination of focus groups/interviews, PPM and participant observation allowed to eventually collect context and place-specific data on both the areas and the communities affected by change.

In addition, given the unprecedented difficult times and the time they were asked to commit to, participants were also offered a £20 voucher which was different for each field site according to the local amenities (see Appendices A and F). After determining the sample and the research incentive, calls for participants were distributed via multiple ways, which entailed both remote and in person strategies: participants were recruited mainly via Facebook neighbourhood and postcode groups, but also through posters shared in local community centres and most popular meeting places in the areas, as well as through snowball-sampling.

Data collection through focus groups and 1-1 semi-structured interviews as well as participant observation in the field took about 4 months for each case study. Overall, forty participants (twenty each) participated in the study, forming a relatively diverse sample in terms of demographic characteristics and time of residence in the neighbourhood. Focus groups were conducted online on Zoom with up to three participants per each 1.5-hour session. Alternatively, 1-1 in-depth semi-

structured interviews of about 1 hour were carried out online or over the phone, according to participants' preferences and availabilities. In both instances and for both case studies the data collection procedure was the following:

1. After having scheduled a date and time for the meeting and expressing their consent (Appendix B), participants could choose to take part in the PPM (optional activity). Photographs of the area could either be taken in the days prior to the interview or focus group, or could also be part of the participant's personal album – especially, if they wished to illustrate changed landscapes or urban features. Participants were given liberty to establish subjects and number of photographs they wished to share, but these required to be representative of “how they see their neighbourhood”, thus “how they would represent its identity” using a camera. Their contribution was then shared with me by the day of the fixed meeting via email, WhatsApp, or Facebook Messenger, with a brief description and address of the location where the photo was taken.
2. Information about the photographs' location was used to build the shared and private online map on Google My Maps. To facilitate participants in the use of the map, I was responsible of its creation and editing, including uploading and locating the photographs, whilst participants were only able to access it and view its content. Google My Maps as a PPM online platform was selected for its user-friendly design, high accessibility from different devices and for its extremely customisable features. As illustrated by the figures below (Figures 3 and 4), each tag contains one or more photographs and descriptions (up to 3) which open with a click; tags are divided in colours and each colour was assigned to a participant to ensure anonymity.
3. Online focus groups were initially offered to participants as the primary research method to allow collaborative construction of meanings, sharing of memories and perceptions related to the neighbourhood. However, if focus groups could not be facilitated because of participants' unavailability, 1-1 interviews online or over the phone were suggested as alternative option to take part in the study. Focus groups and interviews were semi-structured to ensure flexibility whilst still guiding the discussion and group interaction, which was organised around three topics: (I) the motivations and stories behind the photographs selected by participants and their comments on the map; (II) the neighbourhood change over time, especially with and after the social mixing policy's interventions; (III) their experience and perception of the external discourse on the neighbourhood (see Appendix G). This third topic was included to investigate every nuance of the internal place image, considering any direct or indirect influence and implication that the external discourse might exercise on residents' perceptions and behaviours.
4. As it is often the case with qualitative visual methods involving photovoice (McIntyre, 2003), after each fieldwork I organised a small temporary exhibition, with the support of Barton Hill History Group for Bristol and Uniponte (C.A.G. Ponte Lambro) for Milan, where the results of

each PPM were presented to the public and the local community: the exhibitions included only those photographs for which participants gave their consent to publication. This represented an opportunity to not only give back to the community that informed my research, but also to present a narrative on the neighbourhood that can differ from the wider discourse and often challenge it as counter-narrative (Garbin and Millington, 2012).

NDC area: conducting fieldwork

With the reduction of Covid-19 restrictions in the latter part of 2020, the initial field site was in the city of Bristol, focusing on the NDC area during the period November 2020 to February 2021; a second round of data collection was undertaken between September and October 2021 to ensure that a sample of participants equivalent to the one resulted from Ponte Lambro (twenty participants) was achieved. During the first month, I tested asynchronous focus groups with small groups of participants on the online platform FocusGroupIt⁵. However, because of limitations that emerged with this method (see section 3.4.), participants agreed then to undertake interviews instead. I eventually conducted fourteen in-depth semi-structured interviews (3 by phone and 11 online on Zoom) and two online focus groups on Zoom, composed by three participants each. The final sample included ten current long-term residents, six newcomers and four former long-term residents, for a total of 20 participants. Most participants (ten) came from Barton Hill, six from Redfield, two from Lawrence Hill and one from The Dings. With regards to the composition of focus groups, asynchronous ones, carried out on the online platform FocusGroupIt, were slightly more numerous than those on Zoom, hence allowed to achieve greater mix of categories of participants: asynchronous focus groups included two newcomers as well, while this category could not be present in synchronous focus groups for reasons related to availability and preference from participants. Two focus groups took place on Zoom: focus group 1 (FG1) involved two long-term residents and one former resident; FG2 brought together three long-term residents. In this latter case, balance among categories could not be ensured because of practical reasons of group organisation during the recruitment process: participants, on the one hand, preferred to conduct 1-1 interviews or had limited availability, and my intention, on the other hand, was to create small groups of 2 or 3 individuals in order to facilitate an inclusive conversation. However, when this was the case, the mixed composition of focus groups provided added value to the research analysis and findings, as it allowed participants in FG1, for instance, to share and negotiate different significances of community and social spaces, such as pubs and parks (see section 7.2.). Alongside interviews and focus groups with residents of the NDC area, I also conducted participant observation in the neighbourhoods (at least twice a week for four months), for which I took both notes and photographs, reflecting on my own view and exploration of the case study. 17 participants out of 20 agreed to take part to the PPM of the area, which resulted in the sharing of 175 photographs.

⁵ FocusGroupIt, <https://www.focusgroupit.com/> .

Table 5. Sample of participants from the NDC area divided by methods.

	Focus groups (including asynchronous)	Interviews	PPM
Current long-term residents	5	5	10
Newcomers	1	5	4
Former residents	1	2	3

Source: Author's elaboration.

Ponte Lambro neighbourhood: conducting fieldwork

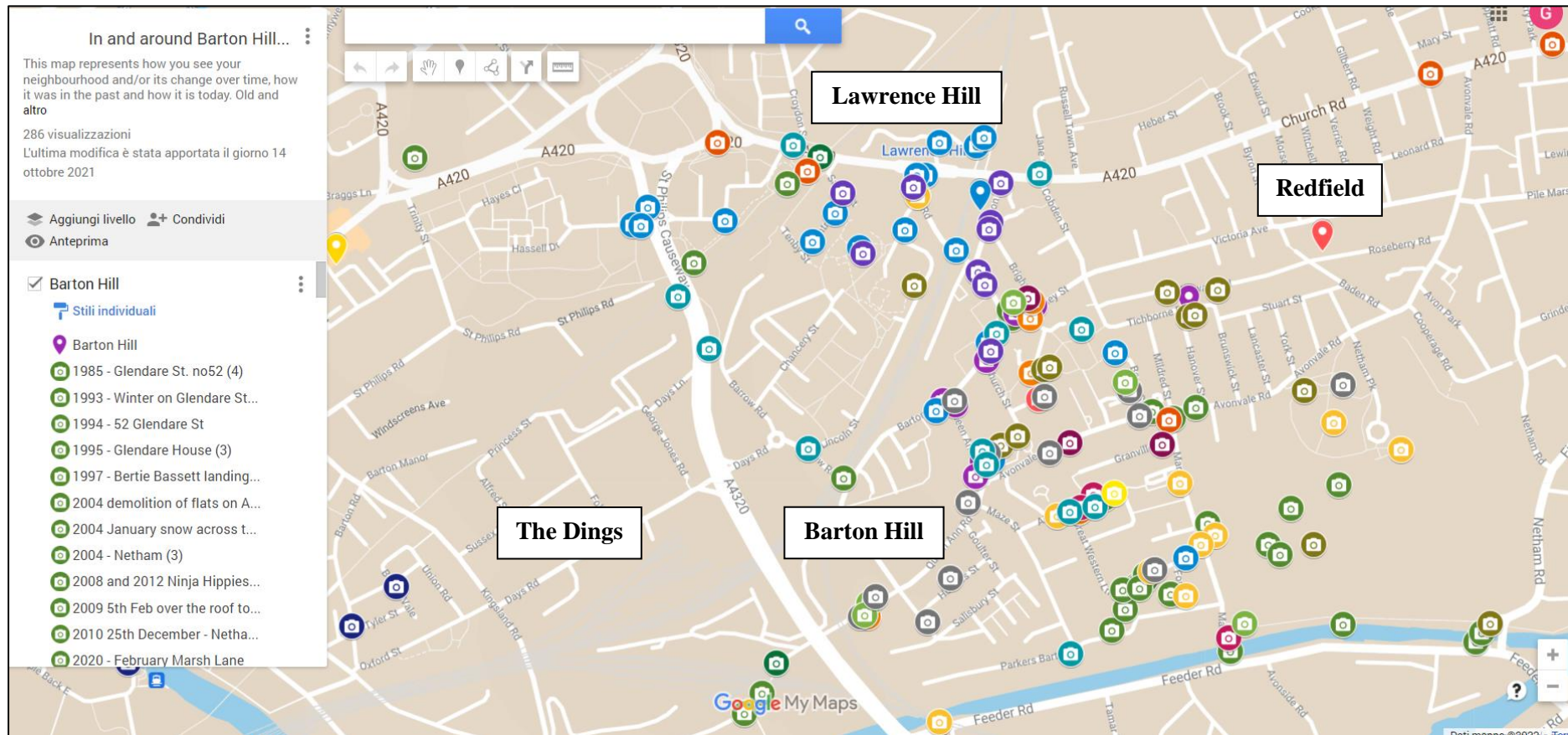
In the summer of 2021, as soon as international travel was permitted, I spent three months (from June to August) in the neighbourhood of Ponte Lambro where I conducted in person participatory observation as well as remote focus groups and interviews with former and current residents. Because of the impossibility to plan fieldwork several months ahead of time, due to the unpredictability of the Covid-19 situation, I was not able to book accommodation within the neighbourhood of Ponte Lambro, but, alternatively, I found a flat in the adjacent Forlanini area (a few bus-stops away from Ponte Lambro), from where I carried out remote data collection. Specifically, I ran fourteen 1-1 semi-structured interviews (8 online and 6 by phone) and three online focus groups with two participants each; in both instances and throughout my interaction with participants, I employed my first language, Italian. In the case of the Ponte Lambro case study, asynchronous focus groups were not undertaken – as a result of the previous experience with the Bristol case study – whereas three synchronous focus groups took place on Zoom. FG2 and FG3 were composed of one long-term resident and one former resident each; while, FG1 presented an additional exception to the mixed composition of focus groups, as it involved two long-term residents - for similar reasons outlined above within the Bristol case study. Both FG2 and FG3, however, presented interesting insights during the exchange of perceptions between long-term and former residents, which were then mirrored in the research analysis of Ponte Lambro's internal reputation. FG2, for instance, brought together contrasting views on the multicultural feature of the neighbourhood, which participants, because of their categories (long-term and former) could contribute to with different approaches and experiences (see section 6.2.). The Ponte Lambro sample included twelve current long-term residents, seven former residents and one newcomer. And 14 participants out of 20 contributed to the PPM of the neighbourhood, sharing overall 92 photographs. As part of the ethnographic element of data collection, I spent as much time as I could in the neighbourhood, speaking with locals, meeting with community centres, taking notes on my fieldwork journal and photographs, which helped contextualising the data provided by participants.

Table 6. Sample of participants from Ponte Lambro divided by methods.

	Focus groups	Interviews	PPM
Current long-term residents	4	8	9
Newcomers	x	1	1
Former residents	2	5	4

Source: Author's elaboration.

Figure 3. Participatory Photo Mapping provided by NDC area's residents on private Google My Map.



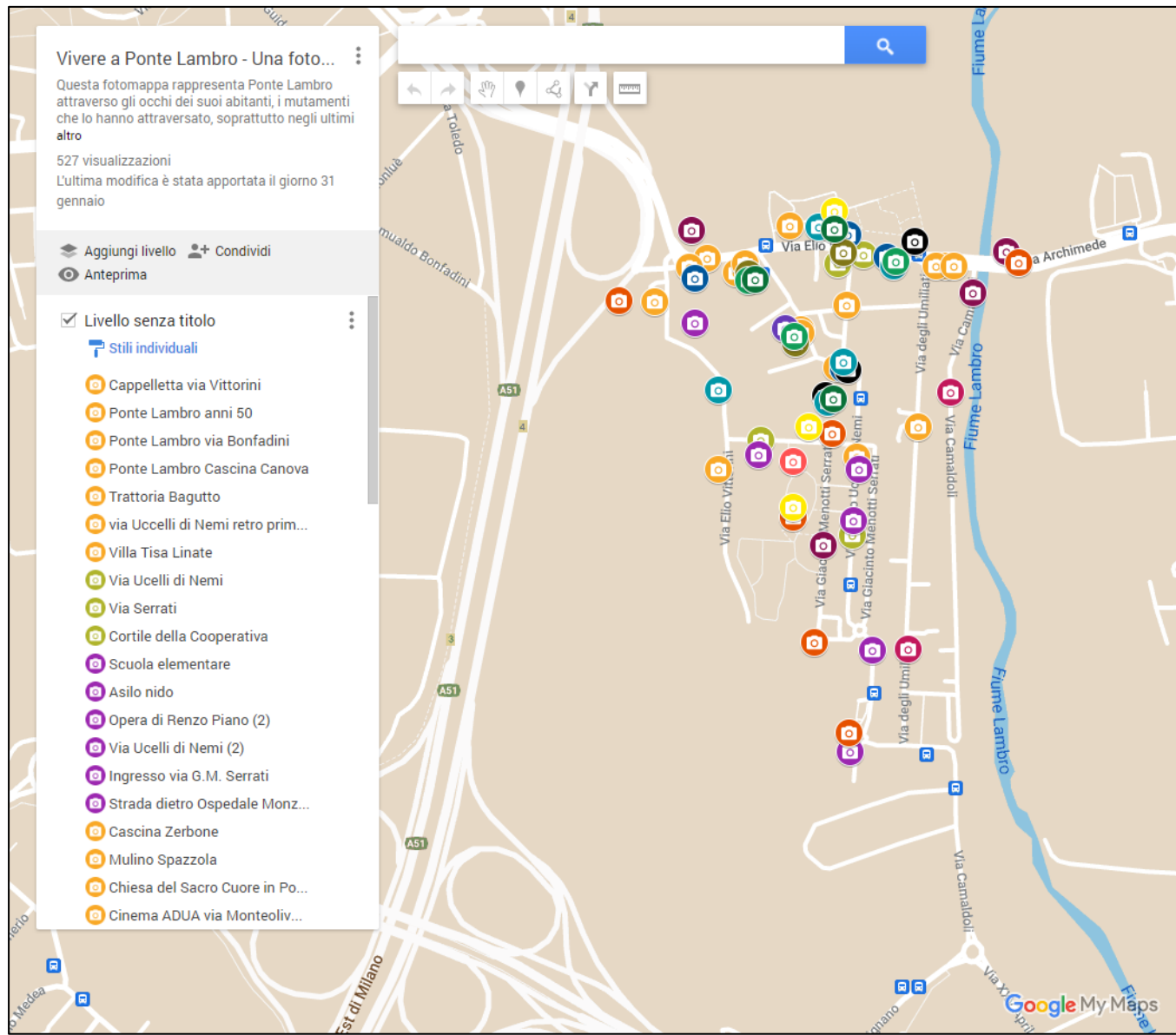


Figure 4. Participatory Photo Mapping provided by Ponte Lambro's residents on private Google My Map.

3.3.2.2. Analysis

CDA was applied in the analysis of focus groups and interviews data (Fairclough, 1992; Waitt, 2010; Huckin, 1997), although this time it was employed to explore discourses informing the internal neighbourhood reputations. To provide greater depth to the interpretation of the data, CDA was combined with Narrative Analysis, drawing specifically on Souto-Manning's approach of Critical Narrative Analysis, CNA (2014; Dunn, 2001), which allowed for the identification within the texts (interview and focus groups transcripts) of internalised or "recycled" language from the external discourse on the area. Indeed, since "everyday narratives as a genre offer institutional discourses an effective way to assert themselves as power discourses" (Souto-Manning, 2014: 162), the employment of CNA proved to be crucial in investigating internal perceptions on the neighbourhood, which are inevitably the result of different discourses influencing each other also at conversational level. CNA was applied as additional analytical tool especially during the analysis of participants' reactions to the external reputation: as described above, in the last part of the interview or the focus group, participants were asked to comment on the preliminary results emerging from my CDA of local newspaper articles, as well as on the public discourse on the neighbourhoods, more broadly.

As carried out for the analysis of the external neighbourhood reputation, the analysis of primary data from interviews and focus groups took place on NVivo and followed an inductive two-steps procedure focused on the discourse produced (CDA) and reproduced (CNA) by the research participants: first descriptive and then analytical data coding (Waitt, 2010). In both instances, codes and cases were determined *in itinere* and informed by the data itself. The descriptive round of coding entailed first the organisation of the collected material, including the photographs from the PPM, into the three main topics discussed during data collection ((a) PPM; (b) neighbourhood change; (c) reaction to the external reputation) and in relation to the three groups of participants (current long-term residents, newcomers, and former residents). Secondly, after having prepared the texts for the analysis (that is after having refined and checked the transcripts with the recordings and the notes), the data was coded using the interplay of four different strategies in support of the discourse and textual analysis: *Thematic Coding*; *Values Coding*; *In Vivo Coding*; *Emotion Coding* (Saldana, 2016). *Thematic* and *In Vivo* coding, as they were also applied in the CDA of the external reputation, consisted in identifying both latent and manifest themes described by participants when talking about their neighbourhood, by employing either their own words (*In Vivo*) or more general terms. *Values Coding* allowed to distinguish participants' statements into "Positive aspects", "Negative aspects" and neutral aspects ("Now and Then") of their area over time. Whilst participants' emotions were considered specifically when analysing the last part of interviews and focus groups, that is the reactions and comments to the territorial stigma perceived by residents (*Emotion Coding*). The codes generated by this first round of coding formed an additional qualitative codebook (one for each case study), which proved to be especially helpful to ensure consistency throughout the analytical process.

The descriptive codes then went through analytical coding, which, as outlined above (3.1.2.) entailed the interpretation of the data in relation to the research questions, hence the rearranging of the codes through forms of abstraction or reduction. After a review of the coded material, codes were reorganised into cases – further macro-categories – for each group of participants, while placing emphasis on perceptions of the neighbourhoods' change: in some cases, references were coded under more than one node, identifying relationships between themes; whereas, in other cases, codes were merged or divided to create further sets of hierarchy within cases (Waitt, 2010). Furthermore, although in the context of newspaper articles change could be observed by comparing data from the pre-policy and assessment timeframes, here this is provided directly or indirectly by participants' narratives. Their reference to the past and present times, often in comparative terms (e.g., “more”, “less”), informs how both the neighbourhood and their perceptions changed over time. As indicated in the table below (Table 7.), this further layer of discourse analysis through analytical coding allowed to categorise existing codes into three macro-topics facilitating, as a result, the interpretation of the internal neighbourhood reputation: (a) the perception of the changed neighbourhood; (b) the perception of the social mixing policy; (c) the perception of the external reputation. Such categorisation was repeated for each group of residents (current long-term residents, newcomers, former residents) to preserve nuances and complexities in the construction of meaning, showing heterogeneity of views and experiences in the same urban area.

Photographs from the PPM maps and related descriptions and comments were coded separately through *Thematic Coding* (Keats, 2009; Rose, 2016). Semiotic analysis, which is generally applied to visual data (Rose, 2016), was not considered as analytical method in this research for two main reasons: photographs served as data supporting and informing interviews and focus groups; the interpretation of the PPM data was suggested by captions and comments provided by participants. Considering the considerable number of photographs (92 from Ponte Lambro and 175 from the NDC area), I decided to exclude from the analysis those photographs featuring something that was not discussed or explained during data collection, including when the photograph did not carry any caption and did not elicit any direct or indirect comment from participants.

Table 7. Analytical codes categorised into three main groups of perceptions.

	<i>Analytical codes</i>	<i>Descriptive codes</i>
<i>a. Perception of changed neighbourhood</i>	Perception of change (neutral)	Now and then
	Positive perception	Positive aspects
	Negative perception	Negative aspects
	Visual place image	Photomapping
<i>b. Perception of the social mixing policy</i>	Urban renewal and NDC or CdQ	
<i>c. Perception of external reputation</i>	Blaming newspaper	
	Blaming social media	
	Reputation matters	
	Reputation does not matter	
	Corresponding to general perception	
	Contrasting with reality	
	Counter-narrative	

Source: Author's elaboration.

3.4. Reflexivity

As qualitative researcher studying power dynamics through discourse in the context of urban inequalities, my primary concern was to be aware of and constantly assessing my own positionality throughout the research process. Before, during and after collection and analysis of data, I attempted to exercise reflexivity towards potential biases and power relations that my position involved mainly in the interaction with research participants, in the field, and while conducting discourse analysis (Dowling, 2010; Waitt, 2010). In order to keep track of my methodological and analytical decisions as well as to promote this reflexive approach, I integrated my fieldwork diary including my qualitative data – field notes, observations, conversations with participants – with my research diary, which contains my personal thoughts, feelings, and plans about the research methods employed, my experience in the field, and my positionality: notes on the diary were written in the language used during each fieldwork (Italian for Ponte Lambro and English for the NDC area), as this facilitated my thinking and writing processes. In this section, I provide more details on how I engaged with reflexivity, drawing on examples from both data collection and analysis.

Part of my reflexive practice throughout data collection was being aware of my multiple subjectivity and the power asymmetries that this involved. In both field sites I had to deal with how my role as young, white, PhD candidate studying disadvantaged and marginalised urban areas would be perceived by the local community. My social identity puts me in a position of asymmetrical power and privilege with regards to the place and the people I was researching (Dowling, 2010). Moreover, the fact of being Italian but studying in a UK university contributed to my condition of ‘outsider’ in the two urban areas observed: in Bristol, my name was at times a first cultural barrier for locals, while since Milan is not my hometown nor my university city, my positionality was still confusing and ambiguous. In both instances, I had to consider my role as privileged outsider, which was also constantly challenged by

questions from both participants and the local community about myself, my career, and most importantly about the objectives, the implications, and the motivations behind my research. When expressing their interest in the study or either before or after data collection, some participants wondered whether the research project would produce any real impact on their neighbourhood, hence on their everyday life. To this and the above questions, I did not mind providing answers, as I found this enabled me to reduce social distance with participants and establish trust. Nevertheless, I also felt both privileged and ‘powerless’ when explaining the limitations of my condition as researcher, as I was aware my response could generate disappointment and discouragement among residents, and potentially influence their narratives.

During interviews and focus groups, I tried to mitigate the implications of my positionality by adopting two main participatory and inclusive strategies. PPM as a creative research method sought to give residents control over their neighbourhood’s image and eventually disseminate it in the form of a local exhibition to raise awareness over the area (Kara, 2015). Whereas the feedback I collected from participants after each interview and focus group, involving four to five yes/no questions, contributed significantly to my reflexive process, as it often led me to reconsider the design of my research methods: asynchronous focus groups on the forum FocusGroupIt were then replaced by 1-1 interviews as alternative option to synchronous focus groups; and focus groups meetings were reduced from two to one single meeting. The reflexive process was also extended to data analysis when handling both newspaper articles and transcripts. As anticipated above, discourse analysis as carried out through Foucauldian lenses imposes to “suspend” all preconceptions about the studied material, that is by recording rigorously the interpretation process, as I did with qualitative codebooks and annotations, and by questioning my positionality with regards to the text (Waitt, 2010: 220).

3.5. Doing social research at distance: ethical considerations

As a result of the Covid-19 pandemic, which broke out in Italy just before I could start my fieldwork in Milan, the face-to-face and ethnographic dimensions that were initially considered in my research design and ethics had to be readapted to the new circumstances of social distancing and travel restrictions. Before obtaining final approval from the Research Ethics Committee of the School of Geographical Sciences (see Appendix F), the research ethics was edited several times, as the project started to unfold, and national lockdowns followed one another. When evaluating the ethical implications of conducting social research during a pandemic, I decided to prioritise flexibility and inclusion as criteria to guide my research process and face times of great life and research uncertainty (Howlett, 2020; Gratton et al., 2020). Being aware of the disruptive and extraordinary circumstances that especially marginalised communities were facing, research participants’ needs, and preferences became even more central to the research methodology. Participation to all parts of the study, including PPM, was voluntary and open to any change of plans or impediments from participants. For instance,

to ensure more inclusivity and accessibility, on a few occasions I took pictures on behalf of those participants who were not able to do that but still wished to contribute to the PPM: this was the case of former residents and participants with limited mobility or time availability. In addition, according to their time and technological availability, participants were free to choose whether to take part in online focus groups or in 1-1 interviews; interviews could then take place online or over the phone, with no costs for the participants. As soon as the preferred format of the meeting was agreed and the information form shared, I sought informed consent from each participant, whereby details on confidentiality were also provided (see Appendix B): anonymity was ensured throughout the project – including on the PPM – and pseudonyms negotiated with participants to include them even more in the decision-making process (Allen and Wiles, 2016).

Moreover, I was fully aware of the time commitment that I was asking to participants in such extraordinary times, as well as of the potentially emotional implications that conversations about life experiences in the neighbourhood could trigger. For this reason, I made sure to always ‘read the room’ and listen to participants’ requests, during both focus groups and 1-1 interviews: on more than one occasion and upon participants’ request, I either paused the interview and called the participant at a more suitable time for them, or stopped the recording and continued the conversation once the participant felt more comfortable. Participants’ voice was also present and preserved during data analysis, where interviews and focus groups with Ponte Lambro’s residents were transcribed and coded in their source language (Italian) to ensure validity and accuracy of data and meanings interpretation. Only when presenting the findings in the empirical chapters (Chapters 5 and 6), I accompanied the source text of each quotation with an English translation that could represent participants’ contribution as accurately as possible (Twyman et al, 1999). To this end, for instance, I decided to keep many key and recurrent terms in the Italian language in the main body of the text, after having provided a first translation (e.g., “*periferia*” - suburb, “*paese*” - town).

Travel and social distancing restrictions due to the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic imposed critical changes to both my methodology and ethics, bringing both challenges and opportunities to the research design. As participants’ recruitment could happen predominantly remotely (through posters and flyers, and snowball sampling) and not door by door, I am aware that it very likely excluded vulnerable and marginal local groups that were struggling during lockdowns or had limited access to internet connections or information. To reach a more diverse demographic sample, that would suitably represent the population in both field sites, I sought support from local community centre and institutions, which made me even more aware of the socio-cultural contexts I was researching: for instance, calls for participants were translated in Somalian exclusively for the NDC area (with the help of the leader of the Bristol Somali Community Association), whereas for both case studies I offered interested participants the possibility to run the interview in any of the languages I speak (Italian, English, French). However, although social distancing made both recruitment and data collection challenging, it also

provided some advantages along the way. On the one hand, in person interviews and focus groups would have helped create a deeper connection with participants, hence a greater level of trust with me as the ‘privileged and outsider researcher’ (Bryman, 2012, Dowling, 2010). On the other hand, remote interactions allowed not only to reach former residents currently living far from the area, but also to record and transcribe online meetings with more ease, as Zoom enabled – at least for the English language – automatic transcription (Partlow, 2020). Furthermore, despite becoming an optional and remote activity, PPM proved to be an innovative and user-friendly participatory method, that brought participants together through creativity and, because of its online setting, enabled to establish an open-ended dialogue with participants: some participants sent their photographs and contributed to the map even after the meeting itself. As it was the case for many other qualitative ethnographic studies, the limitations enforced by the Covid-19 pandemic also became sources of inspiration to apply resilience and explore innovative and creative methods of research (Partlow, 2020; Gratton et al., 2020).

3.6. Reflections

By applying post-structuralist theories of discourse (Foucault, 1981; Fairclough, 1992) on the problematisation of places through territorial stigmatisation (Wacquant, 2007; Slater, 2018), I employed CDA on newspaper articles from both pre-policy and assessment timeframes, whereas data on the internal neighbourhood reputation were collected through PPM alongside focus groups and 1-1 interviews with residents. The research methodology, as it is often the case with ethnographic qualitative research (Bryman, 2012), evolved over time and experienced with several adaptations and revisions according to both general and more specific circumstances which challenged both my role and practices as a researcher investigating marginalised and stigmatised urban areas. Practical constraints, such as national lockdowns and social distancing imposed by the Covid-19 pandemic, did not affect the investigation of the external neighbourhood reputation, as in this case data collection was carried out on digital newspaper archives; but they had significant impact on the ethnographic fieldwork in both sites. With regards to the study of the internal neighbourhood reputation, what emerged was indeed a hybrid methodology which involved both traditional and innovative methods to explore community’s perceptions of the case studies. I conducted focus groups and interviews (which were integrated with digital PPM) at distance, but I also spent about four months in each neighbourhood, which was crucial to implement the ethnographic dimension of the project through participant observation in the field.

This chapter has addressed the main epistemological and methodological aspects characterising the research and has also outlined the reflexive and ethical implications that were considered along the entire research process, from its design to data collection and analysis. The following chapters (Chapters 5, 6 and 7) present the research findings. Chapter 5 includes both case studies in the CDA of the external neighbourhood reputations, highlighting the main discursive practices employed by newspaper articles

to depict the two case studies before and after the implementation of the social mixing policies. Chapter 6 focuses on the internal neighbourhood reputation of Ponte Lambro as emerged from residents' PPM and perceptions; whilst the last empirical chapter, Chapter 7, applies the same analytical approach – combining CDA and CNA – to the study of the NDC area's internal reputation.

Chapter 4.

Research Case Studies: Stigmatised Neighbourhoods and Social Mixing Policies

4.1. Introduction

Research on the long-term impact of social mixing policies has, mainly, been dominated by the analysis of mixed communities in the US context through the implementation of large-scale renewal programmes such as the Gautreaux Program (Galster, 2013; Rosenbaum, 1995), Moving to Opportunity (MTO) (Cheshire, 2007), HOPE VI (Thurber et al., 2018; Crump, 2002), which repeatedly sought to break concentrations of poverty. Although several European cities have also experienced substantial interventions – such as the ten-year plans to address marginalised urban areas – far less attention has been paid to their effects or has considered local development and social impact from a longitudinal perspective (Briata et al., 2009; Jupp, 2021; Pain, 2019). Moreover, when this has been the case, studies have tended to explore only single neighbourhoods within the same national context (Bacqué and Fijalkow, 2006; Mugnano and Costarelli, 2015; Davidson, 2010). This project addresses, as case studies, two European cities which in the early 2000s have employed social mixing interventions for an extended period (ten years), but which long-term outcomes at the neighbourhood level have not been extensively investigated neither in a comparative nor in a qualitative way. As detailed in the previous chapter, Chapter 3, the comparative analysis between Ponte Lambro and the NDC area is conducted in this research both across time and space, to consider (a) how social mix has affected each neighbourhood with regards to the place reputation, and (b) how similar interventions can produce in the long-run similar or different outcomes at the local level.

This chapter contextualises the two case studies by presenting their historical development and socio-spatial characteristics from the late 1890s and early 1900s to the early 2000s and the beginning of the social mixing policies, taking also into account the political and economic context in which they have been developed. Further sections provide then an in-depth overview of the origin, plans and actions of Contratto di Quartiere II (CdQ) in Ponte Lambro and the New Deal for Communities (NDC) in Bristol, setting the scene for the second part of this dissertation, dedicated to the empirical analyses of primary data concerning both field sites.

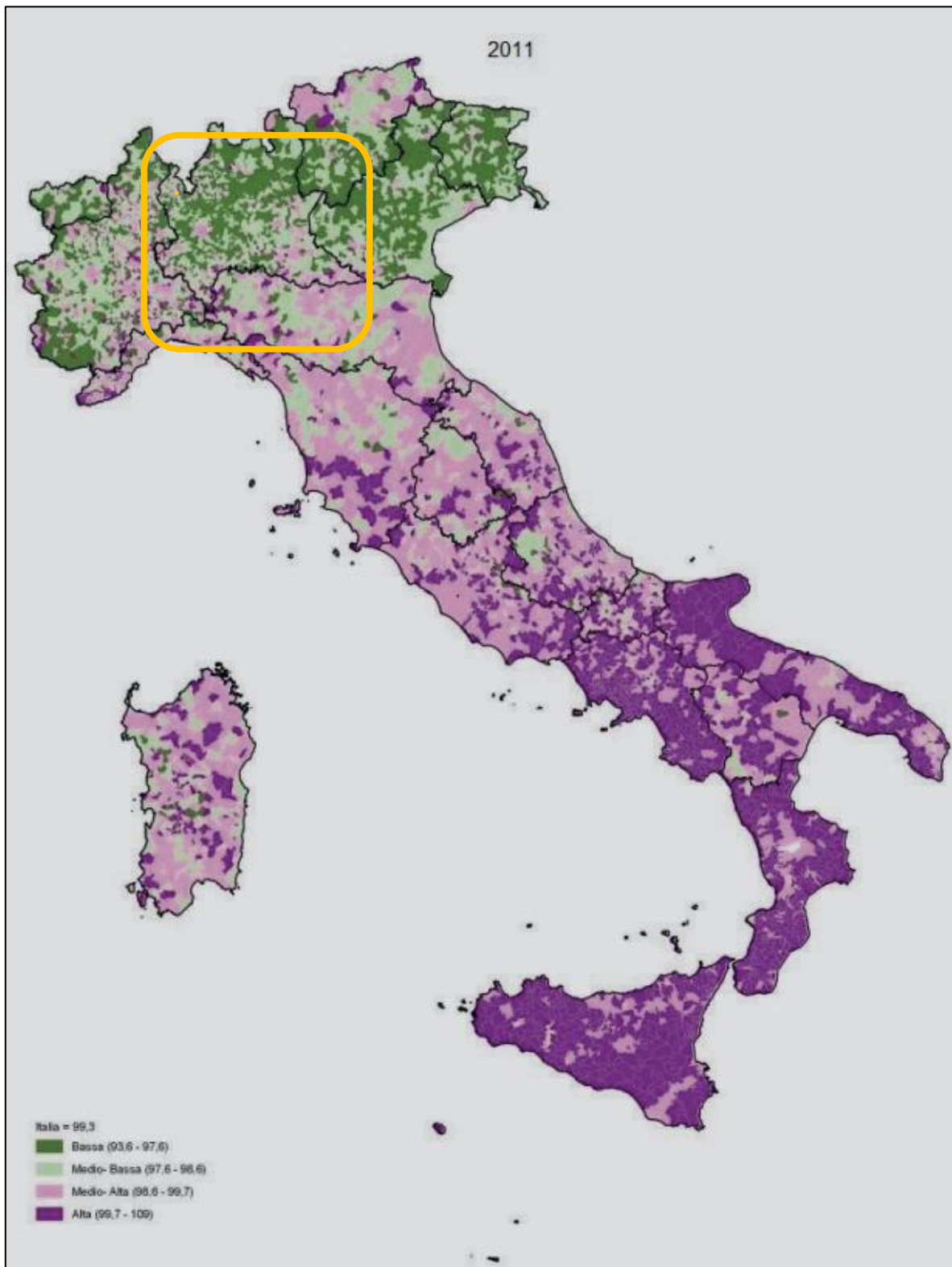
4.2. Ponte Lambro, Milan: history and urban renewal

CdQ represents the most significant initiative of the Ministero delle Infrastrutture e dei Trasporti (Ministry of Infrastructures and Public Transport) in the field of urban renewal, by which physical interventions to social housing have been integrated with specific measures to improve employment

rates and reduce social deprivation (MIT, 2016). The first edition of the programme (1998) has directly funded a total of 57 municipalities projects, nearly half of which were still ongoing by 2014 (Ibid., 2014a). The second implementation of the program (Contratti di Quartiere II) provided public funding for a total of 195 projects across the Italian regions (ibid., 2014b). Among these regions, Lombardy, in the North of Italy (Figure 5.), received the most state and regional funding combined (about €300 million), and as such it was in Lombardy where the greatest amount of money was spent implementing such policies (about €85 million, Regione Lombardia, 2019). In the city of Milan, the largest city in Lombardy and the second-most populous city in Italy comprising some 1.2 million residents (Comune di Milano, 2011a), five neighbourhoods were targeted by the regional policy because, amongst other factors, of the social homogeneity, lack of gathering places, and social housing decline (Bricocoli and Savoldi, 2010). These areas are known as Ponte Lambro, Gratosoglio, Mazzini, San Siro, and Molise-Calvaire, the first of which becomes the focus below.

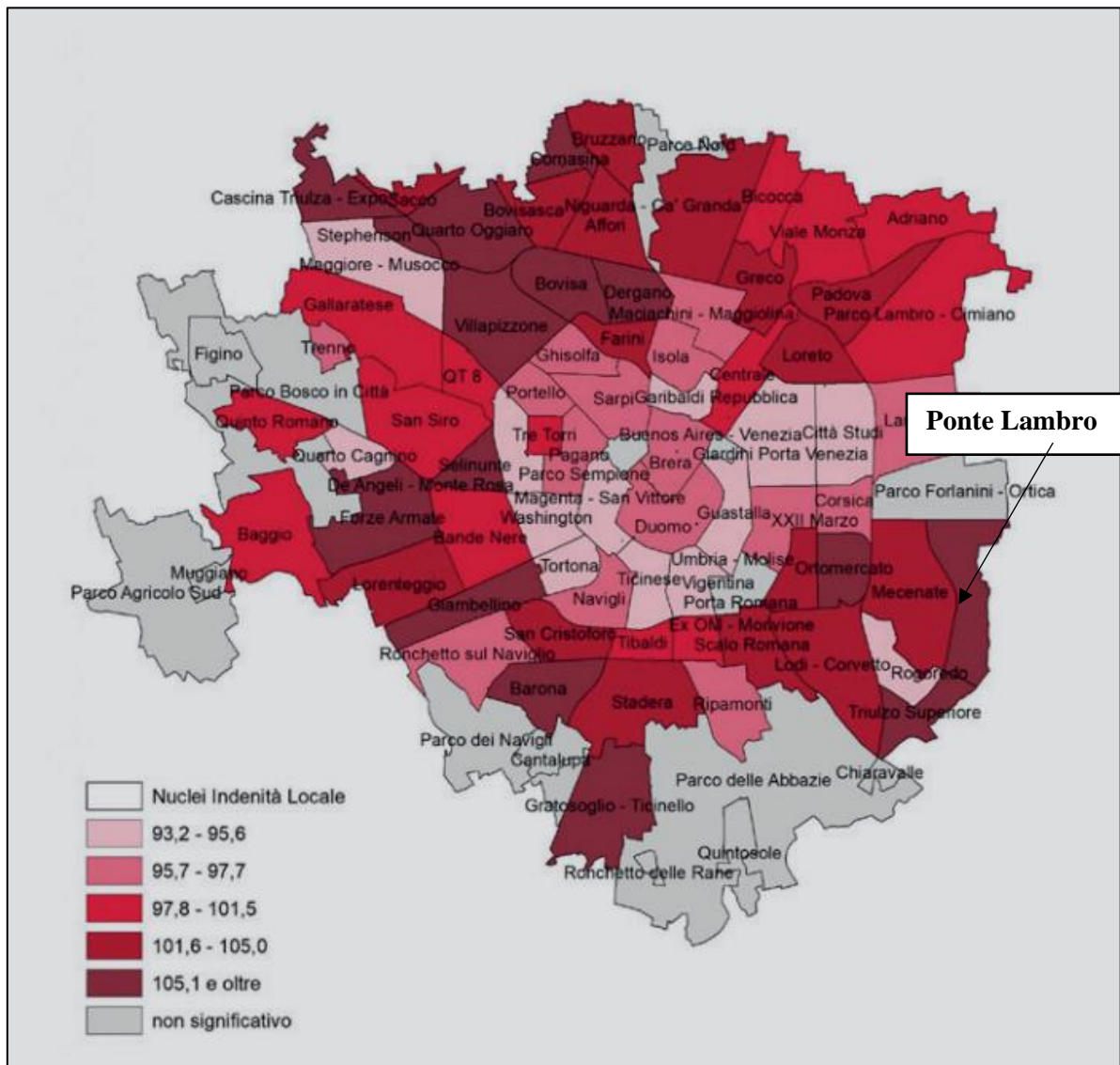
Identified as the “richest and most unequal city in Italy” (Cucca, 2011: 10) with one of the highest rates of social inequality in terms of income distribution in Europe, Milan presents increasing signs of spatial polarisation, whereby vulnerable social classes, and groups (such as migrants) have historically been marginalised to the outskirts of the city, while in the central areas resides predominantly the higher and middle-class (see Figure 6. below). This is reflected by the distribution of the Social and Material Vulnerability Index (Indice di Vulnerabilità Sociale e Materiale), which in ten years has increased from 97.7 (2001) to 98.9 (2011), reaching up to 111.9-113.4 in the most suburban neighbourhoods. This index joins together seven factors including the education level, the household composition, the housing conditions, the employment, and financial status (OttomilaCensus and Istituto Nazionale di Statistica, 2011).

Figure 5. Social and material vulnerability index in Italy, 2011 (Lombardy region is highlighted).



Source: Istat, 2020, based on 2011 census data. Notes: low (93.6-97.6); medium-low (97.7-96.6.); medium-high (96.6.-99.7); high (99.7-109).

Figure 6. Social and material vulnerability index in the city of Milan, 2011.

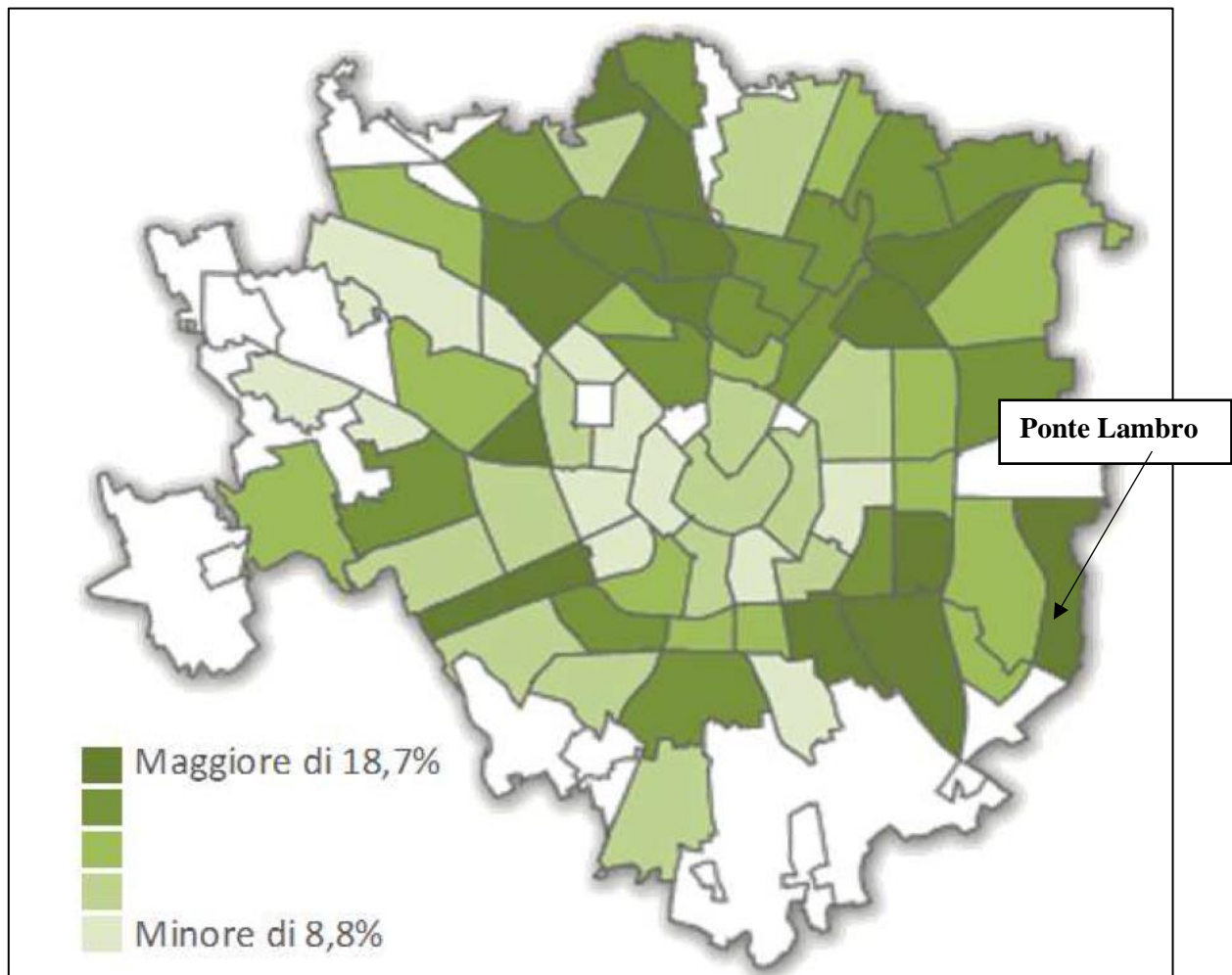


Source: Istat, 2020, based on 2011 census data. Notes: Districts; 93,2-95,6; 95,7-97,7; 97,8-101,5; 101,6-105,0; 105,1 and beyond; not significant.

When it comes to the analysis of spatial inequalities and concentration of disadvantage, a second significant demographic factor is worth considering: a city's cultural diversity and, connectedly, how that cultural diversity is distributed around the neighbourhoods in the city. The percentage of international migrants in Milan has doubled over ten years, from 7.0 % (2001) to 14.2 % (2011) (Comune di Milano, 2011b: 42), with the largest community coming from the Philippines (comprising 32,594 people on a total of 1.2 million residents) (Comune di Milano, 2011a). Data from the latest census suggest, moreover, that neighbourhoods with high rate of social and material vulnerability correspond to those where a growing percentage of migrants and foreigners are also registered, indicating, *de facto*, residential socio-ethnic segregation (Figure 7.). By matching together both indices (social and material vulnerability, and ethnic concentration) (see Table 10. below) it is evident that the

distribution of minority ethnic groups and social disadvantage are complementary factors determining marginality outside the central borough of the city (Centro Storico).

Figure 7. Distribution of residents with migratory background in Milan, 2011.



Source: I dati del censimento 2011 a Milano (Comune di Milano, 2011b: 42). Notes: More than 18,7%; Less than 8%.

Table 8. Milan's neighbourhoods according to concentration of migrants and social and material vulnerability index.

Neighbourhood (top 10)	Residents with migratory background (2011)	Social and material vulnerability index (2011)
Centro Storico	10.3%	between 92.8 and 96
Villapizzone	24.7%	107.77
Loreto	25.8%;	101.81
Farini	26.8%	102.19
Padova	25.2%	105.04
Selinunte	25.8%	113.88
Dergano	26.8%	105.06
Bovisa	26.5%	105.32
Comasina	26.4%	111.91
Ortomercato	27.4%	108.15
<i>Parco Monlué–Ponte Lambro</i>	27.9%	113.40

Source: Author's elaboration from Comune di Milano, 2011b and Save the Children Italia, 2018.

4.2.1. From rural to urban: demographic, housing, and spatial changes

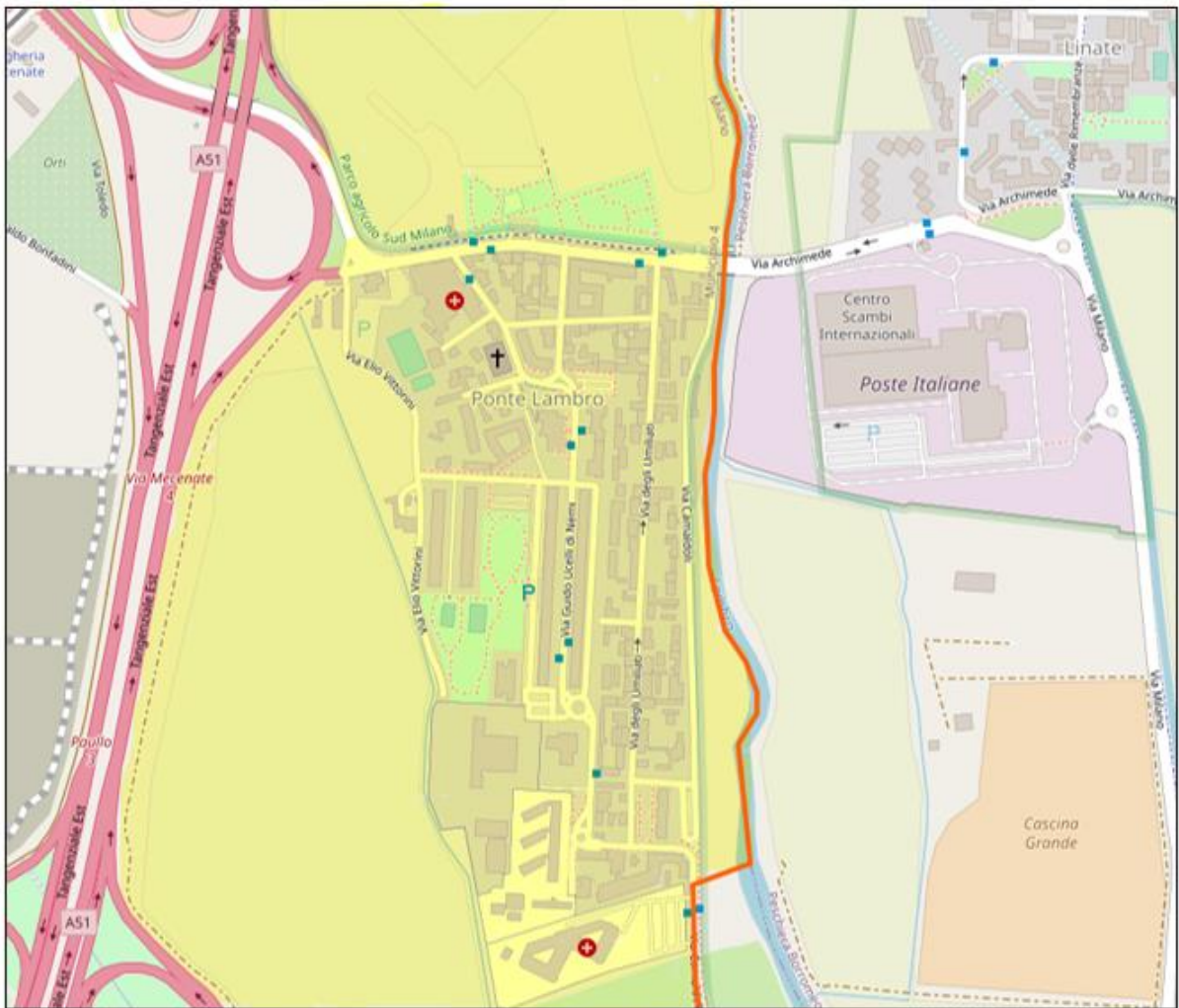
4.2.1.1. Physical and social morphology of Ponte Lambro

Situated in the extreme south-east margins of Milan, the neighbourhood of Ponte Lambro is historically enclosed by natural (river Lambro) and human-made (the ring road) borders. Its site itself (see Figure 8.) contributes to perpetuate the condition of urban marginality, as the neighbourhood can only be accessed by car or public transport (bus and subway) from north or south (Calvaresi and Cossa, 2011). Moreover, as it is also surrounded by agricultural lands and the nearby Linate neighbourhood within the municipality of Peschiera Borromeo, Ponte Lambro's geography and cultural features are not far from evoking the atmosphere of a small-sized village. These features constitute the neighbourhood's spatial isolation, which, in turn, tend to limit residents' opportunities to connect and feel connected with the rest of the city, potentially facilitating feelings of social exclusion. With regards to demographics, the neighbourhood, including the area of Parco Monlué⁶, housed about 4,100 residents in 2011, around one fourth of which are recorded as having a place of birth outside Italy and are of a migratory

⁶ Statistical data on Ponte Lambro from grey literature include the district of Parco Monlué (north-west of the neighbourhood) and refer thus to the area as the "Parco Monlué – Ponte Lambro".

background coming predominantly from countries like Egypt, Ecuador, and Peru (Comune di Milano, 2011a: 374-375). According to latest statistics, the population has increased substantially over the last few years, reaching 5.213 in 2020, 40,7% being immigrants (Comune di Milano, 2020). The majority profile is not only young (most residents are aged under-60) in Ponte Lambro, but also largely NEET (Not in Education Employment Training): NEET rate in the neighbourhood is 12,2% in contrast to the median urban rate of 8,1% (Openpolis 2017). This data is also related to the high level of school dropout (21,2%) registered in 2011, which determines a resulting limited chance for young residents (15-24 years old) in the area to successfully enter the job market, hence aspiring to social mobility. Furthermore, the concentration of two further factors highlights Ponte Lambro's socio-economic disadvantage and social exclusion: the 2011 social and material vulnerability index exceeds the median urban rate substantially (130.40 compared with 98.9 respectively) (Comune di Milano, 2011b; Save the Children Italia, 2018); a concentration, in a small area, of social housing estates and rental properties (about 60% of the total) (Comune di Milano, 2011a). Social housing was introduced in Ponte Lambro between 1970s-1980s following the European trend of mass urbanisation in the aftermath of the Second World War and was applied only to the south-western area, while from the north and east sides it is still possible today to observe how the neighbourhood looked like in the past. Below I draw an *excursus* in the history of Ponte Lambro and provide an overview of the most salient phases of its development over time, from rural town settlements to renovations and demolitions.

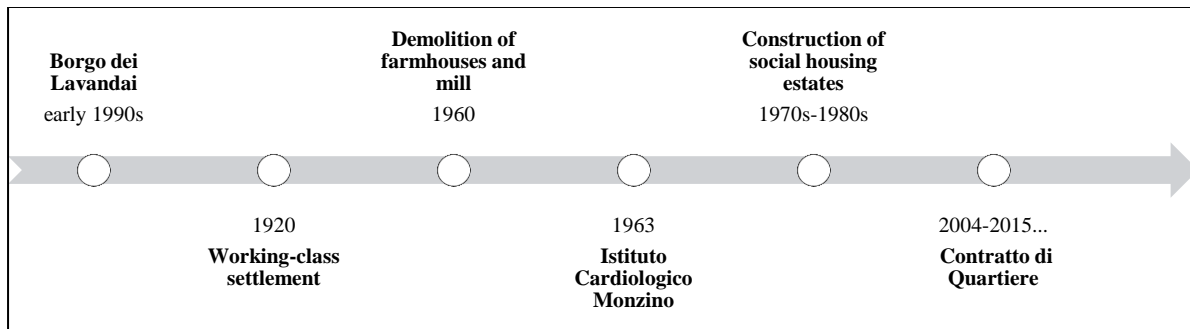
Figure 8. Ponte Lambro neighbourhood, Milan (highlighted).



Source: OpenStreetMap, 2022.

4.2.1.2. Historical development of Ponte Lambro

Figure 9. Ponte Lambro's history and development: timeline.



Source: Author's elaboration from Calvaresi and Cossa, 2011; Comune di Milano and Politecnico di Milano, 2004.

Until the early years of the 20th Century, the area of Ponte Lambro was dominated by fields and agricultural activity, thanks to the rich presence of canals and river Lambro. Traditional *cascine* (farmhouses), such as Cascina Zerbone and Cascina Canova, were built between the 12th and 13th Centuries by local monks, who started to take advantage of the land's specificities by turning wetlands into water-meadows to ensure agricultural productivity throughout the year (Comune di Milano and Politecnico di Milano, 2004). Around 1905, families of *lavandai* (washermen) were pushed out from central neighbourhoods of Milan – which were going through major urbanisation works – to the margins of the city and started to populate Ponte Lambro with traditional single-family houses and outdoor drying racks. The first signs of urban settlement in the area can be identified indeed with the so-called *Borgo dei Lavandai* (washermen town) (Calvaresi and Cossa, 2011). In the following decades, the area's population rose significantly, with an overrepresentation of working-class residents working in the surrounding factories. Only in 1925 Ponte Lambro officially became part of Milan's neighbourhoods, although "its development is not included in any urban planning [affecting the city] and concerns mostly the housing dimension" of the northern area of the neighbourhood (Comune di Milano and Politecnico di Milano, 2004: 23, author's translation). In the post-war decades, the neighbourhood reached 1,000 inhabitants, coming predominantly from the working-class, and was characterised by strong social cohesion and community groups network, including political parties, unions, and cooperative societies. Substantial renewal interventions started in the 1960s with the demolition of some of the neighbourhood's symbols (the historical *cascine* and the mill) and the resulting repurpose of the fields devoted to agriculture: *cascina* Canova, for instance, was replaced in 1963 with what is today one of Ponte Lambro's (and Milan's) top-quality hospitals, the Monzino Cardiological Centre. The neighbourhood's urbanisation reached its pick between 1970s and 1980s, as four compounds of social housing (about 500 accommodations of public and council housing) were erected in the central and south-eastern areas and became mostly inhabited by workers and domestic immigrants coming from Southern Italy (Calabria and Campania regions) (Calvaresi and Cossa, 2011).

This significant change to the urban landscape reinforced the spatial and perceived internal division of the neighbourhood between the modern estates area (central-south) and the historical village area (north). The increasing population led then to the spread of local facilities, shops, schools, the church, and community centres, while at the same time large social housing estates began to experience early signs of decline both in terms of structural and socio-economic conditions, due to an interplay of different factors in the public management: the large use of cheap construction and architectural materials; a consistent lack of proper maintenance over time; and as a result, decreasing property values which meant that only those without options such as the most disadvantaged groups including international migrants and in some instances, families connected to criminal organisations (mafia), and which also facilitated squatting (Comune di Milano and Politecnico di Milano, 2004) located in the neighbourhood from the late 1990s onwards. Such cumulative disadvantage in the social housing domain culminated, in the early 2000s, to an increasing spatial and social marginalisation of the neighbourhood and entrenched processes of stigmatisation that would affect the image of Ponte Lambro and its residents for many years subsequently. By this time, Ponte Lambro acquired greater visibility in the local and national press as well as in the urban planning agenda and became hence target of several bottom-up and top-down initiatives aiming at the neighbourhood's renewal. In 2000, Milan's local government founded the department to tackle disadvantaged *periferie* (suburbs) (Settore Periferie) and laid the grounds for the Progetto Periferie (suburbs project) with the implementation in Ponte Lambro of two crucial resources: *Forum di Accompagnamento Sociale* (Social Support Forum) and *Laboratorio di Renzo Piano* (Renzo Piano Lab).

4.2.2. Contratto di Quartiere II: national programme and local actions

4.2.2.1. Social mixing in Italy and Contratto di Quartiere

Despite the limited attention in the literature to Italy's housing and urban context, at least compared with other northern European countries, both EU and national policies have characterised the Italian landscape from the post-war period onwards (Bricocoli and Cucca, 2016). Between the late 1990s and early 2000s, Italy has implemented a range of area-based strategies to address the so-called *problema periferie* (suburbs problem), which acquired visibility from the late 1970s with the progressive decline of large housing estates in metropolitan cities (Briata et al., 2009). More than in other Member States, European programmes, such as Urban I and Urban II (2000), have been particularly relevant in Italy, where their bottom-up and integrated approach was aimed at emphasising residents' inclusion. Similar approaches may also be found in regeneration programmes, such as Programmi Integrati di Intervento (Integrated Intervention Programmes, 1992), Programmi di Riquilificazione Urbana (Urban Regeneration Programmes, 1994-1997) and Contratti di Quartiere I and II (Neighbourhood Contracts, 1998 and 2002), which were regulated by laws and/or Ministerial calls as part of the national housing policy (Briata et al., 2009). Among these, a consistent part of the literature points out the relevance of

Contratti di Quartiere I and II in supporting area-based integrated projects at the regional level to reduce social deprivation (MIT, 2016; Costarelli et al., 2019; Briata et al., 2009).

The first wave of CdQ, which began in 1998, targeted those social housing neighbourhoods where socio-economic disadvantage was concentrated and where social cohesion was considered scarce, through integration of different actors and resources as well as through bottom-up approaches involving partnerships between residents and public-private and third sectors (Costarelli et al., 2019; Briata et al., 2009). The national programme provided substantial funding for more than 50 municipality projects all across Italy (MIT, 2014a). Inspired by the leading French and British social mixing agendas, CdQ II enabled from 2002 further decentralisation in the design and implementation of urban renewal policies in marginalised neighbourhoods and contexts with high concentration of deprived social housing. Under Berlusconi's second right-wing governance (2001 – 2005), a reform of the Constitution transferred housing competences from the central government to regions, setting the scene on the one hand for greater involvement of local third-sector actors, but producing, on the other hand, a fragmented, rather than collective and equal, response to the housing and '*periferia* problems' (Costarelli et al., 2019). This second version, which targeted a total of 195 areas (MIT, 2014b; Regione Lombardia, 2019), had however different outcomes across Italy – where still nowadays geographical disparities in terms of welfare systems are visible (Costarelli et al., 2019; Briata et al., 2009). As a result of the reform, Italian regions have been able to exert more local control in terms of the design and implementation of local renewal initiatives and housing policies. In addition, unlike previous measures, national calls under this programme required both the engagement of the local communities in the decision-making process and the objective of the wider urban plan to be made explicit in the application.

4.2.2.2. "*Muovere Ponte Lambro*": goals and interventions

The neighbourhood of Ponte Lambro was selected in 2004 by the local government to benefit from Contratto di Quartiere II (CdQ) with the project "*Muovere Ponte Lambro*" (move Ponte Lambro), which was funded with an overall investment of €32 million over a period of about ten years and it is estimated to be around 90% complete to date (Regione Lombardia, 2020; Pinto, 2008). Among the external factors which contributed to the project's incompleteness, it might be worth pointing out the effects of the economic crisis, which, from 2009, substantially affected both housing and welfare systems. By covering about ten years of interventions, CdQ in Ponte Lambro has not only produced significant neighbourhood change at the local level, but also it has been carried out under times of great economic and social crisis as well as austerity during the last few years, which inevitably have had repercussions on the success of the policy itself.

Characteristics such as spatial and social marginality alongside cumulative socio-economic and housing disadvantage are addressed by the policy to achieve the following main objectives (Calvaresi and Cossa, 2019: 17, author's translation):

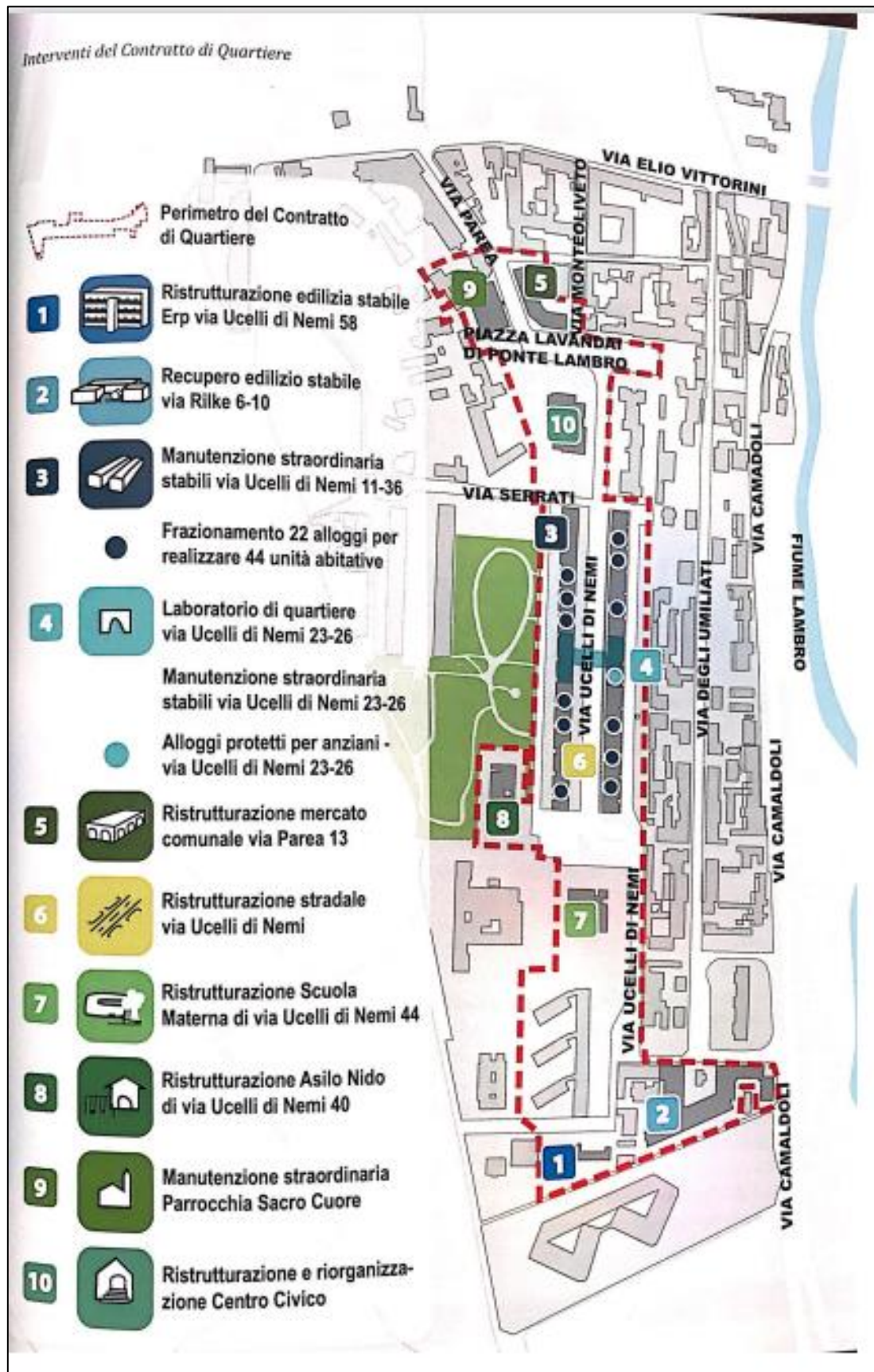
- a) “To overcome the divisions between the historical part [of the neighbourhood] and social housing areas through new links enabling opportunities of exchange and connection within the neighbourhood”.
- b) “To provide marginalised groups with opportunities to feel welcomed and integrated in the neighbourhood by enabling also local growth and development”.
- c) “To improve the provision of public services, both in terms of quantity and quality, through the engagement of local resources and stakeholders”.
- d) “To promote opportunities of exchange with the city in order to provide the neighbourhood with greater mobility and vibrancy, thus overcoming isolation and abandonment – being one of the reasons behind the neighbourhood’s actual and *perceived* disadvantage”.

CdQ in Ponte Lambro focused on the implementation of three main strategies addressing mix in social housing (*Abitare Ponte Lambro*), facility provision (*Attrezzare Ponte Lambro*), as well as community cohesion and engagement (*Vivere Ponte Lambro*), along the centre of the neighbourhood, from north to south, where most social housing estates are concentrated (Figure 10.). Social housing blocks in via Monteoliveto and via Serrati were excluded from the intervention plans.

Abitare Ponte Lambro – Renovating social housing estates

This first strategy sought to improve housing and living quality in the neighbourhood by targeting three existing social housing compounds mainly through renovation and maintenance projects as well as through tenure mix (points 1, 2 and 3 in Figure 10. below): 58 via Ucelli di Nemi (1) and via 6-10 Rilke (2) are council housing estates; whereas 11-36 via Ucelli di Nemi (3) are owned and managed by ALER (regional company for public housing in Milan). Blocks located in the south of the perimeter of interventions were invested by major works of extraordinary maintenance both inside and outside the buildings, including accommodations, facades, communal areas, and retrofitting of technical systems (Calvaresi and Cossa, 2011). The two parallel lines of blocks in 11-36 via Ucelli di Nemi, also called “case bianche” (white houses) because of their original colour, not only have been tackled by similar actions of renovation (including the installation of new lifts), but they also became platforms of important changes in terms of housing and tenure mix: 22 big flats were split into 44 smaller accommodations, in order to also make room for the *Laboratorio Renzo Piano* project, designed by the world-famous Italian architect Renzo Piano (point 4 in the Figure below).

Figure 10. Perimeter of Contratto di Quartiere's interventions marked in red.



Source: Calvaresi and Cossa, 2011: 19.

Laboratorio Renzo Piano (Renzo Piano's Hub) included four different interventions planned to be for the centre of *case bianche*, to connect the two lines of five-storey housing blocks both physically and socially through a raised platform (bridge) and a mixed function of spaces: a) a clinic to provide medical assistance specifically to non-self-sufficient elderly population in the area; b) a 'social' reception to support elderly residents; c) a playroom and other spaces addressed to families and youth; d) a job centre (Calvaresi and Cossa, 2011: 21, 107). Nevertheless, works on the *Laboratorio Renzo Piano* have been frequently delayed and interrupted over more than 15 years leaving the area abandoned and producing displacement and re-location of more than 20 households as well as visible problems of urban decay and squatting. Works started in 2011 but the construction company fell into bankruptcy after accomplishing only 60% of the plan. Latest plans of the City Council of Milan on the future of the project include securing and boarding up the building, and completing the regeneration works by the end of 2022 addressing a new target group: these now consist in creating a university residence, hubs to develop professional and entrepreneurial skills for start-ups and job placement, community centres for cultural, social and sport activities (Comune di Milano, 2022a).

Figure 11. *Laboratorio di Renzo Piano, via Ucelli di Nemi, Ponte Lambro.*



Source: Comune di Milano and G124, 2017.

Attrezzare Ponte Lambro – Renovating infrastructures and facilities in the neighbourhood

With the aim of tackling isolation and marginality, while improving the life in the neighbourhood, this second category of interventions re-shaped the public space of Ponte Lambro by renovating its main landmarks and facilities (Calvaresi and Cossa, 2011). Most of the works focused on via Parea, the street connecting the historical part of the neighbourhood with the social housing area and comprised: the extraordinary maintenance of the community centre (point 10 of Figure 10. above); the renovation of the local indoor market (5); the regeneration of the square, the parking slots and street lighting. Plans of renovation were also extended to local schools, both kindergarten (8) and primary school (7), and the Sacro Cuore church area (9), while the whole via Ucelli di Nemi was also renewed (6).

Vivere Ponte Lambro – Socio-economic development

The final group of interventions related to the CdQ were linked with strategies to promote the socio-economic development of Ponte Lambro, through community engagement and job placement opportunities (Calvaresi and Cossa, 2011). Community engagement was developed in the form of consultations to include Ponte Lambro's residents in the process of implementation of CdQ, through *Piano di Accompagnamento Sociale* (Social Support Plan) or PAS and *Laboratorio di Quartiere* (Neighbourhood Hub). PAS actions have been implemented for over 5 years (2006-2011) and managed by Laboratorio di Quartiere, which operated as the reference point in the neighbourhood for CdQ, enabling dialogue and exchange between local government, project managers, developers, and recipients, hence the local community. Initiatives organised by Laboratorio revolved around the promotion of residents' participation and engagement in the design and delivery of projects and interventions, while reinforcing existing forms of collaborations. To this end, several actions were addressed, such as: supporting and assisting households affected by construction sites and re-allocation due to the works on Laboratorio Renzo Piano through the initiative "*Geografia delle famiglie*" (families' geography); updating and informing residents about the progress of CdQ (Figure 12.). Additional actions concerned the following areas of intervention:

- a) Communication: communicating the development of the implementation process and promoting the neighbourhood's image to the rest of the city (newsletters, informative posters and flyers, local press visibility);
- b) Social support and participation: providing social support to the community to mitigate any inconvenience caused during urban renewal works and involve residents and local stakeholders in the decision-making process of specific regeneration plans (e.g., voting the new facades' colours);
- c) Local development: involving the existing third sector network of community centres and groups in the co-design and planning of new social activities and services for the neighbourhood

(e.g., projects for local schools' pupils, community events to promote social cohesion among neighbours and raise awareness on recycling).

However, in contrast to initial plans, social interventions to promote job placement and training opportunities in Ponte Lambro have, so far, never been put in place (Calvaresi and Cossa, 2011).

Figure 12. Newsletter CdQ Informa Quartiere (number 11, July, 2013).



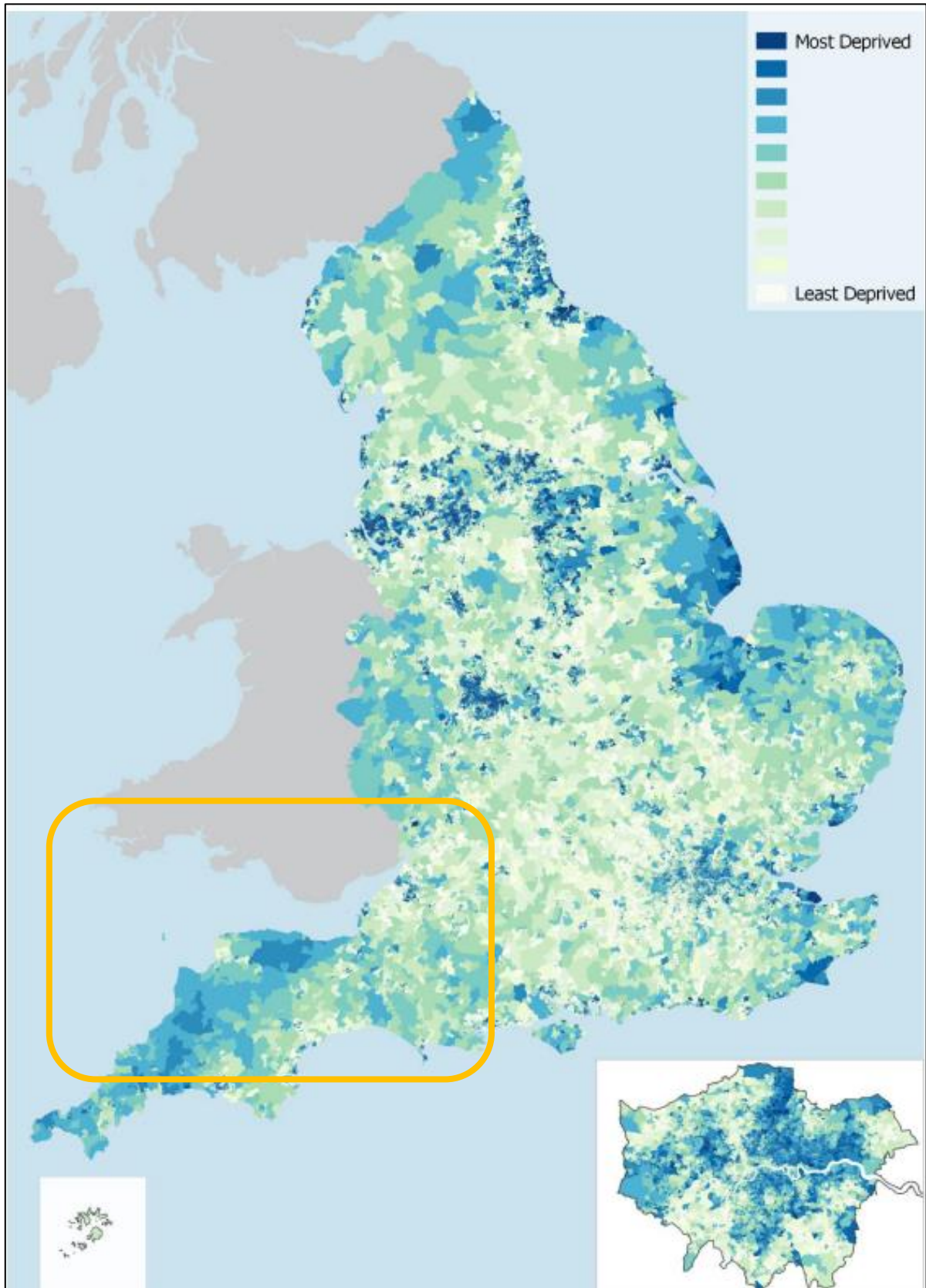
Source: Laboratorio di Quartiere Ponte Lambro Facebook page (last accessed, 05/11/2021).

4.3. NDC area, Bristol: history and urban renewal

In the UK, area-based urban policies addressing multiple disadvantages through social mix have included the *New Deal for Communities* (NDC) and *Mixed Communities Initiatives*. The two rounds of the NDC were implemented on a total of 39 areas comprising between 1,000-4,000 residents each. The policy intervention was targeted in neighbourhoods around England and included, among others, areas in Nottingham (Radford and Hyson Green), Brighton (East Brighton) along with London Tower Hamlets (Ocean Estate) and Plymouth (Devonport), with the aim of fostering the creation of local partnerships between local government, community organisations and businesses (DCLG, 2015: 8-9). Among the 12 local projects targeted by the Mixed Communities Initiative in two ‘waves’ (the first in 2005 and the second between 2006-2007), neighbourhoods in Leeds (Gipton), Thanet (Central Margate and Cliftonville West) and Redcar-Cleveland (South Bank and Grangetown) were also targeted (DCLG, 2010). The city of Bristol, one of the richest cities in the UK, was allocated funds for both policies (to address different areas of intervention), because of the high levels of socio-spatial disadvantage identified by Local and Multiple Deprivation rates – as indicated by Figure 13. (Hohmann, 2013; Bassett, 2001; Tallon, 2007). According to the latest Mid-Year Population Estimate, Bristol City has reached about 470,000 inhabitants, being the largest city in Southwest England and one of the ten ‘Core Cities’ in the UK (Bristol City Council, 2019): if we consider the wider metropolitan region of Bristol, including Bath, Weston-Super-Mare and Clevedon, the population is estimated to be approximately 1.2 million (Office for National Statistics, 2016).

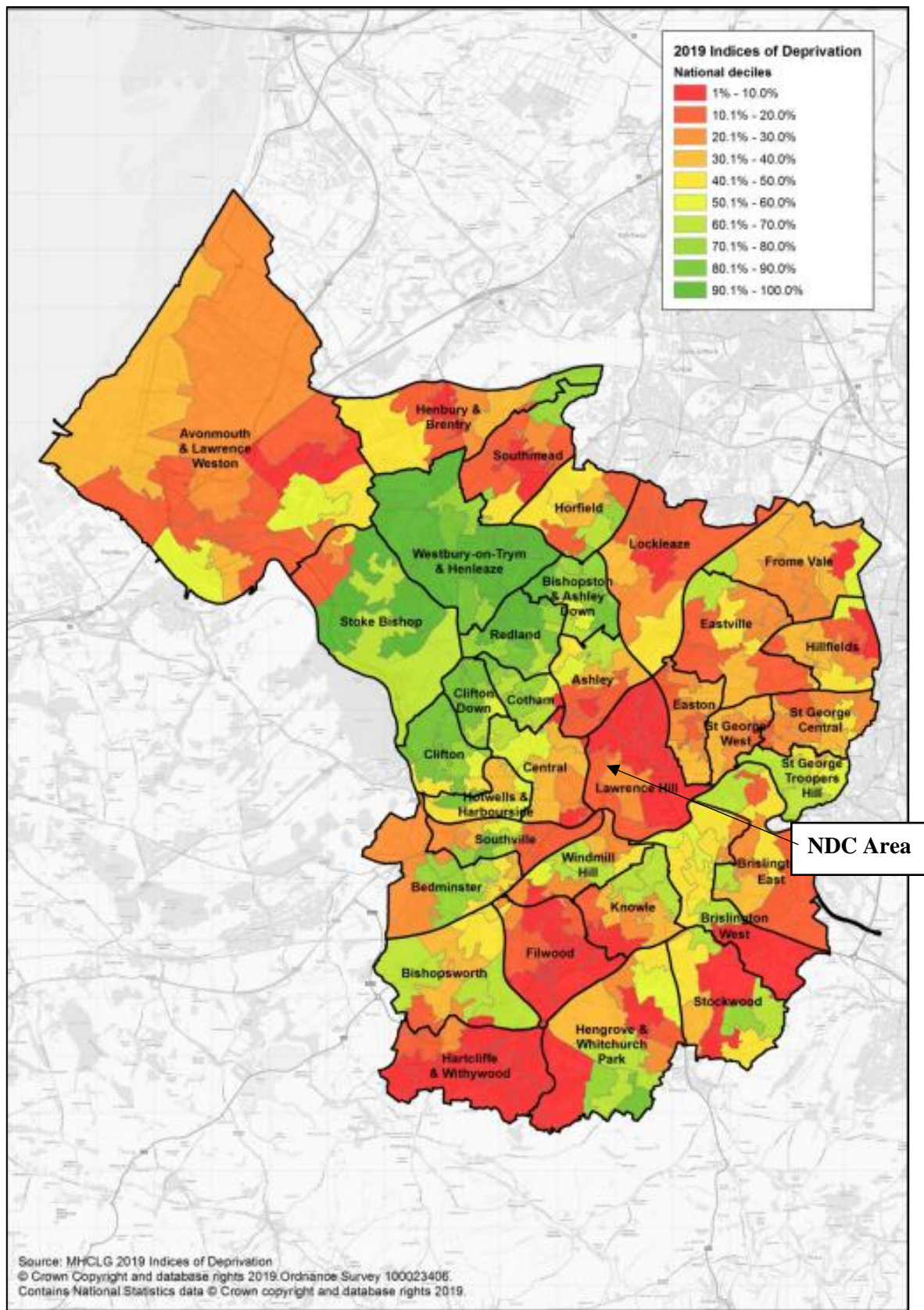
The geographical inequalities in terms of income, housing, education, and employment have persisted over time and concentration of poverty remains visible across the city. In England, the Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) covers seven domains: income deprivation; employment deprivation; education, skills and training deprivation; health deprivation and disability; crime; barriers to housing and services; living environment deprivation (BCC, 2019a). The Index of Local Deprivation 1998 shows a divided city, with the 24.82% of the population living in the most deprived neighbourhoods (DCLG, 2000; Bassett, 2001). More recent data (Figure 14.) on urban deprivation illustrate a similar situation, as “88% of the neighbourhoods that are in the most deprived decile according to the IMD 2019 were also the most deprived” in 2015 (BCC, 2019a: 1), and include Lawrence Hill, Filwood, Hartcliffe and Whitchurch Park (Boddy, 2003; Tallon, 2007).

Figure 13. Distribution of Index Multiple Deprivation in England, 2019. (Southwest England highlighted).



Source: Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government, 2019.

Figure 14. Distribution of Indices of Deprivation in Bristol, 2019 (National Deprivation Deciles by Lower Layer Super Output Area).

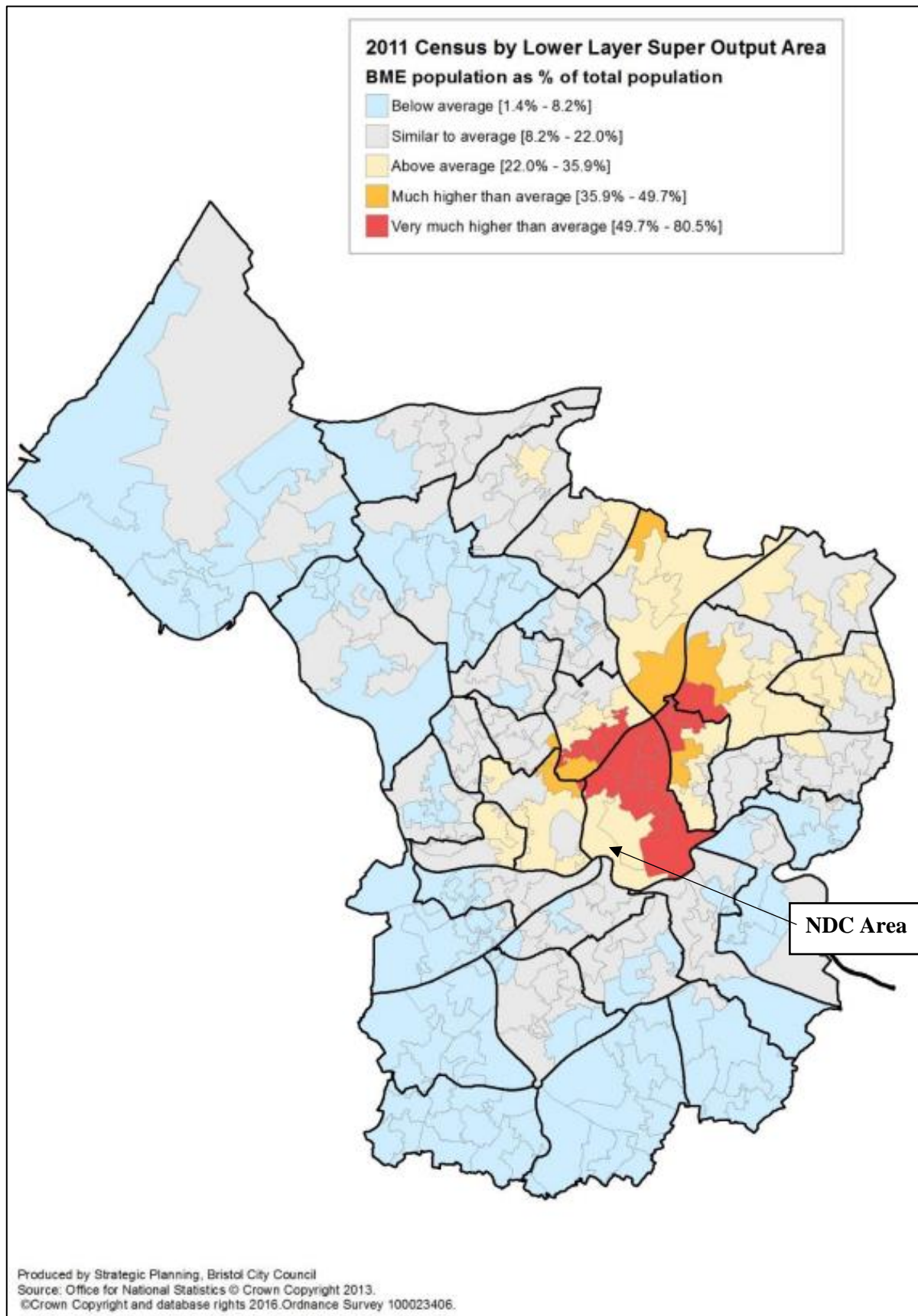


Source: BCC, 2019a: 3 (based on Strategic Intelligence and Performance using MHCLG 2015 and 2019 Indices of Deprivation).

To enable comparison with the Italian case study, I use multiple Census datasets to highlight the composition of the neighbourhoods, reflecting not only the specifics of national data collection⁷, but also the importance of local variation in categories: the Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) population – including “all groups with the exception of all White groups” – and the new migrants (BCC, 2021a: 27). The population of Bristol is characterised by a significant degree of diversity in terms of ethnicity, language, religion, with BAME population constituting the 16% of the total (BCC, 2018: 25). Non-White groups have increased particularly from 2001 to 2011, reflecting the large growth in the Somali and the Polish populations in Bristol, as well as an increase in international students and the increasingly mixed child population (BCC, 2018: 26-27). Additionally, by integrating data on local deprivation (Figure 14.) with the distribution of BAME population (Figure 15.) and new migrants (Figure 16.) across Bristol, it is possible to register a significant correlation between concentration of ethnicity and deprivation: both BAME population and new migrants are disproportionately represented predominantly in inner city areas of Bristol and concentrated in some of the most deprived wards, such as Central, Lawrence Hill, Ashley, Easton and Eastville (BCC, 2021a). Notably the Lawrence Hill ward and parts of Easton have been targeted by a series of urban renewal policies, such as the one this research focuses on, the New Deal for Communities.

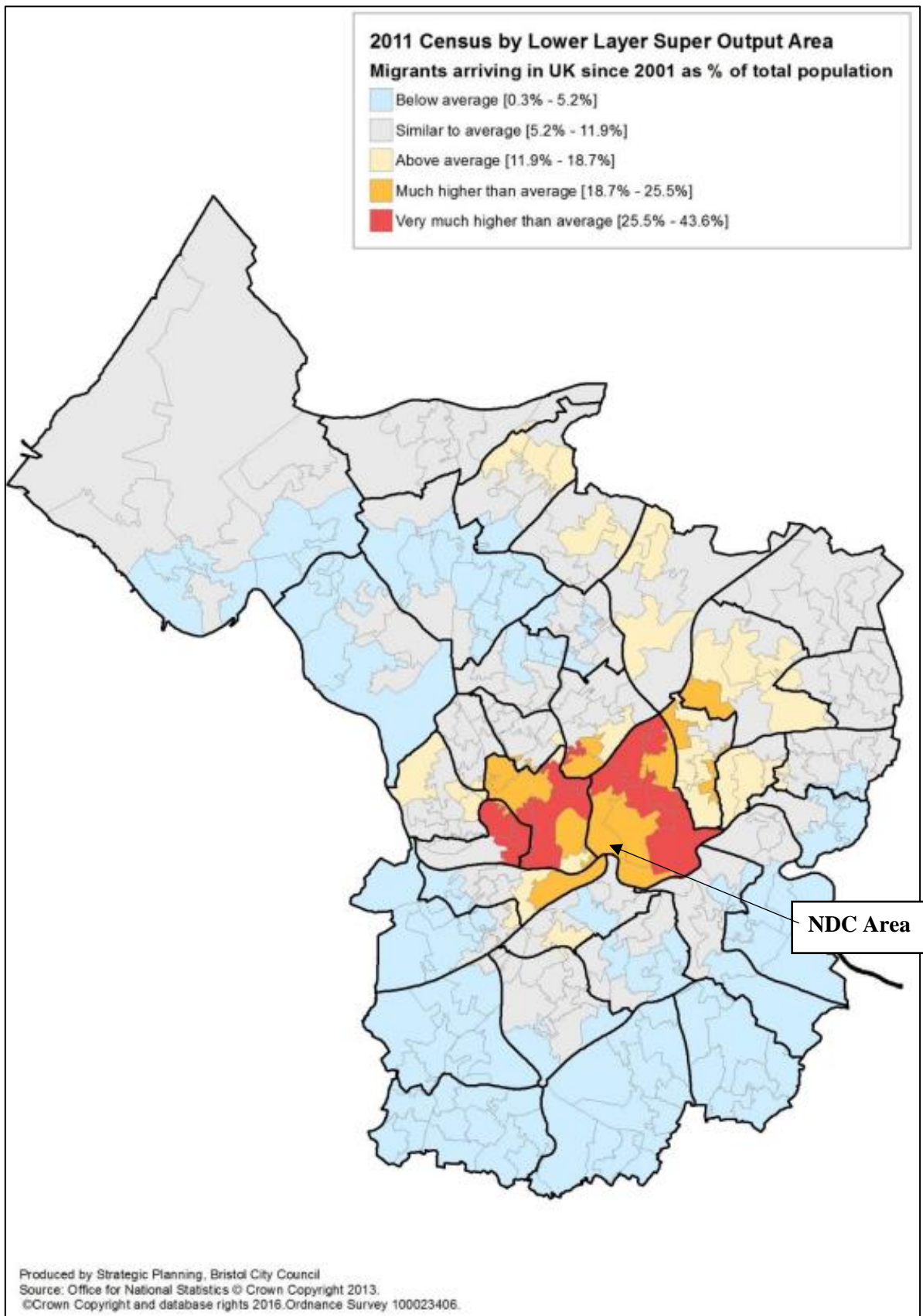
⁷ In Italy – as well as in other European State Members – census data by ethnicity are not gathered: for historical and political reasons – see the Fascist Italian Racial Laws (1938) – the Italian Constitution refers to and regulates the protection of ‘linguistic’ rather than ‘ethnic’ minorities in order to avoid any forms of racial discrimination (Costituzione Italiana, art. 6).

Figure 15. Distribution of BAME population by LLSOA in Bristol, 2011.



Source: BCC, 2021a: 30 (based on 2011 Census data).

Figure 16. Distribution of new migrants by LLSOA in Bristol, 2011.



Source: BCC, 2021a: 30 (based on 2011 Census data).

4.3.1. From industrial area to inner-city: demographic, housing, and spatial changes

4.3.1.1. *Physical and social morphology of the Lawrence Hill ward*

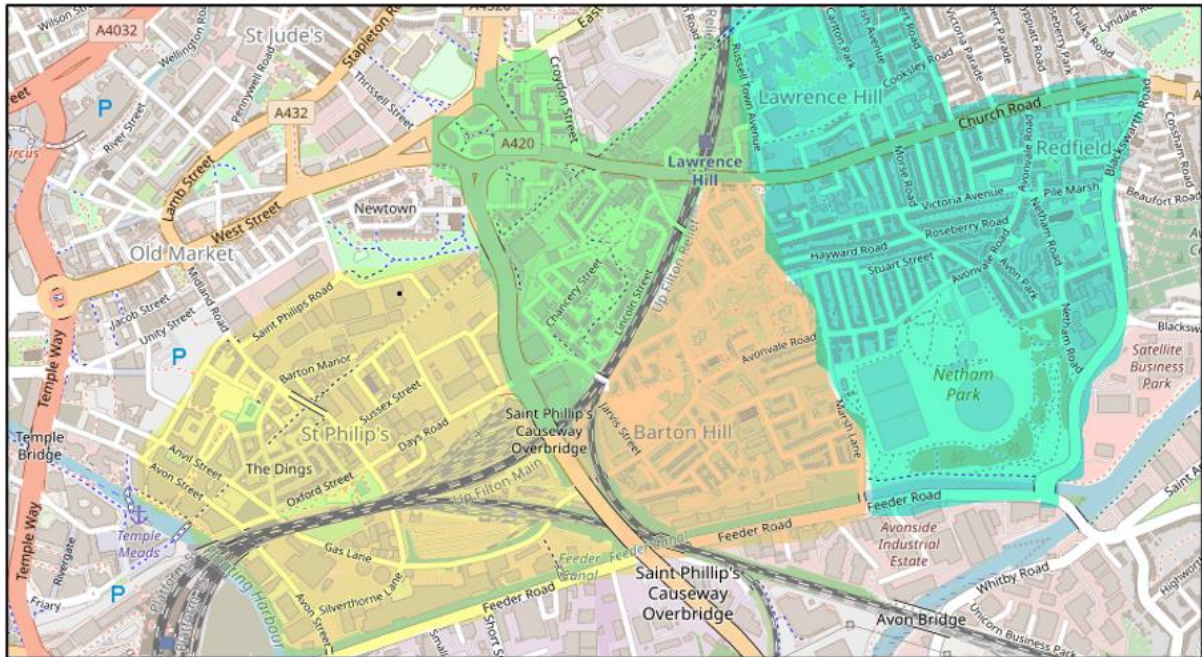
The area affected by the NDC includes the neighbourhoods of Lawrence Hill, Barton Hill, Redfield, the Dings/St. Philips – covering most of the Lawrence Hill Ward and part of Easton (Sovereign Housing Association, 2012)⁸. Lawrence Hill is a large Ward located in Central-East Bristol, close to the city centre, to which it is mainly connected by the Lawrence Hill roundabout, a junction on the A4320 link road. The roundabout and the dual-carriageway roads on the western-side and the Feeder Canal in the southern part of Barton Hill contribute to provide a sense of enclosed and distant space to the inner-city area, crossed from west to east by Church Road – the main road for public transport and shopping in the area (see Figure 17. below). The area’s population was estimated in 2018 to be around 19,500, with BAME ethnic groups reaching 59.6%, hence constituting the most diverse ward in Bristol (BCC, 2019b). Somali communities⁹ are the most represented groups in the area forming the largest group of residents born outside of the UK (2,059), followed by population with Jamaican and Pakistani backgrounds. Whilst data on Lawrence Hill’s age groups indicate a significantly high percentage of children (0-15 years) and working age young adults (25-39 years) compared to the rest of the city. However, two additional demographic elements are relevant to highlight in this respect (BCC, 2019b): the Ward is estimated to be the ‘worst’ in the city in terms of premature mortality¹⁰, where cancer, cardiovascular disease, and respiratory disease feature as the most common causes of death; and between 24.2 to 48.2% of under-16 children live in low-income families. Children and youth in the area are also affected by further disadvantage with regards to education, notably in the early age: disadvantaged pupils constitute 44.7%, those receiving free school meals are 33%, and children having English as an additional language are 64% (BCC, 2019b); NEET young people (16-17 years old), on the other hand, are limited in the Lawrence Hill Ward at 3-5% compared to Bristol’s median rate of 6.8% (BCC, 2021b: 2). As it was illustrated above, the Ward features among the most deprived wards in the city with an IMD falling between 1-10 and 20-30% national deciles. Such concentration of socio-economic disadvantage can be observed alongside an additional factor, the “social rented” housing and flats, which in Lawrence Hill make up 50.1% and 65.9% respectively (BCC, 2019b). Social housing estates started to characterise the local urban landscape with typical multi-storey tower blocks between late 1950s and early 1970s, representing a significant change to Barton Hill and the surrounding neighbourhoods (Hohmann, 2013: 61; Barton Hill Settlement, 2018).

⁸ As both the grey and academic literature on the application of NDC in Bristol refer to the target area as either Lawrence Hill or Barton Hill, I focus in these sections on the description of the Lawrence Hill ward, which was greatly affected by the urban policy, although I also touch upon the characteristics of the Redfield neighbourhood.

⁹ Somali communities are not considered as separate ethnic group in the 2011 Census but are included in the “Black African” and “Other Black” groups (BCC, 2019).

¹⁰ 2011 Census identifies as ‘premature mortality’ death cases in “people aged under 75 years” (BCC, 2019).

Figure 17. From left to right, The Dings/St Philips, Lawrence Hill, Barton Hill (Lawrence Hill Ward) and Redfield (Easton Ward).

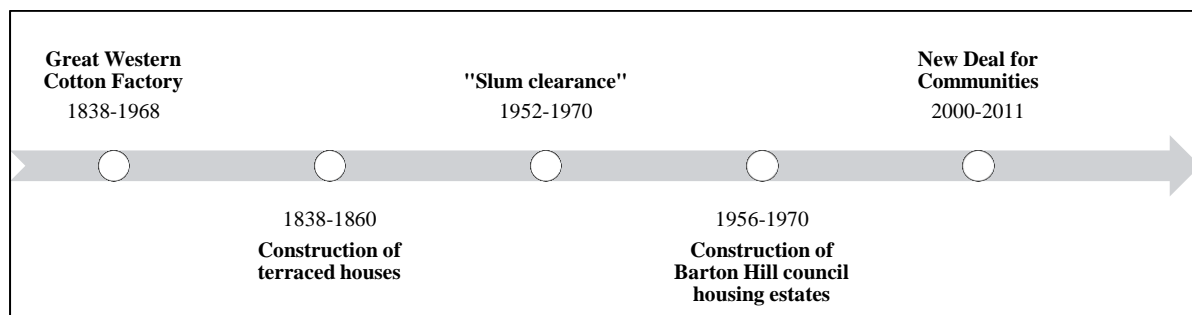


Source: OpenStreetMap, 2022.

4.3.1.2. Historical development of the Lawrence Hill ward

To contextualise the urban development experienced in the Lawrence Hill Ward and what, in the early 2000s, would be the NDC area, I provide an overview of the main changes implemented in Barton Hill and surroundings over the 20th Century (Figure 18.). Until the construction of the Feeder Canal in the early 1800s, Barton Hill (previously known as Barton Regis) was “a rural community dominated by market gardens and orchards” (Gardiner, 2020: 6). The direct access to water allowed the first major transformation to invest the neighbourhood, the construction of the Great Western Cotton Factory (1838) which as a result involved the provision of hundreds of small, terraced houses between 1838 and 1860 to accommodate the thousands of people, predominantly young girls aged between 13-14, who came to work at the factory (Voices of the Past, 2022; Gardiner, 2020).

Figure 18. NDC area history and development: timeline.



Source: Author’s elaboration from Hohmann, 2013: 61; Barton Hill Settlement, 2018; Voices of the Past, 2022.

Barton Hill was chosen as the site for the factory for strategic socio-geographical reasons: a location, just outside the city centre, would not affect and annoy “wealthy inhabitants of Bristol” and would benefit from direct access to the port through the Feeder Canal (Barton Hill History Group). Nevertheless, two other main industrial developments affected the area in the same historic time: Silverthorne Lane metal box manufacturing and galvanising works along the canal towards Temple Meads railway station; the Netham Chemical Company which was then taken over in the 1920s by Imperial Chemical Industries (I.C.I.) producing sulphuric acid and soda on what is now the Netham Park (Gardiner, 2020). The heavy industrial activity in Barton Hill and Redfield and the related harsh working conditions shaped hence the outlook and the very nature of the area, which suffered for years from “overcrowding, lack of sanitation and high infant mortality” (Hohmann, 2013: 61). The mid-1950s marked another key as well as disruptive moment for the neighbourhood’s community, as 24,500 dwellings were planned to be demolished and replaced with high rise flats, within one of Bristol’s first redevelopment and slum-clearance programme (Jennings, 1962; Hohmann, 2013). The plans involved the provision not only of better housing quality standards, but also of local facilities, such as a shopping centre and new roads, and public services including health care and education. Despite general opposition within the local community to the building of multi-storey flats, terraced houses were cleared

and years later Barton House and Glendare House were the first council housing estates to be opened. To those other 13 blocks were built until 1970 (Jennings, 1962: 192).

With the rise of the tower blocks and the subsequent demolition of the Cotton Factory (1968), the neighbourhoods of Barton Hill and Lawrence Hill were leaving their industrial development to the past, while remaining an area predominantly populated by working-class residents. As it was the case with most European urban contexts, post-war social housing estates - although revolutionary housing models for the time – began their physical and socio-economic decline in the decades following their construction, starting to be perceived as ‘dehumanising’, alienating types of modern housing (Jennings, 1962: 221). In Barton Hill such circumstances led in 1995, for instance, to the demolition of Glendare House (Gardiner, 2020). The lack of maintenance and the cumulation of disadvantage, from increasing levels of poverty to unemployment and health-deprivation, contributed to feed the area’s sense of spatial marginality and built the case, a few years later, for the latest massive transformation: the 10-year regeneration programme of the New Deal for Communities.

4.3.2. The New Deal for Communities: national programme and local actions

4.3.2.1. *Social mixing in the UK and the New Deal for Communities*

The geographical polarization mirroring socio-economic inequalities, which have intensified after Thatcher’s property-led approach, became priorities for the New Labour government, which was installed in 1997 and lasted until 2010 (Imrie and Raco, 2012). Under New Labour, the UK observed a change of perspective in the field of local development, as urban policies no longer focused on large-scale flagship projects attracting external investments to the inner-city, but they rather consisted in “social inclusion, neighbourhood renewal and community involvement” (ibid.: 2). From the *New Deal for Communities* (1998-2010) and the *National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal* (Social Exclusion Unit, 2001) to the *Mixed Communities Initiative* (2005) (DCLG, 2010), the community came at the centre of various renewal strategies, through which the government intended to empower deprived residents with a sense of ‘collective action’ and enabled – instead of providing – the constitution of community partnerships (MacLeavy, 2009). The concentration of multiple deprivation factors and social exclusion problems are also targeted by specific tenure and population mixing interventions under the Urban Renaissance of the Urban White Paper - *Our Towns and Cities - the Future*, published in 2000 (Briata et al., 2009).

Communitarianism, conceived as the political philosophy widening societal responsibility, occupied one of the flagship national regeneration programmes of the New Labour government, the New Deal for Communities (NDC) (Edwards and Imrie, 2015; MacLeavy, 2008). Unlike more centrally orchestrated initiatives of the past, from the end of the 1990s the UK sees the implementation of further decentralised measures, transitioning from a provider to an ‘enabler’ approach, focused on the involvement of local authorities, community, and businesses partnerships to tackle “urban decline as a

consequence and symptom of social exclusion” (Edwards and Imrie, 2015: 135; MacLeavy, 2009). By reducing the scale of intervention from areas containing up to 25,000 inhabitants to smaller areas with 1,000-4,000 people, the NDC addressed 39 neighbourhoods with the aim to “increase the number of people in work, improve education levels, reduce crime and improve people’s health” (Imrie and Raco, 2012: 13; Hohmann, 2013; NAO, 2004). With a national budget of over £2 billion to be spent over ten years, local areas selected among the most deprived neighbourhoods in England were expected to acquire a more active role in the regeneration process (DCLG, 2015). Indeed, the need for area-based interventions was clearly expressed in the Social Exclusion Unit’s Report (1998), which pictured a segregated and polarised country, with at least 4,000 multiply deprived neighbourhoods around England (Lawless, 2004). NDC partnerships are thus applied in two main rounds: ten of the selected neighbourhoods were located in London, “six in all in the South East, South West and Eastern regions taken together and the remaining 23 in the midlands or northern regions” (DCLG, 2015: 9).

4.3.2.2. The New Deal for Communities in Lawrence Hill: goals and interventions

Being the city with the highest Local Deprivation Index, Bristol participated to the first phase of the NDC programme in 1998, for which the combined areas of Barton Hill, Lawrence Hill, The Dings and Redfield were invited to make a bid. With the leadership of a local organisation and charity as intermediary, Community at Heart (CaH), the programme started to be implemented in the area in July 2000 with an allocated budget of £50 million for a total of ten years (2000-2011). As was the case for CdQ in Ponte Lambro, the final years of the programme, which started to experience the effects of the economic crisis (2009), have left East Bristol with initial problems related to the abrupt interruption of the socio-economic and community services introduced by the NDC; the third sector organisations, that play a fundamental role within the area, have particularly suffered the increasing lack of support, as participants also indicate (see Chapter 6) (see also Jupp, 2020).

The NDC took a holistic approach to address the urban problem of social marginality and disadvantage by suggesting five general themes: “a) tackling crime (community safety); b) education (including under-5s and out-of-school provision); c) work and business; d) health; e) housing and the environment” (CaH, 2005: 10). At the local level, CaH’s vision focused on attaining to five aspirational aims: “an area that people want to stay in or move to; a stronger community that welcomes all; a community with fair shares and equal opportunities for all; a wide range of services that are accessible to all and meet local residents’ needs; lasting change for the better” (CaH, 2005: 8). More specifically, starting from this list of objectives, CaH indicated five core themes (CT) and added another five local themes to the list (LT), for a total of 10 domains of intervention (Hohmann, 2013: 64; CaH, 2002; CaH, 2005: 40-61):

Core Themes

1. Advice, Business, Learning and Enterprise
2. Community Safety
3. Education

4. Health and Wellbeing
5. Housing and the Environment

Local Themes

1. Arts and Media
2. Community Services
3. Race Equality
4. Sports
5. Young People's Services

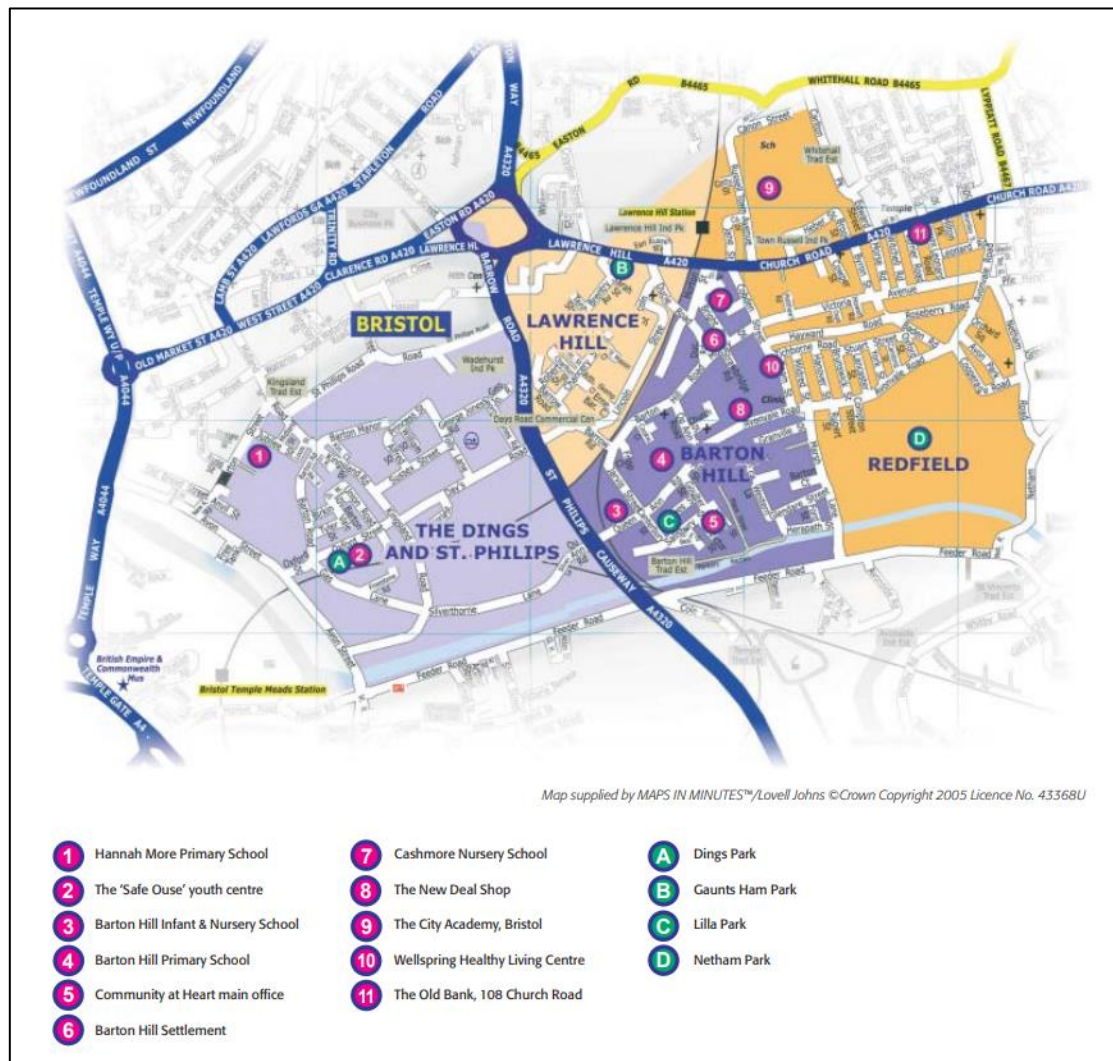
The themes which received most of the NDC funding throughout the implementation of the scheme were CT1 – Advice, Business, Learning and Enterprise (18%) and CT5 – Housing and Environment (16%) and, overall, the delivery of the plan was developed by applying core values of community empowerment and engagement through several strategies aimed at informing residents about the plans and promoting participation. To this end, CaH carried out surveys, shared planning documents and publications, conducted a performance management and monitoring scheme, organised meetings, and commissioned two programme evaluations (Hohmann, 2013: 65). Most of these sources of information on the progress of the scheme in Barton Hill were nevertheless restricted to CaH's use, which, Hohmann argues, can be identified as both “knowledge gatekeeper and broker” (2013: 68). Although no evaluation at the local level was conducted at the end of the NDC programme, the main local interventions inspired by the above themes over the ten-year period included both structural actions and social initiatives projects to foster participation and ‘community building’ - some of these are indicated on the map below (Figure 19.).

With regards to housing, 59 flats in non-functional blocks, Chetwood and Hartland houses (Barton Hill), have been demolished and 225 new family homes have been built across the NDC area (CaH, 2005; CaH, 2002); such disproportionate provision of houses for “local lettings” shows, however, as MacLeavy argues (2009: 868), that the programme was eventually giving priority to homeownership instead of social housing, in accordance to neoliberal conception of social inclusion and right to local integration through property. In The Dings, a new housing compound emerged towards the end of the NDC timeframe, The Zone. In contrast to the neighbourhood of Barton Hill, where council housing tower blocks dominate, The Zone comprises of four blocks of houses and flats for private sale, hence representing a gated housing area within the neighbourhood (MacLeavy, 2009). Alongside actions of demolition and new constructions, existing housing stocks were also improved as well as Hannah More primary school in The Dings. The rank of Barton Hill shops on Avonvale Road was demolished in 2009 and replaced by new houses (CaH, 2009).

Local schools were also targeted by the NDC plans through educational services for pupils and youth, the construction of a new Barton Hill primary school (point 4 in the map below) and Redfield's secondary school, City Academy (9). In terms of improved services, the area saw the implementation

of a new under-5s day nursery (3) (Barton Hill Infant and Nursery school, now merged into Barton Hill Academy), the construction of the Wellspring Healthy Living Centre (10) comprising local surgeries and GPs, youth centres such as the “Safe Ouse” in the Dings, and the Community Action Around Alcohol and Drugs (CAAAD) project for drug users and families, which lasted until 2010 (CaH, 2005). Sense of security in the area, moreover, was mainly addressed by the implementation of new CCTV systems, new railings and concierge schemes in Barton Hill and Lawrence Hill tower blocks, which were at the centre of both housing and community safety targets. Moreover, regeneration of the urban environment included: a new sports pavilion and the redevelopment of Netham Park (D); improvements to the small Lilla Park in Canterbury Street (C); a new Urban Park between Barton Hill’s high-rise blocks in Strawbridge Road, providing green outdoor space and playgrounds for families living in flats (CaH, 2002; MacLeavy, 2009).

Figure 19. The area of the New Deal for Communities interventions.



Source: CaH, 2005: 2.

Figure 20. Sample of Community at Heart's InFocus magazine, Issue 7, Spring, 2004.

Home Improvements Hit the Spot!

In the past 18 months over 80 homeowners have received help in getting much needed repair and improvement work carried out in homes. The project, funded by Community at Heart, managed by Bristol Care and Repair and controlled by a panel of local workers and residents, is accessible to all homeowners of low income living in the Bristol NDC area.

Some 30 properties have had work completed, whilst another 50 houses are either undergoing repair or have had improvement scheduled. The types of works being carried out are many and various. It includes damp proofing, roof repairs, re-wiring, re-pointing of brick and stonework, window replacement and making safe of steep old-fashioned staircases.

A family in Beffield has just had safety work completed on their stairs. The mother told In Focus: "Now our stairs have been made safe our minds are at ease and it has allowed our child movement around the house without the fear of a serious fall. We are very grateful for the help we've received and cannot express how fantastic the whole team are."

The value of the work that has been completed has exceeded £150,000, and the project is funded for further 18 months.

Turning a Vision into Reality

City Council and Sovereign and Solon Housing Associations to get this work underway and 40% of the tenants who moved out of the flats say they want to live in one of the new houses.

"Some are even involved in their planning and design," Councillor Peter Hammond, Executive Member for Sustainable Development and Social Justice, added: "There has been considerable work going on behind the scenes but now it's really happening. This is the start of something big - just the beginning of a wide programme to regenerate Barton Hill."

Home Improvements Hit the Spot!

Before fessid and after the work was completed on the stairs



Improved public space in front of the shops, a new community square, a car park for the new healthy living centre, and new housing on the doctors' surgery site. The proposed improvements will cost in the region of £13 million, with Community at Heart contributing £8 million of this.

The next stage will involve detailed discussions with residents to work through the specific design details of the block security programme, the village green, new roads and housing development.

New Homes for Local People

Work has started on a new development of two and three bedroom houses in Lawrence Hill.

Jefferson Housing Association is developing eight new homes, which should be finished by June.

Bristol City Council and Community at Heart have worked with Jefferson and have now agreed a local policy which will ensure that residents in the New Deal area are the first to benefit from the new homes.

A Positive Future for Barton Hill

The Community at Heart Board has approved the framework for the future plans to develop Barton Hill, which will create the biggest physical improvements to the area since the 'slam' clearance after the war.

Proposals for an area masterplan were developed, based on changes that local people said they wanted to see. Before Christmas, residents attended various drop in sessions, public meetings, and focus groups to consider the options, designed around improving housing and community safety. The results, and advice from specialists, have been assessed and the Community at Heart Board - in partnership with Bristol City Council, as landlords and owners of the land proposed for development - have backed plans that will shape the future of the estate. These will include: demolishing Chetwood and Hardland Houses; security improvements around each of the blocks; better road junctions; two new through roads with traffic calming measures; village green with play areas; new low rise housing;

Winter Warmer

In a bold new pilot project Community at Heart and Bristol City Council recently carried out a survey and improvement exercise aimed at upgrading the heating and insulation of owner occupied homes all over the NDC area. Some 90 properties have been accepted into the £73,000 scheme, which is now being completed. The results of this initiative will be now subject to an ongoing analysis to decide if the project is to be extended.

New Homes for Local People

The new houses being built on Mason Street

Turning a Vision into Reality

Chewood House before it was demolished

16 // FOCUS

17 // FOCUS

Source: Community at Heart, 2004b.

4.4. Conclusions

This research project sees the comparative analysis of two distant but similar case studies. Ponte Lambro and the NDC area stand out as two European marginal urban areas (*a periferia* and an inner-city) which share not only a common past of working-class and industrialised area, but also characteristics of spatial concentration and urban renewal interventions since the late 1990s. After centuries of rural life, particularly related to the proximity with natural sources of water (river Lambro, Feeder Canal), both districts have transitioned in the early 20th Century to urbanisation and industrialisation, attracting working-class population. Post-war needs of mass construction of modern high-rise housing led in both cases to the demolition of what were identified as slums (old, terraced houses) and the building of social housing estates instead (Calvaresi and Cossa, 2011; Jennings, 1962). From the 1990s, however, cumulative problems related to social housing and neglect from local authorities alongside new waves of international immigration reinforced the visibility of urban decline and poverty and called for urban renewal interventions. As outlined in the previous chapter (Chapter 3, section 3.2.3), CdQ and NDC can also be considered as comparable in the analysis as they have been applied from a national to a subnational through to a local level; they both operated for at least a decade from the early 2000s; they were centred around the trending values of the time around desegregation through community empowerment and social and tenure mix. Moreover, although their designs and impacts ought to be considered as context-specific, both case studies have gone through similar political and socio-economic scenarios: in Bristol as well as in Milan, ten-years social mixing policies were introduced by neoliberal governments, proposing similar area-based responses to the urban problem of concentrated disadvantage; because of their extended timeframe of intervention (ten years) in the last part of their activity, they were affected to some extent by the economic pressure caused by the European economic crisis and following austerity policies. Although each local context demanded specific needs and actions from the policies, aspirational aims of CdQ and NDC highlighted – more or less explicitly – the importance of improving the neighbourhoods’ reputation in the long run. In “Muovere Ponte Lambro” there is reference to “overcoming isolation and abandonment – being one of the reasons behind the neighbourhood’s actual and *perceived* disadvantage” (Calvaresi and Cossa, 2011: 17, emphasis added). Whilst CaH in the Revised Strategic Plan was committed to turn the NDC neighbourhoods into “an area that people want to stay in or move to” (2005: 8), hence, I argue, an area with a positive reputation. As the first part of this dissertation has explored the theory and methods that this research draws upon, the objective of the second part is to investigate how the CdQ and the NDC have affected the internal and external neighbourhoods’ reputations over time. In other words, the following three chapters (Chapters 5, 6, and 7) provide the empirical analyses carried out by this research in both case studies and through different methods: CDA of newspaper articles to explore changes in the external neighbourhood reputations, and PPM with residents with regards to the analysis of internal neighbourhood reputations.

Part II: Primary Data and Empirical Analyses

Chapter 5.

External reputations of Ponte Lambro and NDC area: Critical Discourse Analysis of newspaper articles

5.1. Introduction

Discourse analysis has been primarily deployed by urban geographers and housing researchers to explore the discursive power of policy and politics with regards to urban and housing planning, and social justice more broadly (Jacobs, 2006; Hastings, 2000; Lees, 2004, Richardson, 1996; Watt, 2008). However, as Permentier, van Ham and Bolt (2008: 851) highlight, fewer studies have focused on the analysis of media discourse or specifically addressed the narratives around stigmatised urban areas using this qualitative approach (Sriskandarajah, 2020). By combining Foucault's (1981) post-structuralist theory of discourse – conceived as a tool of the powerful on the powerless – with Wacquant's concept of territorial stigmatisation (2007), I investigate the construction of external reputations of Ponte Lambro, Milan, and the NDC area, Bristol, by applying a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach (Fairclough, 1992; Waitt, 2010) on media representation of the two case studies. The analysis focuses on articles from local newspapers which mention these neighbourhoods during two timeframes – before and after the implementation of the social mixing renewal policies, Contratto di Quartiere II, CdQ, and New Deal for Communities, NDC. Local newspapers included *La Repubblica* and *Corriere della Sera* for the city of Milan, and *The Bristol Post* for Bristol, for a total of 168 articles about Ponte Lambro and 453 about the NDC area. Textual data have been analysed by applying Fairclough's (1992) method of CDA, which consists of considering the discourse from the micro (the text) to the meso (the discursive practice) and macro (the social practice) levels of analysis.

To assess the long-term outcomes of each social mixing policy on the external neighbourhood reputation, I draw a qualitative comparison between the place image as constructed by local newspapers in the two years prior to the start of the urban interventions (pre-policy) and the corresponding place images narrated post intervention (assessment), generally ten years after the end of the implementation of the schemes in both sites. The chapter explores to what extent the external discourse on Ponte Lambro and the NDC area has changed in the long run, considering positive and negative reputations, or place images, developed by the news. Newspaper articles referring to urban interventions on the areas, both in terms of plans and implementation, are excluded from the main discourse analysis on the neighbourhood reputation, but within the chapter they help to provide a comprehensive picture of both discursive and social practice in which the neighbourhoods are problematised (Fairclough, 1992; Huckin, 1997). In the conclusive part of the chapter, I compare findings on the two external

neighbourhood reputations to identify relevant patterns in the variations of the neighbourhoods' external reputations which will be then further discussed in Chapter 8.

5.2. Ponte Lambro's external reputations

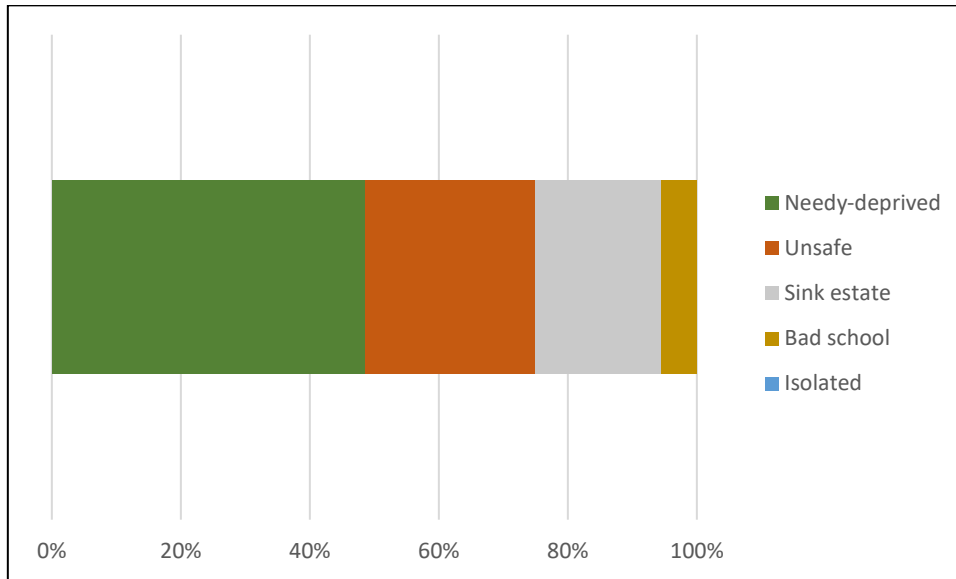
5.2.1. Analysing the discourse behind the news: Ponte Lambro before CdQ

Newspaper articles talking about Ponte Lambro neighbourhood were collected from the local editions of *La Repubblica Milano* (LRM) and *Corriere della Sera* (CdS) newspapers and analysed using thematic and CDA for a total of 89 articles for the pre-policy period (2002-2004) and 79 articles for the assessment period (2017-2019). The years preceding the first implementation of the social mixing policy (2002-2004) show a general tendency of depicting the neighbourhood in a negative light. From the CDA most of the items (84%) mentioned Ponte Lambro negatively or employed a denigrating language, evoking an unsafe and disadvantage place (Fairclough, 1992). With regards to its notorious reputation, in the early 2000s Ponte Lambro seemed to be referred to more often as a highly *needy/deprived* area, an abandoned place, or a “non-place” as it is frequently called, where deprivation is both a social and spatial problem. News reports often describe Ponte Lambro as a poor and forgotten urban area lacking fundamental facilities – especially for the youngest generations – and usually dealing with environmental problems related for instance to waste disposal, the maintenance of river Lambro or derelict buildings and social housing estates. However, it is worth pointing out that according to 16% of the coded articles, the neighbourhood appears also as a relatively *vibrant/cohesive* place, where local events bring the community together, and residents actively contribute to positive change.

5.2.1.1. Ponte Lambro's negative reputation before CdQ

In the early 2000s, newspaper articles on Ponte Lambro focus on news which can be identified as negative for both topics and terminology employed. News about the local deprivation and socio-spatial segregation of the neighbourhood constitute the dominant theme (see Figure 21 below); while the most used terms to define the area include the following negatively connotated words and phrases, labelling the neighbourhood: “*periferia*” (suburb), “*non-luogo*” (non-place), “*dormitorio*” (bedroom community), “Far West”, “Bronx”, “ghetto”, “*scuola a rischio*” (school at risk).

Figure 21. Coverage of Ponte Lambro negative reputation by themes - pre-policy period (2000-2004).



Source: Author’s elaboration from CDA on La Repubblica Milano and Corriere della Sera.

The hegemonic discourse emerging from the CDA associates the “Ponte Lambro case” (CdS, 01/03/2002) with the broader urban problem of the “*periferia*”, a term that is adopted in public discourse to identify not only marginal urban areas in Italy but also concentration of deprived and often ‘deviant’ communities, in contrast to the “civilised”, “more liveable” city centre (Harris and Vorms, 2017).

And by the way, we must want that [a work plan], especially for the areas far from the city centre, for those **suburbs** that are still **an open wound for Milan**. Where problems and delays cumulate and where the traffic is one of the many emergencies that must be faced. If in the summer the centre seems more **liveable**, in July and August some areas of the city belt become **wastelands**: more shops are closed, there are fewer bus services, few or no cultural initiatives.¹¹ (CdS, 14/06/2002 – emphasis added)

In this extract the journalist uses a metaphor - “an open wound for Milan” - to describe the far and problematic suburban areas, including Ponte Lambro, which is represented as a threat, an ongoing issue for the whole city. The discourse placing emphasis on the contrasts between the “liveable” city centre of proximity and leisure, and the typical “wastelands”, forgotten neighbourhoods at the city margins that concentrate and produce problems at the same time, is illustrative and very common in the reiteration of the territorial stigma (Wacquant, 2007). While in the Anglo-American context low-income areas are not necessarily located at the city’s margins, in Southern Europe spatial polarisation is mostly evident in the differences between the wealthy city centre and the disadvantaged suburbs (Petsimeris, 2005; Harris and Vorms, 2017).

¹¹ Hereinafter, quotes related to the Italian case study in this Chapter are my original translation from the source text, which can be found in Appendix I of this thesis.

For this reason, Ponte Lambro is **still so**, an **open wound** in the **civilised Milan**, a **non-place** where the city falls apart and every attempt to regeneration fails. (CdS, 31/08/2003 - emphasis added)

The extract above is rich in metaphors and stigmatising labels, which contribute to build a stereotypical and fixed image of the area (Pickering, 2001). The use of the present tense (“it fails”; it is “still so”) conveys a tone of immobility that condemns the neighbourhood to its status of forgotten and unchangeable place. In this passage, Ponte Lambro is not only put in contrast with the “civilised Milan”, the city centre, but it also does not even deserve the definition of place, being addressed as “a non-place” whereby the concept itself of the city and its fundamental values are not recognised. The journalist here employs the same metaphor highlighted above “*ferita aperta*” (open wound), that this time is specifically addressed to the neighbourhood, as to imply that Ponte Lambro should be ‘cured’ to be considered as part of the city of Milan (Manley et al., 2012).

Non-place

The articles coded in the *needy/deprived* theme are often characterised by labels carrying specific connotations of deprivation, estrangement, and failed ‘integration’ with the rest of the city. One of the frequent terms used here as epithet for Ponte Lambro is the “non-place” (CdS, 21/08/2003; 31/08/2003), a neologism by the French anthropologist Marc Augé (1995) that seems in this context to be misused or to be used with a different, broader meaning, by effectively manipulating the journalistic genre through “an authoritative “expert” register” (Huckin, 1997: 93). The journalist draws here on anthropological and sociological concepts to provide legitimisation to the othering of the neighbourhood (Pickering, 2001).

*Ponte Lambro, Calvairate and Ortica, the neighbourhoods of **abandonment** and **deprivation**.*¹²

[...] These non-places are microcosmos within the city, characterised by **isolation**, **alienation**, «**left-over**». Milan has got them too. In the summer they are even more **isolated**, **alone**. Let us start with Ponte Lambro, **classic non-place** since the beltway cuts it out from the rest of the city. (CdS, 21/08/2003 – emphasis added)

The extract above (see also CdS, 31/08/2003) shows how the journalist does not mean to refer to the standardised, modern, transitional, and often monitored place (e.g., train stations, airports, shopping centres), generally identified as ‘non-place’ but rather to a place that is not “relational, historical and concerned with identity” (Augé, 1995: 77), dehumanising the neighbourhood. “Abandonment”, “deprivation”, “isolation”, “alienation” are additional negative features often attributed to the area which imply forms of subalternity and suppression of the place identity in relation to the ‘norm’ (Wacquant, 2007). The idea of the suburb in general, and Ponte Lambro in particular, as place “without a soul” (CdS, 06/09/2003) is deployed in the dominant discourse as a powerful narrative that denigrates the neighbourhood, while depriving it of any chance of redemption by denying even its legitimisation

¹² Titles of articles are referred to in Italics.

as place. The suburbs are presented then as a mere urban “left-over” or “sink” areas (Slater, 2018) for the city, which need to be “transform[ed] in neighbourhood” (CdS, 28/12/2003), both through inclusive urban renewal interventions and by adopting alternative terminology (Topalov, 2017).

“Dormitory suburb” is another label that is frequently assigned to Ponte Lambro and similar suburbs by the public discourse to stress the perceived monofunctional nature of residential urban area where social housing estates are concentrated and where residents only go to sleep but do not work, socialise, or consume. Such naming practice hides again a stereotypical image of the suburb associated with both the deprivation of social housing estates and the lack of facilities within the neighbourhood, which prevents residents to enjoy their surroundings and interact with each other. In an interview about the problem suburb of Ponte Lambro published on *Corriere della Sera*, the local prefect of the time points out how the liveability of an urban area is strictly determined by the presence or lack of services and infrastructures.

It is a matter of **liveability** rather than security, «letting people live in **dormitory suburbs** is a risk, because they are the ones that destroy social relations and promote **sooner or later** the spread of **micro-criminality**». (CdS, 27/07/2003 – emphasis added)

In this extract, a clear neighbourhood effect (the micro-criminality) is assumed and topicalized by the newspaper contributing to a rhetoric of fear: the suburb, because of its specific features of “wasteland” and “dormitory suburb” is believed to inevitably (“sooner or later”) lead to the loss of social cohesion among residents as well as to forms of crime or deviance, representing a threat or “risk” for the community (Slater, 2018). Forms of causation between lack of essential facilities in the suburb and propensity to commit crimes are suggested by articles of the early 2000s. Below, a group of teenagers in an open letter to the mayor (CdS, 07/03/2002) share their concerns and frustration after the closure of the local youth centre, which for them is an additional sign of isolation and reduced social mobility. The closure of the youth centre, which followed episodes of vandalism and disorder, is presented as a great loss for Ponte Lambro’s young residents, whose strong words addressed to the local government stress the correlation between the lack of social infrastructures and the likelihood to break the law.

For us, the **youth centre** is a place where we can be together without being on the street and **breaking the law**. In this neighbourhood **there is absolutely nothing** and then you complain **if we get in trouble and end up in a juvenile prison** at 16 years old. We want a different life and you do not want to help us! Do something and explain us why you do not want to reopen the youth centre! (CdS, 07/03/2002 – emphasis added)

Far West

News coded in the *unsafe* category (26%) generally focus on spectacularising the facts and reporting them in a sensationalist way that relies on the power of “satisfying the rhetoric of emotions” (van Dijk, 1998: 85) in the reader. Fear, for instance, is evoked not only by the explicit use of the term in shocking titles – “Fear is back” (CdS, 06/03/2002) – but it is often recreated through metaphors and imaginaries related to war and violence (Schwarze, 2021). In the extract below, we can observe an example of such

narratives of decline (Watt, 2006; Rose et al., 2013), whereby visible signs of grime and disorder, such as graffiti and broken windows, are perceived as presumed symptoms of an inevitable “downward spiral of urban decay” (Sampson and Raudensbush, 2004: 319).

Violence at Ponte Lambro and discussion in City Hall.

They have destroyed it and broken it into pieces. They have broken windows and roller shutters, rummaged in the drawers, stolen all the keys. The youth centre in Parea Street, Ponte Lambro, is **under siege**. And this **scares** people working there: the custodian has asked to be relocated. The only worker from the Council is forced to face **gangs of kids** from the neighbourhood, twenty or thirty of them **with spray and very bad intentions**. (CdS, 06/03/2002 – emphasis added)

Vandalism performed by Ponte Lambro’s teenagers is reported as a war despite this is taking place in “non-warfare contexts” (Schwarze, 2021: 8): in this narrative the ‘foes’ are represented by local kids and adolescents whose disruptive presence is put in contrast with the respectable conduct of local workers and residents – the ‘friends’ in this situation, living in constant fear. Topicalizing vandals at sentence-level foregrounds the contrasts between teenagers and the youth centre yet backgrounding more important information about the dynamics of the incident itself and the context of Ponte Lambro. More details about this are only given in the second part of the article, where the journalist reports an interview with the serving councillor Maiolo, who suggests implementing more law and order to tackle disorder around the youth centre. The reference to the risk for women working in the youth centre reinforces Ponte Lambro’s territorial stigma as a dangerous place that women – presented as vulnerable group to protect – should avoid (see Madge, 1997).

«In this case, it is not a matter of staff shortage, here it is necessary to involve the **police**. And, first thing, I think it is no longer possible to let **women** work in such a **place at risk**». (CdS, 06/03/2002 – emphasis added)

Law and order measures often emerge from the texts as proposed solutions to mitigate local tensions among residents and the feeling of danger arising from deviant behaviours, including vandalism, crime, drug dealing and wider environmental decay. The “Security Point”, for instance, is one of such strategies: a service offered to residents to feel safer and protected in the “‘critical’ zones [of Milan] from San Siro to Ponte Lambro and Stadera” (CdS, 28/12/2002). This finding is in line with what Sandercock (2002: 219) defines as “discourses of fear” and their production of “moral reform” through law and order. The need for more security and protection goes together with the frequent deploy in the articles of negative and sensationalist labels associated to Ponte Lambro. Below, the journalist talks about micro-criminality in the suburbs, and mentions Ponte Lambro among the most “problematic” neighbourhoods, evoking imaginaries of violence and danger from further afield:

Quarto Oggiaro, Calvairate, Ponte Lambro, the **problematic neighbourhoods** of Milan. Every day, border priests have to work **among baby gangs, drug dealers and immigrants in disarray**. [...] The neighbourhood of Rozzano **looks probably like all of them**. The frequent complaints about the **area’s decay**: years ago, some residents created a Local Board to fight against littering on the streets and keep the area clean. Attempts to get rid of the

Bronx label. [...] These are the comments of the people witnessing the shooting, **once again** somebody died hit by a stray bullet in an **urban Far West scene – like in a movie**, if only the deaths were not real. (CdS, 23/08/2003 – emphasis added)

Through the metaphors of “Bronx” and “urban Far West” the newspaper recreates a distant reality where crime and street violence are normalised and naturalised “as common-sense features of everyday life in the community” (Schwarze, 2021:5). The naming practice used here serves then as legitimisation for the newspaper to deprive the neighbourhood of its specific identity and rely again on a stereotype, a standardised label. The term “Bronx” does not only recall the stigmatised and segregated New York City neighbourhood (South Bronx) but is often used in the Italian context to evoke a powerful imaginary of deprivation and cumulation of deviance, where “baby gangs, drug dealers and immigrants” emerge as both representations of the “unruly underclass” (Watt, 2006: 777) and scapegoats for the problems of Ponte Lambro (Berruti and Lepore, 2008; see also Birdsall-Jones, 2013). These people and their perceived illicit activities – immigrants are implicitly a potential threat here, simply by being “in disarray” – are presented as intrinsic features of the “Bronx” label. “Urban Far West”, on the other hand, is used as a sensationalist metaphor to depict an episode of street violence that took place in Rozzano neighbourhood. Although the journalist is not talking specifically about Ponte Lambro, it is important to underline that they implicitly put the two neighbourhoods on the same level, by asserting: “the neighbourhood of Rozzano looks probably like all of them”, including Ponte Lambro. The image of the Far West movies reinforces the negative reputation of Ponte Lambro and the deprived suburb in general, by assigning to both the place and the people a symbolic defamation that can be widely understood: the area results again like an extremely dangerous place to live in or even to pass through – “stray bullets” are portrayed as a daily risk – where the power belongs to outcasts and residents live in fear (Slater, 2021).

Social housing ghettos

Between 2002 and 2004 the news analysed registers a debate on the demolition of social housing estates in the suburbs of Milan, including Ponte Lambro. “Ghetto” is one of the most frequently mentioned words when discussing council housing (see *sink estate* category) in the external discourse (not only in the Italian context) and it is often associated with the whole neighbourhood by extension (Slater and Anderson, 2011; Topalov, 2017). The dominant narrative stigmatises the perceived homogenous and disadvantaged social housing estate, adhering indeed to Wacquant’s (2013: 22) constituent elements of the ghetto: “(i) stigma, (ii) constraint, (iii) spatial confinement, and (iv) institutional parallelism”. The building itself is perceived not only as container but also as producer of disadvantage and deviance; the only solution to mitigate the urban problem it represents is, as suggested, to get rid of it through demolition:

«*Let’s demolish suburb’s ghettos*» (CdS, 01/09/2003 – emphasis added)

«*Ghetto-neighbourhoods must be demolished*». (CdS, 01/09/2003 – emphasis added)

The concentration “in the same building [of] poor elderly people, drug addicts and mental health patients” (CdS, 02/03/2003) in marginal areas is therefore presented as problematic, as it would enhance the existing socio-economic disadvantage leading to a vicious circle of crime and anti-social behaviour. Similarly to the above mentioned “dormitory suburb”, perceived homogeneity of the demographic composition is portrayed in the news as a threat for the community’s stability and cohesion (Watt, 2006). More socially mixed housing estates – full of “normal people” (CdS, 02/09/2003) – are suggested as ‘treatments’ with the aim to fight against the reproduction of the “American ghetto logic”, made of “enclosed and outcast” residents (CdS, 01/09/2003). The social mixing trend characterising the European urban agenda in the late 1990s and early 2000s pervades Milan’s local press as a form of anticipation of CdQ plans and interventions: by demolishing old, ghettoised housing estates, new socially and tenure mixing areas are considered to cancel the existing disadvantage producing inclusion and social diversity (Crump, 2002).

«**Rebuilding** [after demolition] could be the chance to create **less homogenous** neighbourhoods in terms of income and social disadvantage». How? «By involving the **private sector** – Penati suggests -, which could rebuild part of social housing on public land. [...] This will secure **social mix**». (CdS, 01/09/2003 – emphasis added)

Yet, no further explanation is provided in support of the social mix argument, as the benefits of a mixed residential area are assumed to be obvious to the reader: such omission is crucial as it strategically reinforces the social mix discourse as opposed to the ghetto one without elaborating on related implications (Huckin, 1997). The discursive strategy of setting the mixed neighbourhood against the homogenous one seems to be sufficient and self-explanatory to determine which housing and urban practice would be best. Furthermore, the idea of introducing more law and order comes again in the debate on demolition and social mix, as some other interviewees state the importance of enhanced security systems for a regenerated area: “according to Manca, the point is the following: «Regeneration takes place only when a safe environment is granted. Otherwise, rebuilding without security leads again to decline».” (CdS, 02/09/2003).

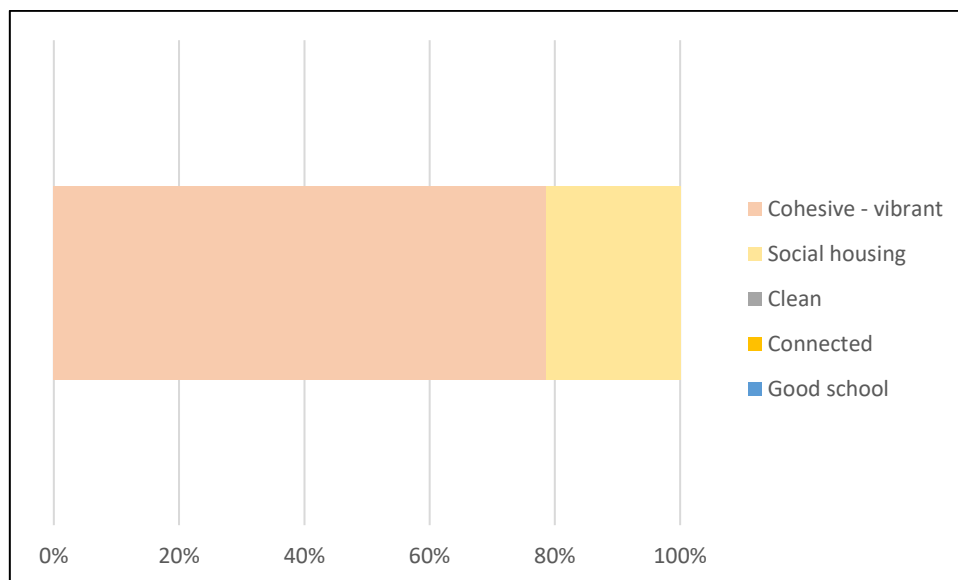
Schools at risk

A smaller percentage of articles (6%) in the pre-policy period address the issue of school segregation in the most deprived areas of Milan - Ponte Lambro is one of them with the comprehensive schools Madre Teresa di Calcutta and Meleri, and the vocational secondary school Oriani-Mazzini (CdS, 15/04/2002). Different labels are encountered within articles about schools in marginal neighbourhoods: “schools in difficult areas” (CdS, 15/04/2002); “border schools”, “suburban schools” (CdS, 10/09/2003). However, the most frequently mentioned term when referring to such schools is “schools at risk”, where the risk itself conveys a range of connotations “related to socio-environmental conditions, the number of students under the juvenile court and CPS, the percentage of non-native and nomad students” (CdS, 10/09/2003). Both external and internal factors determine the risk to which the school is exposed: such risk is thus related not only to its demographic composition (students’ deprivation and nationality) but

also to its geography; the simple fact of being in a ‘neighbourhood at risk’ implies a disadvantage for their education (Hamnett et al., 2013). As asserted in another extract, “risk is [also] referred to the presence of micro-criminality in the neighbourhood, the increasing social deprivation, the cases of students’ dropout and failures” (CdS, 15/04/2002). One of the news reported by the local newspaper has to do with the initiative *Progetto Zone a Rischio* (“Risk Zones Project”) by the Ministry of Education, whereby special funding was supposed to be offered to “those teachers that are willing to support students and supervise them even beyond the usual class schedule” (CdS, 10/09/2003); yet schools in Ponte Lambro and other deprived suburbs of Milan denounced delays in getting the funding at the time of publication.

5.2.1.2. Ponte Lambro’s positive reputation before CdQ

Figure 22. Coverage of Ponte Lambro positive reputation by themes - pre-policy period (2000-2004).



Source: Author’s elaboration from CDA on La Repubblica Milano and Corriere della Sera.

The neighbourhood emerging from the newspaper articles in the pre-policy years is described as a good place to live by only 16% of the items: the analytical themes presenting the highest number of positive news are *cohesive/vibrant* (79%) and *social housing* (21%); whereas no reference was found to a *clean* or *connected* neighbourhood, nor to the local school. Despite the relatively low number of articles covering events, community participation and housing, it is still interesting for the purpose of the research to critically analyse the narrative employed by the local newspapers when referring to Ponte Lambro in these terms.

Forms of togetherness as a rebirth

Although contributing to a minor narrative, positive news related to Ponte Lambro refers generally to social cohesion and participation in the community, opening and re-opening of facilities, and plans for housing regeneration.

On the 8th of June, the new weekly **outdoor market** on the parking lot of via Serrati will be inaugurated. [...] On that same weekend of celebration, organised by the “New Committee” in collaboration with Sacro Cuore parish and Ponte Lambro cooperative, Councillor Tiziana Maiolo will reopen the **community centre**, vandalised by “angry” teenagers because of the **long closure** of the only place where they could meet. (CdS, 16/05/2002 – emphasis added)

With the beginning of the summer season in 2002, initiatives from festivals to community gatherings are promoted in Ponte Lambro and announced by the press media as ways to finally make the neighbourhood ‘live again’. The new-found cultural enthusiasm made of outdoor markets and summer activities is thus presented as a “rebirth” (CdS, 16/05/2002) and a “reconquest” (CdS, 07/06/2002) for the urban area, as if until that moment Ponte Lambro would have been a ‘dead’ and forgotten suburb. A crucial change is indeed represented by the reopening of the long-closed youth centre, a vital facility for the local children and adolescents which is described to have been a “sign of desert” (CdS, 07/06/2002) over the past few years. An additional positive news emerging from the pre-policy period has to do with an example of community involvement and participation, such as the Forum, a space where local civil society organisations and residents used to meet to share ideas and issues around the neighbourhood and its regeneration:

Any actual result so far? “Yes, at least one. It is the **Forum**, to which all local organisations partake now. It is held once a week and **it is needed**. [...]”. (CdS, 07/09/2003 – emphasis added)

The Forum is here given as example of community service for the area, effectively linking the local organisations and institutions with residents, in a relation of mutual support and transparency. Words of positivity and optimism for Ponte Lambro are also expressed by the famous architect Renzo Piano, who was in charge at the time of designing an urban regeneration project for the neighbourhood¹³. In this extract from one of his interviews to *Corriere della Sera*, Piano quotes Calvino (1972) to step in the debate around demolition of social housing estates in deprived suburbs.

«We must **not demolish, but transform**», [Piano] says, thinking about his regeneration plan for the Milan neighbourhood Ponte Lambro. And «**it is not true that the suburb is ugly and ignorant**. Italo Calvino wrote, **there are fragments of happy cities** which are constantly created [in unhappy cities] and then fade away». (CdS, 06/09/2003 – emphasis added)

In these words, a clear example of ‘counter-narrative’ is presented on different levels (Garbin and Millington, 2012). There is, first, the intention to contrast the shared idea of getting rid of the urban problem of *periferia* through demolition of social housing estates, a largely discussed strategy at the time, and to suggest a rather more acceptable form of intervention, that is “transformation”, involving urban renewal and refurbishment or re-design of existing social housing estates. Then, the quotation from *Invisible Cities* by Calvino (1972) enables the architect to challenge the common territorial stigma associated to the suburb, by emphasising its hidden gems and potentials. The will to fight against the

¹³ Section 5.2.3. provides more details about the project, its developments, and the role it acquired in the social mixing policy of CdQ.

negative reputation is also present in other articles, even though the good news is often highlighted through terms of negation and contrast at sentence-level (Fairclough, 1992).

«Ponte Lambro **is not** the neighbourhood of decay and crime». [...] And by the way, **the festival is ok: but** it is not that it can solve **the many problems** that are **still present** in Ponte Lambro. (CdS, 07/06/2002 – emphasis added)

It **still** rains inside many social housing estates (Aler), **new groups of immigrants** have taken **drug dealing back** to the area, **the one-way** in Umiliati Street has **not been changed yet, the football pitch** of Serrati Street is **not ready yet. But** residents have learned to be **optimistic**. «We try to underline the little that has been done, hoping that the administration will do more». (CdS, 16/05/2002 – emphasis added)

In these examples, positive information, such as local events or new facilities, is offered alongside the persistence of problems that remain unsolved. Stating that “Ponte Lambro *is not* the neighbourhood of decay and crime” does not bring the ‘good’ information in the foreground. Despite the importance of the neighbourhood festival for the community, “the many problems” of Ponte Lambro are still dominant in the discourse. Some of them are covered in the second extract, where on the one hand residents sound satisfied with the few interventions, yet on the other hand, the journalist stresses what still needs to be achieved: in this scenario, immigration is listed as an additional source of problems, and more specifically it is associated with drug dealing. By referring to “new groups of immigrants have taken drug dealing back”, the article seems to insinuate that this phenomenon is no surprise, that this is ‘what immigrants usually do’ in the area, thus communicating an incomplete message: here all information about the drug dealers or the crime itself is omitted, leaving the reader the faculty of (mis)interpretation and reinforcing implicit biases on both the people and the place concerned (Huckin, 1997). Hence, by backgrounding the positive news, these articles do not fully contribute to enthusiasm for change, but they risk promoting feelings of frustration and anger.

Intervening on social housing

From the positive reputation’s articles in the pre-policy years, housing regeneration, and by extension neighbourhood renewal are presented as effective plans to contrast neighbourhood effects and revitalise deprived communities. Some interventions are reported, for instance, as examples to renew old and degraded estates or “fight against squatters” (CdS, 03/09/2003). Such plans are depicted as ways to “restore dignity to deprived neighbourhoods” (CdS, 03/09/2003) following a narrative that tends to polarise the disadvantaged neighbourhoods and the concept of dignity or identity. The positive discourse around urban and housing regeneration initiatives goes alongside the need for more law and order.

«**Security and regeneration**» are the two powerful words used by the deputy mayor Riccardo De Corato. (CdS, 03/09/2003 – emphasis added)

“Also, the **living conditions** in the neighbourhood of Ponte Lambro have significantly **improved**, thanks to the effective collaboration between City Council of Milan and the **police force.**” (CdS, 16/01/2003 – emphasis added)

Social housing renewal, for instance, is described as futile without a repressive action against squatters, who are assumed, in the extract below, to be also responsible for drug dealing. As such, the information reported and perceived as good news – housing regeneration – can hide stereotypical messages against groups of disadvantaged individuals living in council estates. The deputy-mayor talks further here about the meaning of “security and regeneration”, as he explains the relationship between squatting and crime:

«I have asked for a sort of **intelligence force** to get rid of the “mandarins”, the squatters from the blocks. And these are the same people **drug dealing** in the neighbourhood». (CdS, 03/09/2003 – emphasis added)

In the years prior to the social mixing intervention in Ponte Lambro, no positive news however is shared about environment, connection to the city centre or education: these topics are presented only in a negative light, as mentioned above in relation to territorial labels such as “school at risk”, the “non-place” or “dormitory suburb”.

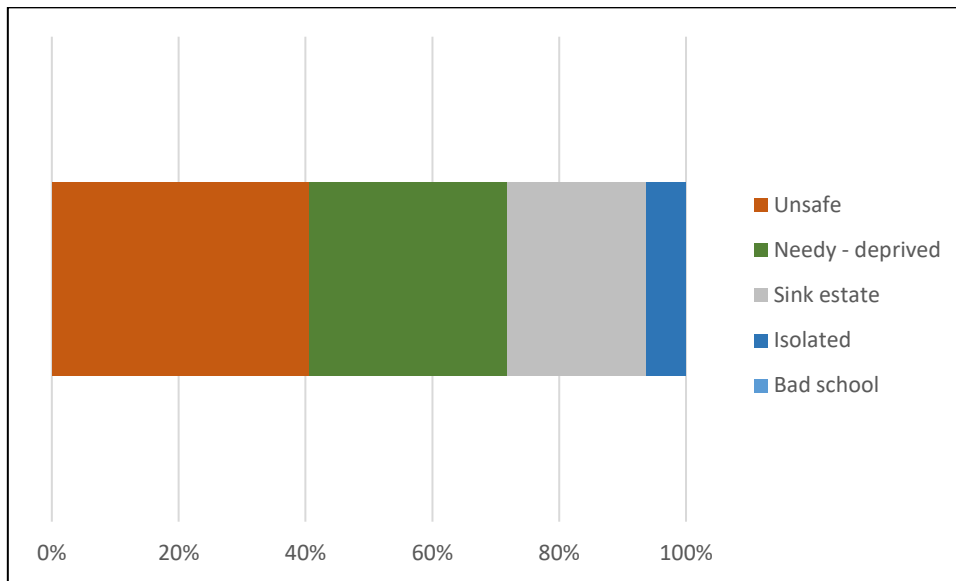
5.2.2. Analysing the discourse behind the news: Ponte Lambro after CdQ

Almost thirteen years after the start of Contratto di Quartiere II, a slight improvement in Ponte Lambro’s reputation can be registered. Out of 79 newspapers articles analysed, 47% portray the urban area as a ‘good’ neighbourhood, although a slight majority of the news still addresses Ponte Lambro with stigmatising terms. In the assessment timeframe (2017-2019), it is possible to notice a general ambivalence in the discourse around Ponte Lambro. Although on the one hand, it still has a reputation of an *unsafe* or “Bronx” suburb, with crime news as one of the most frequently mentioned topics, local initiatives for greener areas cover on the other hand a great share of positive news. The predominance of crime related news, such as drug dealing and drug abuse, urban disorders, and street violence communicates feelings of fear and insecurity towards the neighbourhood. Whereas positive news about plans to improve the local environment address lighting, parks and gardens, cleaning, low emission zones, providing encouraging information and counter-narratives to the hegemonic discourse.

5.2.2.1. Ponte Lambro’s negative reputation after CdQ

The newspaper articles analysed in the assessment timeframe (from 2017 to 2019) tell a slightly different story in terms of the negative external reputation. There is no radical separation, this time, between the *needy/deprived* (31%) and the *unsafe* neighbourhood (43%), as it previously emerged from the years prior to the implementation of the policy. Despite the persistence of the same old territorial stigma that is still associated to Ponte Lambro, it is important to observe that the negative discourse around the area has decreased by 31% over the timeframe considered, compared to the years prior to the social mixing policy.

Figure 23. Coverage of Ponte Lambro negative reputation by themes - assessment period (2017-2019)



Source: Author’s elaboration from CDA on La Repubblica Milano and Corriere della Sera.

No-man’s land

Thirteen years after the start of CdQ, news reporting drugs and violence-related episodes in Ponte Lambro have significantly increased, becoming the predominant topic of the negative reputation. With regards to the text, the emphasis is often on the social identities (gender, ethnicity, age) of both criminals and victims (Fairclough, 1992), assigning a powerful stigma not only to the place, but also to its residents, who carry what Goffman (1990) defines as “spoiled identity”. Ponte Lambro becomes within this discourse an unsafe neighbourhood where immigrants are an additional problem to deal with, another local threat. Below, for instance, the journalist implicitly confirms the territorial stigma of Ponte Lambro while trying to offer an example of solidarity and community cohesion: the attempt seems yet to fail as the ethnicity of the people is nominalised more than once and their drug dealing background is repeatedly stressed.

Knowing their names does not matter, it is enough to know that they exist, that around us there are still people showing spontaneous humanity and generosity – as the couple saving the life of a stabbed **Moroccan guy** in Ponte Lambro. [...] We **like** that couple that “asked for trouble” just to save the life of a **young Moroccan guy** with a **record for drug dealing**, whose throat was slit with a cutter by an **Ecuadorian lowlife: drug issues**, it’s **their** business, someone could say by adhering to the winning political cynicism. But a life is a life, even when it is a **waste life** lying on a **pretty notorious street** in a neighbourhood that does not want to be called **Bronx, suburb, no man’s land** anymore since several years. (CdS, 15/08/2018 – emphasis added).

From the quote above, there is little evidence concerning the entity of the crime itself, yet the social identity of both assaulter and assaulted individuals is placed in the foreground, producing “ideological and hegemonic effects” (Fairclough, 1992: 238). The deploy of nominalisation as a stigmatising discursive practice to categorise immigrants – “*un marocchino*” (Moroccan guy), “*un balordo*

equadoregno” (Ecuadorian lowlife) – is also supported by an additional stereotype, which links the immigrant status to drug dealing, fostering racialisation of the individuals involved (Hanretty and Hermanin, 2010). Furthermore, by stating that Ponte Lambro “does not want to be called Bronx, suburb, no man’s land anymore”, the journalist is indirectly affirming that such a violent episode does actually confirm those stereotypes again. While “Bronx” and “suburb” have been already encountered in the pre-policy period (see previous section 5.2.1.1), the use of “no man’s land”, a military term, imposes an additional reflection. In this context, in particular, a no man’s land can be referred not only to an isolated urban area lacking facilities and interpersonal relations, but also, and probably more crucially, to a place where there are no rules, where there is no sovereignty of the central state and crime dominates (Schwarze, 2021; Watt, 2006). Similarly, the phrase “urban black hole” (LRM, 17/12/2017), related to the same idea of ‘void’ and nothingness, is used to report an episode of disorder inside a neglected estate in Ponte Lambro. With this expression, the journalist implies indeed that the neighbourhood lies in a persistent state of abandonment and isolation, attracting the most vulnerable groups and sentencing them to further deprivation. The term becomes however territorial stigma as soon as it is ‘aggregated’ or ‘collectivised’ (Khosravini, 2010: 19) and all similar territories are associated with the same standardised label: “This happens in every black hole of the city [of Milan].” (LRM, 17/12/2017).

Lost place of Milan

In the articles about the socio-economic deprivation of Ponte Lambro, reference is made specifically to the flaws of the healthcare system: too many vacancies for general practitioners are left open in the most vulnerable suburban areas of Milan, adding an additional obstacle to the life of residents. While in the years prior to the CdQ, neighbourhood facilities did not provide enough services for students and teenagers, the most recent form of social deprivation is related to the lack of healthcare provision, which is having great consequences, especially in an already segregated neighbourhood of Milan, like Ponte Lambro.

Health Protection Agency (HPT) warns, we lack 64 general practitioners.

The most affected neighbourhoods are Quinto Romano and **Ponte Lambro**. But even more areas of the city suffer from this situation, almost all of them in the **suburbs**. (LRM, 10/04/2017 – emphasis added)

Other news reports the persistency of such circumstances of exclusion even after years of interventions on different levels: cultural, judiciary and urban interventions appear to have had little impact on the neighbourhood’s narrative, still referring to the *periferia* as one of the “cities at the margins” (CdS, 09/08/2018) or one of “the seven lost places of Milan” (CdS, 30/10/2017). In the 1990s, Ponte Lambro was notorious for a series of arrests involving mafia gangsters, and since then it has often been associated with criminal organisations and “lost places” of deviance. The following extract remembers the main neighbourhood changes, including the spreading of council estates, highlighting a still tormented and problematic area that leaves little chance for redemption.

Ponte Lambro in Milan is something more than a **degraded and isolated suburb**. It is an **uncompleted work** devastated by the economic boom: to replace the fields, the irrigation channels, the allotments, and the washerwomen, the migration wave of the sixties came; luggage with strings and laborers to be placed in standardised and hastily designed council estates. A long and **spectral corridor of anonymous apartments** has become the place of **little mob, drug dealing and stolen motorbikes**. (CdS, 30/10/2017 – emphasis added)

City at the margins

The social housing estates mentioned in the article above, evoking anonymity and alienation, seem to be still on the spotlight after many years from the start of the social mixing policy. This time the issue has less to do with the concept of “dormitory suburb”, and rather with unauthorised occupation of council housing. In 2014, the situation of 26 vulnerable families squatting a block of flats in Ponte Lambro was promised to be regularised and the flats legally assigned to the residents through tenancy agreements, but three years after, the promise was not fulfilled, and the households lived in deprivation and precarity. By denouncing this missed opportunity to tackle squatting in the area, the newspaper contributes to the creation of a specific place image whereby social housing estates, hence suburbs too, are problematic and highly disadvantaged places (Slater, 2018).

The aim was to regularise the tenancies of **long-time squatters** living in vulnerable conditions: **disabled people, unemployed single mothers, low-income retirees**. [...] **Twenty-six apartments** in which there were and there still are people who decided to squat before the assignment of an accommodation – they did that in desperation or because of mistrust in the system. (LRM, 20/06/2018 – emphasis added)

Furthermore, although articles referring exclusively to segregated schools are not registered in the assessment period, a few articles still talk about spatial exclusion and physical isolation of Ponte Lambro from the rest of Milan. These features do not seem to have changed over time and are still listed among the various disadvantages of living in the neighbourhood.

But it is also characterised by **spatial marginalisation** isolating it [from the rest of the city], despite any form of restyling; enclosed by the **Linate airport**, the **river Lambro**, and the network of the **east ring road**. You can reach it only via a winding **underpass** that looks **impassable** to walk over. (CdS, 11/04/2017 – emphasis added)

5.2.2.2. *Ponte Lambro's positive reputation after CdQ*

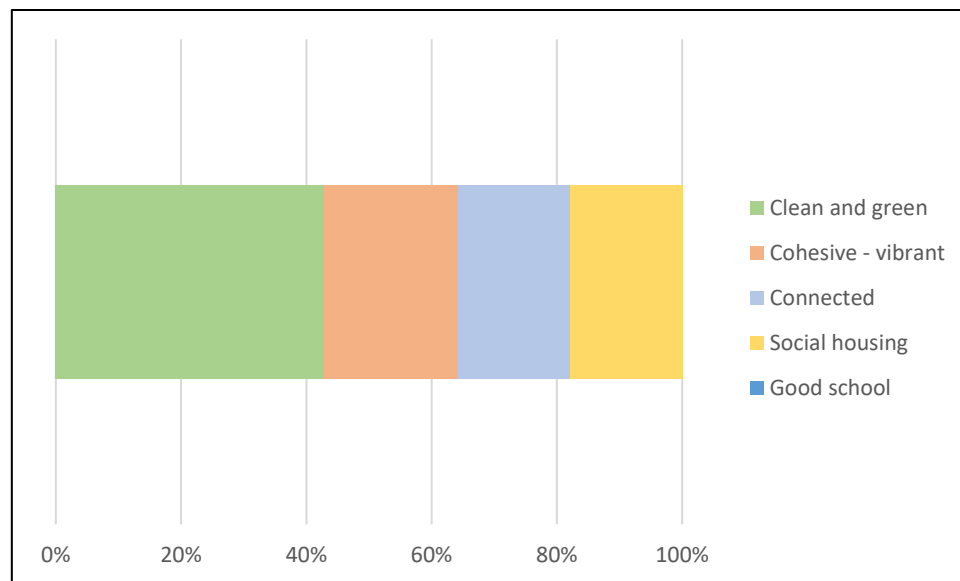
The comparison of pre-policy and assessment narratives highlights a significant increase of Ponte Lambro's positive external reputation (31%). Between 2017 and 2019 there is an increase in press coverage referring to the neighbourhood as a *clean and green* (43%), *cohesive* (21%) and *connected* area (18%), with better *social housing* (18%). In both timeframes there is no reference to local schools, which are only mentioned in the pre-policy's negative reputation of the area. A further similarity, moreover, is related to the fact that no labels are used within good news reports: as opposed to negative discourses, the neighbourhood is not defined by specific names or phrases (such as, “ghetto” or “Bronx”) but it is addressed simply as Ponte Lambro. An example of counter-narrative, for instance, can also be found in the assessment articles. The extract below underlines the power of specific words, such as

periferia, which over the time analysed is perceived to contribute to territorial stigma and limit solutions to existing living conditions problems. As opposed to “suburb”, the term *periferia*, like the French *banlieue*, holds a rather negative connotation which draws on the centre vs. periphery urban subdivision (see Harris and Vorms, 2017).

I would like to take this opportunity to register one good news about **suburbs**: Milan’s mayor Sala announced that **this word should not exist anymore**. Let’s call them **urban neighbourhoods**, let’s call them **by their names** Baggio, Corvetto, Rogoredo, Ponte Lambro, Stadera, period. (CdS, 26/06/2018 – emphasis added)

Despite the lack of stereotyped labels, such as “ghetto” or “Bronx”, in the most recent reputation, the term “suburb” is rejected here by the journalist since it intrinsically carries a negative connotation in the discourse around neighbourhoods – as demonstrated by the CDA of Ponte Lambro’s negative reputations. Instead of *periferia*, the term “*quartiere*” (neighbourhood) is suggested to promote a counter-narrative, whereby urban districts would not be regarded as ‘foreign lands’ or “no man’s lands”, but as part of the urban landscape and addressed “by their names”.

Figure 24. Coverage of Ponte Lambro positive reputation by themes - assessment period (2017-2019).



Source: Author’s elaboration from CDA on La Repubblica Milano and Corriere della Sera.

Towards a greener and safer *quartiere*

During the assessment period of the social mixing policy, the neighbourhood is overall presented as a suburb where various environmental initiatives take place to make it a cleaner and greener residential area. Some of them involve the setting of new streetlights in the most dark and hidden parts of the neighbourhood, while others address the condition of parks and gardens (see also Madge, 1997). In both instances, such interventions aim at improving Ponte Lambro’s “safety and fight against decay” (LRM, 03/01/2017).

«Let's get started with interventions in **suburban parks and green areas** [...] by illuminating pedestrian paths with lower and more powerful **streetlights**, to be placed under the trees, with the aim of making them **safer**». (CdS, 03/01/2017 – emphasis added)

Alongside these specific initiatives, an additional plan for a greener suburb consists in the creation of “low-emission zones” and “ecological islands”¹⁴ (CdS, 20/01/2017) to reduce Milan's high pollution rates. In the *Piano Urbano per la Mobilità Sostenibile* (Urban Plan for Sustainable Mobility), Ponte Lambro would be one of the eight “ecological islands”, restricted traffic areas surrounding the low-emission zones. The plan is presented as an opportunity for a healthier environment in marginal neighbourhoods, but at the same time an internal debate has started around the long-term impacts of such strategy on deprived communities living in the area, who would not be able to afford “new low-emission cars”, such as “elderly people or citizens with economic disadvantage” (CdS, 14/02/2017). Despite the environmental advantages, the news is also providing information on the socio-economic inequalities concentrated in Milan's suburban neighbourhoods.

Solidarity and inclusion are possible

Resistance to the dominant discourse emerges also in the context of community participation and solidarity (Garbin and Millington, 2012). In the article below, the generous act of two young citizens is described as a demonstration that community spirit still exists in Ponte Lambro, despite the territorial stigma. By praising their help, the journalist highlights the importance for a stigmatised neighbourhood like Ponte Lambro to feature in positive news with the line “must be supported”:

By calling 118 [emergency number] and packing the wound, two young lovers have protected a life, **not ill repute**, leaving in Ponte Lambro a sign of **solidarity that resists** and **must be supported**. (CdS, 15/08/2018 – emphasis added)

Additional positive news is illustrated in the assessment period with regards to plans for new social housing in the area and connections with the city centre. The narrative communicated in these contexts indicates efforts to mitigate isolation and social exclusion in the neighbourhood. As part of Renzo Piano's project to conclude Laboratorio di Quartiere, renewed accommodations are announced to be assigned to a different group target, young visitors, and University students, with the aim to regenerate Ponte Lambro through social and tenure mix – more details about the plan are provided in the next section. Whereas new bus lines from and to Ponte Lambro are also announced in the local newspapers to stress the response to the highly “contested and awaited” (CdS, 16/04/2017) spatial inclusion and link with the rest of Milan.

Only **young people** [are included] in Ponte Lambro's renewal by Renzo Piano. The City Council will ask for **30 housing units: hostels and student halls**. (CdS, 11/12/2017 – emphasis added)

¹⁴ “Isole ambientali”.

5.2.3. Analysing the social mixing narrative: Contratto di Quartiere II

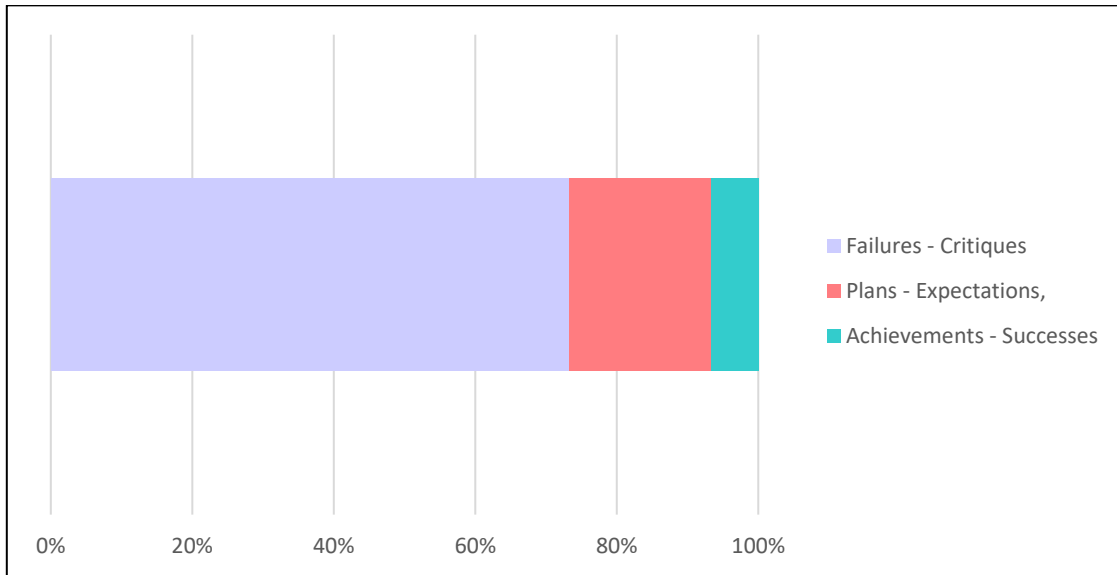
Newspaper articles reporting urban interventions in Ponte Lambro constitute a second set of data that was analysed separately, and considered news referring to policy plans, successful outcomes, and perceived failures, with a particular focus on the CdQ. By distinguishing data on urban renewal from the subjective and received discourse on the neighbourhood, the place image is preserved from the influence of any positive or negative narrative on urban policy. The same analytical approach was applied to primary data collected during fieldwork in both field sites, as questions on participants' perceptions about the policies followed discussions related to the neighbourhood change. The newspaper articles published prior to the start of the policy focus already on unfulfilled promises, delays and first obstacles encountered in the implementation of CdQ,

5.2.3.1. Pre-policy: Displacement and disempowerment

As emerged from the external reputations of the early 2000s (section 5.2.1.), Ponte Lambro was regarded by the local press as an unpleasant neighbourhood that needed drastic urban and socio-economic renewal; a suburb where facilities, better education and more law and order, among others, were demanded. But alongside the narrative of the *needy* neighbourhood, the news reported in the same years the first delays regarding the building of a long-due regeneration project – the one designed by the world-famous architect Renzo Piano. The plan for a Laboratorio di Quartiere (Neighbourhood Hub) was first developed in the late 1990s by the Milan's City Council in collaboration with Piano; its final goal was to inject 'new life' into the area by converting apartments of Ponte Lambro's most representative housing block – *case bianche* (white houses) in via Ucelli di Nemi– into smaller mixed tenure accommodations and facilities addressed to young and elderly residents, including a clinic and a job centre. As indicated in the chart below (Figure 25.), the news reports of the time are characterised indeed by a large coverage of the first 'failures' and missed opportunities of the project (73%), which not only could already register some years of delay but was also facing the malcontent of displaced residents.

«Ponte Lambro, **project failed**». (CdS, 18/02/2003 – emphasis added)

Figure 25. Coverage of *Contratto di Quartiere* pre-policy period (2000-2004).



Source: Author’s elaboration from CDA on La Repubblica Milano and Corriere della Sera.

The greatest obstacle reported in the news of the time, which was jeopardising the implementation of the regeneration strategy, was related to the displacement of 44 households living in the social housing block and mostly consisting of low-income and elderly tenants, who were resisting moving out from their accommodation in part because they had little to no involvement in the relocation plan.

«Specifically, the plan has stopped because of **44 families** who do not want to be moved out, so Piano’s *Laboratorio* is now on hold». So what? «So, we **keep negotiating**. More than half of these households have accepted to be relocated and we did so, we are now working on the rest of them. But this takes **time**.». (CdS, 07/09/2003 – emphasis added)

But who is going to **explain** those people that **for “their own good”** they will have to leave the house where they have been living until now? [...] It is hard to **explain** that funding for maintenance and funding for Piano’s project come from different sources, and the former takes even more time. (CdS, 07/09/2003 – emphasis added)

Despite reporting the project’s failure, the relocation of long-term residents is described in the regeneration discourse as a necessary and unavoidable practice that needs to be applied regardless of the community’s unease. The reluctance of the households involved is not perceived as a sufficient reason for re-designing the project or re-considering this part of its implementation. Their resistance is instead seen as a proxy for further negotiation, which eventually delays the works further, extending the “slow violence” of community disruption and displacement (Pain, 2019). The use of terms such as “persuade”, “negotiate”, “for their own good” or “explain” reveals the top-down and patronising approach of the policy: by pretending to listen democratically to the community’s needs and enable empowerment, the programme was causing de facto displacement and disengagement among social housing residents (MacLeavy, 2009). First signs of criticism on the lack of community involvement in

Piano’s regeneration plan – also referred to as “*ponte di Renzo Piano*” (bridge of Renzo Piano) connecting two blocks of housing – was addressed already in 2002:

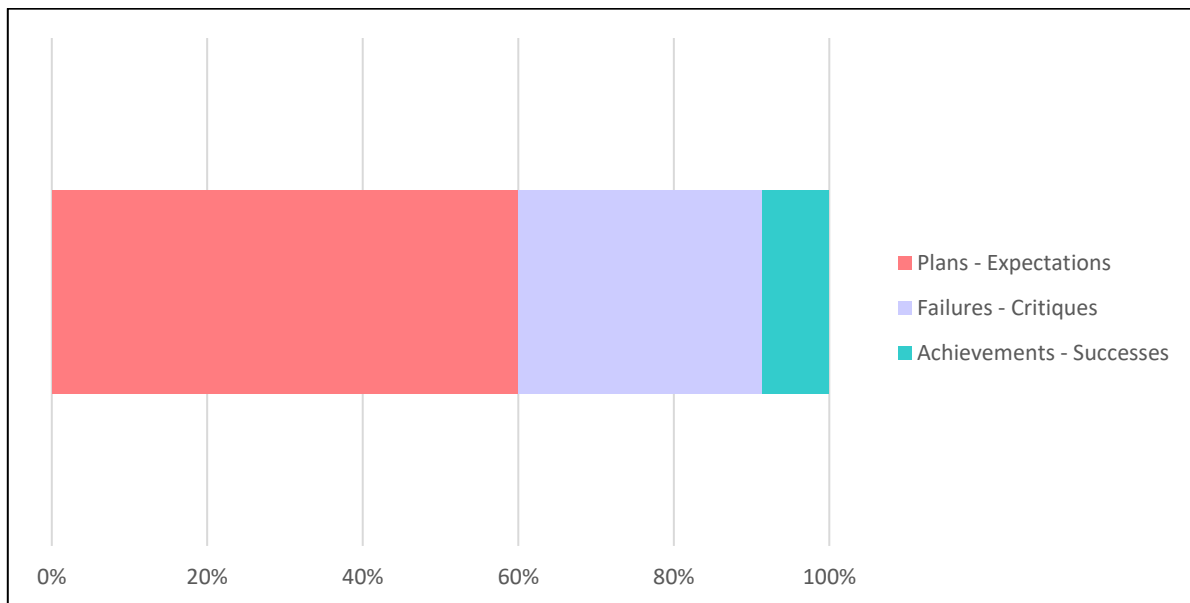
[...] problems of suffering areas, such as Ponte Lambro, cannot be solved with **spectacular works of the great architect of the moment**, but rather with specific, area-based, and constant interventions involving social initiatives, public security, employment opportunities, housing maintenance and renewal, support to those respectable and good citizens, who care about their neighbourhood’s redemption and who represent the cornerstone of urban regenerations. (CdS, 13/06/2002 - emphasis added)

20% of the analysed articles focus on communicating the goals of Piano’s project, based on the same final aims and expectations, which would then be inherited by the following administrations (see next section 5.2.3.2.). From the news on regeneration plans emerges the intention to “breathe new life” into the neighbourhood, supporting the discourse whereby urban renewal does not come from within, rather from outside the neighbourhood. Despite the ambitious plans to ‘desegregate’ Ponte Lambro, the terminology used in the extract below reveals again a top-down strategy, a project detached from the local community, but that expects radical change and resilience from it (Bricocoli and Cucca, 2016):

For what concerns Ponte Lambro, Milan’s south-eastern suburb, the idea is to **take a piece of those big housing blocks** and **turn it into something completely new**, bringing the third sector, activities, urban renewal which should **breathe new life** into the whole area. (CdS, 07/09/2003 – emphasis added)

5.2.3.2. Assessment: *More mending is awaited*

Figure 26. Coverage of *Contratto di Quartiere* assessment period (2017-2019)



Source: Author’s elaboration from CDA on La Repubblica Milano and Corriere della Sera.

The articles from the 2017-2019 timeframe talk extensively about future urban intervention in Ponte Lambro, leaving less space to reports of criticism and complaints on the outcomes of CdQ (Figure 26.).

Despite a smaller coverage of *failures/critiques* (31%), the results show that after almost fifteen years of policies and debates the neighbourhood is still pictured as a suburb needing rebirth and development. In other words, the need for further “fix” or “mending” (CdS, 11/04/2017) suggests that some of the goals planned by CdQ in the early 2000s have not been achieved or completed yet. The discourse on Ponte Lambro’s deprivation and abandonment from institutions comes up again in the assessment period, as the local press is interested in the destiny of Piano’s project, while describing its state of decay and neglect.

Contratto di Quartiere II was developed by following three main mid- to long-term policy interventions as part of the *Muovere* (move) *Ponte Lambro* project: *Abitare* (reside), *Vivere* (live) and *Attrezzare* (equip) *Ponte Lambro*. Community centre Laboratorio di Quartiere was planned and included in the strategy *Attrezzare Ponte Lambro*, with the aim of increasing facilities and services in the neighbourhood through both social and physical interventions (Calvaresi and Cossa, 2011). Over the years of the implementation, up until 2015, the social aspect of the project Laboratorio di Quartiere was developed, gaining consensus and great participation from the local community. Its benefits are also appreciated by long-term residents participating in the research (see Chapter 6). However, various articles in the assessment years report how other aspects of the project, related in particular to the provision of facilities and housing, faced a series of obstacles that led to its long stand-by: its first design, including households displacement, took place in 2000; the contract of works was officially awarded only in 2011; the company went into bankruptcy in 2015, hence leaving the remaining works on the social housing estate (Renzo Piano’s bridge) unfinished.

THE NEIGHBOURHOOD; Ponte Lambro, The incomplete «mending»

The glass and steel bridge connects the two housing blocks of «white houses» in Ponte Lambro, via Ucelli di Nemi. It is the front door of *Laboratorio di quartiere*, which has never been completed: Renzo Piano planned it 16 years ago. Since then, €60 million have been invested, but the renewal is **half done**. (CdS, 11/04/2017 – emphasis added)

The **families’ relocation** [necessary] to start the works is complicated. Then the **bureaucracy** of appeals, the calls for tenders’ **delays**, the new mayor. The mending of Ponte Lambro is planned by *Contratto di Quartiere*, but the company winning the work contracts with the maximum drawdown **struggles**. It closes in 2015, **bankrupts**. *Rien va plus*. (CdS, 29/10/2017 – emphasis added)

What emerges from the articles above is the significant delay in the creation of mixed functional space, both public and private, supposed to promote community building, social mix, and job opportunity in one of the most densely populated council estate of Ponte Lambro (Calvaresi and Cossa, 2011). The failure of the original plan designed by Renzo Piano persists throughout the implementation of CdQ and beyond the end of the funding addressed to the services provided by Laboratorio di Quartiere, leaving a gap at the centre of the neighbourhood, which Watt (2022: 3) would describe as “regeneration/degeneration” of the estate. The frequent use of the term “mending” as metaphor of the many urban interventions in Ponte Lambro contributes to the policy discourse whereby the disadvantage

of the neighbourhood, conceived as urban problem, should be fixed or “cured” by area-based measures involving both tenure and social mix (Manley et al, 2012). Although such mix was initially supposed to be represented by specific accommodation for elderly residents, who could have benefited from the presence of Laboratorio di Queartiere and a clinic, news from the assessment period suggests a shift from such plan, reinforcing feelings of confusion and frustration within the community: a “residential area for University students”¹⁵ (CdS, 29/10/2017), including coworking space and job centre, is now expected to fill the void of Piano’s bridge.

Ponte Lambro, **final act**: finalising the renewal project and converting that block of **soulless public housing** into a vibrant place. Palazzo Marino [the City Council] shares a public call for private stakeholders interested in the **completion, valorisation, and management** of the **incomplete** building in Guido Ucelli di Nemi Street. (LRM, 18/11/2017 – emphasis added)

The new interventions to complete the long-awaited development of Ponte Lambro are often announced in the newspapers with optimistic and hopeful metaphors carrying connotations of radical improvement and finalisation, such as “generational change”, “final act”, “turn” (LRM, 11/04/2017). This time, the City Council promotes the involvement of the private sector in the project in order to find new sources of funding and sponsorship, with the aim of completing the project by the end of 2020.¹⁶ In addition, the many delays and the “slowness” in the delivery of Piano’s project have been justified by the current mayor of the city of Milan, Beppe Sala: the long time spent on the regeneration plans is presented as opportunity for “thinking, questioning and reasoning on the best way to deal with urban and life issues” (CdS, 19/10/2017). And yet, despite the years dedicated to ‘mitigating’ its territorial stigma, the need for Ponte Lambro to be fully renewed through a “functional mix” as opposed to its unforgettable nature of “ghetto” is still addressed using terms, such as “anonymous”, “soulless” place.

One of his [Piano] projects, started, interrupted, and then restarted in Ponte Lambro, becomes metaphor of civic and human rebirth against the **isolation of a suburb labelled as ghetto**; a challenge calling for young people, politics, companies. [...] Without demolishing and deleting history, but **mending and introducing a functional mix**, this part of the city could become an example for everybody. (CdS, 29/10/2017 – emphasis added)

5.3. NDC area’s external reputations

5.3.1. Analysing the discourse behind the news: the area before NDC

As with the Italian case study, the Bristol based analysis using the CDA covered a significant number of articles from the Bristol local newspaper, *The Bristol Post* (TBP). The analysis covered a total of 373 articles from the pre-policy period (1998-2000), and 80 articles for the assessment years (2017-2019).

¹⁵ “Area residenziale per studenti universitari.”

¹⁶ At the time of writing, the City Council of Milan announces that Renzo Piano’s bridge has been cleared, the building will be secured and boarded up, and there are plans to complete the regeneration works by the end of the year 2022, with the aim to realise a University residence, hubs to develop professional and entrepreneurial skills for start-ups and job placement, as well as community centres for cultural, social and sport activities (Comune di Milano, 2022a).

In the years prior to the design and implementation of the social mixing policy, the dominant narrative painted the inner-city as an *unsafe* neighbourhood, where violence and drug abuse are depicted as ordinary practices and are described with sensationalist tones to instil fear and a need for protection. Alongside this place image, socio-economic deprivation and lack of local facilities are frequently reported as main issues. A good 37% of the analysed articles, however, can be categorised as signs of positive perception: the most mentioned news reports community participation, local events, as well as school initiatives and civil society's activities.

5.3.1.1. NDC area's negative reputation before NDC

The textual analysis of the articles about the NDC area highlights a main difference with the Italian case study, that is the lack of territorial labels when directly referring to the neighbourhood. While Ponte Lambro is often addressed as “ghetto”, “no man’s land”, or “Bronx”, the NDC area is not defined with specific standard terms carrying negative connotations. The term “inner-city” appears to be the only recurrent place image employed by the newspaper carrying the same powerful stigma as the Italian word *periferia* (“suburb”). In the UK public and media discourses, it is very common to find “inner-city” associated with problematised and marginalised urban areas, located in the central parts of the city, as opposed to suburban neighbourhoods (Harris and Vorms, 2017). Like *periferia*, “inner-city” appears as another non-neutral and rather pejorative term used since the 1960s as euphemism for “urban poverty and crime” within specific segregated neighbourhoods (Online Etymology Dictionary; Martin, 2000). The word can often be found in The Bristol Post articles analysed and related to both timeframes, notably in association with terms evoking economic deprivation and social deviance, such as “help”, “poor”, or “crime”.

LIKE any inner-city area, Barton Hill has its problems.

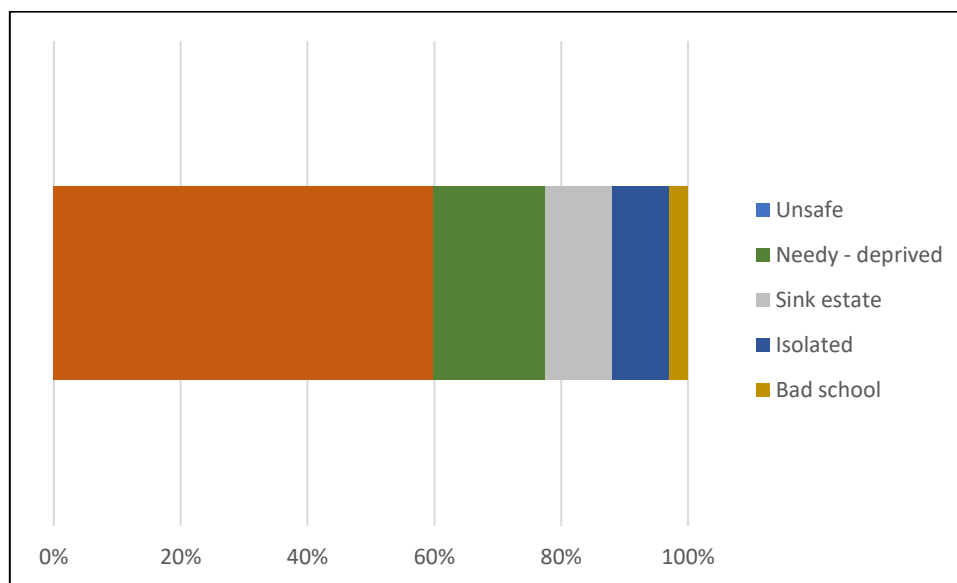
Last week saw a spate of **car torching**, there have been problems with **drugs** and life can be **lonely** for those living in the **tower blocks**. Yet there are moves to bring **community spirit** back to Barton Hill, to attract **massive investment** and to make it a **more pleasant** place for everybody. (TBP, 25/05/1999 – emphasis added)

"I am also deeply concerned about air pollution, which is a hidden killer, particularly in **poorer inner-city areas**. Children at schools like Summerhill Primary, right on the A420, will suffer if this move goes ahead." (TBP, 04/12/2017 – emphasis added)

The NDC neighbourhoods correspond to the inner-city standards of the ‘tough’ urban area, where problems are concentrated, people need to be ‘saved’ (from themselves) or supported and places to be beautified, making them “more pleasant” and profitable through “massive investment” and ‘renewed’ community spirit. In the first extract above, for instance, it is evident how the single feature of the neighbourhood – having “problems” – is collectivised, thus acquiring a general meaning that connects all ‘similar’ urban areas in the city (Khosravini, 2010). The discursive practice of aggregation contributes, as a result, to the creation and the persistence of the territorial stigma, based on a standardised and fixed image (Pickering, 2001). “Bronx” is a label often employed to communicate

feelings of unsafety in the Ponte Lambro neighbourhood, whereas in the Bristol context it is emphasised only once in reference to specific circumstances of urban decay and anti-social behaviours reported in the Lawrence Hill railway station (Birdsall-Jones, 2013), and described as “something out of the Bronx” (TBP, 29/12/1998). Although stigmatising labels are generally not used within the discourse on the NDC area, except for “inner city”, there is a tendency in the analysed articles to present negative news in sensationalist terms. With regards to the dominant narrative resulting from the CDA of the pre-policy years (Figure 27.), the area emerges as violent (60%), *needy* and neglected (17%), where fear of crime and feelings of abandonment prevail.

Figure 27. Coverage of NDC area negative reputation by themes - pre-policy period (1998-2000)



Source: Author’s elaboration from CDA on The Bristol Post.

Scary inner-city

Drug abuse and drug dealing are identified as the main worries of the residents as well as “the root cause of much of the area’s crime” (TBP, 12/11/1999). To mitigate this and, to respond to the need of security, law and order actions are demanded: these include a neighbourhood police headquarters and concierge schemes in Barton Hill’s housing blocks, which are presented in the news as some of the most appreciated solutions for residents to feel safer and protected: “The system, involving attendants and CCTV, has already proved highly successful at Lansdown Court, Easton” (TBP, 12/11/1999). The same article not only suggests a strong connection between crime rate and drug abuse, but it also foregrounds the danger of Barton Hill by comparing it with the past: from being “one of Bristol’s safest inner-city areas”, the neighbourhood has turned to be regarded as the opposite, a place where “one third of residents refuses to go out alone after dark, and a similar number fears an attack in their own home” (TBP, 12/11/1999). Nevertheless, alongside the request for more law and order, community organisations, such as the Barton Hill Settlement, were tackling crime also by providing services of social support and prevention, in “an area riddled with drug problems” (TBP, 15/10/1999): the action

group Community Action Around Alcohol and Drugs (CAAAD), first mentioned in 1999, was active until the end of the NDC funding in 2010.

“The old people here are **scared to go out** and everyone **fears being mugged or robbed**. The **drug addicts** are a minority, but they cause a lot of problems here.” (TBP, 07/07/1999 – emphasis added)

The frequently reported feelings of fear and insecurity in the news, in implicit or explicit terms, hold the power to affect the public perception and attitude towards the neighbourhood: reading about the fear of “being mugged or robbed” can result in fearing thus “avoiding” the area (Sandercock, 2002; Permentier et al., 2007), as also many research participants have confirmed while talking about the relevance of the external neighbourhood reputation in their everyday life (Chapter 7). Sensationalist titles and detailed descriptions of crime scenes are often adopted in the local newspaper articles, revealing the news’ aim to fabricate a story within a “Good Guys vs. Bad Guys frame” (Huckin, 1997: 91), which serves to attract interest instead of providing information. From the articles below, it is possible to notice how this narrative is used when referring to both the place itself, Barton Hill, and individuals coming from the neighbourhood but committing crime in a different area of Bristol. By specifying the residence of the people involved, the territorial stigma is endured and associated to both individuals and place, with potential implications on postcode discrimination (Slater, 2021; Department for Work and Pensions, 2010).

Darren Clarke, aged 27, of Longlands House, **Barton Hill**, and Robert Pearse, 26, of Southey Avenue, Kingswood both deny intentionally causing Mr Turner grievous **bodily harm**. They also deny the lesser charge of **unlawfully and maliciously inflicting grievous bodily harm**. But both admit using or threatening **unlawful violence**. (TBP, 04/08/1998 – emphasis added)

The murder of Amanda Tanner (1997) in Barton Hill covers a substantial part of the published articles of the time, where drug issues characterising the neighbourhood are once again topicalized directly at title level. Details about Amanda’s relationship with the suspected murderer, her involvement in the “twilight world of drugs” (TBP, 13/03/1998) and the description of the crime scene where her body was found add even more drama to the “representation of the extraordinary” (Champagne, 1999: 51). Whereas some articles, like the one below, place emphasis on the looks of the young girl revealing a sensationalist at times fetishist tone which produces a sexist and overly idealised portray of the victim: information about her weight and height, for instance, results irrelevant to the knowledge of the matter and shows an obsession for the female body, which has more to do with contents provided by tabloids than with newspapers (van Dijk, 1998).

The **attractive** 19-year-old was **no match** for her drug addict killer. She was **slimly-built, 5ft 6ins and weighed just nine stone** - but put up a fight and struggled for her life. (TBP, 13/02/1998 – emphasis added)

Additional signs of sensational narrative can be identified in the use of war terms to describe urban disorders and anti-social behaviours in the Barton Hill area, picturing the neighbourhood as a place

where street violence is an ordinary phenomenon, following a narrative of urban decline (Watt, 2006). Hyperbolic representations such as “war zone” not only generalise single episodes, but they also simplify the complex realities that underlie urban decay and internal tensions, producing a distorted ‘truth’ through an image that is “easily accessible to an audience” (Schwarze, 2021: 8; Foucault, 1981)

Mrs Seaman, of Barton Hill Road, says the **abandoned** and sometimes **burnt out cars** made the area look like a **war zone**. (TBP, 08/06/1999 – emphasis added)

Segregated in a polarised city

Alongside the discourse of the *unsafe neighbourhood*, the NDC area was regarded in the pre-policy years as a deprived and often *needy* area of Bristol. While the term “needy” is explicitly used in the text as epithet, newspaper articles also report studies and statistical data about local deprivation to support such reputation. In the late 1990s, Lawrence Hill listed among the poorest wards in Britain and the most deprived area in Bristol. Details related to such studies were also collected by the team responsible for the delivery of the NDC and reported in the local newspaper, which largely covered the issues related to the area’s deprivation on many levels: healthcare, concentration of ethnic minorities and immigrants, and local development in general. The extract below highlights the segregated nature of the neighbourhood, that is located only about 4 miles away from one of the wealthiest wards of the country, Westbury-on-Trym: the “cheek by jowl” phrase indicates in this context the high rate of socio-economic polarisation across Bristol, where the poorest areas live not so far from the richest ones.

Ms Corston, who represents Bristol East, told MPs that research had revealed how poverty and wealth existed “**cheek by jowl**” in the city. She said **Lawrence Hill** is among the **three per cent most deprived wards in Britain** - but **Westbury-on-Trym** ranks **among the richest 20 per cent**. (TBP, 09/02/1998 – emphasis added)

Contrasts between the two extreme poles dividing deprived and wealthy urban areas are also represented in the local news by placing emphasis upon correlated factors or ‘neighbourhood effects’, spatialising indicators such as health problems due to traffic pollution levels - such as “asthma or other breathing problems” (TBP, 02/11/1999) - addictions, and shorter life expectancy, among others. This hegemonic narrative on Barton Hill and surrounding neighbourhoods not only portrays the neighbourhood as homogeneously problematic, but by providing such specific place image it also prevents any form of redemption for the area and its residents (Watt, 2006).

According to statistics collected by the New Deal team, people living in the area are **30 per cent more likely to die before the age of 65 than elsewhere in the city**. More than 42 per cent of residents **smoke** - compared with 26 per cent across the country - and a quarter of the three and four-year-olds suffer from **wheezing**. One under-16 in every 100 living in the area is a notified **drug addict** - three times the average for Bristol. Those and other indicators suggest a neighbourhood where many people **do not look after themselves**. (TBP, 12/11/1999 – emphasis added)

The representation of Barton Hill residents as people that “do not look after themselves” denotes a pathologising approach on spatial deprivation and the urban poor, implicitly blaming them for their

health conditions, but at the same time providing little information behind the data, such as environmental or socio-economic factors, and insufficient provision of healthcare facilities (Huckin, 1997). Behaviours such as smoking and drug addiction are normalised in this discourse on the ‘underclass’ (Watt, 2008; Schwarze, 2021), following what Imrie and Raco (2012: 16) define as the “entrenched stereotype – that is the poor are a problem because they are dependent and deviant”. Among the cumulative problems associated to the NDC area, environmental decay, and unemployment as well as concentration of ethnic minorities and immigrants feature the deprived neighbourhood, often referred to as “rundown”. The first extract below concentrates a series of discursive practices stigmatising both Barton Hill and its residents. The list of negative attributes, from poor housing to crime rates and lack of facilities, are tools for the generalisation or collectivisation of Barton Hill as “typical of rundown city area”, whilst tower blocks and residents are tackled by explicit stigmatisation (Khosravinik, 2010). Tower blocks are reported as one of the reasons behind many households’ sufferings in the area and without providing any further detail or adjective – “tower blocks” – the term results sufficient to carry a negative and stereotypical connotation (Tyler and Slater, 2018; Slater, 2018). Moreover, economic deprivation is blamed in this article, as not only residents are addressed with the pejorative “needy people”, but they are also presented as a burden for the medical and social services by the phrase “putting a strain on”. Such pathologising discourse represents poor residents as “underclass”, focusing on the victims of urban inequality instead of the system (Watt, 2008).

BARTON Hill is **typical** of a **rundown** city area. It suffers from **poor housing**, families living in **tower blocks** and **high unemployment**. **Crime rates** are high and people don't feel safe walking through the area at night. Children need modern play areas and there are precious few leisure facilities. The large number of **needy people** puts a **strain on medical and social services**. (TBP, 18/02/1999 – emphasis added)

Tower blocks are drug dens

11% of the articles expressing a negative reputation on the area depict social housing estates as symbols of neglect and marginalisation from the rest of the city, where drug dealing is registered as the main activity corresponding to the hegemonic public and policy discourse creating “sink-estates” (Slater, 2018; Watt, 2020). In this context, epithets such as “drug den” or “drugs haven” (TBP, 16/12/1999) are employed to problematise the high-rise tower blocks in the Lawrence Hill ward by the naturalisation of drug dealing as common and widely accepted practice in the estates.

TENANTS at Lansdowne Court can well remember how **awful** their lives used to be. They had to put up with a constant stream of **burglaries, fires, vandalism and crime** at the high-rise tower block which used to be called Emra House. Whenever they went out, they had to dodge the **drug dealers** who hung around outside the dowdy main entrance to the flats. (TBP, 15/09/1999 – emphasis added)

A variety of issues affecting some of the social housing blocks in the NDC area are also frequently reported in the news of the time to justify the implementation of more law and order and concierge schemes, which are presented as being highly supported and appreciated measures among tenants. The

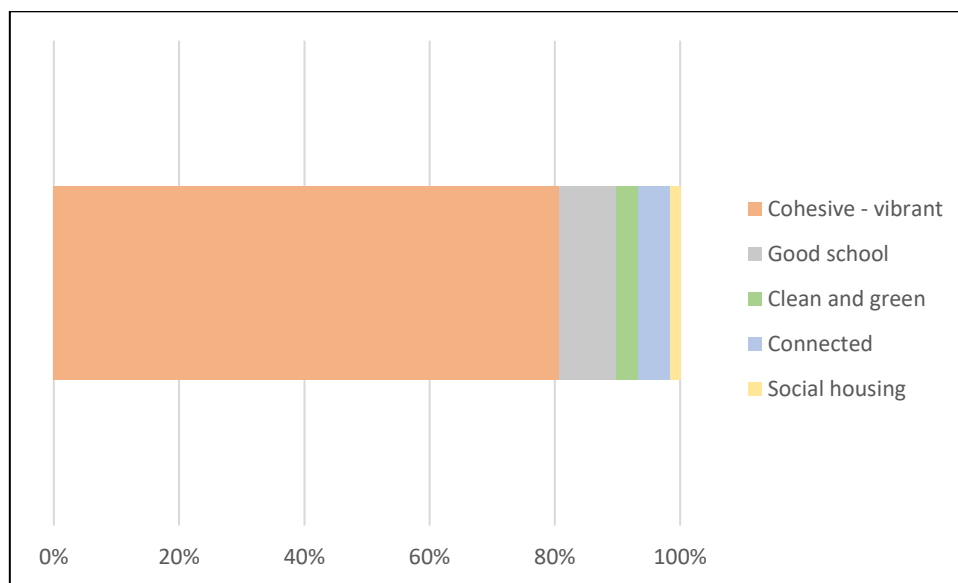
presence of a concierge is described as a significant resource to mitigate feelings of fear and vulnerability among households as well as to make tower blocks more “popular” and “safer” places to live in. Again, this finding shows the correlation between discourses of fear by the local press and the “call for more law and order” in the city (Sandercock, 2002).

Tenants are **naturally full of praise for the scheme** which provides round-the-clock **security** at the tower block and adjoining low-rise flats. [...] Mrs Roe said: "You definitely feel a lot **safer**. If you've got a problem, you just have to ring down and they help you out. [...] The concierge scheme means Lansdowne Court is now a **popular place to live**. (TBP, 15/09/1999 – emphasis added)

5.3.1.2. NDC area’s positive reputation before NDC

Only 37% of the articles analysed in the pre-policy timeframe describe the Lawrence Hill ward in non-stigmatised terms. Positive news about the area is largely represented by the *cohesive/vibrant* narrative, covering most of the articles. Other domains, from education to social housing and transport connections occupy the negative discourse, as outlined in the previous section.

Figure 28. Coverage of NDC area positive reputation by themes - pre-policy period (1998-2000)



Source: Author’s elaboration from CDA on The Bristol Post.

Solidarity and participation

The dominant positive discourse on the area is generally characterised by the report and promotion of cultural events and local initiatives of volunteering and support, revealing a generous and active community spirit. As an example of the area’s “generosity”, a large press coverage is dedicated to the charity campaign started in Barton Hill to help Kosovar refugees. In the late 1990s, the Kosovo War forced more than 500,000 civilians to flee to neighbouring countries (TBP, 12/04/1999). Between 1998 and 1999 The Bristol Post focuses on news about donations – from blankets to food and hygiene supplies – leaving the Feed the Children depot in Barton Hill and addressed to Kosovar refugees in

Albania. Although the donation campaign accepted supplies from the city of Bristol as a whole, it is worth considering that the neighbourhood of Barton Hill and surrounding areas was brought back on the map and its name associated to words of community spirit.

CARING CITY'S TRUCKLOADS OF KINDNESS; Lord Mayor backs aid for Kosovo refugees

Councillor Robertson said he was amazed by the volume of donations made so far. He said: "The **generosity** of people is **staggering**". (TBP, 12/04/1999 – emphasis added)

Community participation and cohesion is also communicated through the promotion of neighbourhood meetings and newsletters informing residents and non-residents about local activities and support as well as collecting opinions or aid for ongoing projects. The Barton Hill Settlement and the Barton Hill History Group feature often in the articles analysed, emerging as the most active organisations in the area: the former has been promoting opportunities to bring people together and socialise since 1909 when it was known as University Settlement; while the latter has been sharing the history of the Barton Hill neighbourhood through public exhibitions and meetings since the 1980s.

A VOLUNTARY group which deals with domestic violence needs volunteers to form a new management committee. [...] An open meeting will be held at the **Barton Hill Settlement** on Monday from 7pm to 8.30pm This will be to explain the work of the group. (TBP, 17/09/1999 – emphasis added)

MEMORIES of three old Bristol cinemas are being sought for a new book by **Barton Hill History Group**. David Stephenson, Andy Jones and Tony Brake are researching the long-vanished Globe cinema at Lawrence Hill, the Granada at Redfield and the Park at St George. (TBP, 25/07/1998 – emphasis added)

In some instances, however, the good news tends at the same time to implicitly reveal some negative aspects of the neighbourhood, such as the concentration of disadvantage. When sharing information about the community newsletter, for instance, disability, unemployment, and "drug dependency" (TBP, 13/10/1999) are emphasised as the main issues of the area, for which help and advice from local organisation is very likely to be sought. The action group (CAAAD) promoted by the Barton Hill Settlement to address alcohol and drug addicts and their families shows indeed that "the area is riddled with drug problems" (TBP, 15/10/1999). Likewise, by mentioning YOUR (Youth Owning Urban Regeneration), a youth scheme specifically delivered to "10 to 18-year-olds in needy areas", the article below praises the initiative but contributes to the stigmatising discourse around the Lawrence Hill ward – and East Bristol overall – as "needy area" where young residents are more likely to become unemployed and, thus commit crimes, a deviance that is conceived here as spatially dependent (Mayer and Jencks, 1989)

YOUR will run over three years, targeting 10 to 18-year-olds in **needy areas**. Areas to be included are St Paul's, Lower Easton, Lawrence Hill, Hartcliffe, Withywood, Filwood, Inns Court, Lawrence Weston and Southmead. The aim is to tackle problems linked to **under-achievement, unemployment and crime**. (TBP, 31/03/1998 – emphasis added)

VICTIMS OF CRIME IN INNER CITY NEED YOU; Plea for volunteers to provide support

VOLUNTEERS are needed to help **victims of crime in three inner-city areas**. They are being asked to step forward and join Victim Support, which helps people who have suffered at the hands of criminals. (TBP, 03/09/1999 – emphasis added)

Following a similar normalising narrative, the last extract above suggests that in inner-city areas, such as in the Lawrence Hill ward, crime is an ordinary event, and as such, local residents are most likely to be directly affected: the Victim Support service works in targeted neighbourhoods – St. Paul’s, Easton and Barton Hill – implying to the reader that crime is spatially concentrated, hence more likely to occur in East Bristol than in other urban areas (Schwarze, 2021).

Good quality education

The analysis of newspaper articles concerning the local education shows a strong community spirit connecting the school and the teachers with the area. Barton Hill Primary School contributes at the time to foster a positive place image to the neighbourhood thanks to its “good quality teaching” and improved standards registered by the Ofsted report of 1998:

In particular, they [inspectors] were pleased with the **determination of staff to raise standards** even further. The school was also congratulated for introducing **practical initiatives to target underachievement**. The youngsters also seemed to be **well behaved** during class and teachers were successful in **building self-esteem and confidence**. (TBP, 27/01/1998 – emphasis)

5.3.2. Analysing the discourse behind the news: the area after NDC

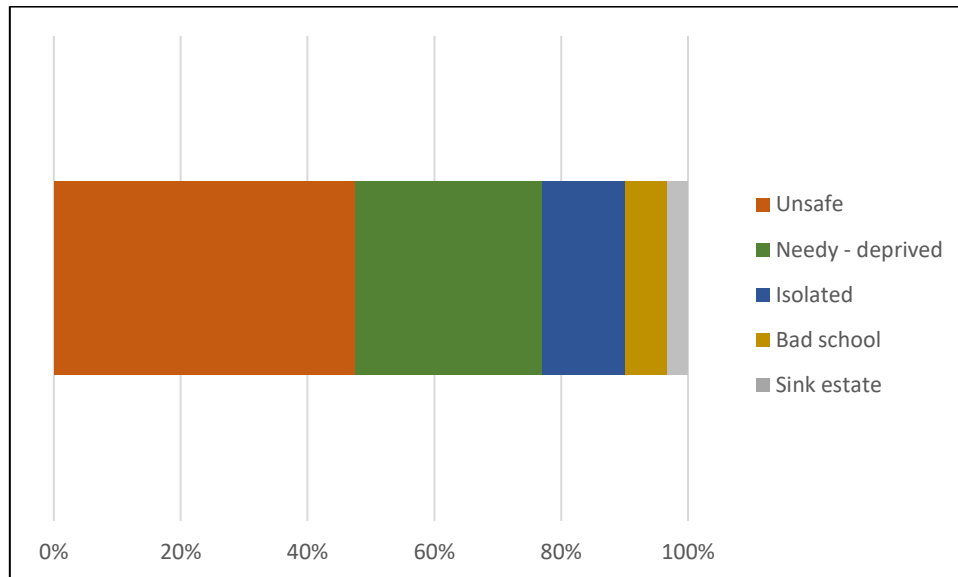
About twenty years after the start of the NDC, the external reputation of the area seems to have stayed substantially unaltered, with a slightly deterioration of the discourse confirming the neighbourhood’s negative place image. The 2017-2019 articles indicate an increase by 10% of the ward’s negative reputation, which confirms the enduring of the territorial stigma. Crime-related news appears once again as the most representative one, portraying the area as a place where criminals reside. But deviance is not the only urban problem addressed in the news of the assessment timeframe: child poverty, unemployment, and shorter life expectancy are all included as features of the *needy/deprived* NDC area, the Lawrence Hill ward being listed among the worst five Bristol wards in 2017 (TBP, 04/08/2017). In this post-policy scenario, it is also worth to consider that, albeit being a minority, 27% of the analysed news talks about the area from a more positive perspective, which focuses on its cohesiveness and vitality: most of the articles coded as positive reputation praise the NDC area for its strong community spirit and cultural activity, to which local organisations, such as the Barton Hill Settlement (now Wellspring Settlement) and youth clubs, play a significant role.

5.3.2.1. NDC area’s negative reputation after NDC

The area’s deprivation (*needy/deprived* code) and crime levels (*unsafe*) are still the most representative features of the NDC area for The Bristol Post, as in the assessment years (2017-2019) press coverage

on the area’s deprivation has increased by 12% compared to the time prior to the urban regeneration policy. Whilst information on the area’s isolation, education and council housing is registered to be secondary during the most recent timeframe.

Figure 29. Coverage of NDC area negative reputation by themes - assessment period (2017-2019)



Source: Author’s elaboration from CDA on The Bristol Post.

Violent area

The dominant negative discourse around the neighbourhood depicts a deviant place, where drugs and crime are still prevailing, and residents feel unsafe in housing blocks. Articles about these topics tend still to adopt a sensationalist approach in their presentation, focusing on detailed information about crime scenes such as rapes or murders. Many of these articles place emphasis upon the investigations’ developments of a “gruesome” (TBP, 14/11/2017) murder that caught national attention in 2015, the murder of Becky Watts, a schoolgirl killed by her family and then found in Barton Hill; the episode was also recalled by participants during data collection for its significant coverage and the stigmatisation it produced towards the neighbourhood (see Chapter 7). The father’s despair and the brutality committed on the girl’s body are excessively stressed by the article below. The article is also pointing to photos of the two murderers (which were not gathered during data collection), while additional articles reveal further shocking details about the killing and the couple’s premeditation – narrative strategies which in both cases aim at displaying and arousing strong emotions in order for the facts to be “better represented and memorised” by the reader (van Dijk, 1998: 85).

Darren Galsworthy has bravely recounted seeing his daughter in a morgue after **she was killed and dismembered** by her step-brother Nathan Matthews (**below**) and his girlfriend Shauna Hoare (**below, right**) in March 2015. (TBP, 02/11/2017 – emphasis added)

By foregrounding the victim’s body these kinds of articles highlight the violence of the news, which is inevitably associated with the neighbourhood and the people of Barton Hill. As the murder occurred

within the family and in one of the central areas of Barton Hill – “Cotton Mill Lane” – the focus of the narrative is placed upon the residents, who become framed in a “dysfunctional culture of the poor” (Gough et al., 2006: 21) conceived as underclass (Watt, 2008).

Haves and have nots

Alongside the main discourse of the dangerous neighbourhood, the Lawrence Hill ward is still presented in the assessment period as one of the worst five areas in Bristol, in terms of economic deprivation and “child poverty” in particular (TBP, 04/08/2017): various factors – similar to those reported in the pre-policy period – are mentioned to determine economic disadvantage and environmental decline on many degrees. Unemployment, child poverty and health issues can be found as the most frequently addressed problems within the external discourse of the time. The disadvantaged condition of children living in the area, for instance, is confirmed by articles on both household poverty and free school meals provision, contributing to the image of the “needy”, economically deprived neighbourhoods (Wacquant, 2007).

They live in the Lawrence Hill area - the neighbourhood in Bristol with the **highest levels of child poverty**. [...] Across the street is Barton Hill Academy, where **58 per cent** of children rely on **free school meals** - more than double the national average. The area's secondary, City Academy, has **more than 70 per cent** of children on **free lunches**. (TBP, 04/08/2017 – emphasis added)

The persistent “widespread inequality” (TBP, 29/11/2017) and polarisation emerging from the news, separating “the haves and have nots” within the city of Bristol (TBP, 27/01/2017), are also reported in relation to the visible urban decay of the area, contrasting with the more privileged surrounding neighbourhoods. Avon Street, for instance, is regarded as a symbol of divide and residential segregation, physically and socially isolating the Temple Meads area in the Central district, from the ward of Lawrence Hill:

"When you walk over that bridge and you go past the lovely Friska and you get to Avon Street, it is quite a **stark decline** in the state of the place and I worry that Avon Street becomes a **wall** rather than just a road and the people from the community I serve and Barton Hill and Easton don't ever go there." (TBP, 28/06/2017 – emphasis added)

Whilst the external discourse in the pre-policy period focused on studies describing the Lawrence Hill ward as marginal area, the most recent timeframe analysed sees news covering data from the Index of Multiple Deprivation (Bristol City Council, 2015). The ‘shocking’ title below provides an example of topicalization of the negative information about the area, while omitting in the body of the article any further details on the city’s extreme polarisation as well as on the complex image resulting from the different indicators composing the index (Huckin, 1997). Simplification is adopted here as a discursive tool to communicate and endure a strong division between poor and better-off city wards (Schwarze, 2021).

REPORT REVEALS BRISTOL'S MOST DEPRIVED STREETS

Analysis of the **Indices of Deprivation** in 2015 - the latest available figures - shows the city continues to have wards of extreme poverty adjacent to those which are well off. The **poorest neighbourhoods** are listed as Whitchurch Park, Hartcliffe, Filwood and **Lawrence Hill**. (TBP, 08/12/2017 – emphasis added)

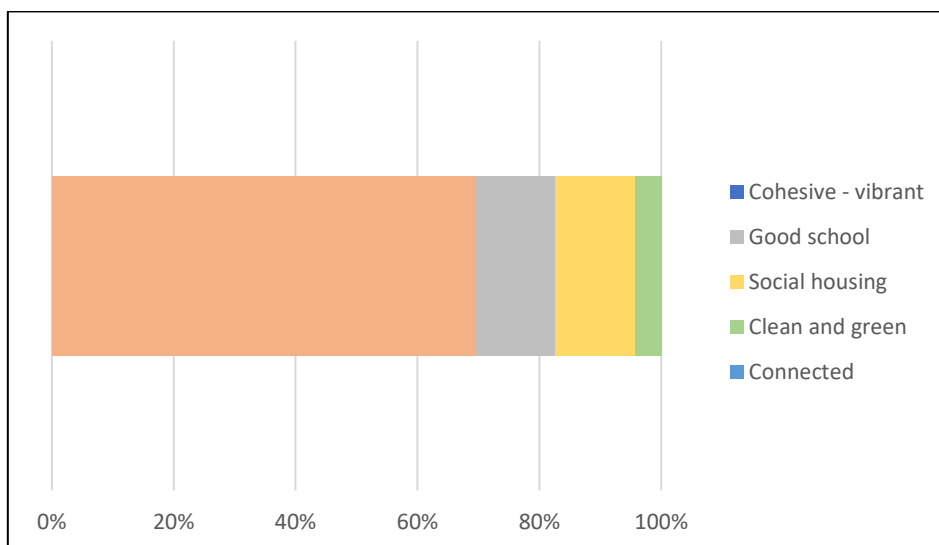
With regards to educational deprivation, an additional decline of the area's reputation is registered in the local press, as the same primary school mentioned above in relation to free meals, Barton Hill Academy, is reported below to have been assessed with a negative ranking by Ofsted. Although inspectors recognised that "improvements have been made since 2012" (TBP, 30/10/2017), the school (former Barton Hill Primary and Nursery) was rated "Inadequate" in 2017, considering its levels of "poor teaching and low expectations" when working with already disadvantaged pupils. Such negative narrative on the local school inevitably contributes, by extension, to the territorial stigma affecting the area, and provides an additional reason for both visitors and prospect residents to practice avoidance (Jackson and Butler, 2015).

In their report, inspectors wrote: "**Weakness in the quality of teaching, learning and assessment** have resulted in pupils achieving standards below those expected for their age, especially in reading. **The legacy of underachievement** has prevented disadvantaged pupils achieving the standards of which they are capable. (TBP, 30/10/2017 – emphasis added)

5.3.2.2. NDC area's positive reputation after NDC

As anticipated above, positive news about Bristol NDC area has seen a general decrease by 10% in the assessment years (2017-2019), still representing a minor thematic coverage for the local press. Although newspaper articles of the assessment period appear to pay more attention to improved social housing and quality schools, compared to the late 1990s, the *cohesive/vibrant* neighbourhood still emerges as the most important category (70%).

Figure 30. Coverage of NDC area positive reputation by themes - assessment period (2017-2019).



Source: Author's elaboration from CDA on The Bristol Post.

A real sense of community

In the assessment timeframe, the area emerges as a place with “a real sense of community” (TBP, 09/06/2017), where neighbourhood festivals, cultural exhibitions and volunteering opportunities take place and are fostered by the work of local charities and organisations. For instance, the Foodcycle project, promoted by the Barton Hill Settlement uses surplus food to serve community meals to volunteers and vulnerable groups living in the surrounding area, such as homeless individuals, low-income families, and people with physical and mental health conditions. Community cohesion is also stressed at sentence-level in the extract below, by the frequent employ of terms related to togetherness and participation, such as “community”, “together”, “meet”, “company”.

Dee Moxon, who helps organise the event, said: "The parade is a really fun event that showcases what this **community** has to offer. It brings people from many different backgrounds **together** to celebrate, **meet** new people and enjoy each other's **company**." (TBP, 27/11/2017 – emphasis added)

The civil society contributes significantly to the design and development of social opportunities and the Barton Hill History Group is mentioned again in the assessment articles among the most active local organisations in the Barton Hill neighbourhood. By advertising information across Bristol on meetings as well as on more informal gatherings organised by the group, newspaper articles exercise the power to attract historical interest to the area, while contributing to maintain its cultural identity alive.

THE Barton Hill History Group is having a celebration - 'Happy Birthday Barton Hill' - on Wednesday April 18. Two very special Barton Hill buildings, **St. Luke's Church** and the **Great Western Cotton Factory** celebrate major anniversaries this year. These two unique and closely-linked establishments created a **sense of place** in this former great industrial area of East Bristol. (TBP, 10/04/2018 – emphasis added)

St. Luke's Church and the Great Western Cotton Factory played indeed a central role in the development of the Barton Hill area and the city of Bristol as a whole. St. Luke's Church was first opened in 1843, while the Cotton Factory dates to 1838, was closed in 1923 and demolished in 1968 (TBP, 10/04/2018) – on its premises is now the Barton Hill Trading Estate.

Tackling poverty in schools

With regards to the *good school* discourse, the articles within the assessment timeframe report the success of an important national initiative, Fit and Fed, addressed to the most deprived areas of the UK to “tackle holiday hunger and inactivity during the holidays” (TBP, 11/08/2017). By informing about the positive scheme, however, the article can implicitly convey an additional message, which highlights the local deprivation of Barton Hill residents, who during the summertime can go through even harder living conditions, as children usually having free meals at school may be facing days without a meal. A further positive news is represented by a far too enthusiastic article referring to the local school and its ability to reflect the “excitingly diverse community” of Barton Hill. The Barton Hill Academy is praised here as a “thriving” (TBP, 28/03/2018) primary school, working closely with the community, where pupils and families from different backgrounds and language skills are valued. The extremely positive

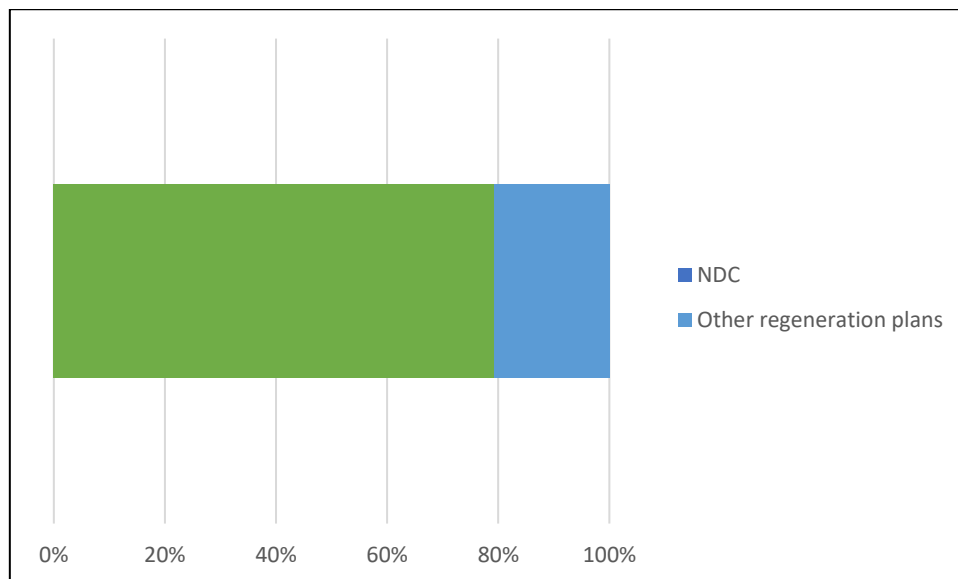
tone adopted throughout the article to describe the many qualities of the school however makes it sound more like a marketing strategy rather than a news report, as the focus is quickly moved from education to the description of the “modern purpose-built premises” of the school building; a minor manipulation of the genre to enhance visibility can be observed here (Huckin, 1997).

Its core values, **developed with the community**, are responsibility, excellence, success, pride, equality, compassion and tenacity. [...] The school is housed in **modern, purpose-built premises** with **wonderful grounds**, thus offering fantastic opportunities for learning inside and outside the classroom all year round. A **new** mud kitchen and climbing wall are proving hugely **popular!** (TBP, 28/03/2018 – emphasis added)

5.3.3. Analysing the social mixing narrative: New Deal for Communities

Unlike the discourse on CdQ which covered news of both pre-policy and assessment timeframes, the news referring to urban regeneration projects tackling the area only covered the pre-policy period of analysis, the late 1990s. With the end of the NDC funding in 2010, the government-led regeneration scheme stopped to be mentioned in the local news with reference to Barton Hill and surrounding neighbourhoods (Redfield, St. Philips and The Dings), at least during the years analysed for the assessment period (2017-2019): all physical and social interventions that were planned by the policy have been concluded within the expected ten-years’ time (CaH, 2005) and no reference to other past or future interventions could be found in the years considered as policy assessment. Between 1998 and 1999, the urban policy discourse dominating the local press (Figure 31.) is about the NDC, regarded as a one-time opportunity for the area of Barton Hill to regenerate and get rid of the oppressing territorial stigma of unsafe and isolated district.

Figure 31. Coverage of New Deal for Communities in the pre-policy period (1998-2000)



Source: My elaboration from CDA on The Bristol Post.

When referring to both NDC and the other regeneration plans, only news about expectations and policy aims are reported; the *other regeneration plans* (21%) featuring in the late 1990s' include a series of area-based strategies, also referred to as "inner-city schemes" aimed at uplifting the Lawrence Hill ward as well as other deprived areas of Bristol. Unemployment and crime appear as the most tackled local issues, at the centre of both national and European Union funding opportunities affecting the identified "poorest areas". Many articles in this category announce and celebrate the award of different national and EU funds aimed at the neighbourhoods' renewal, such as the Single Regeneration Budget Challenge Fund addressed to youth crime and unemployment (TBP, 31/03/1998); URBAN, a European Commission programme; and Objective 2, supported by the European regional funding (2000-2006). As it is the case below, specific terminology referring to local needs, support and hopes can often be encountered in neo-liberal policy discourses with the aim to legitimise interventions with the wider public (Jacobs, 2006).

Euro cash **hopes** for **poorest areas**. FIVE of the city's **poorest wards** could benefit from a share of 108 million in European regional funding. They are the Ashley, Lawrence Hill, Easton, Filwood and Windmill Hill wards. (TBP, 09/11/1999 – emphasis added)

Greater coverage is dedicated to the promotion of the NDC social mixing policy through enthusiastic and hopeful articles about long-term expectations and ambitious plans. The positive narrative promoting the NDC interventions can be observed, for instance, in articles calling for or praising community participation – a fundamental pillar in the design and delivery of the urban policy (MacLeavy, 2009). The Bristol Post can be considered as a further channel for the programme to gather residents' consensus and bring them together through in person meetings and virtual spaces (the Community at Heart website and newsletter), with the aim to both inform and "sustain active involvement" (TBP, 02/06/1999) in the decision-making process. A frequent narrative contributing to the policy discourse portrays the area's community spirit as "stagnating" (TBP, 12/11/1999) and the various initiatives designed by the NDC are presented as solutions to reawaken it.

Dominic Murphy, who is leading the New Deal project, says **spirits** are already being **raised**. He said: "There's now a feeling that people can do something about problems in their area. "I sense the **mood** in Barton Hill and the surrounding area is **much more positive**." Mr Murphy hopes the New Deal scheme would continue to **build confidence** and **raise aspirations**. (TBP, 12/11/1999 – emphasis added)

Among its many interventions, the NDC tackled local issues such as security, crime prevention and the implementation of facilities for the younger generations living in the Barton Hill area – problems dominating the negative neighbourhood reputation of the late 1990s. Initiatives, from police headquarters around tower blocks to improved playgrounds and new job opportunities, are announced in The Bristol Post as ways to "breathe new life" (TBP, 16/11/1999) into the neighbourhood and "revolutionise" it on different levels (TBP, 17/01/1999). The language used here to describe the urban renewal evoke scenarios of radical transformation for the neighbourhoods, a gradual 10 year-policy

promised to implement long-lasting change and reduce residents' fear of crime, in order to achieve "an area to be more proud of" (TBP, 04/11/1999; CaH, 2005).

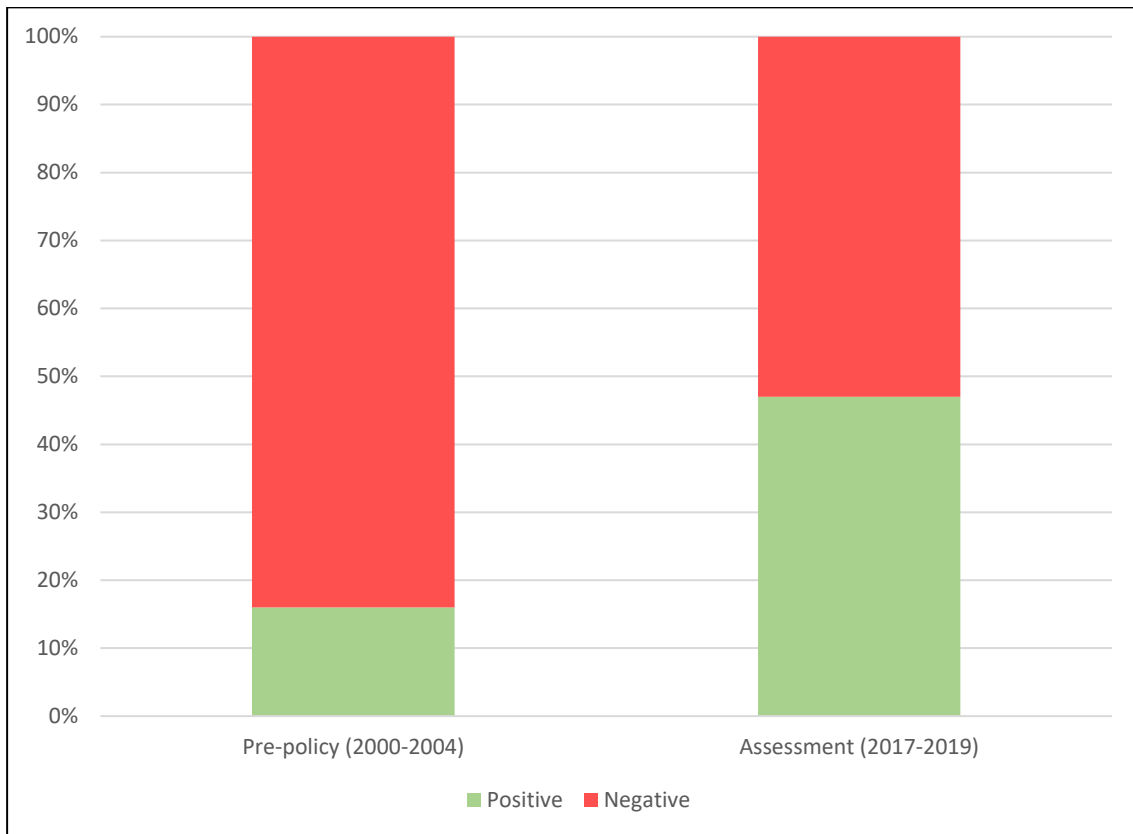
Among the suggestions are: A **concierge security scheme** in high-rise flats. **More police** in the area. New facilities for young people and more childcare. More than 6 million worth of ideas to **make the area safer**. Work to reduce **drugs and alcohol abuse**. A job-priming scheme and help for people who feel isolated. (TBP, 16/11/1999 – emphasis added)

The extract above suggests the idea that to make Barton Hill and surrounding areas "safer" for residents, enhanced security systems ("concierge security scheme") and law and order ("more police") in and around social housing estates are necessary. Such implicit discourse of fear and narrative of decline, indirectly foster the call for (re-)establishing power structures within the area, and notably in high-rise flats, as symbols of concentrated urban problems (Slater, 2018; Sandercock, 2002; Jacobs, 2006). Nevertheless, a further fundamental measure is also announced to build more cohesive and 'heterogenous' communities, that is the regeneration through tenure and social mix – "mixed-use developments of housing, retail and employment" (TBP, 25/05/1999), which are presented in contrast with the 'bad', homogenous neighbourhood (Manley, 2012). Being the main expression of the NDC concept of "putting people in charge" of the change (TBP, 18/02/1999), the local organisation Community at Heart is often described in the newspaper of the time as pivotal in designing the 10-year delivery plan and in accompanying the community through a transition process that is expected to turn an abandoned and dangerous area to a mixed and cohesive one.

5.4. Conclusions

The Critical Discourse Analysis conducted on local newspapers articles from both pre-policy and assessment time periods gives insight that there are similar outcomes in both neighbourhoods with regards to how Ponte Lambro and the NDC area are represented (Figures 32. and 33.), whereas the social mixing policy narratives tend to differ across time and space in the comparative study. The neighbourhood of Ponte Lambro, portrayed by the dominant pre-policy discourse (84% of the articles) as an isolated and unsafe urban *periferia*, still emerges for the most part of the recent press coverage (54%) as a marginalised area, affected by both economic and social disadvantage. Stigmatising labels, such as "suburb", "Bronx" or "no man's land" are still used in recent years to address Ponte Lambro's local issues. The relatively increased attention to forms of solidarity and enhanced green spaces in the neighbourhood (36%) as well as the less frequent use of nominalisation in the articles – from "*periferia*" to "*quartiere*" (neighbourhood) – can indicate however a tentative shift in the narrative, probably related to what research participants describe as a loss of institutional and collective interest in the area (see Chapter 6).

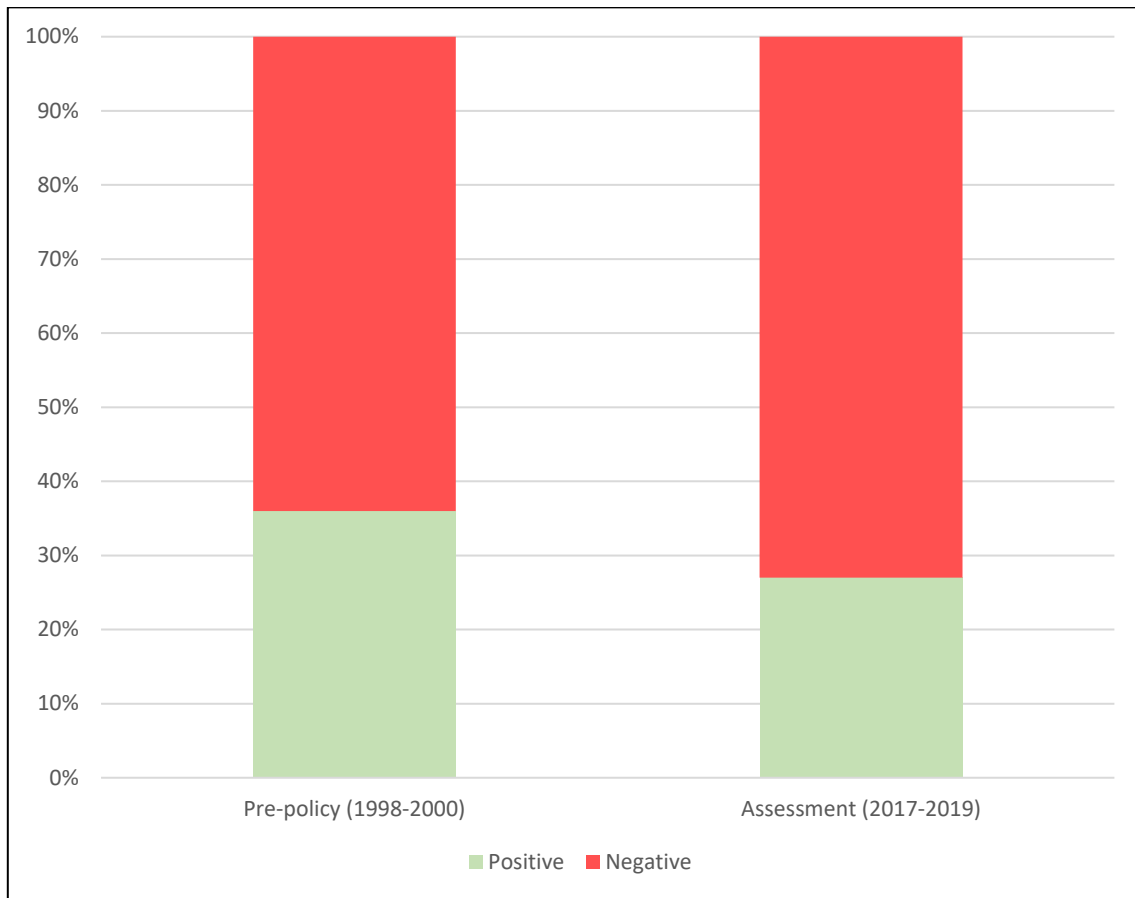
Figure 32. External neighbourhood reputation of Ponte Lambro in pre-policy and assessment timeframes.



Source: Author's elaboration from CDA on La Repubblica Milano and Corriere della Sera.

A slightly different trend in the variations of the external reputation from pre-policy and assessment periods can be observed in the context of the Bristol's NDC area, where the image of a dangerous and poor place has not only resisted after more than 10 years from the end of the national scheme, but it has also increased by 10%. Deprivation and crime-related news presented in a sensationalist tone persist in the discourse on the NDC area, leaving very little space to the promotion of cultural events and civil society's initiatives of community building and mutual support. Despite the implementation of long-term renewal interventions that aimed at fostering social and tenure mixing as well as community cohesion, both case studies hold a negative external reputation between 2017 and 2019. In the story framed by both pre-policy and assessment articles, Ponte Lambro and the NDC area are presented as infamous urban areas, doomed by the public discourse to a similar destiny of marginalisation, and threatening both 'respectable' residents and the rest of the city (Wacquant, 2007).

Figure 33. External neighbourhood reputation of the NDC area in the pre-policy and assessment timeframes.



Source: Author’s elaboration from CDA on The Bristol Post.

Although CdQ and NDC register analogous area-based purposes of social mixing regeneration supported by long-term investments, their coverage in the local press indicates significant differences in both promotion and delivery of the policies. Delays in the delivery of physical interventions and complaints on unfinished plans that generated community displacement continue to characterise the external discourse on Ponte Lambro even in the assessment years: a significant element of CdQ, Renzo Piano’s Laboratorio, was left in a state of abandonment for years, representing both one of the main failures of the original project and an opportunity to attract further private and public investments into the neighbourhood. The most recent news on urban renewal focuses indeed on new plans to tackle the empty spaces inside the social housing estate, enduring at the same time the long-established narrative of the “*periferia* problem” (CdS, 27/07/2003; Briata et al., 2009). Whereas, before the start of the NDC programme, local newspaper articles communicate an enthusiastic narrative of the plans and expectations, while also representing a powerful tool to endorse the policy and share information on its delivery programme with the public. The CDA of articles referring to the assessment period (2017-2019) did not register any further reference to the NDC nor to other urban regeneration plans in the targeted area, a finding which confirms the general decrease in the last few years of state-led area-based interventions in the UK (see also Jupp, 2021).

By focusing on negative facts and events happening in marginalised areas, local newspapers apply the discursive power to contribute to the construction of place images across the city by creating and reinforcing existing territorial stigma through practices of labelling and collectivisation, among others (Wacquant, 2007; Khosravini, 2010; Foucault, 1981). The same process of stigmatisation that called for and justified interventions in the pre-policy period (Champagne, 1999; Glasze et al., 2012), through demolition of “ghetto” social housing, law and order, and social and tenure mix, has stayed substantially unaltered after the implementation of both CdQ and NDC. More than ten years of significant state-led investments to regenerate and ‘mix’ the targeted areas have not sufficed to achieve what the policies expected to at the local level (Calvaresi and Cossa, 2011; CaH, 2005), as both external neighbourhood reputations have not experienced significant improvements in the long-run. In addition, the persistent territorial stigma on Ponte Lambro and the NDC area created by local press discourses has been generating perceptions and “behavioural responses” (Permentier et al., 2007) among residents and non-residents. As the next empirical chapters will explore, resulting discriminations and practices of avoidance by non-residents can lead the community to engage with a variety of “coping strategies” (Slater, 2021: 145), from omitting their real address to producing a counter-narrative. Both the delivery of social mixing interventions and the persistence of territorial stigma towards disadvantaged urban areas will be further investigated in Chapter 8 in relation to internal and external neighbourhood reputations.

Chapter 6.

Internal neighbourhood reputation: Ponte Lambro, Milan

6.1. Introduction

The neighbourhood of Ponte Lambro, in the south-eastern suburb of Milan, has gone through major transformations with the implementation of the Contratto di Quartiere policy, CdQ (2004). With the end of the programme, however, little local community consultation has taken place with regards to the impact of such interventions and the general sense of inclusion and belonging within the neighbourhood. Internal neighbourhood reputations play a significant role in building community spirit and hence can determine behavioural responses among residents, especially in relation to what they perceive is the place image from the outside (Permentier et al., 2007; Arthurson, 2013). The analysis of primary qualitative data presented in this chapter explores the evolution of the internal neighbourhood reputation after the implementation of CdQ's social mix interventions, which began at the start of the new millennium. As outlined in detail in Chapter 3, the fieldwork took place between June to August 2021, and involved twenty participants of different ages, sex, backgrounds, and lengths of residence in the area: the sample included twelve current long-term residents (over 5 years), one newcomer (under 5 years), and seven former residents. Each local participant has taken part in either an in-depth semi-structured interview (by phone or online) or a small online focus group, with 3 participants, and taking place on Zoom. In both instances, participants were also free to decide whether to be actively engaged in the collaborative construction of meaning and perception on the neighbourhood, by contributing to the digital Participatory Photo Mapping (PPM). For the Ponte Lambro case study, 15 of the participants interviewed took part in this creative visual method, providing a total of 92 photographs shared. During both the individual interviews and focus groups, discussion around the content and the reasons behind the photographs supported and integrated data on their experience and perception of the neighbourhood, how it has changed over the last 20 years as well as its external reputation.

Drawing on Critical Discourse Analysis, CDA (Fairclough, 1992; Waitt, 2010), and Critical Narrative Analysis, CNA (Souto-Manning, 2014) approaches, this chapter provides a comprehensive interpretation of what has emerged as collective internal reputation of Ponte Lambro. I proceed by following the structure adopted during interviews and focus groups themselves and their analysis, which has followed an inductive thematic approach. First, I outline the informants' perspectives on the neighbourhood and its changes, by referring not only to their perceptions of positives and negatives, but also to more neutral (neither positive nor negative opinions) categories or codes. Next, I move the focus to CdQ policy, to investigate participants' experience of the intervention, their views on the

various local changes and their long-term impact within the neighbourhood. Finally, before concluding the chapter with reflections on the overall reputation of Ponte Lambro, I complete the analysis with participants' reactions to the findings on territorial stigma explored in Chapter 5, which, I argue, serves as additional element to the construction of internal place images (see also Permentier et al., 2007; Permentier et al., 2008; McKenzie, 2012). Throughout the chapter, the narrative is supported by photographs from the PPM, and for each section differences between groups of residents are highlighted, to provide depth of perspectives and temporality to the data.

6.2. Perception of changed neighbourhood

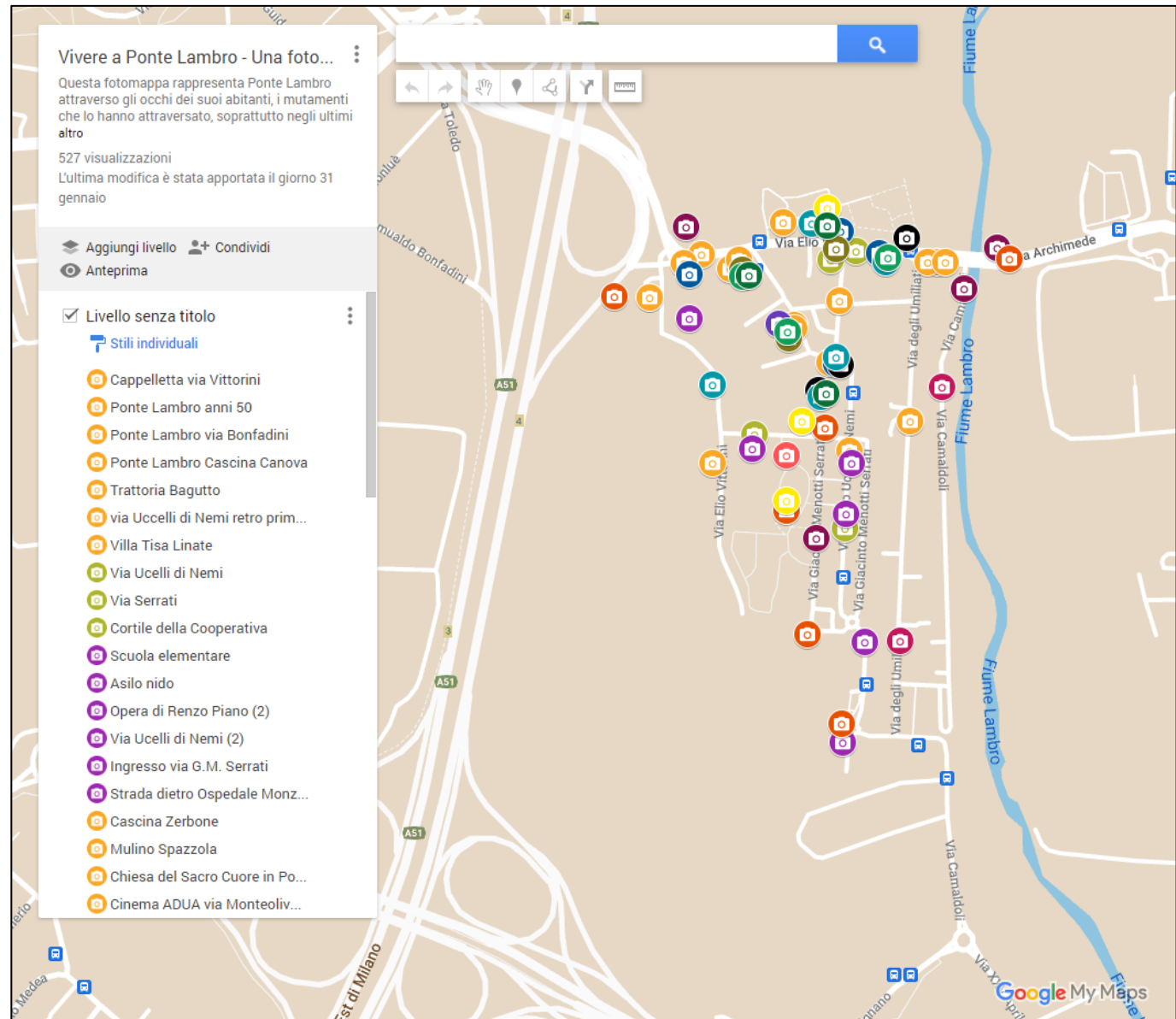
After commenting on the photographs from the PPM, participants were asked to talk about their personal experience in the area, focusing on the last 20 years (including the implementation of CdQ), and in particular on the main changes they have been witnessing over time: examples of both improvements and decline were asked, paying particular attention to the terminology, the tone, the discourse (Fairclough, 1992) and the internalised external discourse used (Souto-Manning, 2014). When asked about Ponte Lambro's change, participants' responses were generally characterised by a marked distinction between positive and negative elements, leaving very limited consideration to 'neutral' aspects of such transformations. Overall, despite a slight improvement in the external reputation (see Chapter 5, section 5.2), the analysis on this first set of data shows that Ponte Lambro's internal reputation tends to focus (nearly 60% of references) on perceived negative aspects and problems affecting the area or its inhabitants, usually for extended periods of time. Current long-term residents and former residents tend to talk about what has worsened over the years, such as the feelings of abandonment from institutions and fear of local crime levels. By contrast, the single newcomer interviewed held a more balanced view of Ponte Lambro, giving equal value to both positives and negatives. From a general perspective, when talking about Ponte Lambro current long-term residents are more sensitive to terms such as *periferia* (suburbs) and *paese* (town), which are used by participants firstly to proudly describe community spirit and sense of belonging, and secondly complain about spatial and social marginalisation from the rest of Milan. Former residents tend to emphasise their narrative on change, and particularly on the demographical change within the neighbourhood, especially focusing on perceived advantages and disadvantages of the presence of immigrants. Finally, the newcomer provided a third perspective focusing on local resources for the future of Ponte Lambro and overall, they held a more optimistic view than current and former long-term residents. The rest of the section explores in detail significant narratives encountered in the following categories across the three groups of residents: visual place image (section 6.2.1.), positive reputation (section 6.2.2.), negative reputation (section 6.2.3.), neutral reputation (section 6.2.4.), using quotes, photographs, and maps to contextualise references.

6.2.1. Visual place image

Of the 20 participants in Ponte Lambro 15 agreed to take part in the PPM activity as part of data collection and discuss, at the time of the interview or focus group, about the photographs they decided to share as well as about those provided by the other participants. Participants were free to share photographs that, in their opinion, could effectively represent the neighbourhood, considering how it is nowadays, but also – if significant for them – how it was in the past. Although the visual place image created by research participants covers most parts of the neighbourhood, thematic and spatial clusters stand out notably in the central area of the neighbourhood (see Figure 34. below), indicating common experiences and points of view among the participants on how the neighbourhood has changed and how it is currently used (Teixeira et al., 2020). *Change* is one of the most common themes among current long-term residents and former residents, together with *community* and *natural environment*, although – as detailed below – each group of participants holds a different perspective and set of emotions for a given point on the map. Moreover, by following each coloured tag associated to a specific participant, some participants covered almost the totality of the Ponte Lambro neighbourhood, while others (the majority) focused on specific areas and reference points. Often, this focus represented the surroundings of their current (or former) house or an important personal experience that occurred within the neighbourhood, such as the public and community spaces they most frequently attend(ed).

Figure 34. Participatory Photo Mapping provided by Ponte Lambro's residents on private Google My Map.

Notes: Each colour refers to a different participant, as to facilitate the identification of patterns and clusters among newcomers, current and former long-term residents.



6.2.1.1. Change

Within the domain of change, the photomapping focused primarily on the witnessing of transformations in and around the neighbourhood over time: regenerations and demolitions of either streets or housing units; memories of shops and facilities; the industrial and rural heritage of Ponte Lambro, historically related to the role of river Lambro for the local community. Such changes are shown and were discussed not only using photographs portraying the neighbourhood in the recent or pre-CdQ past, but also, in some instances, with ‘now and then’ collages created by participants on their own initiative. Many photographs featuring the area’s past and more recent transformations were shared by Carlo (current long-term resident, over 60), who is well known in the neighbourhood for his interests in local history and his publications about Ponte Lambro. He describes here the main historical phases of Ponte Lambro, while referring to the photographs on its rural past, featuring traditional farmhouses and mill, such as *Cascina Zerbone* (Photo 1.) and *Mulino Spazzola* (Photo 2.). Both represented traditional places for the neighbourhood, which relied on agriculture and industry, until their demolition in the 1960s and the subsequent repurpose of the land for housing and urbanisation needs (see also Chapter 4).

There is an ancient side of the neighbourhood, that is farm Canova that is no longer there, the farm of Gerbone o Zerbone and the Spazzola mill. These were the three historical parts, which – together with Bagutto [restaurant] – are some centuries old. Then there is another side, we shall say, of the 20th Century, when Ponte Lambro village was born; this is well represented by the Cooperative, or those 1920s or 1950s pictures.¹⁷ (Carlo, current long-term resident, over 60)

¹⁷ Hereinafter, quotes related to the Italian case study in this Chapter are my original translation from the source text (interview and focus group transcripts), which can be found in Appendix I of this thesis.

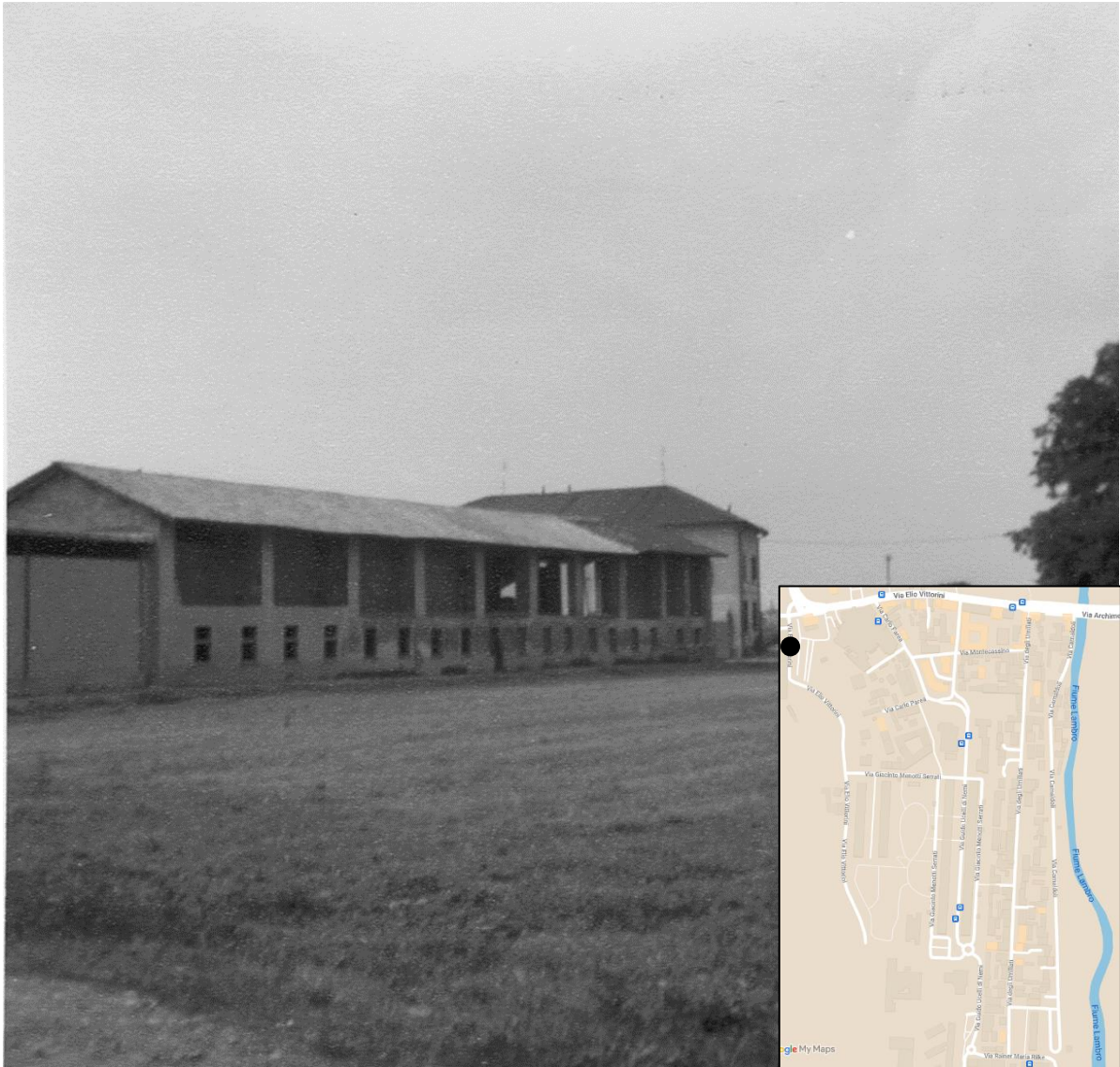


Photo 1. "Cascina Zerbone - Zerbone farm" (Source: Carlo, current long-term resident, over 60).¹⁸

¹⁸ Inset maps are juxtaposed to each photograph in this and the next chapter (Chapter 7) to highlight the location where the photograph was taken, so that the geographical element of PPM could be ensured. The inset maps used are generated by a blank map on Google My Maps©.



Photo 2. "Molino Spazzola - Spazzolaa mill" (Source: Carlo, current long-term resident, over 60).

A particular memory equally shared with nostalgia by both current and former residents is the cow farm (Photo 3.), which was once sited in the north-western side of Ponte Lambro (now a garage); a strong symbol and memory of the neighbourhood during childhood for many of the research participants, it also evokes the countryside and town feeling that they remember with affection as a sort of “parallel world” (Rachele, former long-term resident, 50-60), compared to the industrialised and connected rest of Milan.

Picture yourself a house in a suburban neighbourhood, nearby is a farm with animals and as children we used to go with family and parents on Sundays for instance. We would meet a lot of people on this street, which was unpaved at the time, it really was a countryside street. And this is a bit about my childhood, my emotivity. (Fabrizio, current long-term resident, 40-50)

For me the farm with the cows was the best place of my childhood. When we [my siblings and I] had our tantrum and my parents could not stand us anymore, they would take us to see the cows. Unfortunately, the flood damaged it all. But the farm has always been the most fun place of the neighbourhood according to me, another place to which I feel extremely close. And when I think about it, I get emotional. (Stella, former long-term resident, 40-50)



Photo 3. "Strada dietro Ospedale Monzino - Street behind Monzino Hospital" (Source: Fabrizio, current long-term resident, 40-50).

The rural heritage of Ponte Lambro and its natural environment are connected by the following photograph (Photo 4.) and comments on the local *lavanderie*, which Fabrizio recalls as charming features characterizing the neighbourhood landscape alongside the river Lambro, as he was a child. *Lavanderie* were ancient outdoor community laundries and drying racks that emerged at the beginning of the 20th Century on the vast green fields as consequence of the expanding urbanisation of Milan's city centre (see Chapter 4). With the 1960s, however, the increasing housing needs led to the demolition of traditional farmhouses (*cascine*) and mills, and as a result to the loss of *lavanderie* – becoming even more obsolete with the spread of washing machines (Calvaresi and Cossa, 2011).

Then there is another side that I like, this one on via Umiliati where there were outdoor laundries along the river. There flows the river Lambro and in the past people used to go to via Umiliati to wash their clothes. Picture yourself ladies with baskets full of dirty clothes walking towards the river to wash them. There was this dock where everyone would go and wash their clothes. Nice. [*smiling*] (Fabrizio, current long-term resident, 40-50)



Photo 4. "Lavanderie Pome", via Umiliati 20 - Pome' outdoor laundries, via Umiliati 20" (Source: Carlo, current long-term resident, 50-60).

6.2.1.2. Natural environment

The green areas around the river Lambro, from which the neighbourhood takes part of its name, featured extensively in the photomapping discussions. The green environment was not distinct from change with the green areas around the river Lambro, urban parks, and fields within and around Ponte Lambro being significant sites of development. One of these green areas, certainly the most mentioned one, is Parco Vittorini (Photo 5.), which current and former long-term residents enjoy notably as source of clean air, a pleasant meeting and recreational place for everyone, including children. Although the project was not funded by the CdQ, it saw the support of *Laboratorio di Quartiere* (Neighbourhood Hub) and residents in its design and planning phases. The large park, that extends along via Vittorini in the northern side of the neighbourhood, including the surrounding fields for agricultural use as well as new cycle and pedestrian paths, was inaugurated in 2013, after the demolition of the so-called 'ecomostro' (architectural monster and source of urban decay). In 1989, a 300-rooms massive hotel started to being built on the site for the 1990 Football World Cup, but was never completed, leaving 240 thousand sqm of environmental and urban decay for more than twenty years (Comune di Milano, 2022c). The former hotel, widely known as 'ecomostro ex Albergo Monluè' was demolished in 2012 and the area regenerated to make room for a long-awaited urban park, wheat fields and a WWF natural reserve (WWF Sud Milano).



Photo 5. "Parco su via Vittorini - Park on via Vittorini" (Source: Rachele, current long-term resident, 50-60).

Moreover, green and wheat fields (Photo 7.) as well as spontaneous greenery along the river Lambro are highly appreciated and photographed by participants, who perceive them as spots of beauty – as Stella mentions in the caption below (Photo 6.) – and sources of peace and quietness in the neighbourhood. The natural environment proves to be one of the essential features of Ponte Lambro, together with community places, especially for current and former long-term residents (Kazmierczak, 2013).

This regeneration gives the idea that in the suburbs you can see **something beautiful**. You don't need to go to the city centre to find a nice green area. (Rachele, current long-term resident, 50-60 – emphasis added)

A neighbourhood without a park is a dead neighbourhood. In the summer [you can see] children. It makes the neighbourhood **alive**, from a certain perspective. (Simon, current long-term resident, 30-40 – emphasis added)



Photo 7. "Veduta dai giardini - View from the park" (Source: Debora, current long-term resident, 50-60).

6.2.1.3. Community

This theme includes photographs representing meeting places and community centres that participants value as fundamental for their own experience in the neighbourhood as well as for Ponte Lambro's social capital more in general. The most mentioned sites include the local church and oratory (Photo 8.), where many participants used to spend their free time with friends in the past years especially in summertime; and the community (CAM) and youth centres (CAG) (Photo 9.), which have always been very active in the organisation of workshops and events, and in the support of local young students with afterschool and job placement programs. Fabrizio is very grateful to the work of the local youth centre, as for him, their help and presence when he was a boy represented what he describes as “healthy option”, a meeting place “where you could go and stay safe and healthy”:

I used to go there [youth centre] in the past when I was a boy because for me it was the healthy option, let's say, **to avoid ending up with bad friendships**, with drug addicts, dealers, criminals. (Fabrizio, current long-term resident, 40-50 - emphasis added)

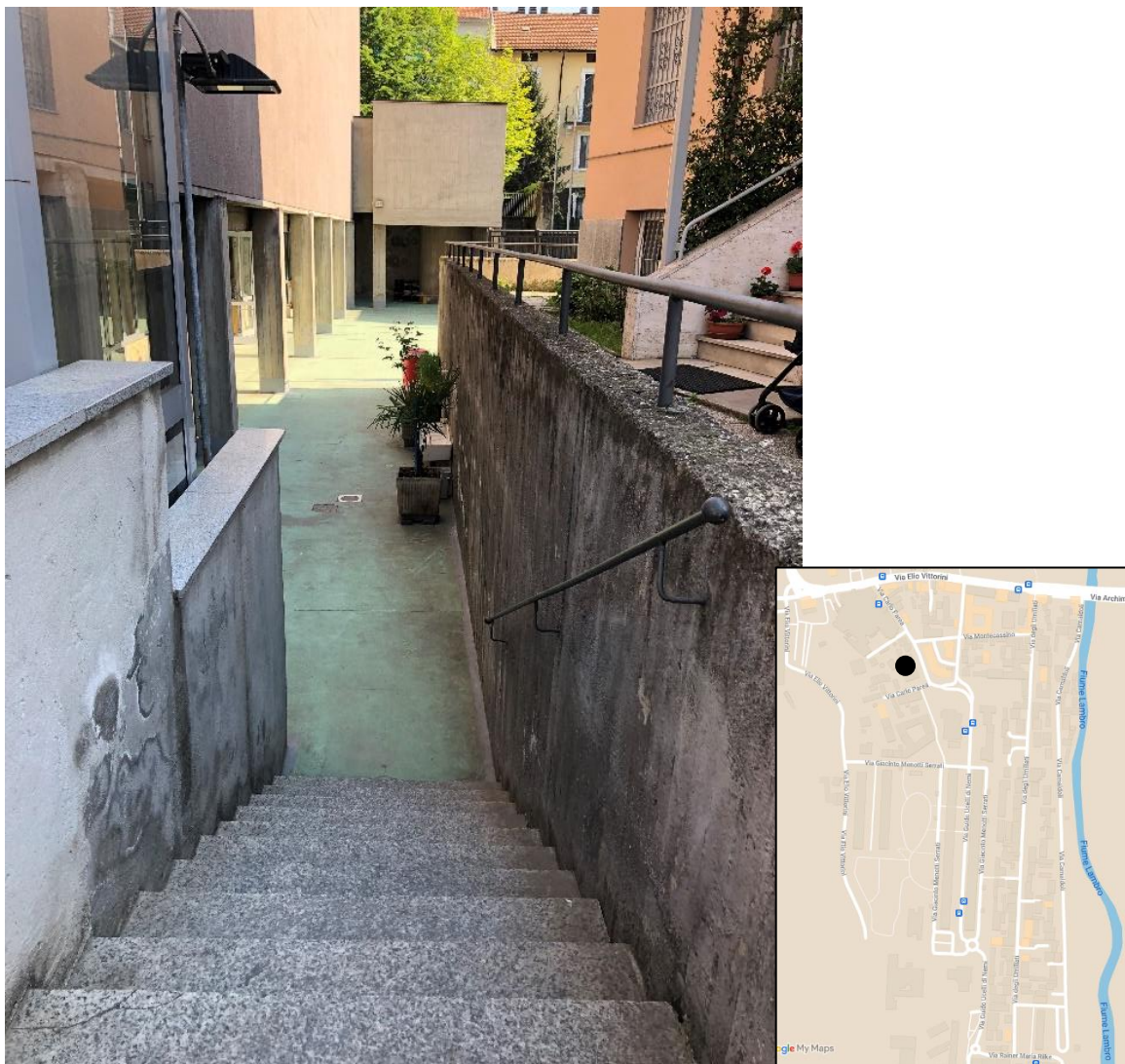


Photo 8. "Oratorio della parrocchia - Church oratory" (Source: Affi, former long-term resident, 50-60).



Photo 9. "Centro giovani - Youth Centre" (Source: Mr. Bristow, current long-term resident, 30-40).

Photographs portraying moments of togetherness and “serenity” in the neighbourhood are mostly collected, for instance, by Volontario Sottovoce (current long-term resident, over 60), who, with his pictures, wishes to give an idea of the atmosphere that used to characterise Ponte Lambro during the years of CdQ (Photo 10.). The sudden end of the policy funding in 2016 has meant that the social activities, festivals, and events organised by the community centre responsible for CdQ’s delivery, *Laboratorio di Quartiere*, that used to involve the entire community have stopped or at least considerably decreased in the following years. The end of neighbourhood festivals and community engagement led to an increasing state of abandonment and quietness according to Volontario Sottovoce who talks about those years with nostalgia:

These pictures show the change in the neighbourhood where local associations and institutions enabled us to do that. And so, people would come together, share moments together, children would come and play, we would help them out, be involved in the organisation and this was perhaps the best moment of the neighbourhood. Those years were the most beautiful years. (Volontario Sottovoce, current long-term resident, over 60)

6.2.2. Positive reputation

Perceived positive references on Ponte Lambro cover various common themes across current and former residents and are supported by most of the photographs within the PPM, despite constituting a minority in the internal discourse (about 30% of the references). A sense of community support and solidarity emerge as core values and features of the neighbourhood and, while these are reasons to move into the area for newcomers, long-term residents find them as motivations to stay and feel safe (Bauman, 2001). Further characteristics, such as the area's overall physical improvements and the natural environment, are also mentioned by participants as significant elements of Ponte Lambro's positive changes.

6.2.2.1. A little town within the metropolis

One of the most frequent terms used by participants to describe Ponte Lambro is "*paese*" (town), which, I observe, holds a double connotation: it is used to communicate feelings of neighbourliness and community perceived in the area; however, it also stands for an enclosed and isolated urban place, both physically and socially separated from the rest of Milan. These apparently contradictory features align with Bauman's (2001: 115) notion of community, conceived as a social group, which to feel as 'one' and safe, must agree on some level of "sameness", thus implying exclusion and otherness. Here, I focus on participants' reference of the term's positive connotation – the community spirit – which seems to be important for all residents regardless of their length of residence in the area. Given the small size and the geographical location of the neighbourhood, Ponte Lambro is very quickly associated with a small town, where everyone knows and helps each other. The perception of living in a small town, far away from the highly connected but dehumanised city centre, provides participants with a strong sense of home and care, or in other words, a great sense of belonging and identity - "something you cannot find in Milan" (Affi, former long-term resident, 50-60) - evoked by terms such as "heart" or "resource". Sara, of Egyptian background, defines this feeling by identifying Ponte Lambro as her "*radici*" (roots), anchoring her to where she calls home, although she has moved several times over the last years between Egypt and Italy.

I like the suburb, because I think there you can see the **heart**, you know, **the heart of today's reality, of a place.** (Sara, former long-term resident, 30-40 – emphasis added)

Forms of care and attachment to the neighbourhood's identity can also be found in the many residents cultivating an interest for the neighbourhood's industrial and rural history, as well as in the many volunteers and social workers still engaged in community centres and local activities as active changemakers. The presence of meeting places such as the Cooperative (Photo 11.), the local church or the various community centres (CAM and CAG) is crucial in providing the community with spaces and opportunities to network and to receive mutual support. Elderly and young people, who are particularly

affected by Ponte Lambro's isolation, can rely on these facilities, and find protection, as is the case of Debora's dad:

And the Cooperative is still a very important place for my dad, where he used to meet with friends after work. And now that my dad is a man of a certain age, it is **a place of support** because when he goes there, we know he is recognised and respected. Even looked after. So, this is an example for me of Ponte Lambro as **resource**. (Debora, current long-term resident, 50-60 – emphasis added)

When discussing community spirit and sociality in the neighbourhood, former long-term residents also mention examples of socio-ethnic and cultural integration in the area. Some participants, like Stella (former long-term resident, 40-50), recall the background of Ponte Lambro as an urban area of domestic and then international immigration, stressing how this is actually “the greatest thing” about the neighbourhood, its welcoming and diverse nature. Sara perceives Ponte Lambro as a “balanced” neighbourhood – opposed to a ‘ghetto’ (this concept will be expanded later in section 6.2.3) – where people are comfortable living together despite their differences. Barbara elaborates this feeling and talks about how the area's diversity has taught her a valuable and unforgettable life lesson:

Unlike other people, I didn't mind saying I was from Ponte Lambro because then it [the neighbourhood] taught me how to stay with everyone. I mean, you would not be judgemental [towards other people] and I kept this [lesson] until today, when I meet someone, I don't judge by the cover, or by the rumours. (Barbara, former long-term resident, 50-60)

As resident I must say that I have seen worse moments in the life of this neighbourhood. Now it is a **quiet** suburban neighbourhood, even if it hides, you know, it has its dark sides. But life is **much quieter**. (Fabrizio, current long-term resident, 40-50 – emphasis added)

In contrast to this turbulent past, Ponte Lambro is now perceived by participants as a “quiet” (*tranquillo*) place to be, and even safer than other areas in Milan, such as Corvetto – another frequently stigmatised neighbourhood in the southern part of the city. A common practice among participants is comparing the area either with a version of its past self or with other suburbs perceived as being similar and within the city, to emphasise how Ponte Lambro has improved. For example, Sara (former long-term resident) and Rachele (current long-term resident) did so during one of the focus groups by stressing how Ponte Lambro is, from their experience, ‘not as bad as’ Corvetto: in so doing, they appear to elevate their own neighbourhood, yet adhering to the negative dominant discourse around *periferie* more in general, to which Ponte Lambro also belongs. This narrative strategy of dissociating their own neighbourhood from ‘bad’ neighbourhoods following a sort of classification is quite common among urban residents and known in the urban literature as “strategy of differentiation” which, as we will see in the next section can occur even within the same neighbourhood in the form of “micro-differentiation” (Permentier et al., 2007; Wakefield and McMullan, 2005)

It has nothing to do with Corvetto, for example – **completely different**. I’m sorry to say that but I get to go to Corvetto, I even worked as social worker in Corvetto [and it has] a great disadvantage. [...] Because there is no sense of safety, I want to feel safe when I go back home in the evening. (Sara, former long-term resident, 30-40)

Within the conversation about safety, comparisons also operate across time. Current long-term residents have been feeling much safer in the neighbourhood after some of the physical and social interventions implemented within and outside Ponte Lambro, in the surrounding areas. Angela (over 60) for instance, has been satisfied with the new look of the housing blocks in via Ucelli di Nemi: arcades underneath the long social housing building at the heart of Ponte Lambro were closed with railings as part of the CdQ regeneration, providing a sense of greater control on the area. Whereas Lo Zio77 (40-50) believes that the general improvements on the neighbourhood safety are also the result of law and order applied in viale Ungheria and via Mecenate, just outside Ponte Lambro.

6.2.2.3. Regenerated public spaces and parks

Among the various positive aspects of Ponte Lambro identified by participants, the regeneration of public spaces is often mentioned, particularly by current and former long-term residents. Many of these interventions have happened as part of CdQ, including the demolition of the uncompleted hotel (*ecomostro*) and the resulting Parco Vittorini, the regeneration of main streets and central square (Photo 12.) as well as of the local indoor market (Calvaresi and Cossa, 2011). These actions, together with the presence of a top-quality facility as the Monzino Cardiological Centre, contribute, according to some participants, to improve the neighbourhood’s image from an aesthetic point of view, which also plays

a significant role in attracting newcomers and visitors, as Carlo believes (current long-term resident, over 60).



Photo 12. "Piazza - Square" (Source: Vittoria, newcomer, 40-50).

The neighbourhood regeneration more than ten years ago, and all the work that has been done to the **Ucelli di Nemi housing** was very positive. As well as the creation of the **square** with *sampietrini*, benches and trees. This is totally positive. (Debora, current long-term resident, 50-60 - emphasis added)

The renewal that has invested the northern side of the neighbourhood, including Parco Vittorini, has been beneficial on many accounts from participants' perception. The park is still a significant meeting place for residents, and especially for current long-term ones, who use it for smart working thanks to the free Wi-Fi connection, to enjoy some fresh air in the hot Milan summers and to attend cultural and social events. Among the most recent uses of the park, participants appreciate the many opportunities of community building, such as WWF itinerary connecting the park with the small woodland alongside the wheat fields, as well as local events on the neighbourhood's history: in both cases, many participants were able to discover hidden natural treasures and learn more about Ponte Lambro's past and river, as was the case with Rachele (current long-term resident, 50-60), who arrived in the 1990s, before the regeneration (see Kazmierczak, 2013).

6.2.3. Negative reputation

When referring to Ponte Lambro's main changes over the last few years, from the end of the CdQ – or rather of the Laboratorio di Quartiere – current and former residents focus their discourse on elements they perceive as negative and damaging the neighbourhood's liveability. These tend all to pertain to an increased feeling of abandonment, both in spatial and social terms, that participants identify in sectors such as housing, crime, and services; their *fil rouge* being the abandoned Renzo Piano's project, which was supposed to be completed years ago as part of the CdQ. With regards to community spirit, many long-term residents believe that in Ponte Lambro social fabric is getting weaker, both between locals (Italian native residents) and migrants, and among locals themselves. The binary discourse of 'us versus them' as well as scapegoating dynamics emerging from interviews and focus groups portray the neighbourhood as divided by internal micro-segregation or "diversity segregation" (Hyra, 2015), which in some instances lead to social tensions over the 'right to the neighbourhood' (Harvey, 2008).

6.2.3.1. "The great Milan and the forgotten periferia"

"*Abbandono*" (abandonment) is the most common reply to the question

"What word or phrase would you use to describe Ponte Lambro today compared to the past?"

Most participants have indeed expressed their concern over the status of neglect affecting their neighbourhood. Urban decay, unfinished public works, decreased public and private services and insufficient transport connections expand the gap between the suburb – Ponte Lambro – and the centre of Milan contributing to the physical and social marginalisation of its residents. Although the newcomer interviewed stays optimistic for the area believing in its potentials, current and former long-term residents feel abandoned by the local government and politics in general, arguing that their complaints and needs are usually ignored, and considered only during local electoral campaigns, when politicians are seen 'parading' through the neighbourhood. Indeed, when the City Council does not keep its promises towards the neighbourhood, when authorities seem to be indifferent to residents' calls or institutions are absent from the area, residents start to perceive disparities and double standards in terms of care and investment with the rest of the city. Two participants describe here their feelings of frustration and sense of inequity with regards to such spatial inequalities, by mentioning public initiatives, services, and facilities as examples.

I think, about 1 km as the crow flies from here there is the urban renewal of the former Montecity area for the Winter Olympic Games and whatnot. The stadium, the mall, people talk about these new initiatives. But **from this side** there are not even 2, 3 million euros to finish the Renzo Piano project. These are the disparities of the **great Milan** and the **forgotten** suburb. (Carlo, current long-term resident, over 60 – emphasis added)

I cannot stand the fact that Milan has **dormitory suburbs** because Milan is Milan. [...] So, I don't pay less [waste taxes] living in the suburb, I pay the same as you [city centre] do, **I am from Milan like you are**, and I don't have anything more or less [than you]. But at this

point you have got everything and **we have less and less**. (Volontario Sottovoce, current long-term resident, over 60 – emphasis added)

By trying to find logical reasons behind such perceived disparity between the “great Milan” and the “forgotten”, “dormitory suburbs” like Ponte Lambro, some current long-term participants point out the Council’s lack of interest in facing issues of the disadvantaged communities living in the neighbourhood. Suburbs are not inhabited by politicians or by what Angela (current long-term resident, over 60) means ‘important’ people, rather by lower social classes ‘deserving’ to live and be kept at the margins of the city, because “that’s the way it’s supposed to be” (Fabrizio, current long-term resident, 40-50) following a stigmatising and exclusionary narrative of the poor as underclass (Imrie and Raco, 2012; Slater, 2021). Internalised feelings of inadequacy related to social injustice risk to foster, however, narratives of resignation and the reproduction, to some extent, of the external territorial stigma associated to urban decay and lacking services in Ponte Lambro (Souto-Manning, 2014; Wacquant, 2007). With regards to urban decay, nearly all participants highlight internal disparities by identifying the eastern side as the most neglected area of the neighbourhood, thus adhering to what Permentier refers to as “micro-differentiation” (2007: 203) – the practice of producing internal stigmatisation by delineating internal boundaries at the block or neighbourhood level, in this case. While in via Camaldoli (Photo 13.), along the river Lambro, houses seem to have not really improved since the 1950s with related structural issues, via Umiliati “has become synonym of Ponte Lambro’s decline” according to Lo Zio77 (current long-term resident, 40-50). Both streets have historically been left behind from local renewal interventions of any kind, including the CdQ, leaving the area to a persistent status of immobility and concentrated socio-economic disadvantage.

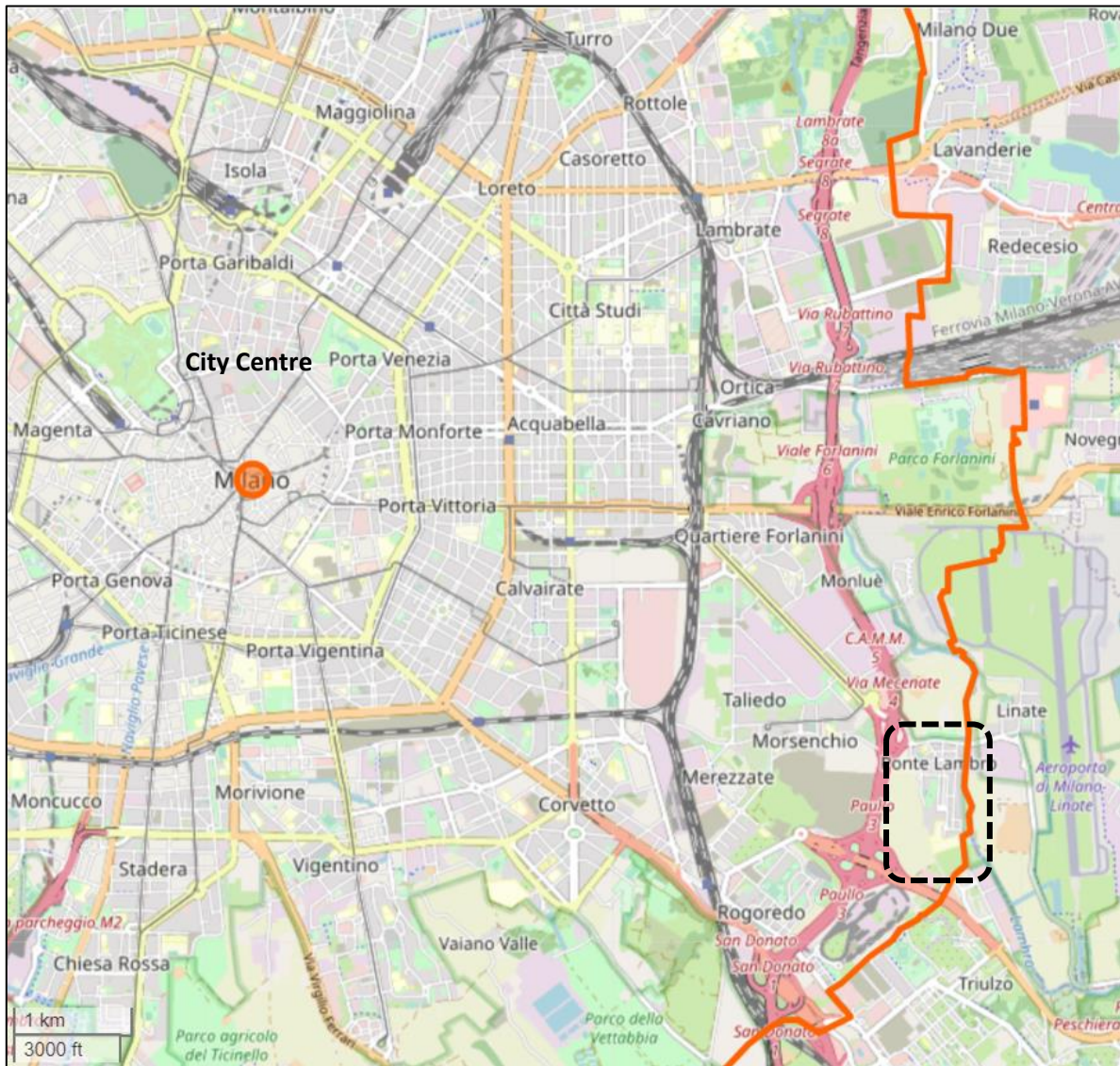
[via Camaldoli] looks like an abandoned countryside road, and not a street of Milan, **Milan does not exist there**. (Angela, current long-term resident, over 60 – emphasis added)



Photo 13. "Le discariche a cielo aperto di Ponte Lambro, via Camaldoli - Ponte Lambro's openair landfill, via Camaldoli" (Source: Ilaria, former short-term resident, 40-50).

Moreover, public spaces and local services are perceived as further signs of abandonment in the area, particularly with regards to the needs of older and younger generations. Public spaces, such as parks, streets and squares have been regenerated over time, but residents complain about the lack of constant maintenance and care, which emphasise the existing sense of neglect. As is the case for many other suburban neighbourhoods in Milan (Il Giorno, 2021), basic healthcare provision is very limited as Ponte Lambro counts only one general practitioner for 5,000 people; the gap is covered by the work of pharmacists and the local cardiological hospital, Monzino. The lack of services in Ponte Lambro also include a limited variety of shops and groceries, with the small local market representing the main source of food and staples in the area; opportunities for connections with the city are provided only by two lines of buses and one line of subway, which residents regard as not always reliable, and the ring road (Figure 35.), which is physically separating Ponte Lambro from Milan like a "Berlin wall" (Affi, former long-term resident, 50-60) preceding the actual urban border (in orange in the map below). The loss of the local middle school, in addition, together with the high rate of school dropouts and fewer training opportunities, has contributed to a critical situation for teenagers in the neighbourhood, who, according to some participants are likely to "end up on the street" (Lo Zio77, current long-term resident, 40-50) and to have anti-social behaviours.

Figure 35. Ring road (in pink) as physical barrier dividing Ponte Lambro from Milan.



Source: OpenStreetMap.

6.2.3.2. Social fractures on different fronts

With the end of Laboratorio di Quartiere (2000-2015), the socio-cultural community organisation founded by CdQ, current and former residents perceived a gradual decline in community spirit and participation within the neighbourhood. Despite the physical improvements to the area implemented with the CdQ interventions, the atmosphere is generally “colder” (Barbara, former long-term resident, 50-60) compared to the past and social change seems to have been superficial as new tensions among locals have emerged (Hyra, 2015). This highlights indeed that, within the process of regeneration, community and neighbourliness require more than the buildings and the infrastructure to survive and thrive over the years; they need constant support, services, and social justice (Jupp, 2021). Divisions between Italian native residents and international migrants as well as among Italian residents themselves illustrate a status of micro-segregation over matters of housing, public space, and sense of safety in the

neighbourhood, which become contested spaces in terms of tenure, class, and ethnicity. For instance, while social housing blocks in via Ucelli di Nemi are seen as anonymous “*casermoni*” (barracks-style buildings), hence as perceived source and product of concentrated disadvantage, private properties in via Umiliati tend to be more exclusionary, although they are not exempt from potential problems, such as overcrowded flats. This is reflected in the following, where Rachele (private owner) and A.V. (former council housing tenant) discuss social tensions over the housing domain from their different tenure perspectives:

You [squatter] don't have the tenant agreement, **you should not be there**, you don't work, then to feed your family you end up **drug dealing** and so on and so forth. (Rachele, current long-term resident, 50-60 – emphasis added)

I don't know if it [the community] is small, divided, because the **social housing and the private property communities will never come together**. [...] because the private owner says, I bought my house, so I don't want to have nothing to do with it. **I have got more rights**. Those social housing [tenants] are abandoned. (A. V., former long-term resident, 30-40 – emphasis added)

Social fractures, like bias and mistrust, are not only observed between tenants and private owners, but also between tenants living in different social housing estates. A.V. highlights that there has always been a sense of divide between the “*case rosse*” (red houses) and the “*case bianche*” (white houses) (now *gialle*, yellow) in Ponte Lambro. Although CdQ has helped regenerating both social housing blocks (see section 6.3.), tenants in via Ucelli di Nemi (former white houses) can enjoy a renovated urban park, which those coming from via Rilke (red houses) would not visit to avoid meeting with “people from the white houses, as they were of a certain [dodgy] kind” (A. V., former long-term resident, 30-40). Again, practices and narratives of micro-differentiation can be observed here, although in this case the scalar representation has changed, as participants are applying stigma and classification to different blocks of housing, instead of different neighbourhoods in Milan or streets within Ponte Lambro (Permentier et al., 2008). Parks, as the next section will further explore, are similarly not only important features of the neighbourhood, but they can also be perceived as places of race and class avoidance and – when not sufficiently enjoyed by ‘locals’ – of fear (Madge, 1997).

Egyptians' children [play] on one side, and on the other side there are Italian children. (Roberta, current long-term resident, 50-60)

6.2.3.3. *Whose right to the neighbourhood?*

Ponte Lambro has always been characterised by the presence of migrants, usually concentrating in the social housing estates. While in the years preceding the CdQ newcomers were predominantly Italians coming from Southern Italy (domestic migration), with the turn of the century the presence and concentration of international migrant populations in the neighbourhood has become predominant in the neighbourhood and acquired media's attention. By the end of 2011 around 33% of the population in the Ponte Lambro area had a migratory background, coming mostly from Egypt, Ecuador, Peru, and until 2020 the rate increased by about 10% (Comune di Milano, 2020; 2011a; Calvaresi and Cossa,

2011: 12). The cohabitation between native Italians and migrant communities is perceived mostly as complicated by current and former residents whose discourse tends to consist of an apparent ‘tolerant’ rhetoric, and more explicit ‘us vs. them’ arguments. In terms of the apparent tolerance that they try to convey, when referring to the levels of crime or urban decay and housing disadvantage in the area, participants’ common phrase is “*non sono razzista, ma...*” (I am not racist, but...), usually followed by a biased or, at least, controversial comment towards immigrant neighbours or visitors. Here we can observe, I argue, that this apologetic phrase usually attempts to hide a generalised image of the immigrant that is rooted in considerations around their socio-cultural integration or, in other words, their deviance, hence ‘failed’ assimilation to the host society (Berruti and Lepore, 2008; see also Birdsall-Jones, 2013). Even though the latest official Census demonstrates that immigrants constitute around one third of the neighbourhood population (Comune di Milano, 2011a), there is nevertheless a general perception that they are disproportionately represented. Because of such relatively ‘high’ concentration (compared to other neighbourhoods in Milan) some participants have the feeling that migrants are not even willing to ‘integrate’ – considering integration as a one-way process, more akin to assimilation, whereby it is the immigrant’s duty to completely adhere to the host community’s culture and values (Uitermark, 2014). Hence, when the proportion between locals and immigrants is unbalanced, or perceived so, even those residents claiming to be anti-racist start feeling threatened and risk missing out on exclusionary and stigmatising comments, associating the immigrant status with illicit or anti-social behaviours.

This is not a matter of racism, let’s be clear. **But** if an undocumented migrant comes here because here finds unsupervised areas, they live following their own rules, they live in the dirt, and whatnot but they bring decay in the neighbourhood. (Volontario Sottovoce, current long-term resident, over 60 – emphasis added)

The feeling of neighbourhood unsafety perceived by residents is often supported by comments contrasting Italians to immigrants, through ‘us vs. them’ arguments implying scapegoating dynamics: *unlike* Italian residents, immigrants are seen as a potential source of decay and crime. With regards to housing, for instance, Ilaria (former resident, 40-50) refers to socio-ethnic concentration of immigrants in via Umiliati, where she has lived for a short period of time, distinguishing between nice and lovely houses *owned* “no wonder” by Italian households, and social housing blocks “packed with dodgy characters”. In this discourse, the social housing reputation comes alongside both territorial – *periferia* (suburb) – and class/race stigmatisation, related to matters of crime (Slater, 2018; Kearns et al., 2013).

Unfortunately, **it is well known**, where there is **social housing**, you often find people from a certain social class, culture, ethnicity and unfortunately, **not all of them are saints**. (Ilaria, former resident, 40-50 – emphasis added)

The practice of othering and “scapegoating”, as Sara (former long-term resident, 30-40) calls it, is more evidently expressed when participants use the following terms to identify individuals they perceive as immigrants (Pickering, 2001). In the attempt to find a suitable label that could categorise ‘them’,

practices of nominalisation, or racialisation, through abstraction and generalisation are employed, assuming nationality (“Moroccans”, “Bangladesh”, “Indians”), religion (“Muslims”) and places (“ghetto”, “casbah”), including the common journalistic and propagandistic terms of “*extracomunitari*” (non-European migrants) and “*clandestini*” (undocumented migrants) (Hanretty and Hermanin, 2010; see also Khosravini, 2010). In this case, participants tend to support their arguments with reference to news reports, while reproducing and internalising stigmatising narratives (Souto-Manning, 2014). The decreasing sense of safety in the neighbourhood is also blamed on migrants. On the one hand, Volontario Sottovoce (over 60) fears the ‘return’ of the drugs and the high levels of crime of the pre-CdQ period, blaming the fact that parks and public spaces are not much used by locals and native Italians: their absence hence prevents them to “reclaim the territory” of the neighbourhood, leaving room for illicit activities (Harvey, 2008; Chaskin and Joseph, 2013). Roberta (50-60), on the other hand, brings up the atmosphere of conspiracy of silence (“*omertà*”) that has always characterised the neighbourhood and claims to feel more unsafe today than in the past, as, she explains, crime is now ‘reckless’: “northern Africans” are perceived as threats, since “they don’t know who you are, whether you live in the area or not”, hence they are believed to behave as reckless individuals, unlike ‘local’ drug addicts and “old mafia crime” of the past.

In the past, I used to go home by night, and **I was not afraid**. Perhaps it was the **old mafia crime** based on honour? Now, it is no longer a matter of honour because **they are like crazy horses**. (Roberta, current long-term resident, 50-60 – emphasis added)

6.2.4. Neutral reputation (neither positive nor negative)

Research participants in Ponte Lambro tend to communicate a binary internal perception. There were a few exceptions to this (about 9% of the references) when they talked about their neighbourhood in neither positive nor negative terms, applying what I refer to as ‘neutral reputation’. In this last section on the perception of the changed neighbourhood, I present the themes that participants have mostly referred to in a more critical or balanced way, describing physical, social, and historic changes without providing any specific connotation.

6.2.4.1. From rurality to urban renewal

Ponte Lambro is an example of targeted suburb, that over the last 70 years has gone through a rapid urbanisation, from an industrial and rural past to most recent urban renewal interventions (see Chapter 4). A few participants talked about changes to the physical outlook of the neighbourhood by stating them as facts and events that have occurred over time. Crucially here they saw them as part of a wider process that might also have happened elsewhere and in other suburbs of Milan rather than something specific to their places of home. These changes, or developments, in the area include three main historical phases: the transition from Ponte Lambro as a rural town beyond the periphery of the city to part of the city of Milan through the territorial process of ‘annexation’ and how it subsequently became a working-class neighbourhood (Calvaresi and Cossa, 2011); the massive social housing construction

undertaken between the 1970s and 1980s; the urban renewal programme of CdQ, including the demolition of the so-called *ecomostro* (Photo 14.) replaced by Parco Vittorini. Current long-term residents focus on the interesting background and everchanging nature of the area dating back as far as the Middle Ages. Contributions and photographs by Carlo (over 60), a local historian, and Roberta (50-60), for instance, describe this past by referring particularly to the demolition of *cascine* (farmhouses), *lavanderie* (old outdoor laundries) and *case di ringhiera*¹⁹, which used to be Ponte Lambro's traditional meeting places, and were replaced over the years with new landmarks, such as the Monzino Cardiological Centre in Photo 15. (former Cascina Canova and Quattro Marie Hospital) and “*case bianche*” (white houses), the social housing estates located in via Serrati and via Ucelli di Nemi.

[There was] Quattro Marie clinic, which is now Monzino [Hospital] and two internal streets, that's it, the rest was fields. Completely different from now, until a few years ago there were still old ladies sitting on their chairs on via Umiliati, and chatting, like people used to do in Sicily. We used to live in a *casa di ringhiera* when we moved here, and we used to play on the street. (Roberta, current long-term resident, 50-60)



Photo 14. "Abattimento ex Albergo Mondiali - Demolition of former World Cup Hotel" (Source: Carlo, current long-term resident, over 60).

¹⁹ Type of house, typical of the city of Milan, characterised by flats sharing open galleries, one for each floor.

The building of council housing estates in Ponte Lambro is not perceived here as a completely positive nor a completely negative feature but is instead appreciated as the type of housing symbolising the neighbourhood and all its contradictions. Former long-term resident Affi (50-60) recalls the construction of social housing blocks in Ponte Lambro – notably the former *case bianche* – and highlights their role in connecting the northern and southern areas of the neighbourhood, which were previously separated by wider, empty fields. However, although from her perspective, high-rise flats would then be responsible for “the decline of Ponte Lambro”, Barbara (former long-term resident, 50-60) believes instead that they have contributed to provide a sense of belonging to the area, as since then *case bianche* became synonym of Ponte Lambro.

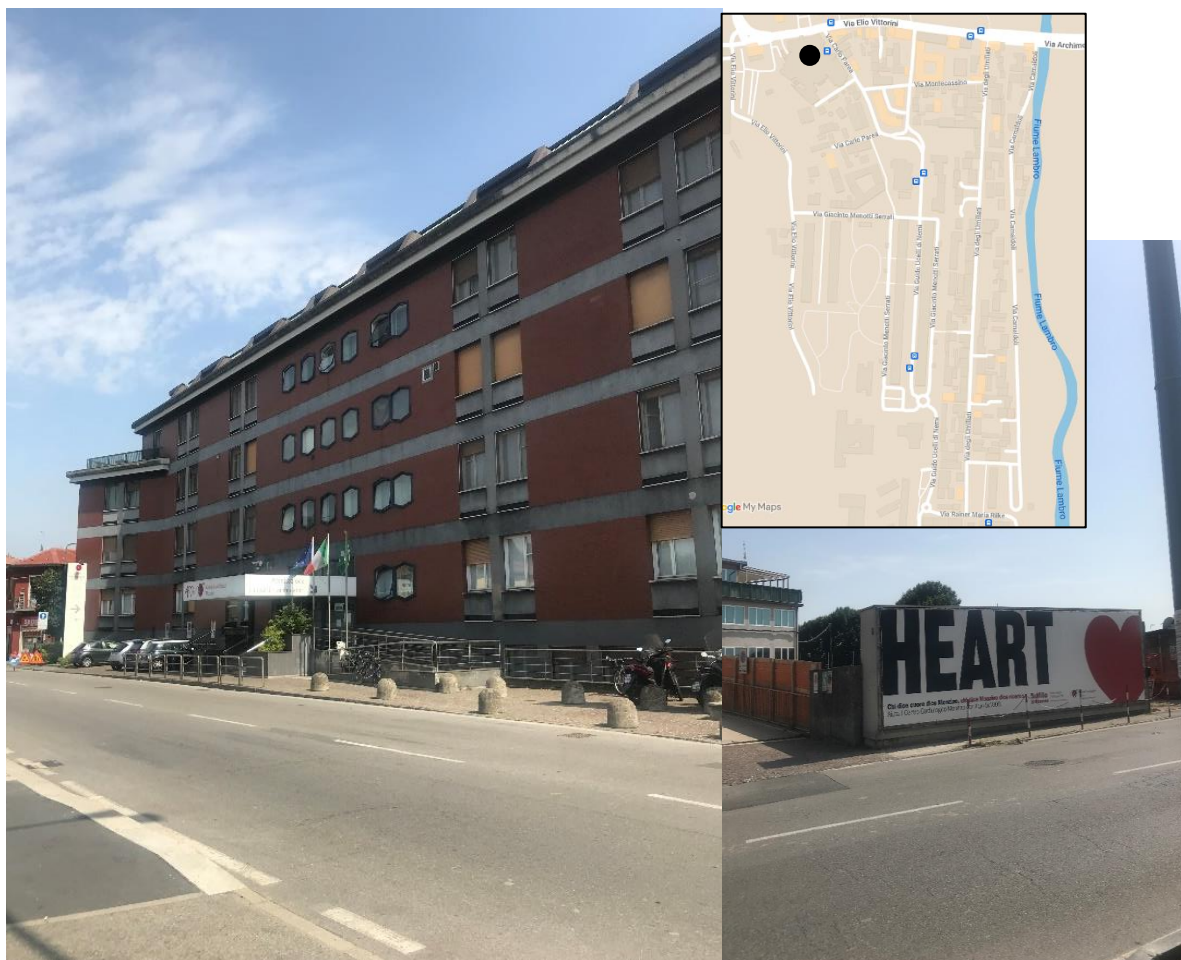


Photo 15. "Ospedale, seconda casa per me - Hospital, my second home" (Source: Roberta, current long-term resident, 50-60).

6.2.4.2. Demographic change with a constant

As outlined in the previous sections, multiculturalism and immigration in the neighbourhood often evoke either positive or negative perceptions. However, in some cases participants do not express a positive or negative view on the subject but refer to such demographic change as a phenomenon over which they have no control, as a fact that is part of the place and the time that they are living in. When this happens, both current and former long-term residents identify a constant feature, that, from their perspectives, has always characterised Ponte Lambro over time: although different generations and cultures have lived in the neighbourhood, they have been sharing similar social classes and backgrounds of urban marginality. The concentration of socio-economic disadvantage, regardless of changes in the population's ethnicity or age, is perceived by Fabrizio as the very nature and constant of Ponte Lambro:

Life changes. In the past, this neighbourhood was full of immigrants coming from the South (of Italy). Now, it is full of immigrants from the world. **Same disadvantaged social classes.** (Fabrizio, current long-term resident, 40-50 – emphasis added)

From a social and cultural point of view, illiteracy is represented by participants as another perpetual barrier to social inclusion and participation, keeping residents apart as well as limiting their opportunities to operate real change. Rachele (current long-term resident, 50-60) remembers her surprise when in the 1990s Italian language classes were offered in the neighbourhood to native Italian residents, as at the time she could regularly deal with illiterate customers attending her ice-cream shop. And apparently, this is still sometimes the case today with Mr. Bristow's (current long-term resident, 30-40) neighbours in one of the social housing estates, where uneducated tenants - "victims of their time" - may struggle with taking collective decisions over necessary interventions.

6.3. Perception of the Contratto di Quartiere

As detailed extensively in Chapter 4, CdQ was introduced in Ponte Lambro in 2004, with the aim to target housing (*Abitare*), facility infrastructures (*Attrezzare*), social and professional life (*Vivere*) in the neighbourhood (Pinto, 2008; Calvaresi and Cossa, 2011). What I explore here are participants' views on and experience of the urban renewal policy, referring at times to the specific interventions which focused on the central area of the neighbourhood (see Figure 10, Chapter 4). Specifically, it will be observed that most research participants, across the three groups of residents, hold a negative perception of the policy, and share what they believe is the most visible sign of its 'failed utopia': the unfinished and abandoned project that was designed by the worldwide famous architect Renzo Piano, *Laboratorio Renzo Piano* (Renzo Piano Lab). Overall, I could register limited satisfaction with short and long-run effects of CdQ by participants both current and former long-term residents; while, conversely, it is worth highlighting how the plans of regeneration were able at the time to attract newcomers like Vittoria (40-50) to the area.

6.3.1. Ponte Lambro is unfinished

When walking along via Ucelli di Nemi, the incomplete project of *Laboratorio Renzo Piano*, or as residents refer to it, “*ponte (bridge) di Renzo Piano*”, is imposing right in the middle of the street, connecting the two social housing blocks. What was meant to become the symbol of innovation and social mixing in the heart of the neighbourhood, was left uncomplete, and has turned into a permanent construction site (Photo 16.). Current and former residents agree in perceiving this work in progress as the main failure of CdQ, since not only it involved the displacement of 40 families for its realisation, but because of its state of abandonment, it is nowadays source of urban decay and crime, hence a ‘stigma’ for the whole neighbourhood. Fabrizio (current long-term resident, 40-50), for instance, was initially very excited for the project – as it involved the work of a famous Italian architect – until he realised that the development would also imply the displacement from the neighbourhood of many of his friends and family and that they would be allocated to housing elsewhere in the city. The housing in the neighbourhood was to be reduced and the space occupied by smaller flats; services and facilities addressed to elderly, such as a clinic, a ‘social’ reception; as well as to families and youth, such as a playroom and a job centre (Calvaresi and Cossa, 2011: 107). However, such plans have not been realised yet in 2021, leading residents to think that the reallocation (or displacement) of their neighbours was painful but vain.

So, in 2005 this beautiful thing happens. But we find out that a lot of our friends and relatives are evicted and have to leave the neighbourhood because they need to build this infrastructure. It is not very clear whether this will host a police headquarter or city council offices. (Fabrizio, current long-term resident, 40-50)

After 15 years, the sense of frustration for the loss of neighbours and the waste of money adds up to a feeling of disappointed expectations and political disenchantment. As Volontario Sottovoce (current long-term resident, over 60) points out, the plans for a cohabitation, in the same social housing block, between young and old generations in the form of social mix would have led to a greater community spirit and mutual support that he perceives has been lost in Ponte Lambro over the years. On the other hand, despite being “a perfect idea”, the participant now considers it, after its evident failure, as “a nearly utopistic kind of thing” that, at least in the neighbourhood, would be unlikely to happen. In a similar vein, Carlo (current long-term resident, over 60) refers to the Renzo Piano project as a “top-down” intervention, as, unlike the rest of the policy’s planned actions, it was not fully discussed and agreed with members of the local community, but it was proposed or ‘imposed’ from the start only within community consultations: this is confirmed by participants’ confused information on the design and goals of the project.

It [Renzo Piano's bridge] was a bit like the hotel, the one of the 90s, the famous hotel they demolished, never completed. And you always think, **they try**, but then **eventually nothing comes up from that**. (Barbara, former long-term resident, 50-60 – emphasis added)

Renzo Piano's bridge appears to be doomed to the same destiny of the former *ecomostro*, as Barbara observes here: an attempt to develop a great and expensive project that ended up being an abandoned construction site attracting littering, drug dealing and squatting. Her comparison also indicates a sense of disenchantment with regards to investments and infrastructures in the neighbourhood, which often fail to meet expectations and plans. And while residents are waiting for the works to restart, many suggest services that might be needed and located there, such as student accommodations, a youth centre, council offices, a public library, a traffic police headquarter. However, Renzo Piano's project is not the only negative effect of CdQ according to research participants. Many denounced the fact that, despite some significant physical interventions to streets and housing, strategies to ensure community building and social capital were not sufficient or did not last long enough to ensure long-term benefits (Jupp, 2021). That is the case of *Laboratorio di Quartiere*, for instance, a sort of community centre, responsible for the delivery of CdQ, where social activities as well as neighbourhood meetings and consultations with Ponte Lambro's residents and third sector were organised. This hub represented a substantial improvement to the life of residents in the short-term, but as soon as it stopped receiving funding from the policy, hence from the City Council, participants felt a "feeling of loss and of 'going backwards'" (Jupp, 2021: 9) – this is further explored in the next section.

6.3.2. "It was like a happy place"

As anticipated above, among the successful actions of CdQ participants mention the general improvements to the look of the neighbourhood, from the regeneration of streets, housing, and facilities, such as the local schools' maintenance, to the new square and parks. Interventions on social housing estates have been appreciated by participants across the three groups of residents, who believe these have not only increased the living standards of tenants, but also promoted a new "sense of belonging" (Carlo, current long-term resident, over 60) and care, by providing character and identity to the neighbourhood (Bauman, 2001). Long-term residents were happy to be involved, for instance, in the decision for the new façade's colour in via Ucelli di Nemi, as they felt there was finally a true interest from the institutions in listening to the needs and wants of Ponte Lambro's residents. Moreover, the public discourse of CdQ plans at the time had a positive impact on Vittoria's decision to move into the area, as, she believed, she was about to make an investment.

However, except those [residents] who were evicted, who would have not been happy, there was the idea, the sense that **finally they think about us too**. (Rachele, current long-term resident, 50-60 – emphasis added)

On the other hand, current long-term residents like Volontario Sottovoce (over 60) remember with a sense of nostalgia the years of *Laboratorio di Quartiere*, during which Ponte Lambro, he says, was a

“*isola felice*” (a happy island), a vibrant place characterised by social participation, inclusion with the city of Milan and overall, a better external reputation from the local media.

[Those] were some beautiful years. I was tired because I used to get up early, get back home late, dismantling and reassembling, but [I was] happy in a wonderful way, because in my opinion that was sociality. (Volontario Sottovoce, current long-term resident, over 60 - emphasis added)

While Laboratorio was active, the neighbourhood offered a variety of festivals (like *Straponte*) and other social events organised with the help of the local church and community centres and involving music, games, lotteries, open air cinema and free trainings. As the pictures in the PPM illustrate, Volontario Sottovoce among others, played a key role in the design and delivery of social activities coordinated by the hub, and thanks to his dialogue with the City Council, the programme could last three more years than previously planned (from 2006 until about 2016) (Calvaresi and Cossa, 2011). Yet, such festive and social opportunities have suddenly decreased with the end of the Laboratorio, which for many participants represented the abandonment of the institutions and another loss of interest for Ponte Lambro.

6.3.3. An atmosphere of hope and participation

Unlike past urban regenerations in the area, CdQ was designed and delivered through public consultations and constant engagement with the local community. Although some former long-term residents stated that they would have wanted to be more informed on the policy’s interventions at the time of implementation, many research participants among current and former residents share how they have lived the years of the policy, referring to the Laboratorio di Quartiere, as the place where community involvement took place. Carlo, for instance, who’s always been very engaged in the neighbourhood, talks here about his experience as resident taking part in the many initiatives and community meetings of the Laboratorio, and how this was for him a crucial opportunity to contribute to change.

People even experts in sociality, in management, investing on the population on [how to deal with] a series of problems and understand what primary needs were and provide a plan to solve problems. (Carlo, current long-term resident, over 60)

The hub was a meeting place for internal and external actors, from residents to local associations, architects, and City Council representatives, to meet and discuss initiatives with the common aim of accompanying the community towards the area’s regeneration (Calvaresi and Cossa, 2011; Pinto, 2008).

6.4. Perceptions of the external reputation

When confronted with the local media’s external reputation of the neighbourhood – as final part of interviews and focus groups – both before and after the CdQ (CDA of local newspapers’ articles, see Chapter 5), reactions tended to be slightly more positive among former long-term residents and the newcomer, who appreciate the relative decrease of ‘bad’ news over time, compared to current long-

term residents. Unlike the newcomer interviewed, who does not perceive any particularly bad reputation affecting the neighbourhood, current and former long-term residents focused on their personal experience of the territorial stigma. Overall, participants often referred to past or recent episodes of various forms of perceived discrimination and stereotyping related to the neighbourhood, affecting education, the workplace, housing, and services. Nevertheless, despite instances of internalised stigma (Souto-Manning, 2014), feelings of hope and redemption emerged as participants shared a variety of ways in which an alternative narrative on Ponte Lambro could be communicated.

6.4.1. An “undeserved” but permanent label

Despite the general improvements that have occurred as a result of investments in Ponte Lambro over the past 15 years, including those reported in the news, a consistent part of participants perceived that the “label” of the unsafe neighbourhood with drug-related problems still persists in the public discourse, producing both external and internal effects. Current and former long-term residents talk about the impact of such reputation on their everyday life, by referring to the past as well as the present ‘image’ of the area. In the early 2000s, for instance, when – as confirmed by the CDA – Ponte Lambro was living its ‘worst’ period in terms of reputation, it was very common for residents to be stopped and interrogated at recurrent police roadblocks just outside the neighbourhood. Volontario Sottovoce describes how he felt judged and profiled by police officers, who assumed he was “a drug addict or drug dealer” solely because he was living in Ponte Lambro:

In the past, the neighbourhood, if they [police] stopped me to check [my documents] and they saw I was living in Ponte Lambro, they already used to make assumptions and I, more than once, also said “I am sorry, I don’t accept this, I have nothing to do with the neighbourhood, **I live there, but I have nothing to do with it** [crime]. (Volontario Sottovoce, current long-term resident, over 60 – emphasis added)

For similar reasons, taxi drivers, as Mr. Bristow recalls, used to refuse to drive through the neighbourhood when he called them to book a ride, and this used to happen especially by night, because they feared they would get robbed. At the time, the area was associated with the notoriety of unsafe neighbourhood, where “you would get robbed and beaten up” (Mr. Brigstow, current long-term resident, 30-40). Although the situation seems to have improved in the last years, both in terms of crime levels and media’s attention, the public discourse on Ponte Lambro seems to rely on the same old stigma, as if the label of problematic area assigned in the past would be impossible to remove:

But for the public opinion, after twenty years of bad things happening in Ponte Lambro, if you are born here, you know, if you say you live in Ponte Lambro, **eh, that’s it [...]** **it is a label that will stay on us**, in my opinion. (Rachele, current long-term resident, 50-60 – emphasis added)

Postcode discrimination is still visible, among others, in domains such as the job and housing markets, as some participants explain (Slater, 2021). Pepe (current long-term resident, 50-60) was not offered to a job with a company in Milan as soon as the employer checked his address; hence he was victim of

discrimination specifically because he came from Ponte Lambro. Moreover, as many participants point out, such an enduring stigma has a detrimental impact on property desirability and values, resulting in difficulties for residents selling houses. Ferdinando (current long-term resident, 40-50), for instance, shares his astonishment when, talking with real estate agents, he realised they were associating the neighbourhood with the concentration of socio-ethnic disadvantage, by calling it “*solito posto di delinquenti*” (usual place of criminals) or “*degli immigrati*” (of immigrants), hence the radical decline in property prices compared to past years. This trend, however, is not only affecting private owners in Ponte Lambro trying to sell their properties, but it is *de facto* contributing to the residential segregation of lower social classes. In some instances, however, the territorial stigma elicits a different reaction among participants, whereby the negative discourse is internalised and reproduced in the forms of acceptance or shame (Souto-Manning, 2014). When reflecting on the external reputation of Ponte Lambro, some residents referred to the unchangeable nature of suburban neighbourhoods, while those who as teenagers were ashamed to say they came from the area said they would still feel uncomfortable today when inviting friends over, indicating differences in behavioural responses among participants (Permentier et al., 2007; Arthurson, 2013).

6.4.2. Between anonymity and stigma

Unlike former residents and the newcomer resident, current long-term residents do not fully relate with the findings resulting from the CDA of newspapers, which show a slight increase of positive news on Ponte Lambro over time. They perceive indeed that the unsafety issues in the neighbourhood are still overrepresented topics in the local media and the public discourse more generally, confirming what they see as the ‘reputation of *periferie*’ (Harris and Vorms, 2017): from articles associating Ponte Lambro with other stigmatised suburban areas, such as Rogoredo, when referring to drug dealing, to articles mentioning the whole neighbourhood instead of a single street, via Umiliati, as problematic. Participants do not deny the fact that “it is not a bed of roses” (Fabrizio, 40-50), but they feel the news is still employing undeserved labels that contribute to the stigma. Such external reputation, they believe, is also supported by the visible crime and socio-ethnic concentration characterising the area in the last few years, including the *aula bunker* (a guarded building used as court room for mafia trials) in the past, and the abandoned Renzo Piano’s bridge.

On the other hand, many participants find themselves in agreement with the place image gathered from the news and have noticed such change in the external perception or within the neighbourhood itself. For some residents this slightly improved reputation, reflected in the public discourse as well, is due to the neighbourhood regeneration, from CdQ onwards, that has addressed a variety of issues, from crime levels to urban decay, leading to a more pleasant outlook. Whereas others, like Angela (current long-term resident, over 60), justify this recent trend by rather pointing out the loss of interest in the area, whereby Ponte Lambro is no longer at the centre of local news, but it is now rather ignored by the media

and unknown by the rest of the city, and “perhaps that’s better”, she adds. Other participants, like Vittoria (newcomer, 40-50) and Sara (former long-term resident, 30-40) agree with this point and seem thus to reject any potential pressure deriving from the external reputation, applying what Permentier et al. (2007), would identify as the “loyalty” strategy – defensive response to the external neighbourhood reputation.

It never mattered to me, I love suburbs, I find other central areas dispersive and transient, like there were no roots. The suburb has its charm, and **feels like home**. (Sara, former long-term resident, 30-40 – emphasis added)

6.4.3. A new discourse on the neighbourhood

Considering the persistency of explicit or implicit forms of territorial stigma on Ponte Lambro, in the context of focus groups and interviews, participants suggest various actions that could contribute to build a better, or at least more authentic place image that could positively affect both internal and external reputations. In this theoretical production of a counter-narrative, as a form of resistance – or “voice” (Permentier et al., 2007) – to the power exerted by territorial stigma, current and former residents include not only aspects of the neighbourhood they would like to see improved, but also features they believe would increase the attractiveness of the area (Garbin and Millington, 2012). With regards to the former, participants wish, among others, that Ponte Lambro would be included in the surrounding plans for the 2026 Winter Olympic Games both in terms of regeneration and public transport links with the rest of Milan: this would represent a chance for the neighbourhood to feel less socially and spatially excluded. Similarly, a greater provision of services, from health care practitioners to libraries, cultural events, and facilities, would be highly needed to the whole community, but especially the most vulnerable groups such as migrants, elderly, and young ones.

What could it be done? For starters, **increasing services**. Because if there’s one more public transport, **Renzo Piano’s bridge is complete**, the aesthetic improved, and via Camaldoli repaired – hence to increase those services, the aesthetic, the propriety, the hygiene. (Angela, current long-term resident, over 60 – emphasis added)

Secondly, interventions on the perceived abandoned areas of Renzo Piano’s bridge and via Umiliati are mentioned as examples to attract newcomers, as they would finally provide a sense of completeness to CdQ while providing further services and housing to existing and potential neighbours. Alongside local services, Carlo (current long-term resident, over 60) suggests that youth and the whole community would benefit from learning about the history of Ponte Lambro, since this would promote “the creation of roots and a sense of belonging to the neighbourhood”. In a similar vein, some participants believe that the key to deconstruct the area’s stigma is to communicate its many potentials, from the work of local groups and community centres to hidden ‘gems’ of which residents themselves are less aware. According to Debora, for instance, the PPM itself could be turned into a useful tool, such as a neighbourhood map, for both residents and visitors to explore the area and discover unknown “nice thing[s]”:

One can see it and be like “Oh, I have never been there, look, there is this nice thing, I can even go there and see it by following this pathway”. (Debora, current long-term resident, 50-60)

Moreover, increasing the information and the promotion of socio-cultural activities in Ponte Lambro would allow, from Mr. Bristow’s perspective, younger professionals to move into the area. Although this is perceived as a necessary generational turnover that would also positively affect the housing market in the neighbourhood, it may be worth pointing out the risk, in this case, of producing gentrification – a phenomenon, however, that has been rarely addressed in the Italian context (Annunziata and Lees, 2016).

6.4.4. The role of newspapers and social media

When reflecting on the origins of the external reputation, participants tended to refer to the role played by newspapers and social media in the construction of the ‘problem’. With regards to the local press, the perception of residents tends to split between current and former long-term residents. The first group adopts a critical approach to the news on Ponte Lambro, highlighting how the “destructive and not constructive” misrepresentation and spectacularisation (Champagne, 1999) of neighbourhood issues can affect not only the reputation of the neighbourhood as a perceived construct, but also the lived experience and lives of “decent people” (Angela, current long-term resident, over 60), leading to discouragement, distrust and internalisation of the territorial stigma (Souto-Manning, 2014). Angela, who is struggling to sell her house and move outside the area, feels the main reason behind this situation dates to the period when Ponte Lambro was depicted by newspapers and television as “dangerous neighbourhood”. Volontario Sottovoce (current long-term resident, over 60) finds however that between 2017 and 2019 newspapers articles have not focused on positive news to sell more, leading to what he perceives is a general loss of engagement and empowerment within the community: “If news keeps denigrating you, one could say, why bother?”.

Similarly, Simon (current long-term resident, 30-40) suggests that media’s discourse on the neighbourhood does not fully reflect the truth, as it usually presents a picture that is “one or two years behind compared to what the real situation is”: according to his perception, local improvements in the area already started from 2000, prior to the CdQ, but are not sufficiently reported in the news. By contrast, former long-term residents appear on the one hand, to agree overall with the image portrayed by the press, finding it fair, “objective” and “clement” (Barbara, former long-term resident, 50-60), as they particularly appreciate the slightly increase of positive news registered by the CDA in the assessment timeframe. On the other hand, this group of participants refers to the role of social media in the (re)production of internal negative reputation: the Facebook group *Sei di Pontelambro se...* (You are from Ponte Lambro if...) seems to be a significant reference point for former residents who wish to maintain a relationship with the neighbourhood, but they perceive, it is often employed by its members as a place to complain on local issues and unleash negative emotions. Whereas, as anticipated above in

the Chapter, newspapers' articles on the plans and expectations of CdQ had a great impact on Vittoria's life choices (newcomer, 40-50) at the time, as they pushed her to move into Ponte Lambro and purchase what is now considered by participants as one of "the nicest" (Rachele, current long-term resident, 50-60) houses in the area (Photo 17.). In one way or the other, the place image portrayed by media and social media proves to play a crucial role in constructing truths and realities about neighbourhoods (Slater, 2021; Foucault, 1981).

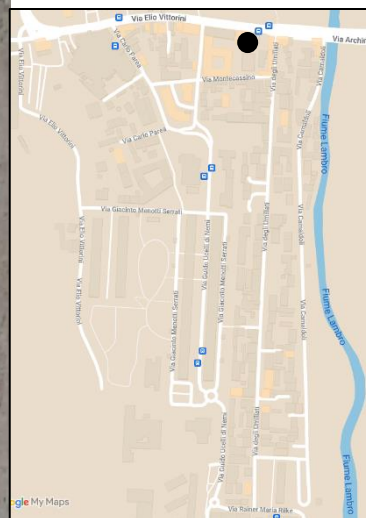


Photo 17. "Casa in via Vittorini 36, la più bella del quartiere. Credo in origine ci abitasse il medico "condotto" - House in 36 via Vittorini, the nicest one in the neighbourhood. I think originally the medical officer lived there" (Source: Rachele, current long-term resident, 50-60).

6.5. Conclusions

Although positive aspects of Ponte Lambro are significant and worth highlighting to show that an ‘alternative’ image of the neighbourhood, and of suburbs more broadly, can exist, they appear to be of secondary importance for the groups of residents who took part in the study. While describing the changes witnessed over the last 15 years, from the start of the CdQ onwards, participants tend to take a polarised perspective and focus mainly on what they perceive is problematic, indicating overall that the urban regeneration policy (CdQ) has not improved the area’s internal reputation in the long run. From this picture, Ponte Lambro emerges as an *abandoned* neighbourhood, that is still socially and spatially excluded from the city of Milan – the terms “*periferia*” and “*paese*” illustrate this (Harris and Vorms, 2017); a *divided* neighbourhood, where tensions see private owners vs. social housing tenants, tenants vs. tenants, ‘locals’ (or native Italians) vs. ‘non-locals’ (or racialised non-Italians); an *unsafe* neighbourhood, in which fear of crime is often related to the use and the control over the ‘territory’, and immigrants are identified as intruders and responsible of internal disorder and decline. Yet, the photographs from the PPM appear to tell a different story, that is mainly a story of neighbourhood change, through nostalgic memories, local history and hidden but beautiful spots characterising the past and present Ponte Lambro. Indeed, as participants are asked to visually represent their own neighbourhood on the map, there is a tendency to show features that are/have been significant either for the person or the neighbourhood; whereas, when reflecting on the changes applied by CdQ, the focus moves from a general to a more specific level of perception.

Similarly, participants have expressed a polarised attitude with regards to the evaluation of CdQ, focusing on the negative impacts of the interventions. These revolve around a central and unresolved issue perceived by residents, that is the unfinished and abandoned project designed by architect Renzo Piano (*Laboratorio di Renzo Piano*), which not only has produced the displacement of households in the early 2000s, but it is also a visible source of urban decay and crime, generating feelings of unsafety and concern among residents. Despite the initial enthusiasm, the “utopic idea” (Volontario Sottovoce, current long-term resident, over 60) of social and functional mix within the social housing estate of via Ucelli di Nemi has eventually failed, leaving residents disappointed and disillusioned towards every new announcement of clearing and regeneration coming from the City Council (Comune di Milano, 2022a). Furthermore, the early closure of what is perceived as one of the greatest achievements of CdQ, *Laboratorio di Quartiere*, represents for participants a substantial loss in terms of community building, social integration, and services. Yet, when it comes to talk about the external neighbourhood reputation, from the local press to the public discourse, perceptions (and reactions) are mixed, but seem to focus on the idea that, despite the general improvements, the territorial stigma of Ponte Lambro persists and is still affecting residents’ lives – in the job and housing markets – and behaviour (Permentier et al., 2007; Souto-Manning, 2014; Arthurson, 2013).

As such, drawing on the empirical findings presented in this Chapter, the long-term impact of CdQ on Ponte Lambro's internal reputation is manifold. First, despite a ten-year investment in the area, the urban renewal and social mixing interventions at the socio-cultural level have covered a limited period and, most importantly, did not ensure the continuity of actions addressed to the community (see also Jupp, 2021). As a result, the (sudden) loss of services, meeting places, and opportunities to participate and socialise contributed, I argue, to produce perceptions of micro-segregation (Hyra, 2015), and tensions over the 'right to the neighbourhood' (Harvey, 2008), particularly in terms of race and ethnicity, in the years following the policy's main implementation. On the other hand, unkept promises and incomplete works, such as Renzo Piano's bridge, have negatively affected the neighbourhood's external reputation, which in turn still represents a stigma for its residents with internal and external implications: from feelings of abandonment and exclusion (internalised discourse) and forms of postcode discrimination.

Chapter 7.

Internal neighbourhood reputation: NDC area, Bristol

7.1. Introduction

Most of the Lawrence Hill ward and part of Easton ward was a prime site of investment via the New Deal for Communities (NDC) and over a decade from 2000 onwards the neighbourhood was targeted as an area for social mix. Local interventions addressing the concentration of socio-economic disadvantage as urban problem shaped the area in Central-East Bristol by applying a policy approach based on community empowerment and shared responsibility (MacLeavy, 2009). More than ten years after the end of the programme in 2010, I investigate how current and past communities perceive the area nowadays as well as whether they have registered any improvements, including in terms of external reputation. This chapter explores the internal neighbourhood reputation from the perspective of current and former residents of the NDC area, comprised of the neighbourhoods of Lawrence Hill, Barton Hill, Redfield, St. Phillips/The Dings (see Figure 19 in Chapter 4). Residents' perceptions provide important insights into how the area has been both experienced and perceived over time, and their stories highlight substantial differences with the external neighbourhood reputation on their neighbourhood and its targeted changes. Through two rounds of data collection – the first between November 2020 and February 2021 and the second between September and October 2021 – I conducted two (remote synchronous) focus groups (with three participants each), and fourteen in-depth semi-structured interviews (online and by phone) bringing together insights from the following sample of participants: ten current long-term residents (over 5 years), six newcomers (under 5 years) and four former long-term residents. Ten participants came from the neighbourhood of Barton Hill, six from Redfield, two from Lawrence Hill and one participant from The Dings. As part of data collection, most participants (17 out of 20) took part to the Participatory Photo Mapping (PPM) of their neighbourhood and collectively they shared a total of 175 photographs on the digital Google My Map (see Figure 36. below). These photos reflect the diversity of residence, perspectives, ages, and uses of the neighbourhood.

As was illustrated in the context of the previous chapter on Ponte Lambro, while reporting the area's internal reputation I apply Critical Discourse Analysis, CDA (Fairclough, 1992; Waitt, 2010) and Souto-Manning's critical narrative analysis, CNA (2014), as analytical approach combining narrative analysis with CDA to also investigate internalised public discourse. The structure of this chapter follows the main questions asked during semi-structured focus groups and interviews and the themes that arose with participants: the perceptions over the changes that affected the neighbourhood over time (positive, negative and neutral), including the PPM; participants' views on the interventions and long-term effects

of the NDC; their reactions towards the external neighbourhood reputation, which according to my CDA has decreased in the assessment period (2017-2019).

7.2. Perception of changed neighbourhood

Although the overall reputation of the changed neighbourhood comprised of positive, negative, and neutral perspectives, results show a slight tendency for participants coming from the NDC area to focus on what they perceive as local issues (about 41% of references). When asked to express their opinion and consider their experience of the changed neighbourhood, current long-term residents tended to talk extensively about what has worsened over time or what still needs to be improved. Newcomers provided the opposite outcome and perceived the area positively, highlighting the up-and-coming nature of the area as an inevitable development. On the other hand, those who had left the neighbourhood, the former long-term residents, tended to have a less polarised view about the area: their perception of the neighbourhood was neither completely negative nor completely positive, moving between forms of nostalgia with an almost idealised memory of the place and time they were living in when they resided in the area. These results show how different periods of residence in the neighbourhood can correspond to different perceptions: newcomers' tendency, for instance, to focus on the neutral reputation, putting emphasis on the element of change, seems to indicate that five years or less might be not enough to develop a more positive or negative opinion on the area. Whilst current long-term residents value community as the most important factor by which to measure their satisfaction, concepts of community spirit and social participation seem to be secondary issues for newcomers, who focus more on the elements of change: from the area's historical and industrial background to the gentrified local development. Former long-term residents consider the lack of youth services as one of the major losses for their neighbourhood over time, but like current long-term residents, they appreciate the general improvements that have affected local services and community centres. This section starts with the analysis of the visual place image resulting from the PPM and continues with an overview of positive reputation, negative reputation, and neutral reputation.

7.2.1. Visual place image

To support and elicit conversation about neighbourhood change and internal perceptions, participants were asked to share, either individually and/or within their focus group, photographs representing their neighbourhood. Spatial clusters on the map generally correspond to thematic clusters, where landmarks and main neighbourhood transformations shared by participants are concentrated. Photographs expressing *change* were shared by most participants, although perspectives on the same event differed and there were important nuances present across the three groups of residents. Current long-term residents and newcomers tended to focus their contribution on *natural environment* and *pubs* (specifically closed down pubs), whereas *community* was a particularly relevant subject for current

long-term residents, who seem also to have considered aspects in the representation of their neighbourhood that the other groups of residents did not contemplate: their experience of the area under the Covid-19 national lockdowns (2020 and 2021), the urban decay on the streets, and in some cases their own street or house. From the distribution of photographs on the PPM (Figure 36.), it is worth noticing that the neighbourhoods of Barton Hill and Lawrence Hill are the most represented ones by participants, while fewer photographs depict the neighbourhoods of The Dings and Redfield. This trend is indicative of, on the one hand, the number of participants corresponding to each neighbourhood, and on the other hand, of the area's core landmarks from both personal and historical perspectives. The practice of taking pictures and locating them in the space was an opportunity for participants to take control over the place image and reflect on the space they are or were inhabiting, by looking at phenomena of change under a different light and considering the use of the neighbourhood as individuals as well as part of a community (Teixeira et al., 2020).

I didn't realize how much I have internalized the significance of pubs since I was actually asked to take pictures (Angst-on-the-Moon, newcomer, 30-40, Redfield).

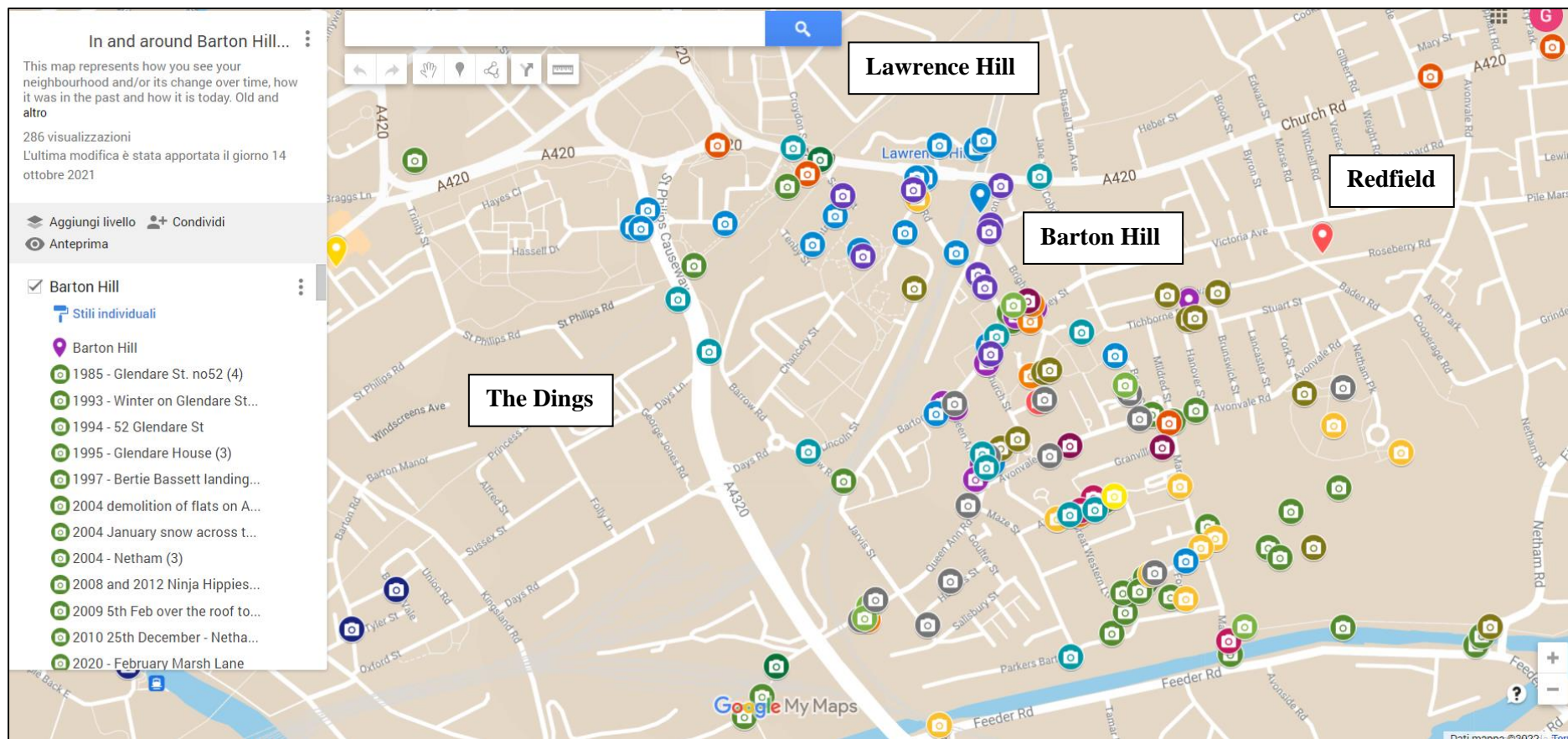


Figure 36. Participatory Photo Mapping provided by NDC area's residents on private Google My Maps.

Notes: Each colour refers to a different participant, as to facilitate the identification of patterns and clusters among newcomers, current and former long-term residents.

7.2.1.1. Change

The most common theme running through the photo submissions for both current and former residents was neighbourhood change: the signs of the historical and industrial heritage in Barton Hill and Lawrence Hill; the evolution of shops and local facilities over time; the demolition and regeneration of housing and streets that participants witnessed in the past, from the slum clearance in Barton Hill to the NDC interventions. To portray such transformations, participants often applied a juxtaposition of recent and old photographs, also dating back to the pre-NDC period. ‘Now and then’ photographs were the most recurrent form of contribution provided by residents, showing their strong place attachment, historical knowledge, and memory of how the neighbourhood used to be. For instance, Talyllyn01 (current long-term resident, over 60, Redfield), an expert on Barton Hill’s local history, contributed to the PPM with a considerable number of photographs showing the neighbourhood’s most visible and impactful changes. Photo 18. shows the transformation of what was his own street in the 1950s, Beaufort Road, (now Church Street and Gregory Street), which was fully included into the Barton Hill redevelopment scheme and the area landscaped with the iconic tower blocks.

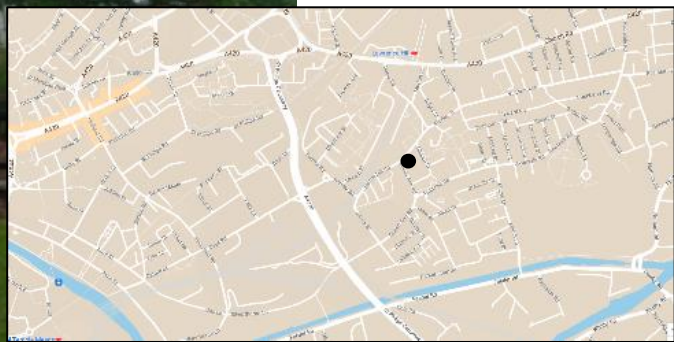


Photo 18. "Beaufort Road, circa 1953 (above); The same location today (below)" (Source: Talyllyn01, current long-term resident, over 60, Redfield).

In contrast to Talylyn01, Markus recalls changes he witnessed in more recent times in Barton Hill and describes here when he used to play on a piece of land that over the years has been a working site until the Barton Hill Academy was built (Photo 19.).

The Baths were demolished in 1997, and as a child I played on the wasteland and would build a den with my friends behind the advertising billboard that is seen on the right-hand corner of the photo used in the comparison shot. The new Barton Hill Academy now stands on the land where the Baths and the old Barton Hill Primary School used to stand. (Markus, current long-term resident, 30-40, Barton Hill)



Photo 19. "Barton Hill Swimming Baths and the Barton Hill Academy" (Source: Markus, current long-term resident, 30-40, Barton Hill).

From demolition of old terraced houses to the construction of high-rise flats and the NDC interventions, change seems to characterise the very essence of the area, and in particular the essence of the neighbourhood of Barton Hill, to the extent that change becomes a backdrop to the everyday and is not notable as a disruptive or unsettling moment but a more continuous state. Lena (current long-term resident, over 60) lives in Redfield, but has always been attached to Barton Hill; with her photographs, she wanted to “show how the area has changed and obviously constantly changed, you don’t realise it’s changing”. Yet, for other residents, such as Martha O’Braidy or Prince Buster neighbourhood change can carry feelings like nostalgia and sadness, which are found again while contributing to and discussing of the PPM:

I feel quite sad, actually, because a lot of the things that especially, especially a lot of the things that I was photographing were memories of **how things used to be and aren’t anymore** or things that I’ve got happy memories of people and that is quite sad. (Martha O’Braidy, current long-term resident, 40-50, Lawrence Hill – emphasis added)

[Barton Hill] feels like a nice place but it’s sad to see something... **sad to see something’s gone**, but it still looks like a nice place. (Prince Buster, newcomer, 30-40, Redfield – emphasis added)

Feelings of excitement towards the most recent and ongoing changes affecting the area are expressed by some other newcomers, such as Thomas S (30-40) and Patrick (30-40), young professionals who moved into Redfield in the last couple of years. Their photographs focus on their favourite places to shop or socialise, like new pubs, “fancy stuff” or organic food delis (Photo 20.), which, they are also aware, are signs of inner city’s gentrification – an issue that will be explored further below (Anguelowski, 2016; Alkon et al., 2020).

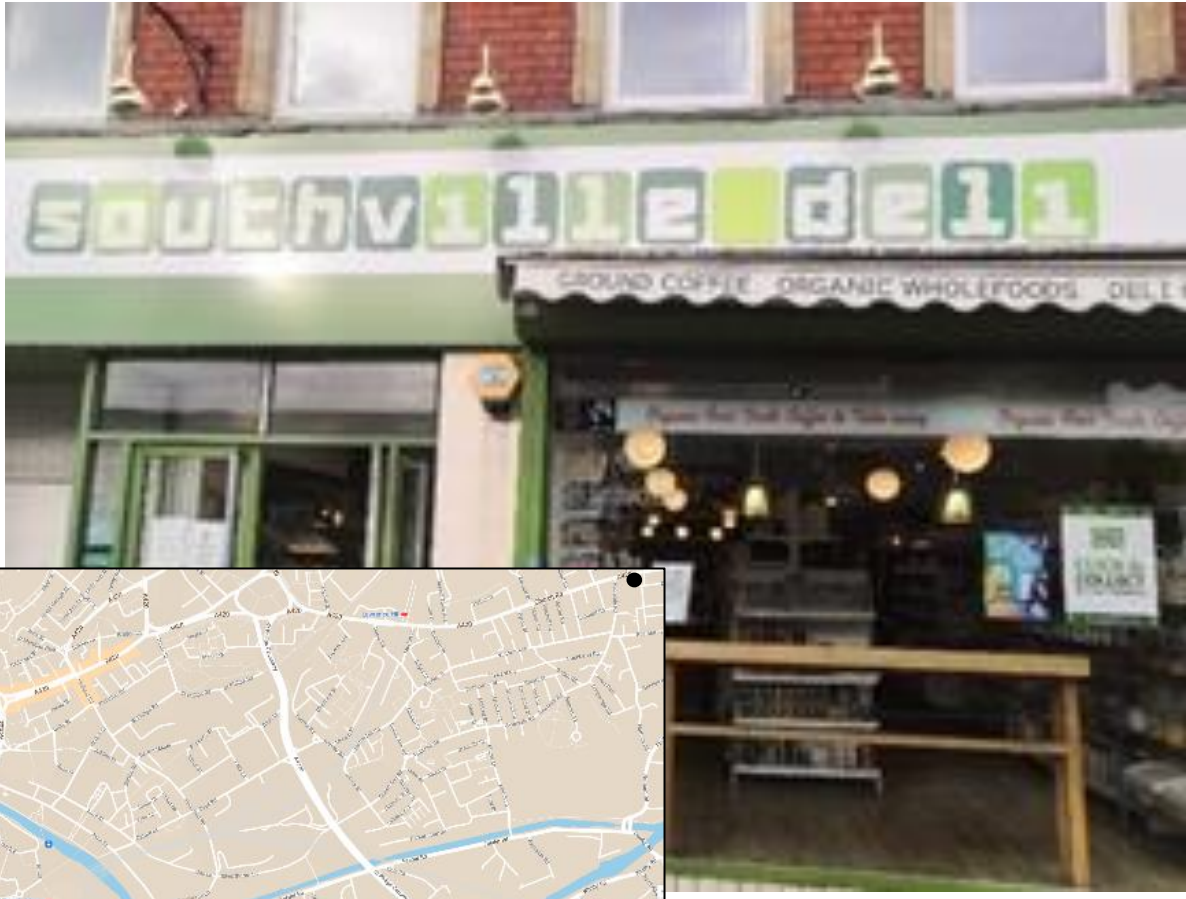


Photo 20. "My favourite shop on Church Road. It is an example showing the way about how the ward is changing and moving to the new Bedminster since of its numerous food locations" (Source: Thomas S, newcomer, 30-40, Redfield).

7.2.1.2. Natural environment

Parks, both big and small, community gardens, as well as the Feeder Canal in the southern part of Barton Hill are also very common subjects photographed by participants for the collaborative map, indicating a strong interest and attachment to the area's natural environment. If some photographs capture natural elements on a small scale, focusing on flowers, trees, and playgrounds that participants encounter on their way through the neighbourhoods, others feature parks and panoramic views of the NDC area. With regards to local parks, the Netham Park, located just alongside the Feeder Canal in Redfield, is the most mentioned one by all groups of residents. Despite their dichotomous connotation (see section 7.2.3.2.), parks, such as the Netham Park, and green areas more generally, are extremely important for residents, who perceive them as beneficial for their wellbeing and health, as sources of peaceful and socialising moments. Louise (former long-term resident, 50-60, Lawrence Hill) associates the Netham Park with the times when she used to "go with friends on an evening, lie on the grass and star gaze"; whereas Bernie (current long-term resident, 50-60, Barton Hill), who lives closed to the park, has shared a variety of pictures he has been taking in the last years from his house, portraying it from different perspectives and seasons, as well as from the Feeder Canal (Photo 21.).



Photo 21. "27.2020 - May the Feeder from Marsh Lane bridge" (Source: Bernie, current long-term resident, 50-60, Barton Hill).

Newcomers too are sensitive to the presence of green areas in Barton Hill, including Gaunts Ham Park, the Urban Park and the community garden in Aiken Street (Photo 22.), opposite the historical Lord Nelson Pub. Volunteering in the community garden is for Saturday G (newcomer, 40-50, Barton Hill) a chance to spend some time outdoors, “a way [she] can get outside” and contribute to a spot which otherwise will be occupied by housing. Whereas for a couple of participants who have recently moved into Redfield, St. George’s Park represents their favourite place as well as one of the main reasons they moved into the neighbourhood: not only is it considered ideal for outdoor physical exercise, but it also provides opportunities to socialise and “gather people from the surrounding neighbourhood” (Thomas S, 30-40).

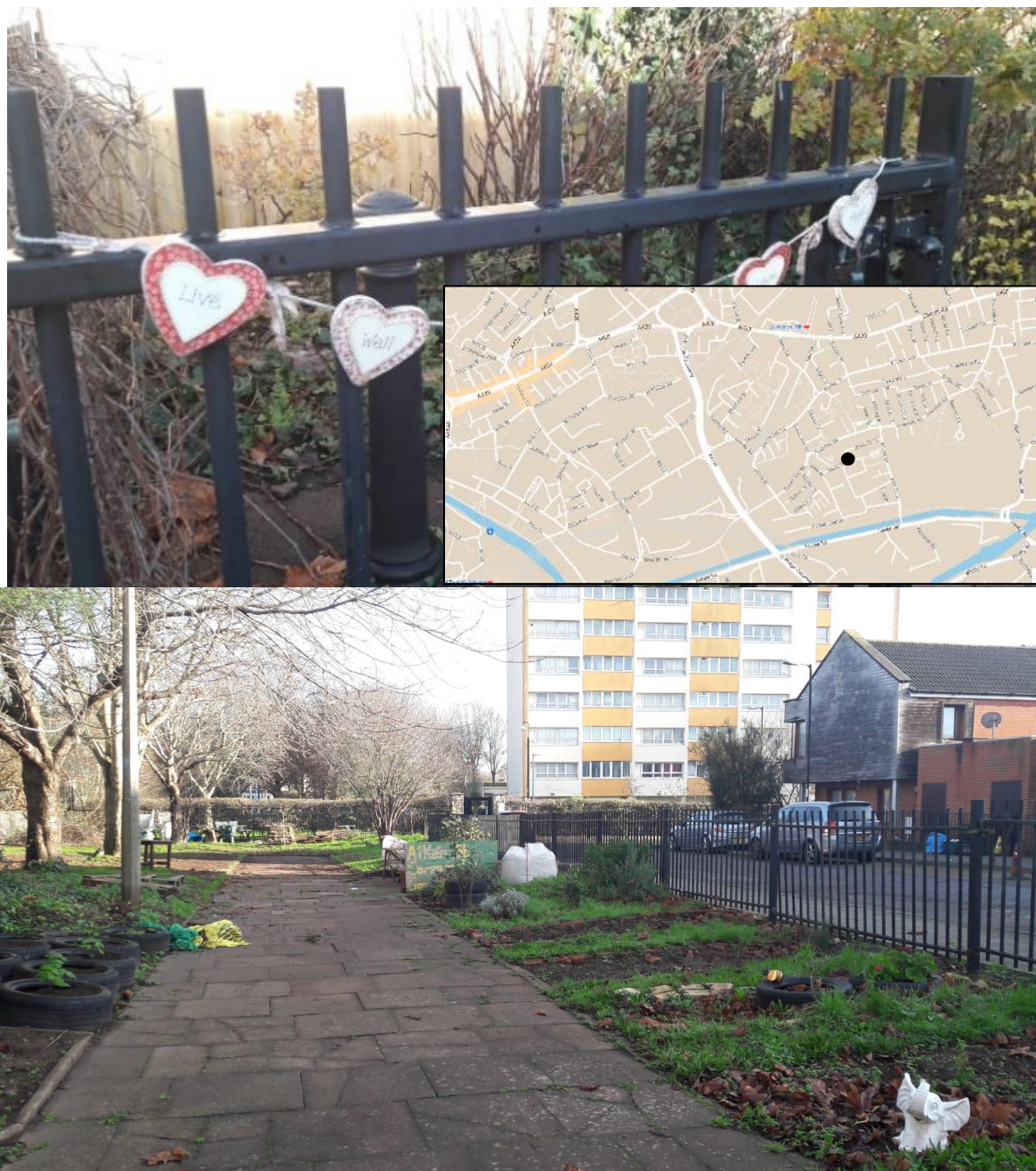


Photo 22. "Aiken Street Community Garden" (Source: Saturday G, newcomer, Barton Hill).

7.2.1.3. *Community*

Photographs expressing community spirit from different perspectives are common across the three groups of residents but are predominant among current long-term residents. To this category belong not only community centres and facilities providing core services to the whole area, but also examples of social participation and solidarity within the community. With regards to the former, community centres in Barton Hill, such as the Barton Hill Settlement and the Wellspring Centre (Photo 24.), are mentioned by participants to communicate community support and sense of belonging. On the other hand, places of worship like the St. Luke's Church and the Tawfiq Mosque (Photo 23.), as well as local festivals and events are photographed as further examples of community spirit manifested through opportunities of social gatherings and participation, playing a central role in the neighbourhood.

I find quite interesting that, I feel, some of them [photographs] picture the same thing, like the church or the Settlement. So, I think for, that for us residents it's a particular point in the community for us. And we see that as a social place or even more, we felt like we were part of a community. (Shaila, current long-term resident, 25-30, Barton Hill)

Moreover, some current long-term participants decide to portray those community centres that have been closed and their premises neglected for many years, but which they still feel are missing from the neighbourhood of Barton Hill. These include the youth club, which Shaila (25-30) has never seen open, and the Barton Hill Tenants Association Club Hall, which, Markus (30-40) explains, is contested between the community and the City Council: "the Council wishes to demolish the hall and build flats on site, whereas the community wants it to be retained and reopened as a community centre".



Photo 23. "Tawfiq mosque, Aiken Street" (Source: Brooks, current long-term resident, 30-40, Barton Hill).



Photo 24. "The heart of Barton Hill, Ducie Road" (Source: Shaila, current long-term resident, 25-30, Barton Hill).

7.2.1.4. “Extinction of pubs”

As photographs of abandoned pubs communicate a strong sense of community and belonging to the neighbourhood of Barton Hill, they could have been included in the above-mentioned *community* theme. However, their high frequency on the PPM reveals a special relationship with pubs that is worth highlighting with a separate category. Whether these pictures portray pubs that have been converted into flats, like the Royal Table (Photo 25.), or pubs that are still visible but left in a state of abandonment for a long time, like the Lord Nelson (Photo 26.), the Swan, the Rhubarb Pub (Photo 27.), they all communicate neighbourhood and community change as well as community cohesion. Demographic and socio-economic changes have transformed the urban landscape of Barton Hill, leading to the disappearance, or “extinction” (Shaila, current long-term resident, 25-30, Barton Hill), of pubs; often actual historical buildings – dating back to the Great Western Cotton Factory – which are the symbol of the white working-class that used to be concentrated in the neighbourhood. At the time of writing, hundreds of residents and non-residents of the area have joined a local campaign to fight against the Council’s plans to convert the Rhubarb Pub into flats; this is a transformation that follows the same pattern of those NDC interventions which repurposed the Royal Table for housing in 2007.



Photo 25. "The Royal Table pub" (Source: Markus, current long-term resident, 30-40, Barton Hill).

The shift from a predominantly white working-class to a diverse neighbourhood is reflected in the use of the space by residents and how it has evolved for the community since early 2000s. Saturday G reflects here on the causes of such change while talking about the Lord Nelson pub; whereas Louise's memories of the Rhubarb Pub provide an example of the community atmosphere that used to characterise each pub in Barton Hill.

Lord Nelson is a pub that is now derelict. So, it's no longer functioning as a pub, **that's because of the change in the demographic** in this area. The people that went to pubs are no longer in the demographic and demographic has changed quite substantially over, I would say, the last 10, 15 years. (Saturday G, newcomer, 40-50, Barton Hill - emphasis added)

So, if we were going to the **posh pub**, we got in the Rhubarb. So, a lot of, yeah friends' parties and things in the Rhubarb and that... **there's good memories...**for me, in the Rhubarb, but yeah pubs were really interesting. (Louise, former long-term resident, 50-60, Barton Hill - emphasis added)



Photo 26. "Lord Nelson Pub" (Source: Saturday G, newcomer, 40-50, Barton Hill).



Photo 27. "Rhubarb pub - many get together with lovely friends - it's a bit 'posh'" (Source: Louise, former long-term resident, 50-60, Barton Hill).

7.2.2. Positive reputation

Positively perceived characteristics and improvements of the former NDC area constitute a relative minority (32% of the references) within the internal discourse of residents, second to the negative reputation at 42%. Long-term residents focused on factors they value as essential to stay in the neighbourhood, such as a sense of community and mutual support especially in Barton Hill and Lawrence Hill. In contrast, newcomers appreciate the green areas, cultural diversity and vibrant spirit, features that have attracted them to the neighbourhoods of Redfield and Barton Hill in the first place.

7.2.2.1. *Community spirit as a reason to stay*

When asked to talk about what they like about living in their neighbourhood – including in comparison with the past – former and current long-term residents identified at the top of their list the sense of community support provided by the work of the third sector in the area: community centres and organisations, such as the Barton Hill Settlement or the Wellspring Healthy Living Centre (founded under the NDC), but also the local St. Luke’s Church. These are in some instances described as the “heart of Barton Hill” (Shaila, current long-term resident, 25-30, Barton Hill), as they have been landmarks for residents for many years: the Barton Hill Settlement and the Wellspring Healthy Living Centre merged in early 2021 to become Wellspring Settlement.

And that is like **the heart of the community**. (...) They've got a nice little green space, and it's free, so people don't have to necessarily have money to go, and I know they do lots of good things for the community and they can point people in the right direction if they do need help or if they're stuck with something. (SSS, current long-term resident, 30-40, Lawrence Hill – emphasis added)

Community centres can play a significant role in being inclusive meeting places where neighbourliness, involvement and support are cultivated. These are essential features to the area’s identity, and often, according to some residents, can be the only source of trust and safety to rely on as well as a very good reason to stay. From formal to more informal community groups, local social infrastructures are fundamental in every neighbourhood and especially in marginalised contexts, where low-income residents often cannot afford to reach assistance beyond the area, and therefore the network of neighbours, friends or acquaintances provides crucial sources of support, information, and care (Mumford and Power, 2003; Power, 2007). SSS, for instance, despite the local issues she describes in terms of services and housing, “wouldn't want to move [from Lawrence Hill] because of the community”. Brooks feels the same when she says she “hope[s] that nobody moves away” (current long-term resident, 30-40, Barton Hill). When referring to the area’s social fabric or when trying to describe it with one word or phrase, residents frequently used terms such as “strong” and “robust”, evoking social cohesion, and spirit of resilience despite local issues and social tensions over the years. Indeed, with their passion and actions, volunteers of local groups and organisations as well as residents as individuals

take the initiative and often fill the gaps left by the retrenchment of the City Council and the formal institutions, more broadly, in the area.

Perhaps I'll call it [the neighbourhood] **robust**. That's the word I'd use. Because I don't see it disappearing. It will **evolve** and you know it does. (Prince Buster, newcomer, 30-40, Redfield – emphasis added)

Resilience and social participation can also be found in the local campaigns against Council actions to convert significant community places, such as an old association hall (the Barton Hill Tenants Association Club Hall) and the last pub standing in the neighbourhood of Barton Hill (the Rhubarb Pub), into flats. Markus (current long-term resident, 30-40, Barton Hill), one of the founders of the *We love the Rhubarb Tavern* campaign, that at the time of writing has reached more than 500 supporters on the Facebook group, is enthusiastic about the fact that residents are willing to “really pull together and so like leaving differences at the door” for a common goal, in order to keep these community places alive and for socialising purposes.

7.2.2.2. *Diversity, inclusion, and safety*

Lawrence Hill is the most diverse ward in Bristol, with the Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) group comprising 59.6% of the population (Bristol City Council, 2019), and the Somali community being the most represented ethnic group since the early 2000s (BCC, 2014). With regards to the co-habitation of cultures, languages and religions, current long-term residents and newcomers talk about integration as being mutually sought and beneficial for both White British and residents of a migrant background. For instance, in addition to parks, new businesses and a more affordable housing market, living in a multicultural area is one of the main assets of the area according to Patrick (newcomer, 30-40), who has moved to the Redfield neighbourhood in 2016, and finds this feature as an “opportunity to try things you might not try or people that you might not normally meet”.

And now they [Somali] have been here for about 20 years now, so they've become like **real long-time residents** to the area now and they themselves can see issues which have been present in the area for quite some time and now they're thinking now that ‘we're residents, you know’. (Markus, current long-term resident, 30-40, Barton Hill - emphasis added)

Whilst Markus highlights the engagement of the Somali community in the development of local campaigns to save community landmarks, Daniel (current long-term resident, over 60, Redfield) draws a parallel between inclusion and feelings of greater safety in the neighbourhood, particularly in green areas. The sense of belonging to a supportive and ‘familial’ community, to which the area’s diversity has contributed, appears to have had a very positive impact on the sense of safety perceived by participants (Bauman, 2001). The presence of mothers and children from different backgrounds in the Urban Park (Photo 28. below), located between the iconic tower blocks in Barton Hill, is perceived as reassuring, making the park a safe (or safer) space for residents, who, like Daniel, enjoy spending time outdoor in public areas with their kids. If used by locals frequently enough, for example by families and

children, parks in marginalised areas can be perceived as safe and inclusive spaces fostering connection and support (Kazmierczak, 2013).

I think, it's been **an improvement**, it's been more a **family atmosphere**. The bit that I've related most in Barton Hill has been the Urban Park in the last 10 years and it's been growing up and that's fantastic to see it so too busy with children and parents, well mothers particularly. And that, that makes me feel kind of safe, **safer** in a way. (Daniel, current long-term resident, over 60, Redfield – emphasis added)

In the last few years, communication and social inclusion among neighbours and groups of residents has increased thanks also to opportunities of connection provided by and frequent use of social media platforms including Facebook and WhatsApp Groups. These have proved to be important resources of mutual support for residents to feel more connected with each other, report local issues and potentially escalate them to the Council or the police. Bernie (current long-term resident, 50-60, Barton Hill) for instance, feels now more part of the community than he was in the past: as private homeowner he used to feel excluded and not fully accepted by his neighbours, who were at the time mostly tenants; but over the last few years being part of a group on social media has helped him integrate more easily.

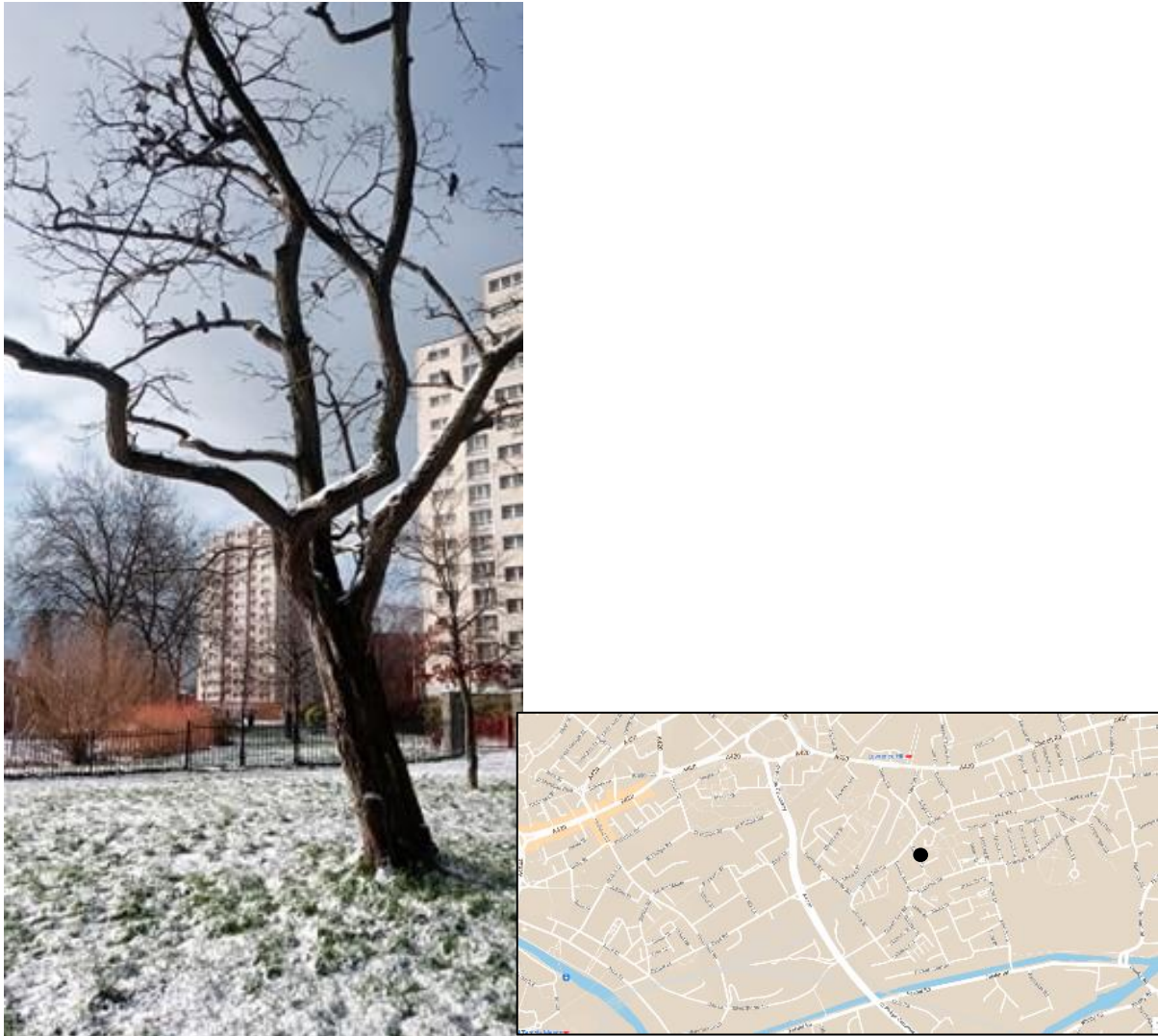


Photo 28. "Pigeons like vultures wait for the Somali ladies' bread. St Luke's again. I'm inescapably picturesque" (Source: Daniel, current long-term resident, over 60, Redfield).

7.2.2.3. A quiet, vibrant, and green location

Newcomers reported feeling (mostly) safe in their neighbourhood and already perceive a strong sense of community, similarly to long-term residents – both those who remain in the neighbourhood and those who have left – but these issues do not appear to be high on their priority lists. By way of contrast issues such as the natural environment, a good location and public transport connections with surrounding districts and the city centre are for them the main benefits of living in the area. The Bristol to Bath Railway Cycle Path, passing through Lawrence Hill, is ideal for Thomas S “to be connected with the city within 10-15 minutes”. Urban parks and gardens are fundamental features for newcomers and these often feature the photographs they have taken for the PPM. Local parks, despite the lack of maintenance, are described as “hidden gems” by residents; peaceful and essential places, especially for those households living in flats or tower blocks without access to a private garden. Saturday G lives in a high-rise flat, in the 15-storey Barton House in Barton Hill, and enjoys spending her free time at the community garden in Aiken Street:

So Netham Park and the canal and the community garden are the natural spaces. That's really important living in a relatively urban inner-city area, **any green space is premium**, you know, that's quite important or very important to me. (Saturday G, newcomer, 40-50, Barton Hill - emphasis added)

Yeah, because I just like it. So you are in the town, but, I mean, not really because it's very **quiet**. And yeah, and one of the most important things for me [is] just like wake up, go outside, just listen to the birds. (...) So, yeah, it's a good mix between like **nature and city**, that's cool. (Thomas S, newcomer, 30-40, Redfield – emphasis added)

The element of quietness evoked here by Thomas S was also often mentioned by long-term residents to describe feelings of safety and serenity they are experiencing in the neighbourhood, as opposed to more chaotic times in the past. To foreground present sense of safety and elevate their own neighbourhood, residents often compare the current situation to the late 1990s/early 2000s, when burnout cars and police raids, which used to fill newspapers pages, were ordinary events in Barton Hill.

We did have issues with eggs being thrown at the houses by some of the younger children who didn't, who weren't really terribly well behaved, shall we say, and you know there were other incidents where a brick could be thrown through the back of somebody's car or something like that. And they would burn tagged cars and seeing other sort of unattractive things (...) but that is an example of the sort of area it was, **the area now is a lot better**. (Adam, former long-term resident, 50-60, Barton Hill - emphasis added)

Further positive elements that not only make the neighbourhood attractive, but also add character and identity to it, according to some residents, include colourful artworks or murals located on the streets, bridges or underbridges of Redfield, Barton Hill, Lawrence Hill. Although of secondary importance for the community's everyday life, such forms of street art are perceived by newcomers as influential, responsible for the construction and communication of the area's image and they also often feature in participants' photographs. Mosaics and murals, especially those resulting from community-projects, are generally appreciated by residents, who consider them as nice expressions of the area's culture and spirit of creativity, strengthening identity – also called “visual identity” (Thomas S, newcomer, 30-40, Redfield) – and ‘refreshing’ the look of the neighbourhood. In particular, the ones photographed by Thomas S (Photo 29.) have been created in 2016 by local artists as part of a regeneration project affecting Church Road, which, according to some participants, had more to do with early signs of gentrification that is still affecting Redfield neighbourhood (Mathews, 2010).



Photo 29. "Church road - these two artworks contribute to creating a real visual identity to the Redfield area" (Source: Thomas S, Newcomer, 30-40, Redfield).

On the other hand, more informal street art and graffiti are not accepted by current long-term residents, especially when they damage, or “savage” (22, current long-term resident, 50-60, The Dings), historic buildings or existing artworks, as was the case for the one by Banksy in Barton Hill. These less sanctioned forms of street art are often sources of conflicts and complaints, as they are associated by some participants to a negative and disrespectful use of the public space, contributing to the area’s bad reputation. Whilst murals or community mosaics as commissions or project can provide attractiveness and are encouraged by all participants as form of art, graffiti is instead considered as forms of vandalism and urban decay and represent a concern especially for current long-term participants in their 50s or

60s: the general external discourse on urban decay in the area, often associated with littering, is here internalised, and replicated by 22 (Souto-Manning, 2014). The practice of graffiti is, by definition, part of a subversive culture that challenges the norms and the sense of order of the public urban space and is therefore perceived as transgressive and negative for the neighbourhood's image (Campos, 2015).

I think I'm utterly sick of tagging and graffiti. Yes, just it's 1980s New York black street culture, why, why is it still carrying on? I'm so bored with it. [...] There are also some really beautiful buildings around that have just been **savaged** by. (22, current long-term resident, 50-60, The Dings – emphasis added)

7.2.3. Negative reputation

Within interviews and focus groups on the neighbourhood's change, research participants put slightly more emphasis on those factors they perceive have worsen or have not met any solution or interest from the local government. This is the case of current long-term residents. Problematic aspects seem to revolve mostly around the feeling of a decreased community spirit and sense of inclusion within the former NDC area, which participants tend to associate with the sudden end of the program's funding - hence a loss of interest in the neighbourhoods (see also Jupp, 2021), as well as with the most recent forms of gentrification in the Redfield and The Dings' housing and food markets. As a result, micro-segregation (Hyra, 2015) separating locals and 'non-locals' (gentrifiers) can be observed alongside a feeling of abandonment from institutions.

7.2.3.1. *"It felt like the heart's just been ripped out"*

From the late 1990s until around the end of the NDC implementation in 2010, the area of Barton Hill and surroundings are described by long-term residents (former and current) as being a vibrant place, full of energy, activism, social cohesion, and services. But right after the government funding stopped with the natural end of the programme, a very different atmosphere was perceived, initiating what Jupp defines as "trajectories of decline" (2021: 8), instead of trajectories of improvement. Although Wellspring Healthy Living Centre and other initiatives resisted, gradual decline and loss of interest in the area had an important impact on residents. Everything, including the residents' motivation to foster change, worsened, "community spirit didn't continue" (Martha O' Braid, current long-term resident, 40-50, Lawrence Hill) and all the enthusiasm and hope for structural change suddenly "deflated", as Shaila (current long-term resident, 25-30, Barton Hill) points out, emptying the neighbourhoods from its original, almost historical sense of community. To convey the feeling of abandonment and nostalgia experienced over time, the discourse of some long-term residents comes back to the word "heart", as if the very identity and life of the neighbourhood have been taken away.

And again, funding just finished, the leader left. And that was, and then it just stopped and it just, yeah. It felt like **the heart just being ripped out** and I miss that. (Martha O' Braid, current long-term resident, 40-50, Lawrence Hill – emphasis added)

I think when those informal spaces to meet and to throw ideas around, meet people doing different things, you... I just think it loses something, **loses some energy and heart**. (Louise, former long-term resident, 50-60, Barton Hill– emphasis added)

Residents generally appreciate the ward being a quiet place to live, but long-term residents often seemed to imply that they miss the creativity and the dynamism that characterised the area in the past. This issue is experienced today by newcomers too, who already perceive the need for more social participation, activities, such as youth activities for instance, and meeting places that could hold the same socio-political value as pubs did for the community in the past. As a result, forms of micro-segregation (Hyra, 2015) through internal divisions by class and race, and individualism have found their place in the area, making it “less and less a neighbourhood and more just a place where people go to bed at night” (22, current long-term resident, 50-60, The Dings). In other words, the lack of events and other community activities have gradually led residents to see their neighbourhood more as an urban dormitory, where new communities are often seen as a threat or self-segregating and hard to integrate with locals. The predominant internal tension is played on class lines, as newcomers referred to below as “hipsters” (or gentrifiers) are perceived as a group that not only is responsible for the most recent spatial change but is also not investing in the community. With regards to cultural differences, moreover, according to Markus (current long-term resident, 30-40, Barton Hill), there is “a little bit of tension, a little ‘us and them’ mentality, for some people still” that tends to keep British and Somali communities apart.

They [hipsters] are not really, they're not mixing [with] the whole community much. [...] They are quite separated these communities. (Daniel, current long-term resident, over 60, Redfield)

7.2.3.2. Feeling unsafe and “forgotten”

Among the ongoing issues mentioned by participants, perceived high levels of visible crime are often reported alongside the lack of youth services in the neighbourhoods, suggesting a causal relation between the two. In the past, including during the implementation of NDC, several youth clubs and projects operated in the area, engaging young residents around programs such as “Tackling Racism”, “Youth Forum” and “Youth Participation” (CaH, 2005). Unfortunately, when the NDC funding came to an end, younger people lost their place to go to within the area (Photo 30.) and no replacements were provided, as Louise – former youth worker with the NDC – narrates (former long-term resident, 50-60, Lawrence Hill). The lack of spaces for socialisation has led groups of young residents to find alternative ways to entertain themselves, leading to an increasing youth gang problem, according to some participants. As local parks become neglected, they lose their image as peaceful and safe public places: residents fear the presence of gangs is increasingly dominating some of them, excluding and intimidating regular visitors (see also Madge, 1997). While talking about youth groups on the street and drug dealing in Gaunts Ham Park, SSS (current long-term resident, 30-40, Lawrence Hill) points out what she perceives is a common trend among young newcomers couples, who are not satisfied with what the area offers in terms of educational and youth services: young adults are attracted to Lawrence

Hill by the cheap rents, but as soon as they have children (and they can afford it), they move out to “the nicer parks, the safer areas, the better schools [which] are further afield”.

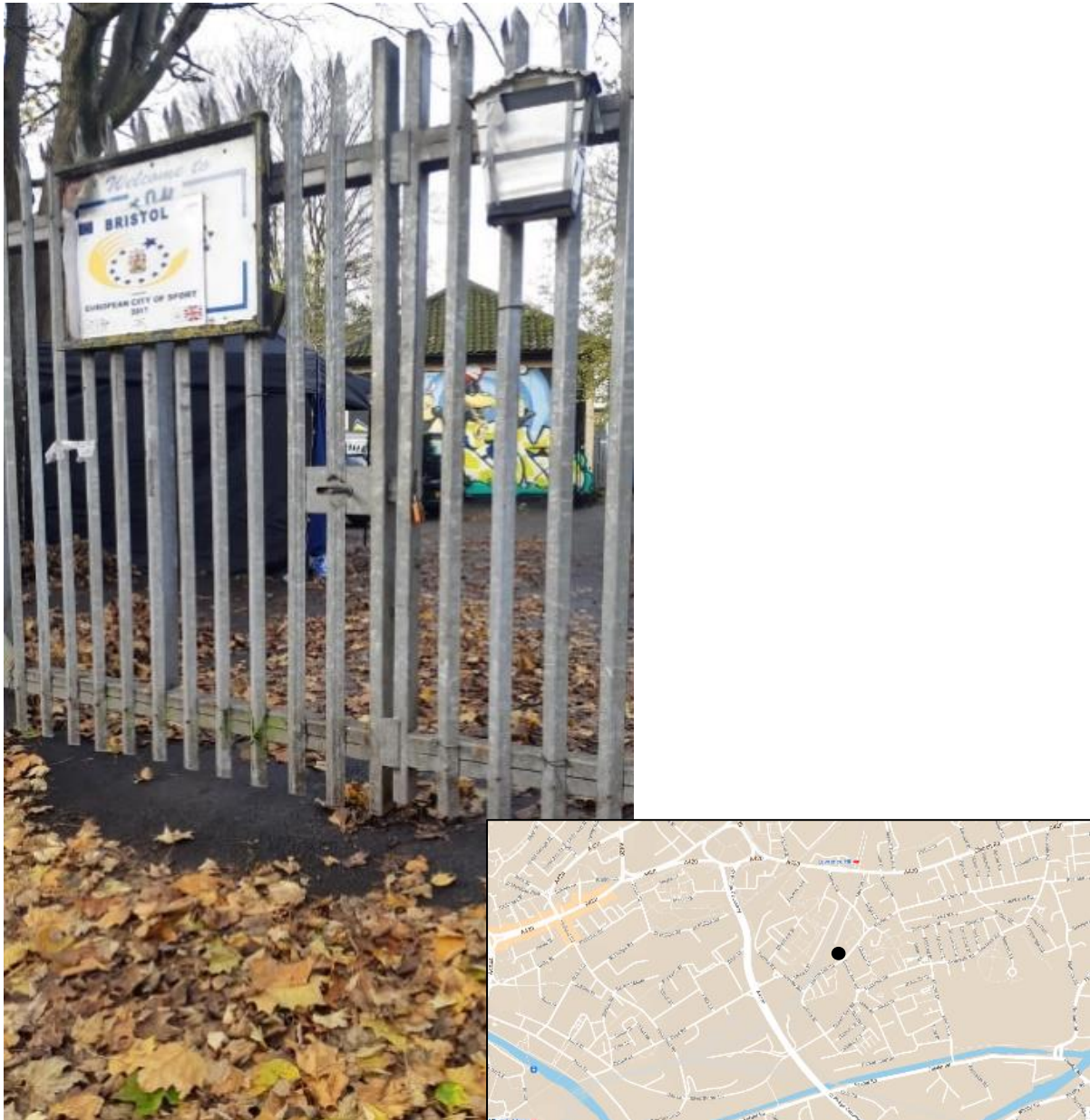


Photo 30. "Barton Hill youth club place (I think it never seems to be open though)" (Source: Shaila, current long-term resident, 25-30, Barton Hill).

One way that you can judge is to see what sort of **schools** are there, what kind of **public services** are available, and it just looks like from a local person's perspective, it's always been a bit of a **dodgy place**. (Angst-on-the-Moon, newcomer, 30-40, Redfield – emphasis added)

Yeah, that's a paradox that at some point because it's a nice neighbourhood to live in. But on the other side like, that's got **dodgy places** and **dodgy people**. (Thomas S, newcomer, 30-40, Redfield – emphasis added)

Although newcomers interviewed do not really feel threatened in the area, they often describe specific areas of their neighbourhood as “dodgy”. This term depicts not only places but also people, who they

consider as not trustworthy, potentially dangerous, or whose behaviour is not acceptable. “Dodgy” is usually used to refer to specific pubs, local services, and the Bristol to Bath Railway Cycle Path, but also to groups of people lurking suspiciously around the neighbourhood’s streets. A common argument among residents related to this visible ‘dodginess’ is that this is to be found in the socio-economic deprivation that affects the area, suggesting the idea that disadvantaged people living in marginalised urban neighbourhoods are potential criminals, because “they’re probably desperate” (SSS, current long-term resident, 30-40, Lawrence Hill). Such form of determinism and neighbourhood effect, pathologising the poor, the “underclass” (Wilson, 1987), is common within the external discourse on the area (Chapter 5), hence it appears to have been replicated by some internal narratives as well (Souto-Manning, 2014):

It [presence of gangs] is very visible, whereas I would say 20 years ago that wasn't very visible, you know. I'm not saying that things didn't happen, they did and but it's in some ways **it's more visible now**. (Bernie, current long-term resident, 50-60, Barton Hill - emphasis added)

This sense of increased “visible” crime makes residents of Lawrence Hill and Barton Hill feel the need for more law and order, such as police patrolling and neighbourhood watch groups, although both crime and urban decay reports are perceived to get lost, increasing the feeling of abandonment and lack of support from institutions. Unkept areas, “unloved” parks and littering are also mentioned among the main factors isolating the neighbourhoods and contributing to the current bad reputation of the area. Residents, like Brooks, believe their area is no longer “on the map”, while better-off neighbourhoods of Bristol, like Clifton, can get attention from both authorities and non-residents. This, in her eyes, indicates double standards and spatial polarisation in the city of Bristol, which causes frustration and confusion among residents:

[...] but they [Clifton] do have crime, but not in a notable way and then you come to Barton Hill where the crime is really high and so we're missing something that somewhere like Clifton has got that we haven't got. And I'm not sure what that is. (Brooks, current long-term resident, 30-40, Barton Hill).

7.2.3.3. *“It’s going to drive me away”*

The concept of the dormitory neighbourhood is brought up again by residents when referring to the loss of informal meeting places or indoor venues, including local and more traditional cafes, pubs, or stores, to socialise with neighbours or meet up with non-residents. Current long-term residents find very few places in the area that still speak to them, where they can feel welcomed and that they can afford. This is the case of The Dings, for instance, where shops and cafes have been specifically addressing workers of the redeveloped offices, as part of the Temple Quay area’s regeneration, providing services for temporary non-residents rather than residents. 22 (current long-term resident, 50-60, The Dings), for instance, refers to the lack of grocery stores at walking distance in the Dings, that can be a problem, especially “if you’re not mobile”, as no buses come into the neighbourhood. If SSS (current long-term

resident, 30-40, Lawrence Hill) wishes to see more “quirky restaurants and better facilities”, other current long-term residents are not happy with what has replaced traditional local meeting and shopping places: expensive “hipster coffeeshops” are spreading around Old Market-Church Road areas, nearby The Dings neighbourhood, and often meet only young newcomers’ tastes and budget.

All these shops spring up to cater for with that, you know, avocado toast and coffees that cost, cost about a seven pounds and they've just got fantastical names and... But, you know, **where's the egg and beans café? Where's the chips and beans café?**” (22, current long-term resident, 50-60, The Dings – emphasis added)

As the conversation over coffeeshops and services goes on in one of the focus groups, participants notice similarities between Stokes Croft, creative and vibrant – but gentrified – neighbourhood in the city centre, and The Dings, pointing out what can be identified as food gentrification (Anguelovski, 2016). Signs of gentrification in the area can be noticed not only in the food system, but also through plans of urban development and the housing system, which, according to some long-term residents and newcomers has been affected also by middle-class professionals coming from outside the city and from London. In the last few years, Markus (current long-term resident, 30-40) has observed a drastic drop in the amount of green public spaces in Barton Hill as they were converted in private housing. And 22 (current long-term resident, 50-60) has some reservations about the future studentification of the southern part of the Dings, that is planned to take place as a result of the Silverthorne Lane development (silverthornelane.co.uk); she fears that new facilities, such as student accommodation (for up to 690 students) and businesses will be tailored for students only, raise prices and eventually cause isolation and displacement of current residents like herself - “it’s going to drive me away” she believes. Whereas Saturday G (newcomer, 40-50), tenant of Barton House, addresses the scarce provision of social housing in Barton Hill, which appears to be increasingly replaced by private dwellings.

One big problem with Bristol as well, we've had an awful lot of people moved on from London which pushed the prices in rents up ridiculously. (Lena, current long-term resident, over 60, Lawrence Hill)

Bernie (current long-term resident, 50-60), homeowner in the same neighbourhood, confirms seeing a dramatic increase of private properties and housing prices in the area, since the closure of the Barton Hill Tenants Association Club. The hall (Photo 31.), left in a state of despair since 2015, was a reference point for residents and tenants in the past and is now part of a local campaign to be “retained and reopened as a community centre” (Markus, current long-term resident, 30-40, Barton Hill).



Photo 31. "Barton Hill Tenants Association Club Hall" (Source: Markus, current long-term resident, 30-40, Barton Hill).

7.2.4. Neutral reputation (neither positive nor negative)

Empirical findings on the area's internal reputation indicate that the polarised value system of positives and negatives can be overcome by a more critical approach which has been frequently addressed by research participants. For about 27% of the cases, transformations that affected the neighbourhoods over time are not perceived as completely 'black or white' but are analysed by residents across the three groups in less 'emotional' terms, seeing demographic and physical changes as facts that any other inner-city could have experienced. Emotions are left aside within the neutral reputation narrative, while participants share their memories and perceptions on neighbourhood change from a different viewpoint.

7.2.4.1. From white working-class to diverse neighbourhood

With the turn of the millennium, what was known as a predominantly white working-class neighbourhood experienced the influx of new demographic groups, from domestic and international immigrants and refugees to different social classes and generations. This evolution is yet in some instances perceived as physiological, carrying not exclusively positive or negative connotations, as Tallylyn01 (current long-term resident, over 60, Barton Hill) points out: "the old community is gone. That's not bad, and it's not...that's not good". At times, residents refer to the area's diversity as a complex matter that involves efforts on both sides for social integration, bringing both benefits and tensions. Markus (current long-term resident, 30-40) was a child when the first Somali refugees arrived

in Barton Hill. They were allocated to the properties let under the social housing provision and he remembers how his reaction to such change in the population makeup was very different from the one of the adults, who “approached it with a bit more trepidation and caution”. Bernie, for instance, finds that the arrival of new ethnic communities in Barton Hill was not handled properly by the City Council at the time, and compares the process of social integration to “mixing a cake”, as more opportunities of inclusion and involvement with locals were needed:

It changes and changes are very difficult, I think, for people and **I’ve always described it as mixing a cake, if you mix everything together you mess up**. You have got to add things in slowly. You have got to get it to sort of bind together. [...] More engagement, more involvement, better understanding or better merging of communities might have helped, but there isn't anything that's helped that. (Bernie, current long-term resident, 50-60, Barton Hill – emphasis added)

Ethnic communities, often mentioned by participants as new demographic emerging in the area, include not only Somali population, predominant since the early 2000s in Barton Hill - “in fact it’s locally dubbed Somali Alley” (Adam, former long-term resident, 50-60) - but also European migrants. Angston-the-Moon (newcomer, 30-40), a migrant herself coming from Eastern Europe and living in Redfield with her partner, has registered “a lot of clustering” of social groups in the neighbourhood in the last few years in the form of micro-segregation or “diversity segregation” (Hyra, 2015). Such change in the area’s population seems to be reflected in residents’ new ways to use both meeting places and the environment. Residents have started to notice how, in the past, pubs attracted a specific socio-economic group of locals, white British working-class, whereas over the most recent years, diverse communities have demonstrated different uses of the space, preferring parks and gardens over more traditional pubs for cultural or more practical reasons. For instance, from Daniel’s experience (current long-term resident, over 60, Redfield), the Urban Park in Barton Hill is often populated by Somali mothers with their children: parks offer indeed opportunities to socialisation and access to wide outdoor spaces to families who usually live in the high-rise flats dominating the park.

My understanding is this area is predominantly, predominantly Somalian, **these people don't go to pubs** so the demographic that was here years and years ago were people that went to pubs but now people in this area don't go to pubs. (Saturday G, newcomer, 40-50, Barton Hill - emphasis added)

Yet, if on the one hand, the Urban Park mirrors Barton Hill’s diversity, St. George’s Park also appears to Thomas S (newcomer, 30-40, Redfield) as “an example of socio-spatial segregation”, as, he perceives, it is mainly used by white people living in the surrounding areas, possibly newcomers, instead of longer-term residents.

7.2.4.2. An area of constant demolitions and redevelopments

Participants’ stories on the neighbourhood change not only cover the period prior to the NDC, but they can date much further back in time, reaching right back to the 1950s-60s, when the neighbourhood of Barton Hill was affected by a twenty-year redevelopment plan and slum clearance. As member of the

Barton Hill History Group, with a rediscovered passion for local history, Markus (current long-term resident, 30-40, Barton Hill) identifies three “key defining moments” in the history of Barton Hill: the industrial development of the area around the Great Western Cotton Factory; the clearance of terraced housing “in exchange for the blocks” with the end of the Second World War; and finally, the regeneration brought by the New Deal for Communities. Talylyn01 (current long-term resident, over 60, Redfield), who has experienced the transformation of the area first-hand, remembers the years of tower blocks as a “period of great change” and many, if not all, of the photographs he shared on PPM provide evidence of those radical transformations in the landscape of Barton Hill and Redfield. The development of the area however is perceived, again, as a ‘natural’ process of development for an inner-city, divided between a constant dilemma of stagnating deprivation and change for profit:

I mean it's a bit of a... **you're damned if you do and you're damned if you don't**. If you don't, then the area just continues to become deprived and undervalued and disintegrates; if you do, then you're going to push everything up and hopefully it sort of it brings people forward [...] and I suppose that's where you get political, that **people then want to make money out of it, rather than make a home**. (Bernie, current long-term resident, 50-60, Barton Hill - emphasis added)

Furthermore, delving deeper in the discussion over the various urban interventions that have been implemented in Barton Hill and surrounding areas over time, Daniel identifies a general pattern in targeting “working class cultures people” for regeneration which has more to do with constructing the poverty problem rather than empowering communities (Imrie and Raco, 2012). He refers here, more specifically, to the constant political discourse, dating back to Margaret Thatcher’s government, that has been addressing inner-city communities with flagship top-down actions, in the form of “a big social experiment”, eventually leading to their stigmatisation, exclusion and abandonment. As Daniel describes here, cities, notably low-income neighbourhoods, have gradually become “spaces of neoliberalization” or “laboratories” (Brenner and Theodore, 2002: 327-328), where the geographical disadvantage has been addressed through various pathologising practices:

I think, since the 90s, gradually since the 1970s, especially since Maggie Thatcher came in, you've had a **big social experiment**, a big piece of political social engineering, which is to **abolish, demonize, denigrate working class cultures people**, split them up with roads, redevelop their areas, break down unions, make a division between rental accommodation and ownership. Generally, you know call them tribes, and **just generally run them down**. (Daniel, current long-term resident, over 60, Redfield – emphasis added)

The various interventions in the neighbourhoods mentioned by participants focus not only on housing, but also on the local shops and facilities that have been transformed as part of larger investments. Adam (former long-term resident, 50-60, Barton Hill) for instance, describes his mixed feelings when under the NDC, around 2010, a long row of single storey shops in Barton Hill was demolished to make space for a new park and houses. Many newcomers, are particularly fascinated by the historical and industrial background of the area, and of Barton Hill in particular: from the Great Western Cotton Factory, once located on the current site of the Barton Hill Trading Estate, to Silverthorne Lane, where steel and

gasworks industries were based, now left as “empty shells”²⁰: “From my Union’s perspective that’s where the birthplace of new unionism began when unions back in the, in the late 1800s were sort of preserve of craft workers” (Prince Buster, newcomer, 30-40, Redfield).

Former long-term residents hold a balanced perspective towards the area’s change, which is also reflected by signs of nostalgic or idealised memories – through “rose-coloured glasses” (Adam, over 50-60, Barton Hill) – that make it hard for them to express either a positive or negative perception and remember what their actual experience was in the past. Some participants are aware of their distant and sometimes confused image and try to describe and justify it as follows:

Oh god, it's really weird, I can't really think of negative things! (...) It's kind of hard, when you lived in a place for so long as well it's quite hard to be objective because you just... and also, I worked there as well. (Sandra, former long-term resident, 50-60, Barton Hill)

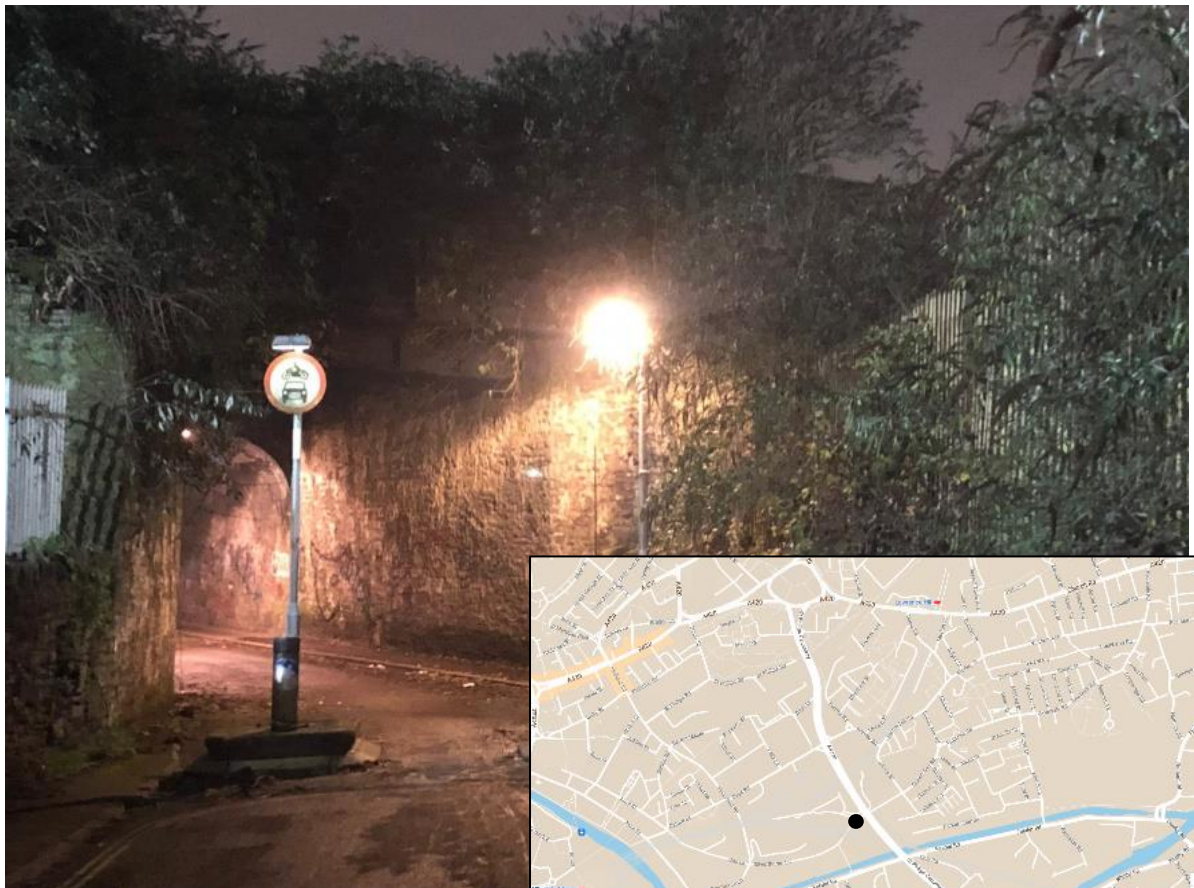


Photo 32. "Leaving Barton Hill towards the Avon Gas Works (this was a very important place in the history of my trade union)" (Source: Prince Buster, newcomer, 30-40, Redfield).

²⁰ At the time of writing, there are plans by Feeder Estates LLP to regenerate the area along the Feeder Canal (Temple Quarter Enterprise Zone) and provide a new secondary school, student accommodations, 371 new homes (including affordable housing) and commercial space: as part of the project, Silverthorne Lane’s sheds will be restored and turned into employment and co-working space. (www.silverthornelane.co.uk)

7.2.4.3. *The gentrifier dilemma*

The neighbourhood change experienced by newcomers is, by contrast to the change experienced by the long-term residents, not related to regeneration, but instead to the first signs of food and housing gentrification. Unlike current long-term residents, newcomers consider gentrification as ‘natural’ consequence of the area’s development and renewed image (Mathews, 2010). Many of the newcomers interviewed living in Redfield compare visible changes to the food industry to other districts, such as Bedminster (Palmer, 2019), and appreciate the new diversity of stores and coffeeshops in Redfield’s main street, Church Road: vegan, organic, plastic-free shops, and cafes together with new ‘fancy’ restaurants and pubs are modifying the area’s historical outlook. Yet, Patrick (newcomer, 30-40, Redfield), for instance, believes these widespread signs of gentrification are producing both positive and negative socio-economic outcomes. Whilst the neighbourhood is welcoming more people (like many of his friends), attracted by a vibrant atmosphere and “Redfield’s positive reputation”, Patrick expressed concern that this change can be detrimental to longer-term residents, who are increasingly seeing new flats replacing essential facilities for the community. Indeed, despite being relatively recent entrants, newcomers also feel part of the gentrification process affecting Redfield and most of them are concerned about the impact on the neighbourhood’s economy and identity, whereas others, like Lara F, share a more optimistic view on the matter.

So, I mean, if making it better would mean that people will have to be priced out of their homes, than I don't really know. (...) So, it's still quite stark that contrast [between groups of residents], it's very obvious. But I think that at some point **one group is probably going to take over**. (Angst-on-the-Moon, newcomer, 30-40, Redfield - emphasis added)

I am probably part of the most recent change - younger professionals moving in from other areas. I get very worried about the impact on house prices for local people, but also feel that **we're giving back to the community** and integrating. (Lara F, newcomer, 30-40, Barton Hill - emphasis added)

Participants are already witnessing that more and more (white) young middle-class professionals like themselves are moving into the area and both property and food prices are rapidly increasing, confirming existing literature on gentrification. As a result, locals and longer-term residents who can no longer afford to live in the neighbourhood are not benefiting from such forms of ‘development’, facing isolation and, in the worst case, displacement (Pain, 2019). In addition, other newcomers fear that gentrification will gradually jeopardise the neighbourhood’s historical identity, erasing landmarks of socio-cultural significance, alongside locals’ displacement and physical transformations (Atkinson, 2001; Martin, 2005).

The way things are going, I can imagine that in another ten years or another five years, it might look very different again and you might have lost some of those things that maybe a lot of people would say what is **what makes Redfield, Redfield**. (Patrick, newcomer, 30-40, Redfield - emphasis added)

7.3. Perception of the New Deal for Communities

Within the conversation on the neighbourhood change, participants' attention moved then to an evaluation of the New Deal for Communities a decade after the end of the program. Overall, it is possible to observe a balanced perception of residents towards the policy, its application, and its effects: the many criticisms against the NDC were mostly counter balanced by appreciations of the improvements that it enabled as well as by stories on the policy's actions and organisation. Current long-term residents mostly expressed critiques and concerns with regards to the way in which the NDC budget was spent in the community, or in relation to the visibility of some of the interventions. Former long-term residents, however, tend to focus more consistently on the benefits of the policy. Although some newcomers do notice the outcomes of NDC actions, most of them have not really heard of it or do not have enough information to express an opinion.

7.3.1. Few long-term actions and disappointment

Current long-term residents, especially, talk about deluded high expectations and promises that “never really materialised” (Tallylyn01, current long-term resident, over 60, Redfield). Residents believe that more than a half of the £50 million provided by the NDC went on staff salaries, while at the same time they think that the local community held too much responsibility in the regeneration process, which was “incumbent for upon the individual not the state” (MacLeavy, 2009: 865): the bottom-up and participatory approach that claimed to be at the centre of the NDC felt at times not sufficient to tackle structural problems affecting the area. These required, according to some residents, more guidance and know-how that was hard to find within the community itself. Structural issues, such as unemployment – still central nowadays – are considered as not fully tackled by the NDC, which tended to operate on “mid short-term rather than truly long-term” initiatives (Adam, former long-term resident, 50-60, Barton Hill). This is also visible from the fact that many social initiatives started under the policy implementation suddenly stopped as soon as the 10 years of funding came to an end.

Brooks (current long-term resident, 30-40, Barton Hill) perceives that NDC interventions have not been widespread but have favoured specific areas while leaving others behind and forgotten. This, she feels, is reflected particularly in the area's perception of safety, as in regenerated parts of Barton Hill she feels much safer walking around, compared to “Granville Street, for example, [which] is just a terrible place to be, and no one would want to go out there at all, because of the number of criminals that live there and it's just, it looks terrible.” Yet, some of these interventions have encountered concern and disappointment among residents, despite initially generating improvement and enthusiasm. The Dings' Home Zone, a regenerated and pedestrianised residential area situated around the Bristol Temple Meads railway station was supposed to make the neighbourhood “a better place to live” (CaH, 2005: 25; MacLeavy, 2009). 22 (current long-term resident, 40-50, The Dings) however has never felt this area as part of her neighbourhood; in her view, it has rather created more separation between long-term residents and those living in the Zone: “we don't think of *them* as part of the Dings. [...] We just don't

know who they are”. Daniel too remembers the time when developers were planning to apply changes to The Dings, referring to the area as a group of “Victorian slums” that needed to be knocked down, a designation that residents still feel was offensive and denigrating.

In fact, I was on the board at Community at Heart when the presentation was made for Home Zone, an argument was made for it, and we all went with the arguments that were made at the time. And it's, what you're saying also reminds me about Barratt [Home], saying ‘this **slum**, it's going to get cleared’. (Daniel, current long-term resident, over 60, Redfield – emphasis added)

Although residents, including children and youths, were involved in community consultations and co-design meetings as part of the NDC program, some of the engagements ended up being disempowering and disappointing for these groups. For example, Markus remembers how as a child in 2005 he took part in a public engagement event held by Community at Heart – the Steering Group responsible for accompanying and developing the NDC’s delivery plan – about the redevelopment of a local park in Barton Hill, also known as Lilla Park (Photo 33.). Yet, he also recalls the frustration he and his family felt, as the few changes that were subsequently implemented - "two benches, a community notice board, two cycle racks, some painted images on the ground and a large snail statue” – did not include any play equipment, like he and his friends were hoping to find. The lack of maintenance and neglect from the community eventually led the park to fall into a state of decay.

I recall there was a public engagement event held by the Community at Heart about the new park and myself and some friends drew pictures of a park with swings and such in it, only to have **our ideas batted down** by a rep at the engagement event who said that they [Community at Heart] “did not have the money to put any play equipment into the park”. (Markus, current long-term resident, 30-40, Barton Hill - emphasis added)

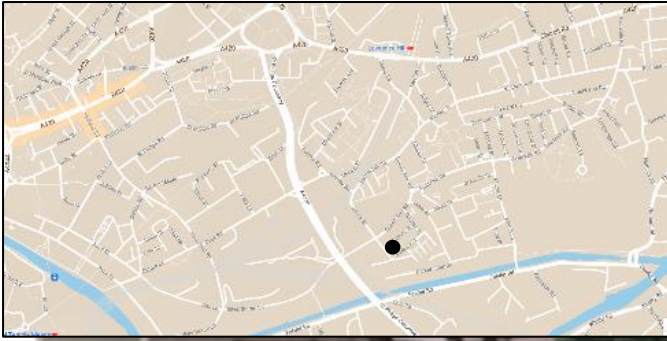


Photo 33. "Park on Canterbury Street, now and then (2004)" (Source: Markus, current long-term resident, 30-40, Barton Hill).

If the demolition and conversion of the Royal Table pub into flats came as “huge shock to the community” (Markus, current long-term resident, 30-40, Barton Hill), mixed feelings were experienced by Barton Hill residents affected by the demolition of Chetwood and Hartland houses (Photo 34.), in 2004: as Bernie (current long-term resident, 50-60, Barton Hill) explains, it certainly was a good opportunity to provide new and smarter housing, but residents were also quite “upset” and concerned with the way they were about to be relocated, hence displaced out of the area. Furthermore, although the GP practice is based in a new improved building thanks to the NDC (the Wellspring Healthy Living Centre), current long-term residents register many issues related to the management of appointments and bookings, that complicate the access to health services in the area.



Photo 34. "Demolition of flats on Aiken St. 2004" (Source: Bernie, current long-term resident, 50-60, Barton Hill).

7.3.2. A “progressive” regeneration scheme

Many of the research participants played an active role in volunteering and contributing to change during the NDC implementation: some worked for Community at Heart or the Wellspring Healthy Living Centre, others were members of the Trustee’s Board or involved in the many community projects organised by the Barton Hill Settlement. When thinking about those years, residents’ experience occupies a central place in their story. They put emphasis in the description of the role they held at the time, the way the various interventions were planned and developed: community consultations with the Voscur organisation; meetings with the local police department; the work teams specialised in tackling race inequality or involving residents in art projects as well as youth services. Sandra, for instance, who used to work for the Wellspring Healthy Living Centre, participated in a photography project to report the demolition of Chetwood and Hartland houses, whereas Louise was a youth worker at the time.

I got a leaflet through the door, and they were offering grants for art projects and I'm an artist graduate and so that caught my eye. And that's when I started to get involved in that side of things. (Sandra, former long-term resident, 50-60, Barton Hill)

I worked with them [NDC] for a while, certainly for youth services, there was a real battle around maintaining local authority funding. (Louise, former long-term resident, 50-60, Barton Hill)

With their personal experiences and memories, residents demonstrate that during the years of the NDC community involvement was central and could take various forms, from volunteering to work and consulting. A few residents also find the design of the regeneration scheme “progressive” for the time. Daniel (current long-term resident, over 60, Redfield) appreciates the fact that it was not only planned to operate on an extensive period – ten years – unlike past interventions - “so, you had a chance to do things in depth and measure them and gradually build on them” - but it also focused on active community engagement through private-public partnerships, despite being state-led.

7.3.3. General improvements of facilities and services

When invited to talk about the NDC program, in addition to describing how that worked, participants expressed their satisfaction with some of the interventions affecting particularly The Dings and Barton Hill in the short and long-run. These have to do with both physical and social actions that residents perceive have helped improving community spirit and neighbourhood’s image. Some social housing estates were demolished to be replaced by smarter terraced houses, while the remaining blocks were regenerated to improve quality of living and security: CCTV as well as fenced-in areas with hedges that, according to Daniel, have made tower blocks “more attractive, increased birdlife” and provided – at least from the outside – a sense of belonging and care. Further interventions that meet residents’ satisfaction until today include: the redevelopment of City Academy in Redfield; the merging of the old Barton Hill Infant and Nursery School with the Primary School (now Barton Hill Academy); the new Urban Park in Barton Hill; the construction of the Wellspring Healthy Living Centre, which for Tallylyn01 (current long-term resident, over 60, Redfield) was “probably the only thing that survived

[from the NDC].” The Wellspring Centre (now Wellspring Settlement) is among the most mentioned positive outcomes of the NDC, still vital for the whole community in terms of wellbeing support with yoga and mindfulness projects, and primary healthcare services.

Think a lot of positive changes happened. The environment was definitely improved and facilities such as the **Wellspring Healthy Living Centre was just fantastic** for the community. (Sandra, former long-term resident, 50-60, Barton Hill - emphasis added)

And the physical improvements **really matter to people's mood and perception** of the area, and it matters that I can walk through, as I do almost every day, to where my daughter's mother lives on the other side of Barton Hill. I walk through an area which is **well landscaped**, well, relatively well maintained and my daughter who's growing up in this area loves it. (Daniel, current long-term resident, over 60, Redfield - emphasis added)

Some residents however identify positive actions that “were good, but they were shorter term” (Adam, former long-term resident, 50-60, Barton Hill). To this category belong the many community projects and activities promoted by the Community at Heart (such as organised coach trips to the seaside), employment opportunities within NDC offices or the Community Action Around Alcohol and Drugs (CAAAD) project, which lasted only until the end of the NDC funding in 2010.

7.4. Perceptions of the external reputation

Current long-term residents mostly believe the external predominantly negative image of the NDC area – analysed with CDA (Chapter 5) – does not correspond to the reality of the area and that the local newspaper, The Bristol Post, has a significant role in dictating such stigma only focusing on local problems, without giving enough credit to positive news. They mostly feel surprised but also indignant and sceptical towards the results with which they were confronted: an increase of negative coverage by 10% (73%). That is very similar to the perceptions of newcomers who feel generally irritated by this reputation. Former long-term residents feel the stigma can still be found among non-residents whose view of the neighbourhood hardly corresponds to the real living experience. Newcomers, instead, tend to think reputation does not have implications on their everyday life, long-term residents believe it does matter and provide several examples of discrimination they have experienced. Therefore, the act of offering a counter-narrative to improve the place image seems to be particularly important for former and current long-term residents rather than for newcomers.

7.4.1. This is not the real Lawrence Hill

Residents across the three groups largely agree on the fact that the negative representation in The Bristol Post of the Barton Hill area and surroundings deeply contrasts with their actual experience: many positive and interesting events do happen in the neighbourhood, but these are not reported in the news and as a result go unnoticed by non-residents. Surprise, sadness, but also indignation and irritation are among the most common emotions expressed by residents when faced with the results from the CDA in the local newspaper articles. Most of them did not expect the negative reputation to increase in the last few years, from 2017 to 2019. Former long-term resident 22 (40-50, The Dings), for instance,

thought that in those years the press would have given more emphasis to the planned ‘studentification’ of The Dings, and the impact that it is expected to generate. Redfield and Lawrence Hill neighbourhoods, moreover, seem to be more of a thoroughfare rather than a destination for many, as they are “universally referred to as Church Road”:

I'm very, very, very, very surprised because the 2017 was just when the University said ‘So, we are going to transform this **forgotten corner of the city** and make it wonderful!’. So, I would have thought that would have been in the press a massive facelift boost feel-good. (22, current long-term resident, 40-50, The Dings – emphasis added)

The higher proportion of negative coverage is distant from reality and unbalanced compared to the rest of the city, according to most residents interviewed, who also tend to provide examples in support of their argument. Newcomers do not understand such stigmatisation towards the neighbourhoods, including Redfield. Angst-on-the Moon points out the fact that the area is attracting more and more residents, like herself, hence it should not be ‘that bad’. The same view is shared by Thomas S (30-40, Redfield), who describes the matter as a “paradox at some point because it’s a nice neighbourhood to live in”.

And what I find **surprising/irritating** is that the negative coverage has increased, not just decreased but increased by, I think, exactly 10%. (...) **I just don't understand**, like, it's obviously not factually grounded. If it was really bad is, you know, there would be areas where people will just flee. (Angst-on-the-Moon, newcomer, 30-40, Redfield - emphasis added)

Whereas some current long-term residents tend to counter-balance the reputation of the unsafe neighbourhood by emphasising their sense of safety walking around the area, including urban parks, at different times of the day. This strategy is particularly common among women participants and participants with children, showing how perceived neighbourhood safety can vary according to gender and caring responsibilities (Madge, 1997).

And I was thinking, **it's not that bad where I live**, you know, she [a friend] went and talked about some sort of, you know, drug fields. You know, tax zone. That's not, it's alright, you know. **I go around in daylight fairly happily**. (Martha O' Braidy, current long-term resident, 40-50, Lawrence Hill - emphasis added)

Moreover, the manifested surprise towards the external reputation turns at times into scepticism and denial. During one of the focus groups, a couple of current long-term residents could not believe the results of the CDA I was showing them and suggested I needed to re-analyse the newspaper articles. They were interested in reading them themselves so that they could make sure my analysis was accurate. In contrast, other participants, such as some newcomers, refer to the importance of drawing from statistics rather than perception or news when it comes to reporting levels of crime or quality of life of a neighbourhood and suggest comparing the press coverage of the NDC area with “better-off” areas in Bristol, to get a better idea of territorial stigmatisation and polarisation in the city.

7.4.2. Only “bad stories sell”

The negative external reputation of the neighbourhoods elicited at times reflections over the role of the newspaper in communicating a specific place image and constructing the ‘neighbourhood problem’. Some participants find that media, especially The Bristol Post, deliberately focus on crime and socio-economic disadvantage often, they suspect, with the aim of selling more copies or getting more ‘likes’ and views on social media: Angst-on-the-Moon (newcomer, 30-40, Redfield) assumes “they need like a clickbait sort of thing in order to get revenue of any sort”. Newspapers’ approach on news is perceived to be generally superficial, sensationalised, providing simplistic information and, as with other stigmatised inner-city areas in the UK, usually putting disadvantaged communities under the spotlight. Such forms of biased press coverage are, according to Prince Buster (newcomer, 30-40, Redfield), effective tools to exercise and re-confirm “symbolic domination” within society, whereby working-class and deprived groups can stay controlled, isolated, and oppressed (Slater, 2021: 163; Foucault, 1981).

It's quite similar to what I think you know Hackney, London, for example. I don't see as much difference to what people perceive Barton Hill to be like full of stabbings and drugs and blah, blah, it's, you know, it's been painted in this particular way by the media and it's just you know becomes very ingrained. (Shaila, current long-term resident, 25-30, Barton Hill - emphasis added)

Insofar as that reputation reflects poverty, but not only this, it's the sort of what happened in our country. It's **a blame game**, and you don't, you're not sympathetic to poor people for being poor, you blame them for being poor, certainly in the media world. (Daniel, current long-term resident, over 60, Redfield - emphasis added)

Other participants blame the newspapers for hiding the whole picture by not considering in the news local deprivation factors that characterise the area, as well as for causing “divisions between areas” (Markus, current long-term resident, 30-40, Barton Hill) of Bristol, hence enduring segregation. The Bristol Post is largely considered by participants as a disrespectful, unprofessional newspaper that delivers unbalanced press coverage, focusing on local issues – and rarely on positive news – that in reality are not specific to East Bristol, but can be registered in other districts too. Louise recalls here an episode of the past narrating The Evening Post’s (now The Bristol Post) sensationalism and distortion of facts:

And we're on the evening, obviously all the lights would be on and young people would sit outside the Youth Club and somebody from the Evening Post came past. I don't know what they reported on, they took a photo. And because of the lights coming out the building, it looked like someone has thrown a bomb in it, when it was just the lights and the way they portrayed, and **they reported as a riot** going on in Barton Hill and the Youth Club being sort of blown up. (Louise, former long-term resident, 50-60, Barton Hill - emphasis added)

This attention to local issues is nowadays amplified by social media that, according to various participants interviewed, are equally responsible for the area’s territorial stigma.

7.4.3. “What do you expect, it’s Barton Hill!”

When asked to delve deeper into the analysis resulting from the CDA, participants generally tended to provide factors that could potentially explain this long-lasting negative reputation. In doing so, some participants try to justify the high interest in the area, by recalling events and facts of the past that could have caught the attention of the news. The murder of Becky Watts in 2015, for instance, a recurrent memory among current long-term residents, catalysed media’s attention on Barton Hill for months – as shown in the newspaper articles analysed (see Chapter 5) – and generated great shock all over Bristol: according to Bernie, this event, although extreme, contributed to build a narrative of unsafe and dysfunctional neighbourhood, linked to Barton Hill’s “underclass” nature, that led non-residents to think “What do you expect? It’s Barton Hill” (Watt, 2008; Gough et al., 2006). From other participants’ experience, the Banksy’s artwork in the same neighbourhood seems to have generated similar reactions on social media right after it was vandalised:

When something does tragically go wrong like a few years ago, the murder of the girl just around the corner, you know that, then sort of goes back and there's been other instances where there's been sort of criminal activity. And people have said, ‘**Well, what do you expect, it's Barton Hill**’ and so there's still a sort of a view that people will have of the area. (Bernie, current long-term resident, 50-60, Barton Hill - emphasis added)

I was going to say the local Banksy that was... there was local a piece of Banksy, and I think within 24 hours it was ruined and everybody was saying on Facebook, you know, ‘**What you expect, is Barton Hill**’. [...] You know, people think, people have got this stereotyped reputation. (SSS, current long-term resident, 30-40, Lawrence Hill - emphasis added)

Participants often draw on their personal experience and perception to reflect on the public discourse, and more specifically on those elements that may have been contributing to increase the territorial stigma of the former NDC area. Among the local problems that they believe are holding off non-residents, the most common include urban decay, antisocial behaviours, and visible crime, but also overcrowded tower blocks, poverty and the influx of refugees and immigrants; a “steady decline” that Brooks (current long-term resident, 30-40) perceives since she moved in Barton Hill in 2007.

When my parents come to visit, the thing that bothers them a lot is **graffiti** because they just come from somewhere where there just isn't graffiti. (Martha O’Braidy, current long-term resident, 40-50, Lawrence Hill - emphasis added)

That's my immediate thoughts, because before in the 2000s Lawrence Hill was just a neighbouring area that was a bit rundown. But when it suddenly became very strongly populated with those, you know, **people from a different culture**, you know, that's when people got **a reason to not like it**, I suppose. (Adam, former long-term resident, 50-60, Barton Hill - emphasis added)

7.4.4. How much does neighbourhood reputation matter?

The conversation about the external neighbourhood reputation has led participants – especially long-term residents – to consider episodes in which they experienced territorial stigmatisation in action (Slater, 2021: 143). In many instances, the examples provided describe situations where revealing their

place of residence has put participants in an uncomfortable position generating a biased reaction, avoidance, “a decrease of intonation” (Shaila, current long-term resident, 25-30, Barton Hill) to forms of discrimination. Bernie (current long-term resident, 50-60, Barton Hill), for instance, remembers an estate agent in the late 1990s referring to Barton Hill as an “undesirable area”, hence a neighbourhood where properties would not be worth much. Although he did not continue to apply this “coping strategy” (Slater, 2021: 145), from that moment on, he refused to put his real address on job applications, as he felt “it would lower [his] ability of getting a job”; instead, he preferred to say he was from St. George or Redfield, indicating internal classifications and divisions (micro-differentiation) within the NDC area (Permentier et al., 2007; Wakefield and McMullan, 2005). This is clearly illustrative of both the non-residents general perception and its impact on residents’ everyday life. Postcode discrimination is an ongoing fear among residents and can take various forms: it not only affects the job market, but also education and services, like getting car and home insurance or going to the grocery shop with the fear of being “prejudged”:

I quite like everybody to bugger off and leave us alone and not move here but I similarly don't want, you know, to be rejected from jobs or things **just because of my postcode** or, you know, if I got accused of shoplifting or criminal damage or something, I wouldn't want that to be a prejudgment. (22, current long-term resident, 50-60, The Dings - emphasis added)

Whilst, unlike 22, Markus (current long-term resident, 30-40, Barton Hill) is worried that such negative reputation could push back and demotivate people to come and live in Barton Hill, for Louise the territorial stigma kept friends and boyfriends at a distance, compromising her relationships:

I met this fellow, and we went out on a couple of days and then he found out I lived in Barton Hill flats. He said, I remember his words, something like **“I'll have my car stolen”**. (...) I was really offended. He didn't get a third date. And **nobody ever wanted to come and meet up at my place**. (Louise, former long-term resident, 50-60, Barton Hill - emphasis added)

Some residents believe, however, that negative neighbourhood reputations can have in a way some advantages too, from decreasing property prices to being eligible for funding opportunities. Angst-on-the-Moon (newcomer, 30-40, Redfield) hopes “trash[ing] the area” would have an impact on house prices, whereas on more than one occasion Martha O’Braidy felt she could take advantage of her position of coming from a disadvantage area of Bristol to apply for more funding in education:

And yeah, used to work in a way in my favour, because if I was doing education things, quite a lot of things, ‘Where are you [from]... Oh you get this, wondered if you..’ I thought it was great, yeah. Great! I am from the area; I like it so much. [*laughter*] (Martha O’Braidy, current long-term resident, 40-50, Lawrence Hill)

Some current long-term residents and newcomers hold a different view on the matter and tend not to associate much importance to neighbourhood reputation, as they either have stopped to care about it, or they think their own experience and perception of the area is much more valuable than non-residents or media’s representation. For some participants, the mediated image of the area has more to do with “people’s self-esteem, but not [with] day to day reality” (Lara F, newcomer, 30-40, Barton Hill) and

can be a waste of time and energy, which could rather be invested in making change from within – applying what Permentier et al. (2007) refer to as “voice”, to describe residents’ reaction to external reputation through engagement and participation.

7.4.5. Strategies for a counter-narrative production

In the spirit of “voice” (Permentier et al., 2007), participants were given the opportunity to reflect, individually or together in focus groups, on strategies that could help building a counter-narrative in response to the neighbourhood stigma, thus re-setting power dynamics in favour of a more authentic place image (Garbin and Millington, 2012). Overall, residents focused their responses on actions implying more sense of community and opportunities to attract non-residents into the neighbourhoods, rather than ‘asking’ for interventions to “throw money at the place” (Martha O’Braid, current long-term resident, 40-50, Lawrence Hill). A more ‘inviting’, pleasant area, where the natural environment is preserved and well maintained could help improving the sense of trust and safety for passers-by. More social participation and local support – like it was during the NDC implementation period – as well as the planning of big events, such as food festivals in parks, with an increased role of community organisations, such as the Wellspring Settlement or the Barton Hill History Group, would bring people together and into the area, showing a different, and less known, side of it.

It's definitely grassroots, it's the smaller groups, the community organizations which are in the community, they are you know definitely going to be very key part of being able to help with that **publicity**, would be able to tell the **stories which aren't being told**. (Markus, current long-term resident, 30-40, Barton Hill - emphasis added)

The importance of “publicity”, evoked here by Markus, is a well shared concept among participants, who believe the success of a counter-narrative production lies in communicating in the press or on social media what happens in the neighbourhood and what its best features are. Thomas S and Sandra are confident that these practices would play a central role in increasing non-residents’ knowledge of the area, while providing reasons to come and discover the neighbourhoods under a new light.

I don't know, ask for journalists to come around to see what they are doing. [...] like maybe [being] **more active on social media**, sharing what they do, are they doing this and stuff like that to change the image of the neighbourhood. (Thomas S, 30-40, newcomer, Redfield - emphasis added)

Obviously, the people that live there know it, but it's the **people outside the area**, you know, the reasons why they would go into the area and experiencing a positive, you know, having a positive experience when they go there, I suppose. (Sandra, former long-term resident, 50-60, Barton Hill - emphasis added)

7.5 Conclusions

Despite a slight tendency to stress local issues within the neighbourhoods (41% of references), participants’ reputation of the former NDC area can be identified overall as balanced. Boundaries between positive and negative perceptions are (most of the time) blurred, as a third perspective on the

neighbourhood's change, the neutral reputation, acquires almost the same importance as the positive reputation. The interest in describing the changed neighbourhood as it is now is reflected in the substantial number of participants' photographs focusing on developments, demolitions and 'now and then' comparisons, which in many cases include NDC interventions. From participants' perceptions, the NDC area emerges thus as a complex area experiencing *gentrification* where, despite a strong sense of *neighbourliness* that is still appreciated by current and former residents (including newcomers), the community feels *forgotten* by institutions and internally *divided*. Gentrification, affecting both food and housing in the area, appears to play a crucial role in shaping residents' internal reputation, leading to both benefits and disadvantages. On the one hand young middle-class professionals – like the newcomers who took part in the study – were encouraged to move in by the competitive property prices and rents, bringing class and ethnic diversity and vibrance to neighbourhoods such as Redfield or The Dings, and their presence contributes to the sprouting of new businesses. However, such influx is producing additional 'hidden' changes affecting the local community in many ways: the increased housing prices in Redfield, the studentification in The Dings are forcing longer-term residents to move out of the neighbourhood; whereas the ongoing physical interventions and "hipsters' coffeeshops" in Redfield and The Dings, and new private housing in Barton Hill are gradually erasing from the urban landscape features that used to characterise the neighbourhoods' identity and history, such as pubs and community halls (Martin, 2005).

A similarly mixed response can also be observed when participants share their views on the impact of the NDC. Whilst improved facilities, quality housing and new green areas are perceived to have brought long-awaited regeneration in the area, former and current long-term residents focus their criticism on the lack of real long-term actions that could have generated socio-economic structural change in the neighbourhoods. This result is in line with the literature on social mix policies, which highlight the common failure of policies to resolve the spatial concentration of poverty itself, tackling the "symptoms of inequality" rather than the causes (Cheshire, 2007:34). The end of the funding and the conclusion of the program in 2011 set the scene for the unexpected loss of interest in the area, leaving the community with fewer opportunities for participation and togetherness, which were highly appreciated (and attended) during the implementation of the social mixing policy (see also Jupp, 2021). Employment opportunities and cultural events used to be a magnet for non-residents and visitors to the area, an atmosphere that participants feel is missing nowadays and would also foster positive external reputation as a counter-narrative strategy. As a response to the increased territorial stigma on the area, participants apply a "loyalty" behaviour (Permentier et al., 2007), defending their neighbourhood by denying the extremely negative image offered by the public discourse, and blaming the local newspaper for the sensationalist and disproportionate misrepresentation of local issues.

The findings presented in this chapter indicate a relatively balanced internal neighbourhood reputation for the NDC area. However, from an in-depth analysis of the temporality expressed by participants'

statements (cf. Jupp, 2021), it can be observed that legacies of the NDC are still impactful after more than ten years from the end of the program, and still shape residents' perceptions over the neighbourhoods. After turbulent years of urban decay, vandalism, and neglect, the NDC period represented a great change for locals, providing renewed sense of belonging and participation. Yet, with the end of the policy everything "deflated", leaving the communities with abandonment, territorial stigmatisation, and internal struggles to 'protect' the area's identity and lost community spirit. Despite its ten-year financial investment, the social mixing policy proves to be temporary, not being able to ensure self-sustained socio-economic infrastructures aimed at longer-term structural impacts, while maintaining community and identity. Community spirit and place identity have indeed been threatened by food and housing gentrification that is affecting the former NDC area in the last few years, producing diversity segregation (Hyra, 2015), class conflicts over the 'right to the neighbourhood' (Harvey, 2008) as well as grassroots movements to save local symbols, such as pubs and community halls, from profit. In these controversial circumstances, community support and local services are still reasons for longer-term residents to stay ("loyalty"), resisting the ongoing change and challenging the external reputation ("voice") (Permentier et al., 2007; Souto-Manning, 2014).

Part III: Comparing and Concluding

Chapter 8.

Conclusions

8.1. Core comparisons, findings and, implications

Through this thesis I have sought to uncover some of the complexity surrounding neighbourhood reputations and neighbourhood change by revisiting Ponte Lambro, Milan and the NDC area, Bristol, where urban renewal policy interventions aimed at increasing social and tenure mix were applied. More specifically, I have sought to investigate whether the reputations of these two case study locations, which once represented marginalised urban contexts, have improved, or worsened over time since the interventions of the New Deal for Communities (NDC) and Contratto di Quartiere (CdQ). The qualitative analysis of discourse production and consolidation both within and outside the neighbourhoods has been employed as a focal lens through which I have assessed the general impact of these two policies using a comparative and longitudinal research design. By drawing on post-structuralist theories of discourse (Foucault, 1981; Bourdieu, 1991) and applying them to the urban studies subfields of urban renewal and territorial stigmatisation (Permentier et al., 2008; Wacquant, 2007; Slater, 2021), my research has not only provided a post-policy evaluation to the social mixing projects (which has not been carried out before), but it has also demonstrated that:

- a) local interventions involving community participation and long-term plans do not automatically correspond to improved internal and external reputations;
- b) once created, spread, and nourished, place images, hence territorial stigmas, are difficult to eradicate, especially if urban divide and socio-economic inequalities persist; and,
- c) disadvantaged neighbourhoods, although being in different and distant national contexts, can share similar experiences when it comes to social mixing and powerful stigmatising discourses.

This section expands these general findings and brings together the research empirical findings by drawing comparisons between the two case studies as well as by outlining the implications of such findings in relation to the following research questions, that were posed in the Introduction Chapter:

Have the external and internal reputations of the neighbourhood changed after the policy implementation?

To what extent have they changed?

The first part of the thesis set the scene for the empirical analysis by, first, presenting the theoretical framework employed to address the research topic, the main fields of literature that constitute the cornerstones of the research, and the research gap that this project seeks to resolve. Long-term effects

of neighbourhood regeneration have rarely considered the ‘symbolic power’ of discourse (Bourdieu, 1991), particularly reputations, in shaping urban divides and spatially problematised poverty; even though stigmatised urban areas are mostly tackled by social mix, which often seeks to address negative exogenous neighbourhood effects (Permentier et al., 2007; 2008; Arthurson, 2013). With this project I draw connections between these fields of study and introduce the analysis of internal and external neighbourhood reputations to evaluate the long-term impact of social mixing policies. The first part of the thesis has then covered the epistemological and methodological approach of the research, that is based on a comparative and longitudinal qualitative design, whereby comparisons occur both across time (*Pre-policy* and *Assessment* periods) and space (between the research case studies) as well as between internal and external reputations. Research contexts and backgrounds of Ponte Lambro and the NDC area were presented in the last chapter of part I (Chapter 4), which provided an overview of the areas’ historical development and socio-spatial characteristics as well as details of origins, plans and actions of CdQ and the NDC.

The second part of the thesis was dedicated to the analysis of empirical data, which were divided by theme and by case study. While in Chapter 5 I combined Ponte Lambro and the NDC area to explore the development of external reputations, Chapters 6 and 7 addressed each case study separately as they analysed the internal reputations of the neighbourhoods. In this research, the external neighbourhood reputation corresponds to the place image depicted by local newspaper articles and examined through Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (Fairclough, 1992; Waitt, 2010); whereas internal neighbourhood reputations emerged from the thematic and Critical Narrative Analysis (CNA) (Souto-Manning, 2014) of 1-1 interviews and focus groups with residents and the Participatory Photo Mapping (PPM) they contributed to create. The analysis enabled the observation of external neighbourhood reputations of Ponte Lambro and the Bristol NDC area, coming from the newspapers *La Repubblica Milano* and *Corriere della Sera*, and *The Bristol Post* respectively, did not improve significantly over the years, still presenting a predominantly negative image for both case studies: 53% (Ponte Lambro) and 73% (NDC area) of the news between 2017 and 2019 – five to six years after the end of the policies – are still employing denigrating language when referring to the neighbourhoods. However, despite this general negative trend, a closer CDA allowed me to grasp significant differences between the Pre-policy and Assessment timeframes. Particularly, I could register that in newspaper articles about Ponte Lambro the use of nominalisation (see Hanretty and Hermanin, 2010) is less frequent than it was in the early 2000s: the shift from “*periferia*” (suburb) to “*quartiere*” (neighbourhood) as a more neutral term, for instance, is illustrative of an increased attention to more positive news in the area. Whereas Bristol’s NDC area is still depicted by the local newspaper in sensationalist terms and tones focusing on deprivation and crime-related news. This scenario is however counterbalanced when we consider the coverage of the social mixing policies. On the one hand, newspaper articles still refer to Ponte Lambro as the place where CdQ failed with the unfinished project of Renzo Piano’s *Laboratorio*, which, also from

participants' voices, became a magnet for urban decay and deviance, and a symbol of the abandonment from institutions. In the articles collected from *The Bristol Post*, on the other hand, I could not register any further reference to the NDC nor to other urban plans targeting the area, which can indicate a loss of interest in the area, as many participants have suggested, or the fact that, years after the end of funding addressed to the neighbourhoods, projects were concluded and there has been no need to mention the New Deal scheme again.

Discourses resulting from the CDA, CNA and thematic analysis of interviews and focus groups with residents interestingly present a slightly different scenario, starting from the fact that, in this case, reputation includes a third perception (neutral reputation). In the case of internal neighbourhood reputations, differences can be observed not only between case studies, but also between perceptions of the reputations of the same area. With regards to Ponte Lambro's change, participants' perceptions tend to be mostly negative, portraying an abandoned, socially divided, and unsafe suburban neighbourhood, where scapegoats are usually represented by 'non-locals' or immigrants (racialised non-Italians). When it comes to the internal perceptions on CdQ, participants are again mostly critical towards the policy and emphasise its negative impacts. The end of the programme in 2012 (and of *Laboratorio di Quartiere* in 2015) produced a sense of abandonment and disillusion among participants, who report being still experiencing the effects of territorial stigma on their daily life in Ponte Lambro. Participants coming from the former NDC area shared overall a more balanced internal reputation, compared to Ponte Lambro's residents, when asked about changes in their neighbourhoods. Despite the common feeling of internal division and abandonment by institutions and local government, participants strongly value their community as fundamental reason to stay in the area and often perceive change as a neutral constant element. Such ambivalent perspectives can also be found in their view of gentrification, that is affecting Redfield and The Dings within the NDC area: a controversial phenomenon for participants, bringing new businesses and vibrance to the neighbourhoods, while leading to a loss of place identity, and displacement of long-term residents because of rising housing prices and studentification. Mixed responses were also observed in participants' perceptions about the NDC interventions, as the generally improved facilities in the area are found, however, to have been superficial and few structural changes were put into place by the scheme. Moreover, participants do not agree with the increased negative external reputation and respond with "loyalty" (Permentier et al., 2007) to the persistence of the territorial stigma. Yet, findings from PPM in both case studies show a predominant interest for participants affected by social mixing policies to portray neutral and positive features of their neighbourhood, from changes in housing and interventions to community spirit and natural environment.

To summarise, the empirical findings from the analysis of both internal and external neighbourhood reputations show that the neighbourhood of Ponte Lambro is still experiencing mainly negative reputations from both media and the local community of residents, and the legacies of CdQ (for instance,

the unfinished projects) are found to have played a crucial role in developing this sentiment. In contrast, the reputations of Bristol's NDC area appear to clash more substantially, as the increased negative external reputation does not meet the more mixed or balanced perceptions of participants over the neighbourhood's change and national regeneration scheme: this contrast with Ponte Lambro might be due to the end of interventions and the mixed responses towards gentrification in the area. Thus, from the above research results we can draw the following conclusions and implications, responding to the initial research questions.

- a) *Social mixing policies (CdQ II and NDC) in the two contexts analysed have not provided structural change for regeneration and continuity of socio-economic infrastructures.*

In line with existing studies that have taken place in the UK (Watt, 2021; Jupp, 2021; MacLeavy, 2009), the empirical analyses through comparative and longitudinal approaches allow me to indicate here what was described by research participants as the biggest flaw of the policies: the gradual (but often perceived as sudden) loss of interest in the area with the end of the designated funding. Particularly from research participants' contributions, a common feeling of disappointment towards the regeneration policy and of abandonment from institutions and central government emerged as soon as projects were over and local support networks struggled to resist – also due to the global economic crisis and consequent austerity years (Jupp, 2021; Watt, 2021). Bristol and Milan participants described this radical change in opportunities and hope using a variety of terms and expressions:

“It felt like the heart's just been ripped out, and I miss that”

(Martha O'Braidy, current long-term resident, 40-50, Lawrence Hill)

“*Era come un'isola felice*” (It was like a happy place)

(Volontario Sottovoce, current long-term resident, over 60, Ponte Lambro)

Despite the long-term planning and the millions of euros and pounds of investments, CdQ and NDC proved eventually to be temporary in their actions and operate on the surface of urban problems and inequalities, failing to ensure continuity of support and actions in the long run. Although positive interventions could be registered in both contexts, specifically in terms of social housing regeneration and community engagement, actions tackling employment and socio-economic condition were not really put in place. As a result, residents (research participants) have become disenchanted towards any news of intervention, as they perceive their neighbourhoods have always been targeted by temporary regeneration policies and not by a real interest in changing urban divides within the city, which persist, increasing the feeling of being ‘second-class citizens’ or ‘underclass’ (Watt, 2008). As Paul Watt (2021: 78) suggests, when investigating the effects of urban regeneration, structural inequalities of class, race, and gender in the city have not been sufficiently

addressed by social mixing policies, but “have been exacerbated by 40 years of neoliberalisation and the last decade of austerity policies”.

- b) *Putting ‘community’ at the centre of urban policy planning and development in these contexts was temporary and often only rhetorical.*

Discourses promoting the NDC and CdQ in the early 2000s have been driven by ideals of communitarianism and “community activation” (Edwards and Imrie, 2015: 134) as means to tackle neighbourhood effects through delegation and active participation, in urban areas where socio-economic disadvantage was believed to correspond to less community spirit (Imrie and Raco, 2012). Yet, as other studies have also pointed out (MacLeavy, 2009; Hohmann, 2013) the communitarian approach to the ‘urban problem’ was driven by a toxic, and pathologising view of deprived communities, as they are at the same time envisioned as “root cause” of spatial issues “as well as the policy solution” (Edwards and Imrie, 2015: 146). Although long-term residents appreciated the renewed interest in the area and their involvement in the policy plans, many complained about the way such participation was promoted. For some it felt more as a ‘tick-box exercise’ as community meetings often took the form of consultations, where ideas were not really listened, and some of the projects – such as *Laboratorio Renzo Piano* in Ponte Lambro – were not really needed and felt ‘imposed’ as “top-down” actions. When community engagement happened, however, participants also had the impression that their effort and contribution was insufficient to determine structural and long-term change in the area, in terms of employment and housing, for instance. Moreover, despite the high expectations and attention on the local community, social mixing policies in Milan and Bristol have not fully ensured stability of support networks and of cohesive communities. External and internal neighbourhood reputations from both case studies depict critical scenarios for communities, as interventions have led to the demolition of social housing estates; displacement of residents; many community spaces and working-class symbols, such as pubs in Barton Hill, were replaced with private accommodations; internal divisions between class and ethnic groups were exacerbated over time; and community centres suddenly received less funding with the end of the scheme.

- c) *Years after the end of CdQ and NDC, both case studies experience micro-segregation and tensions over the ‘right to the neighbourhood’.*

Despite their ‘progressive’ designs and ambitious plans, the social mixing policies observed in the research through the lens of discourse and reputation have proved to be not different from previous urban regeneration actions in terms of approach to the urban disadvantage: a pathologising approach that focuses on symptoms rather than on causes of inequalities, hence generating more inequalities in the long run (Cheshire, 2007: 34; Marcuse, 2009). Participants’ perceptions on the neighbourhoods’ change emphasised the gradual feeling of divisions between areas of the same neighbourhood and between different communities, divisions which were perceived to have

increased with the end of the social mixing policy. The lack of continuous support, hence the failure of the programmes to set up structural and long-term changes, is seen by participants as one of the reasons behind the current sense of internal fragmentation – to which socio-economic and demographic phenomena also contributed (Watt, 2021) – and can thus be identified as one of the main long-term impacts. The ‘right to the neighbourhood’, that, I argue, is identified with the right for every individual inhabiting a specific neighbourhood to feel they belong, are accepted and free to fully express their rights within the space, has become contested in both research contexts (Harvey, 2008; Chaskin and Joseph, 2013). In Ponte Lambro, conflicts and exclusionary practices tend to occur particularly between locals (native Italians) and non-locals (racialised non-Italians) as well as between social housing tenants and private homeowners. Whereas, in Bristol’s NDC area tensions are perceived as mostly taking place between long-term residents living in Redfield and The Dings and middle-class young newcomers. In the first case, race and class tensions have primarily to do with housing, urban decay, and neighbourhood safety, whilst in the latter case, participants feel threatened by the increasing food and housing gentrification that is also affecting the local sense of history and identity (see also Martin, 2005). Both case studies, moreover, register internal “micro-segregation” (Hyra, 2015) and micro-differentiation (Wakefield and McMullan, 2005) with regards to specific areas within the neighbourhoods which have not been included in the regeneration plans and have thus experienced more isolation and territorial stigmatisation.

8.2. Contributions of the study

State-led social mixing policies in Europe have predominantly been assessed in the short term with studies either running conterminously with interventions or in the immediate aftermath. Moreover, studies have focused on domains of impact such as social interactions and community building (Barwick, 2018), education and social mobility (Lipman, 2012), gentrification and displacement from social housing estates (Tunstall, 2012; Bacqué and Fijalkow, 2012). Regeneration through social or tenure mix is intertwined with the socio-economic context and the development dynamics of the target neighbourhood and can have potential longer-term outcomes for the place and the people concerned. Yet, research in the European context – unlike in the US – has rarely considered the application of longitudinal analysis particularly from a qualitative perspective to observe how social mixing plans, designs and interventions have achieved their long-term goals at the local level (Permentier et al., 2007; Lees, 2004; Arthurson, 2013). This research has indeed focused on investigating whether the place images or neighbourhood reputations of the research case studies have improved over time after the end of CdQ and the NDC.

This research contributes therefore to the current urban regeneration literature, by expanding our understanding of the long-term effects of social mixing and, notably, by bridging the gap between post-structuralist theories of discourse production with urban studies of territorial stigmatisation. Unlike

previous analyses of narratives addressed to marginalised neighbourhoods, largely focusing on the discourse framed by the urban policy (Jacobs, 2006; Hastings, 2000; Lees, 2004, Richardson, 1996; Watt, 2008), this study has considered how the local press (external neighbourhood reputation) and residents (internal neighbourhood reputation) perceive and portray the neighbourhood years after the policies implementations, and whether this image has improved from the time prior to the start of the scheme. From a theoretical point of view, this research has demonstrated first, that social mixing policies can lead to multiple impacts on the neighbourhood reputations and such impacts can occur over extended periods of time, not only outside but also within the area of interest. As much as attracting newcomers and investments to the area and ultimately aiming at improving the place image, research findings show that the design and the delivery of urban regeneration through social mix are also responsible for residents and non-residents' perceptions towards the area. Secondly, the research has shown that the analysis and comparison of internal and external neighbourhood reputations provided further understanding of the power dynamics put in place and consolidated over time by territorial stigmatisation (Slater, 2021), which, despite more than ten years of actions, was still found to affect the research case studies. The use of CDA (as will be detailed below) revealed that while external neighbourhood reputations can be characterised by either positive or negative discourses (a polarised narrative), internal perceptions can also present a third perspective on the matter, a mixed or balanced approach (neutral reputation), which specifically Bristol's NDC residents seemed to have adopted. The polarised narrative of newspaper articles is illustrative of the fact that the construction of the place image from the outside is mainly driven by logics of power and influence on the masses, dividing the city itself, rather than informing (Huckin, 1997); whilst views on the neighbourhood emerging from internal reputations are at times more blurred as they come from experience and knowledge that can often be the sum of positive and negative aspects (Permentier et al., 2007; Arthurson, 2013).

This research offers further contribution to the literature of discourse and territorial stigma by introducing the idea that discourses and policies can be mutually influential and that this can lead to crucial socio-economic implications (see also Permentier et al., 2008; Slater, 2021; Department for Work and Pensions, 2010): on the one hand, neighbourhood change can affect reputation, and stigmatised areas can be targeted by urban policies; on the other hand, internal and external reputations are also powerful in influencing each other, determining or maintaining spatial discrimination and exclusion (Arthurson, 2013). Finally, besides contributing to the literatures of social mix and territorial stigma, this study has also provided insights into broader and timely discussions around participatory planning, and more specifically highlights the contradictions of this method when, in many cases, community participation tends to be reduced to consultations, rather than active co-design and co-production of public space, as social mixing policies have long claimed to provide (see Monno and Khakee, 2012; Edwards and Imrie, 2015). Such critique of the social mixing ideals, as anticipated in the section above, is informed particularly by the analysis of residents' perceptions (internal

neighbourhood reputations), which denounced the temporary and insufficient interest in their community (or, better, communities), leaving them with disappointment and abandonment as well as political disenchantment. The research findings and their implications, notably with regards to the internal neighbourhood reputations, engage with and provide further interesting insights to the literature on the 'right to the city', as they shed light on conflictual dynamics of power and rights happening within the neighbourhood as well as in the city as a whole. Class and race-based tensions that emerge from the research findings (as outlined above) highlight how the right to the use of the neighbourhood for each and every category of resident is limited and is often determined by who is exercising or claiming to exercise power and control in the area. While the idea of 'right to the city' is firstly conceived by Henri Lefebvre as the right to live the "urban life" in a convivial and inclusive way (1996), the literature conceptualises 'rights' to the city or the neighbourhood in a variety of approaches, from social justice to politics highlighting their interconnection (Attoh, 2011): the right to use public space for political protest and occupation (Mitchell and Heynen, 2009); to participate in urban design (Maununaho, 2016); to shape the city in a fair way especially for underrepresented and marginalized groups (Harvey, 2003, 2008); the right against neighbourhood branding and profit (Masuda and Bookman, 2016). From this research project, the right to the neighbourhood – and to the city, by extent – results, I argue, as highly intertwined with and affected by discourse production and existing urban inequalities, as similarly described by Lelandais (2014): "the right to the city is a claim for the recognition of the urban as the (re)producer of social relations of power, and the right to participation in it". The predominant discourse on the neighbourhoods and the perceived feeling of isolation, that have not significantly improved with the social mixing programmes, are further reinforcing the power imbalances within the field sites, producing dynamics of differentiation, scapegoating, and exclusion.

A second and equally significant contribution offered by this research can be identified in the methodological approach that was applied. To unravel and deconstruct powerful discourses picturing the marginalised neighbourhoods, neighbourhood reputations have been investigated through the qualitative analysis of texts, following an inductive process of CDA as operationalised by Fairclough (1992; 2003; Huckin, 1997) and as theorised by Foucault (1995). The combination of CDA and CNA (Souto-Manning, 2014) as well as thematic analysis allowed this research to uncover meanings and internalised perceptions in newspaper articles and interactions with research participants. Such methods of analysis were applied in an innovative way for a qualitative research project, that is in a longitudinal and comparative approach. Challenging the recommendations of Permentier et al. (2008) and Lees (2004), this research has offered an original perspective on the study of neighbourhood reputations, which involved the qualitative comparison of place narratives not only across space (Ponte Lambro, Milan and NDC area, Bristol), but also across time (pre and post intervention of the social mixing policies). In so doing, this project stands out from the predominance of quantitative longitudinal and comparative studies in the field (e.g., Permentier et al., 2008) and as detailed in Chapter 3, combining

both time and space in the comparison has allowed to provide an in-depth analysis of neighbourhood change. With regards to the analysis of newspaper articles (external neighbourhood reputations), the longitudinal element lay in the comparison of *Pre-policy* and *Assessment* timeframes, which enabled me to register how discourses from the local press on the research case studies have varied over time. Whilst in the case of 1-1 interviews and focus groups with residents, temporality was provided by participants' contributions and stories about the neighbourhoods' change, and the collection of data from a variety of residents (newcomers, current long-term residents, and even former residents), whose experience and use of the neighbourhood have in most cases covered decades of staying in the area (see also Arthurson, 2013).

Unlike most qualitative research in urban studies, which tends to focus on one specific case study for a limited time, this project has also drawn comparisons between two distant but similar European urban contexts. This enabled the observation of the evolution and impact of social mixing interventions on reputations from different national and socio-economic perspectives, and elaboration, therefore, of holistic conclusions from the analysis of empirical results in terms of implications and recommendations for future research and policy. Most importantly, the international comparative aspect of the research was crucial to identify differences and similarities pertaining not only to the impact of social mix on reputations but also to the consolidation of discourses themselves. The use of a discursive approach to the analysis of the case studies, that emerges as novel within the literature, has provided considerable strength to the research findings. Given their qualitative and 'subjective' nature, findings do not claim to unveil a generalisable 'reality' related to the case studies or similar urban areas after the implementation of the two programmes explored, but they actually illuminate specific experiences of neighbourhood change as well as territorial stigma at the local level, hence allow to tell everyday life stories that are place-specific to Ponte Lambro and the NDC area and come from a diversity of residents (current, former, and newcomers). Such a quality to provide in-depth findings about the case study is demonstrated to characterise qualitative and ethnographic studies in urban geography (Winchester and Rofe, 2010; Watt, 2020). Nevertheless, if we wish to engage with the similarities that emerge from both field sites, the following implications can be considered. Findings from the external neighbourhood reputations and from the third part of interviews and focus groups with participants, which investigated personal experiences of stigma, show that disadvantaged urban areas can go through similar processes of territorial stigmatisation, marginality and progressive exclusion, which can follow similar patterns of discourse enabling, production (generalisation, nominalisation, scapegoating, sensationalism etc.) and reproduction (or consolidation) over time (see also Watt, 2021; Wacquant, 2007; Slater, 2021; Huckin, 1997; Berruti and Lepore, 2008; Harris and Vorms, 2017).

A further contribution of the study in the domain of qualitative research methods is in the application of a creative and visual method of data collection on a remote setting, that is Participatory Photo Mapping. PPM has been employed in urban and housing studies, which mostly involved a face-to-face

design, in different forms (Corbett, 2009; Teixeira et al., 2020; McIntyre, 2003). Covid-19 restrictions related to travels and social distancing, however, represented a critical challenge for the research design but offered at the same time the opportunity to activate creativity and explore new forms of interaction and collaboration with participants (Partlow, 2020; Gratton et al., 2020). While differing from the in-person setting that was initially envisioned – as I reflect on in Chapter 3 – the PPM still allowed the active sharing of photographs among participants and the collective construction of meanings and perspectives associated to the neighbourhoods during interviews and focus groups (McIntyre, 2003; Kara, 2015), all in a relaxed and interactive environment. Either in times of crisis or when data collection faces obstacles and in-person PPM is not possible, the remote use of this creative tool of investigation can offer a variety of potentials, while drawing connections between the urban element – the use of the local space – and the more introspective element of neighbourhood communities – the perception and feeling of the place.

8.3. Recommendations for policy making²¹

The comparative and longitudinal research design, specifically the qualitative research methods applied in this project have enabled me to develop a holistic approach to address the research questions and have led to the core findings and implications explored above (section 8.1.). While looking at the complexity of long-term impact of social mixing policies, this thesis brings to the fore topics of discussion pertaining to the way urban renewal policies are designed, planned, developed, and applied at the local level, as it has provided a new critical framework for their assessment over time. Given implications of the above findings, I elaborate in this section on four points that highlight the need for policy making to be more inclusive, people-based, and self-reflective on the social and cultural impact in the long-run. This seeks to stimulate further dialogue among urban scholars and practitioners and serve as potential recommendations for future policy design and assessment in the domain of urban renewal interventions targeting marginalised and often stigmatised areas of the city.

1. Practitioners should evaluate policy impact over time through the analysis of neighbourhood reputations.

Since the assessment of the social mixing policies represents the main policy related contribution of this thesis, the first point is to reiterate the importance for urban policies aimed at regenerating disadvantaged areas to include in their plans specific times to evaluate the social impact of interventions from different perspectives of analysis, even (or especially) after the end of the projects' funding. An area of investigation which has been thus far overlooked, as highlighted out by this research, is the production and reproduction of internal and external neighbourhood reputations, which represent major

²¹ Parts of this section are based upon the paper Casarin G., MacLeavy J., Manley D., (2023) Rethinking Urban Utopianism: The Fallacy of Social Mix in the 15-Minute City, *Urban Studies*, 60(16). <https://doi.org/10.1177/00420980231169174..>

‘tools’ to grasp how residents and non-residents (the public discourse) perceive the targeted area as well as the urban policy affecting their living space. Academic and grey literatures show that policy evaluations in terms of social impact at the local level are rarely carried out over longer periods of time and, even more infrequently, years after the end of the local interventions (Hohmann, 2013; Calvaresi and Cossa, 2011; DCLG, 2010). Yet, evaluating impact over time, particularly through the lens of perceptions, not only is fundamental to ensure the policy plans keep up with the neighbourhood socio-economic and demographic changes, but can also shed lights upon less evident and more interpersonal issues, such as potential internal divisions (micro-segregation) or any conflict related to the ‘right to the neighbourhood’. This thesis has demonstrated through the application of a post-structuralist approach that processes of marginalisation and regeneration can be further comprehended with the study of discourse and other forms of social semiotics. Hence, acknowledging the power and influence carried by place image and territorial stigma can be crucially determinant to operate local change in the longer run. Research participants themselves, both from Ponte Lambro and the NDC area in Bristol, have shared their experience of the persistent negative place image and, by using different approaches or behavioural responses (Permentier et al., 2008), have emphasised the importance of communicating positive narratives to build counter-narratives about the neighbourhood (Garbin and Millington, 2012). Therefore, while measuring the impact of urban policies, shifts in discourses from the local media, for instance, should also be considered.

2. There is a need to resolve the ‘temporal clash’ between time-limited projects and persistent spatial inequalities.

As detailed in the first section of this chapter (a.), the comparative analysis of the research case studies has allowed attention to be drawn towards the ‘short-terminism’ of urban regeneration policies. Research participants from both Ponte Lambro and the Bristol neighbourhoods affected by the NDC have been feeling lost and abandoned from institutions and central governments with the end of the social mixing programmes, in line with what Jupp (2021: 8) refers to as “trajectories of decline”. The continuous shift from one area-based project to the next one, characterising the development history of the two urban contexts (see the common theme of “change”), always represents a dramatic event of rupture of support for residents and of funding for community workers in the neighbourhoods (Pain, 2019): for the most stigmatised urban places the only real constant appears then to be change and intervention. The short-term nature of renewal projects, including most importantly CdQ and the NDC, have left communities not only with few long-term achievements, but in some instances also with the frustrating fear of “going back” to pre-investments disadvantage (Volontario Sottovoce, current long-term resident, over 60). The time-limited interest in socio-economically disadvantaged areas in cities, in general, driven by both short-term political horizons and the unstable nature of capitalist system, is also perceived by affected communities as social injustice as they compare their situation to ‘better-off’ neighbourhoods in the city. Resonating with what Jupp (2021) also suggests with her study on austerity

localism, I argue that, instead of one-time projects, more holistic and continuous welfare initiatives ought to be addressed to marginalised communities to tackle inequality of opportunity and access in the spatially divided city. Supporting local institutions and third sector organisations over time, and not only through specific private or public investments with a deadline, can be fundamental to ensure that community needs of strong support networks are met, while also enabling to contrast neoliberal spatial forms of uneven development.

3. More people-based approaches would avoid the focus on neighbourhood effects and pathologising narratives around the 'urban problem'.

Echoing Marcuse's words (2009) on the limitations of interventions addressing only the spatial (place-based) and primarily local dimension of urban injustice (rather than more systemic) as it was the case with CdQ and the NDC, I suggest that disadvantaged neighbourhoods should be supported with a greater range and diversity of people-based investments alongside place-based ones. By targeting the spatial concentration effects of structural inequalities – through “gilding the ghetto” measures (Marcuse, 2009: 5) – rather than their underlying causes, the ‘urban problem’ has been (at best) hidden by a process originally motivated by a paternalist desire of controlling and educating the masses (Cheshire, 2007; Uitermark, 2014). Area-based social mixing policies have rather exploited discourses pathologising the urban poor, by claiming to address neighbourhood effects through mixing, regeneration, and demolition of social housing estates (Kintrea, 2013; Watt, 2021; Crump, 2002), hence identifying the working-class neighbourhood as inherent source of problem and decline. Following up from the previous point of recommendation (point 2), although spatial differences within the city must be acknowledged, long-term structural change could only really take place if individuals in stigmatised and excluded areas are supported and provided with the same educational, housing, health and job opportunities and access as residents in other parts of the city. As was also emerging from the analysis of internal and external neighbourhood reputations, area-based and time-limited urban policies may not be sufficient to improve circumstances for disadvantaged individuals, but generally produced their physical displacement and loss of community network in the long-run.

4. Real inclusivity of communities living in the neighbourhood should be central in urban policies for the post-Covid city to ensure a 'right to the city/the neighbourhood'.

While wrapped around in the rhetoric of community engagement and empowerment through participatory planning and private-public partnerships, the social mixing policies analysed in this research appeared, in most cases, to have addressed local communities in the form of consultations through a top-down approach rather than through a co-production or bottom-up model. Renewed interest in the neighbourhood and communities as drivers of change was brought again to the centre of more current debates on urban planning, in the era of what is called the ‘post-Covid-19’ city (see Camerin, 2021). The Covid-19 pandemic has led to a re-evaluation and, crucially a resizing of our social world in the urban context, which results in a smaller, more connected, and more local (or ‘hyperlocal’)

space, echoing the NDC and CdQ focus on neighbourhoods to create more equal and, in the rhetoric of the 15-minute city, more sustainable and liveable cities (Dean et al., 2019; Yeung, 2021; Calafiore et al., 2022). The ‘15-minute city’ as a model for urban planning has gained prominence in Paris, Milan, and London, amongst other places, since 2020 and through it a raft of measures to (re)create the ‘city of proximities’ are proposed. Simultaneously, these hyper local moves also address the infrastructure within marginalised neighbourhoods. Yet, the 15-minute city risks going back to an additional form of idealistic ‘social mix by stealth’, by neglecting the unequal conditions of modern neoliberal society in which it would be embedded (Pozoukidou and Chatziyiannaki, 2021; Bright, 2021; Glaeser, 2021). Instead of applying top-down ideals of urban planning, the development of deprived urban areas should be realised from a ground-up approach that focuses on residents’ participation in the decision-making process, by involving existing grassroots movements and local assets, not “tokenistic organisations” (MacLeavy, 2009: 849; Blanc, 2010; Monno and Khakee, 2012). Participatory actions should not only be a constant element of urban regeneration but should also consider neighbourhood residents not as an homogenic community, but as a plurality of *communities*, both rooted and transient in the space, coming from a diversity of backgrounds and having different needs and perceptions. An intersectional approach to participatory urban planning and regeneration is indeed needed to include voices of long-term residents, newcomers, young and elderly, private-owners and tenants, social housing tenants, minority ethnics and BAME, LGBTQ+ residents. An inclusive city need not necessarily be a 15-minute city, based on diversity and ‘measurable’ proximity to essential but potentially more expensive services at the neighbourhood scale, but it is a city where spatial as well as social injustice is tackled everywhere, with a focus on its causes rather than just its “symptoms” (Cheshire, 2007: 34). With regards to housing, for instance, “profits from housing and speculation in land” (Marcuse, 2009: 5), as well as gated communities, should be regulated across the urban landscape (through rent controls, for instance) and social housing provision should be increased and not limited to already concentrated areas. This might, in the long-term, allow a multitude of social classes to fully exert their ‘right to the city’ while fostering interconnection and access, instead of further perpetuating the segregation of both poverty and wealth.

8.4. Limitations and future research

As with all work this study also comes with some limitations, which have mostly to do with the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on social research and data collection, more broadly (Partlow, 2020; Gratton et al., 2020). At the time when the first news about regional and national lockdowns in Italy (and later in the UK) were spreading, I was planning my ethnographic fieldwork in Ponte Lambro, Milan, exchanging emails and phone calls with local community centres, and scheduling appointments and visits. As discussed in Chapter 3 with regards to ethical considerations of doing research at distance, the outbreak of the pandemic in 2020 not only prevented the opportunity to plan and undertake extended ethnographic observation in the field but furthermore compromised the whole research design and

methodology as originally proposed. Future research should explore the use of PPM to collect data on neighbourhood reputations by combining it with the ethnographic in-person element as originally proposed and which was ultimately missing from this study. A series of in-person focus groups (from three to four) with residents in the neighbourhoods of Ponte Lambro and the NDC area, as was originally planned, would have been highly beneficial to the study for the following reasons: the first reason pertains to inclusivity, as focus groups would have rather taken place in community halls, not online, hence ensuring a more welcoming and affordable space for everyone in the area, especially for more disadvantaged and digitally excluded groups (Howlett, 2020). Secondly, a face-to-face setting would have enabled more in-depth interactions with and among participants themselves, leading potentially to a more complete picture of internal neighbourhood reputations. Similarly, over the course of recurrent focus groups meetings participants would have had the chance to bring their photographs for the PPM activity, discuss with the group and locate them on a physical (not digital) map, which would have facilitated conversations over the use and perceptions of the neighbourhood. Technological skill and interpretation would not be a factor in this data collection. Moreover, apparent ‘misplacements’ could be explored to understand better the personal interpretation of the areas. To this end, further creative and collaborative methods could be explored, including, for instance, the participatory creation of neighbourhood zines, as tools created by the community for the community to express the complexity and variety of stories and viewpoints on the area through the residents’ words and pictures. This method would allow to develop introspection, creativity, and on the other hand, to produce a tangible and publishable counter-narrative about the neighbourhood, as a final product of “spatial activism” (Lam-Knott, 2020: 100). Indeed, as I anticipate in the contributions section above (8.2. Contributions of the study), such participatory method could be employed as a powerful tool in an intersectional approach for participants to further apply their ‘right to the neighbourhood’ and the city, by claiming not only their needs and expectations with regards to future urban plans, but also their own sense of belonging. Future scholarly work could hence frame the assessment of urban regeneration policies through the ‘right to the neighbourhood’ perspective, in order to investigate which groups of residents or non-residents are actually benefiting from the interventions.

With regards to the analysis of the external neighbourhood reputations, another limitation to be identified is specifically related to time availability and the research methods applied. Newspaper articles referring to Ponte Lambro and the NDC area were analysed by applying manual CDA on NVivo, following a two-steps coding process (see Chapter 3) on a final sample of 453 articles for the NDC area and 168 for Ponte Lambro. Such sample resulted from the analysis of only two timeframes (*Pre-policy* and *Assessment*), which, despite corresponding to limited periods of time (two years each) provided insights on discourse production and reproduction before and after the implementation of the social mixing policies. However, to carry out a more comprehensive qualitative longitudinal perspective, a greater capacity of time and resources would have been necessary. Hence, this study could be further

developed by extending the existing timeframes used for data analysis and CDA, that might allow to investigate the evolution of reputations over the course of the policies' implementation, comparing variations across time and, potentially, across space. Furthermore, it would be interesting to introduce to the research an additional layer of investigation, by combining the ethnographic dimension with the longitudinal one. As suggested in the recommendations above, any intervention applied to the neighbourhood should come with recurrent assessments of not just economic but also social and cultural impacts. Therefore, returning to the field of research after some years from the temporalities previously explored – such as researchers have done (see Jupp, 2021) – could provide further crucial insights on the experience of change as well as on the reproduction and consolidation of narratives and territorial stigma over time.

8.5. Final thoughts

One of the motivations to embark this research was to explore and challenge the dominant narratives portraying marginalised and generally stigmatised disadvantaged neighbourhoods, which have often been targeted by policies of urban renewal (from slum clearance to social mix). Discourses on the 'urban peripheries' are powerful in affecting policies, institutions, services (housing and education, among others) and lives of residents. This thesis offers the voices and experiences of the latter, whose perception was generally considered at the start of interventions but in most cases ended up being forgotten with time, enduring spatial inequalities and territorial stigma. Despite the persistent internalised stigma, an alternative (counter) narrative to the polarised external reputation emerges from the analysis of residents' contributions in both Milan and Bristol contexts, based on 'unpopular' features for an urban *periferia*, such as heterogeneity of needs and backgrounds, strong support networks, mutual solidarity, and resilience towards change.

Returning to the site of urban renewal and neighbourhood change proves to be a significant act of acknowledging the affected communities while providing substantial evaluation of the policy's social impact. This thesis sought also to suggest that future policy interventions aiming at desegregating poverty and socially mixing urban neighbourhoods, should be assessed within frameworks considering perceptions and 'right to the city' as social impacts, by examining both underlying processes and potential outcomes. In particular, this study stresses the need to prioritise both comparative and longitudinal approaches in qualitative research in order to provide an integrated picture of policy aims and impacts over time, at both the neighbourhood and the city levels. Comparing times and places through the analysis of discourse as political and symbolic means of power and control will further enable researchers to identify whether and how similar social mixing strategies produce different outcomes in distant but similar contexts of marginality, leading to a learning process of best practices and avoidable risks in perpetuating social disparities.

Appendices

Appendix A. Participant information sheet in English and Italian



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Research project title:

The impact of social mixing policies on neighbourhood reputation. A comparative study between Ponte Lambro, Milan and Lawrence Hill, Bristol.

Researcher's name:

Giada Casarin, Doctoral researcher in Human Geography

INFORMATION SHEET

Thank you for responding to my call for focus group participants!

Please read the following information and confirm that you would like to participate in my project.

About the project

My PhD research looks at the local effects of urban regeneration policies – aimed to achieve social and tenure mix - on the neighbourhood reputations (internal and external) in the long run. This is a comparative case study research: for the Bristol case, Lawrence Hill, I explore the impact of **New Deal for Communities**, implemented from 2000 to 2011. The goal of this investigation is to assess the efficacy of these kinds of urban regeneration policies by focusing on one of their major aims: improving the neighbourhood reputation.

Your participation in focus groups or 1-1 interviews serves an important and very useful purpose to my project. These will help me to understand how urban regeneration policies affecting your neighbourhood have had some impact on the way you perceive the area you live in and how this perception might have further social implications in your daily life and can inform future policy.

Focus groups

I am conducting the research through different methods. I have first analysed how newspapers articles have talked about the neighbourhood, both before and after the intervention. I am following up with focus groups to explore and weight such reputation against residents' perception, by giving them voice.

Focus groups are planned to be composed by 3 or 4 participants, living in the neighbourhood for either a long or short period of time, from late 1990s/early 2000s onwards. Meetings will be held online on video calls (Zoom) according to participants' availability and last about 1.5h.

- **Participatory Photomapping (optional):** According to your preferences and availabilities, you can contribute to the Photomapping of the Lawrence Hill ward (on a private map I created), which will then be the starting theme for our conversation. If that is ok with you, you may share with me pictures of parts of the neighbourhood you feel are relevant to your experience and perception of the area. Photographs can be taken with your own phones/cameras and shared with me via email or WhatsApp/Facebook Messenger, with a brief description and address of the location. They do not need to be high quality or professional photographs, but only something that you feel can represent in your view the area you live in. However, if you do not feel comfortable with going out and around your neighbourhood for any reasons, I could go and take pictures on your behalf. You could write to me a list of things/places (and a rough location) in the area that somehow represent the identity of your neighbourhood in your view. I will go, take the pictures and share them with you for you to check and I will then upload them on the map, to which only participants will be able to access. The photomapping will then result in the representation of different stories and perceptions from the residents' eyes.

- **The focus group** will be a guided discussion on the neighbourhood, starting from the map you have created together with the other participants. The discussion will address:
 - the reasons/the stories behind the pictures;
 - the neighbourhood change over time (especially from long-term residents' voices), what you feel is/was positive or negative about the area;
 - the external reputation of the neighbourhood.

1-1 interviews

Considering the extraordinary circumstances due to pandemic lockdowns and restrictions (regional or national), 1-1 interviews could be suggested in the following circumstances: as alternative, if video chats discussions do not meet your preferences; while waiting for a focus group to be formed, if a minimum of 3 participants is not reached soon enough to form a focus group; after the focus group in order to further explore some information that were not sufficiently addressed in the focus group. The interview can be undertaken on online conferencing platforms (Zoom) or on the phone. On both occasions, the interview will last about an hour and follow the same structure applied to online focus groups discussions.

Both focus groups and the 1-1 interviews are an opportunity to build a joint and shared image of the neighbourhood from its community, through a collaborative creative form of participation. The result of this work might be shared within a local temporary exhibition as an opportunity to narrate through the pictures your own view of the neighbourhood to the public.

As a compensation for your precious time, you will be able to choose between:

- One **£20** meal voucher (meal + drinks) at [The Faraway Tree](#) (136 Church Rd, Redfield, Bristol BS5 9HH), a local small independent family-friendly café;

- OR

- One **£20** [Love2shop](#) gift voucher.

Confidentiality and use of the data

Everything you say will remain anonymous, your name will not appear in any publications or presentations that follow on from this research. I will use pseudonyms instead to protect your privacy as participant. It would be helpful for me to audio record (and, if possible, video record as well) the focus group (and/or interview) for transcription. I will be the only person to listen to and watch the recording. Moreover, I will not retain the video footage and audio recording beyond the successful completion of my thesis; only transcriptions will be archived. If you are not comfortable with this, please let me know.

Please also note that, the pictures you will share will be protected by copyright and appear in the final dissertation or other publications only with your consent. Anonymised data from the meetings will be stored in an encrypted file both on my personal account of the University of Bristol and on an encrypted external drive. Your personal information (names and pseudonyms) will be kept separately from recordings and transcription material, and securely stored on an encrypted external device and deleted at the end of my PhD (due December 2022).

If you wish, I can provide you with a copy of the transcribed recording and textual data as well as a summary of my research preliminary and final findings.

This research has been reviewed and approved by the '*School of Geographical Sciences Research Ethics Committee*' – reference: **RE-B-CASARIN-20201020**.

If you have any questions, please feel free to get in touch:

Giada Casarin

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Titolo del progetto di ricerca: **Gli effetti delle politiche di rigenerazione urbana sulla reputazione del quartiere. Uno studio comparato tra Ponte Lambro, Milano e Lawrence Hill, Bristol.**

Nome della ricercatrice: Giada Casarin, Doctoral researcher in Geografia Umana

DOCUMENTO INFORMATIVO

Grazie per aver risposto al mio annuncio per la partecipazione al gruppo di discussione (focus group) a Ponte Lambro!

La prego di leggere attentamente le seguenti informazioni e confermare che intende partecipare al progetto.

Il progetto

La mia ricerca di Dottorato studia gli effetti delle politiche di rigenerazione urbana sulla reputazione del quartiere (reputazione interna ed esterna) nel lungo periodo. Si tratta di uno studio comparativo dove per il caso italiano, Ponte Lambro, prendo in considerazione l'impatto del **Contratto di Quartiere II** (2004). Lo scopo principale di questa indagine è valutare l'efficacia di questo tipo di interventi di rigenerazione urbana, attraverso l'analisi di uno degli obiettivi principali: il miglioramento della reputazione del quartiere sia nel discorso pubblico che fra i suoi abitanti.

Focus group (gruppi di discussione)

La mia ricerca sviluppa diversi metodi. In primo luogo, analizzo come gli articoli di giornale parlano del quartiere, sia prima che dopo la sua rigenerazione. Poi, l'indagine si serve di gruppi di focus group per approfondire e mettere a confronto questa reputazione esterna con quella dei residenti del quartiere, dando loro voce in modo attivo.

La Sua partecipazione ai focus group è fondamentale e molto utile ai fini del mio progetto. Questi incontri mi aiuteranno infatti a comprendere come specifiche politiche di rigenerazione urbana attuate nel Suo quartiere abbiano influenzato la percezione del luogo in cui vive, nonché i possibili effetti di questa percezione in ambito sociale sulla Sua vita quotidiana e su futuri interventi.

Il focus group sarà composto da massimo 3 persone, residenti nel quartiere di Ponte Lambro da un periodo più o meno lungo: abitanti di lunga data (fine anni 90/inizio anni 2000) o nuovi arrivati. L'incontro si terrà in videochiamata sulla piattaforma Zoom, a seconda della disponibilità dei partecipanti, e durerà al massimo un'ora e mezza.

Se lo reputa necessario, possiamo fissare un breve incontro individuale prima del focus group per familiarizzare un po' con la piattaforma Zoom.

- **Fotomappatura - Ponte Lambro raccontato attraverso le foto (facoltativo):** Una volta fissato il focus group in base alla disponibilità anche degli altri partecipanti, potrà contribuire, se lo desidera, alla fotomappatura del quartiere che sarà il punto di partenza per la discussione di gruppo. Nelle due settimane che precedono il nostro incontro su Zoom avrà tempo per raccogliere e inviarmi vecchie e/o nuove fotografie che raffigurano il Suo quartiere: zone, aspetti che a Suo avviso raccontano il quartiere o ne rappresentano in qualche modo l'identità. Non è importante che si tratti di un edificio, un oggetto, una particolare zona ad esempio, ciò che conta è che esprima come Lei vede il quartiere in cui vive o ha vissuto, i suoi mutamenti negli anni.

Le fotografie possono essere scattate con il proprio telefono cellulare o fotocamera e inviate al mio indirizzo mail, su WhatsApp o Facebook Messenger assieme ad un breve titolo o descrizione e indirizzo di dove sono state scattate. Lo studio non pretende in alcun modo fotografie professionali o di alta qualità; al contrario, intende incoraggiare l'espressione dei residenti e la loro prospettiva sul luogo. Tuttavia se per motivi personali o di salute (Covid-19) non dovesse sentirsi a suo agio camminando in giro per il quartiere ma volesse contribuire ugualmente alla fotomappatura, sarei felice di poter scattare le fotografie al Suo posto: basterà una lista con i luoghi o gli oggetti che avrebbe voluto fotografare.

Le fotografie saranno poi caricate su una mappa interattiva (Google My Maps) privata a cui solo i partecipanti del Suo focus group avranno accesso tramite un link. La mappa di Ponte Lambro sarà così il risultato di varie storie e punti di vista sul quartiere.

- **Il focus group:** L'incontro prevede una discussione guidata sul quartiere, utilizzando la fotomappa collaborativa come punto di partenza. La conversazione di gruppo verterà su:
 1. Le storie e le prospettive raccontate dalle fotografie;
 2. I cambiamenti che hanno interessato il quartiere nel tempo, quelli positivi e quelli negativi;
 3. Come il quartiere viene percepito e rappresentato dall'esterno.

Intervista individuale

Qualora dovesse preferire questa modalità in alternativa al focus group, potremmo fissare un'intervista individuale da svolgere online (ad es. Zoom) o al telefono per una durata massima di un'ora. Questa opzione può anche essere considerata se il numero minimo per formare un focus group non dovesse essere raggiunto o in seguito al focus group per ulteriori approfondimenti. L'intervista, in ogni caso, si baserà sulle tre tematiche elencate sopra come per il focus group.

Sia il focus group che l'intervista vogliono essere occasione per costruire insieme un'immagine più o meno condivisa di Ponte Lambro a partire dalla sua comunità, anche attraverso una forma di partecipazione creativa. Il risultato di questo lavoro collettivo potrebbe essere in seguito reso pubblico in una mostra temporanea locale, che possa far conoscere il quartiere lasciando parlare le fotografie.

Come compenso per ripagarla del Suo prezioso contributo, al termine del focus group o dell'intervista Le verrà rilasciato uno dei seguenti buoni a Sua scelta:

- Un carnet da 10 viaggi **ATM** (euro 18) per la zona urbana di Milano Mi1-Mi3;

- Una carta prepagata **Esselunga** (euro 20) utilizzabile in Esselunga, EsserBella, nei Bar Atlantic e su esselungaacasa.it per la spesa a domicilio.

Privacy e trattamento dei dati

Tutto ciò che dirà durante gli incontri rimarrà completamente anonimo, il Suo nome non apparirà in nessuna pubblicazione o presentazione della ricerca. Utilizzerò pseudonimi per proteggere la Sua privacy e quella degli altri partecipanti. Sarebbe molto utile per me registrare le conversazioni con un registratore audio (e possibilmente anche il video in caso della videochiamata) che verrà utilizzato e ascoltato soltanto da me per trascrivere i dati. Inoltre, non conserverò audio e video della registrazione oltre il termine della consegna della mia Tesi di dottorato; soltanto le trascrizioni verranno archiviate. Tuttavia, La prego di farmi sapere se non dovesse sentirsi a Suo agio in questa situazione.

Le fotografie che desidera condividere saranno protette da copyright e appariranno nella Tesi finale o in altre pubblicazioni solo con il Suo consenso (Modulo per il consenso). I dati degli incontri saranno resi anonimi e conservati in maniera crittografata nel mio account personale dell'Università di Bristol nonché in un hard-disk esterno. Le Sue informazioni personali (nome e pseudonimo) saranno tenute separate dalle registrazioni e dalle trascrizioni, e verranno conservate su un hard-disk esterno crittografato ed eliminate al termine del mio dottorato (previsto per dicembre 2022).

Se desidera, posso fornirLe una copia della registrazione trascritta e un riassunto dei risultati della ricerca.

Questa ricerca è stata valutata e approvata da '*School of Geographical Sciences Research Ethics Committee*' (Comitato Ricerca Etica del Dipartimento di Scienze Geografiche) – riferimento **RE-B-CASARIN-20201020**.

Per ulteriori domande e informazioni sullo studio, rimango a Sua disposizione:

Giada Casarin

Tel: +39 [REDACTED]

E-mail: yt18386@bristol.ac.uk

Appendix B. Participant consent form in English and Italian



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Research project title: **The impact of social mixing policies on neighbourhood reputations. A comparative study between Ponte Lambro, Milan and Lawrence Hill, Bristol.**

Researcher's name: Giada Casarin, Doctoral researcher in Human Geography


Research Participant's name and pseudonym:

CONSENT FORM

Please, leave a sign on the right column (x or v) to positively confirm the statements below:

1. I confirm that I have read the Information Sheet dated _____ for the investigation. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions _____ and _____ have had these answered satisfactorily.	
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason.	
3. For live video chats, I agree to the focus group being audio and video-recorded, and I understand that if I wish, I will be provided with a copy of the transcription of the recording.	
4. I understand that the information I provide will be treated confidentially and that its use in the Dissertation and any other publications will be anonymous.	
5. I agree to any pictures I share being used in the final Dissertation or other publications.	
6. I wish to have the opportunity to check any anonymised quotation from me before its use in the dissertation or other publications. I understand that if I then	

wish to qualify the quote, this will be stored in an appendix/end note to these written documents.	
7. I consent for the anonymised transcript of the focus group to be deposited in the University of Bristol Data Archive.	
8. I agree to take part in this research project.	


_____	_____	_____
Name of Participant NAME SURNAME)	Date	Signature (or type your name:
<u>Giada Casarin</u>	_____	
Researcher's name	Date	Signature

This research has been reviewed and approved by the 'School of Geographical Sciences Research Ethics Committee' – reference: **RE-B-CASARIN-20201020**.

Contact Information

If you have any further questions or concerns about this study, please feel free to get in touch:

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Email: yt18386@bristol.ac.uk

If you wish, you can also contact Giada's supervisor:

Prof. David Manley

Tel: +44 (0)117 928 9954 (School of Geographical Sciences – General enquiries)

Email: d.manley@bristol.ac.uk

Titolo del progetto di ricerca: **Gli effetti delle politiche di rigenerazione urbana sulla reputazione del quartiere. Uno studio comparato tra Ponte Lambro, Milano e Lawrence Hill, Bristol.**

Nome della ricercatrice: Giada Casarin, Dottoranda in Geografia Umana

Nome del/della partecipante e pseudonimo:

MODULO DI CONSENSO AL TRATTAMENTO DEI DATI


Per esprimere il proprio consenso, inserire nella colonna di destra il simbolo x o v affianco ad ogni voce.

1. Confermo di aver letto il documento informativo datato _____ riguardante il progetto. Ho potuto fare le dovute considerazioni, porgere eventuali domande ed ho ottenuto risposte soddisfacenti.	
2. Sono consapevole che la mia partecipazione è volontaria e sono libero/a di abbandonare il progetto in qualsiasi momento senza dover fornire alcuna spiegazione.	
3. Nel caso di videochiamate, acconsento alla registrazione audio e video del focus group (gruppo di discussione) e sono consapevole che, qualora lo volessi, posso richiedere una copia della trascrizione.	
4. Sono consapevole che le informazioni che fornirò saranno trattate con la massima riservatezza; il loro trattamento nella Tesi ed altre pubblicazioni avverrà in modo anonimo.	
5. Acconsento all'apparizione delle fotografie che desidero condividere per la fotomappatura nella Tesi finale o in altre pubblicazioni.	
6. Vorrei avere l'opportunità di verificare ogni mia citazione anonima prima del suo utilizzo nella Tesi o in altre pubblicazioni. Sono consapevole che se intendo	

modificare la citazione, questa sarà disponibile in appendice o in nota a piè di pagina.	
7. Acconsento al deposito della trascrizione anonima di del focus gorup presso l'archivio dell'Università di Bristol.	
8. Acconsento a partecipare a questo progetto di ricerca.	

_____ /2021 _____

Nome del/della partecipante _____ Data _____ Firma (anche inserendo:
NOME COGNOME)

Giada Casarin _____  _____


Nome della ricercatrice _____ Data _____ Firma _____

Questa ricerca è stata valutata e approvata da 'School of Geographical Sciences Research Ethics Committee' (Comitato Ricerca Etica del Dipartimento di Scienze Geografiche) – riferimento: **RE-B-CASARIN-20201020**.

Recapiti:

Per ulteriori domande e informazioni sullo studio, rimango a Sua disposizione:

Giada Casarin

Tel: +39 

Email: giada.casarin@bristol.ac.uk

Se desidera può inoltre contattare il primo relatore di Tesi:

Prof. David Manley

Tel: +44 (0)117 928 9954 (School of Geographical Sciences – General enquiries)

Email: d.manley@bristol.ac.uk

Appendix C. Call for participants in English, Somalian, and Italian



CALL FOR RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

Focus groups on life in and around Barton Hill

Do you live in or around **Barton Hill** (Lawrence Hill ward)?

And/or did you live here in the **late 1990s/early 2000s**?

Are you **over 25**?

Do you enjoy sharing **stories** and **perspectives** on your area?

Join me for small online focus group discussions on your neighbourhood, its changes and reputation over time!

Where: On Zoom

When: On the day and time that you prefer

Alternatively, **1-1 interviews online, by phone or written (email)** can also be considered!

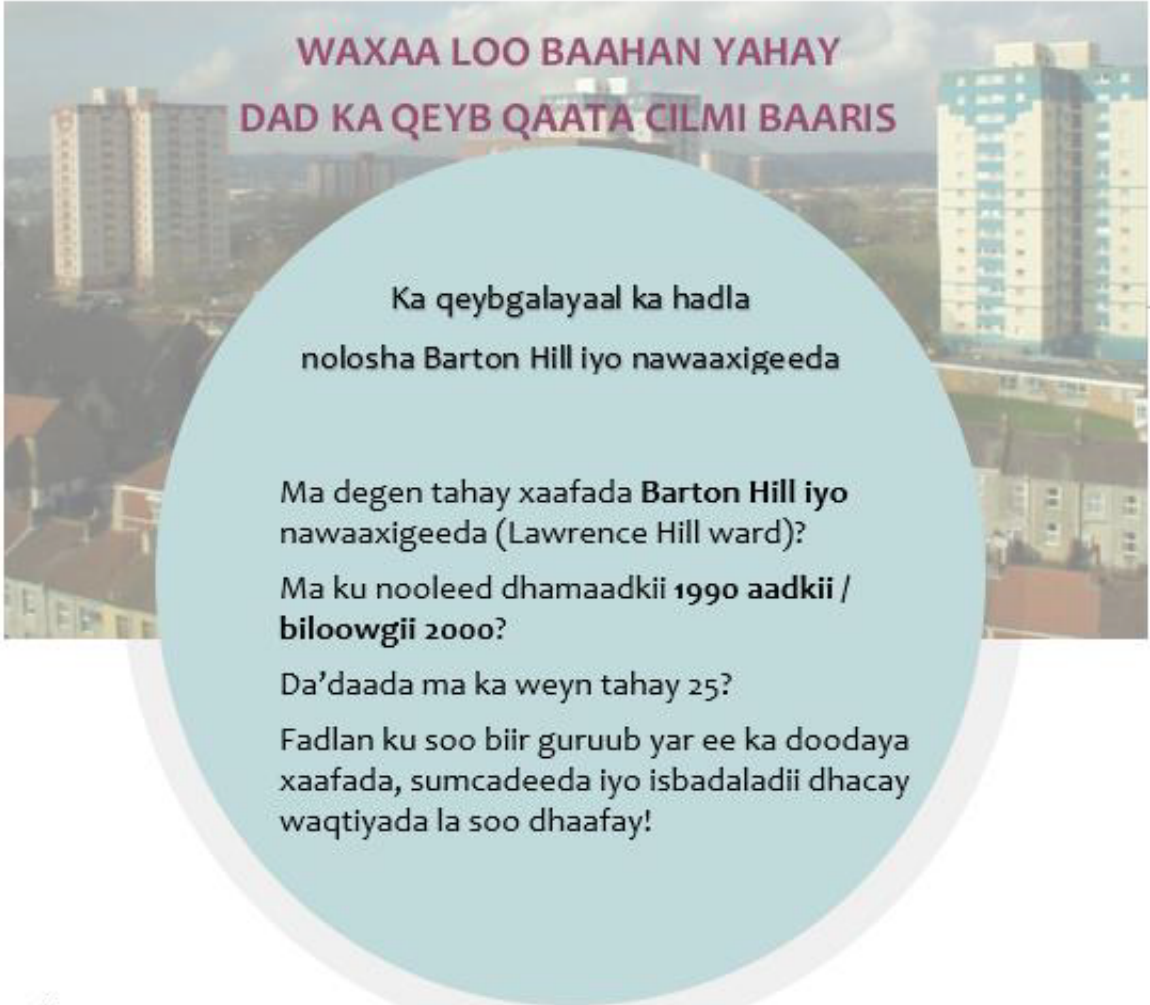
You will be given: one **meal voucher** (£20) to spend at **The Faraway Tree**, 136 Church Rd, OR one **Love2shop voucher** (£20)!

Research title: The impact of social mixing policies on neighbourhood reputations

Who I am: Ms. Giada Casarin, Doctoral researcher Human Geography, University of Bristol

Languages: English, Italian, French

Email me on yt18386@bristol.ac.uk ; Text/WhatsApp me/call me on +44 (0)7512 [REDACTED]



WAXAA LOO BAAHAN YAHAY DAD KA QEYB QAATA CILMI BAARIS

Ka qeybgalayaal ka hadla
nolosha Barton Hill iyo nawaaxigeeda

Ma degen tahay xaafada **Barton Hill iyo**
nawaaxigeeda (Lawrence Hill ward)?

Ma ku nooleed dhamaadkii **1990 aadkii /**
biloowgii 2000?

Da'daada ma ka weyn tahay 25?

Fadlan ku soo biir guruub yar ee ka doodaya
xaafada, sumcadeeda iyo isbadaladii dhacay
waqtiyada la soo dhaafay!

Halkee: On Zoom

Goormee: Maalinta iyo waqtiga aad jeceshahay

Haddii aadan awoodin ama dooneeyn inaad doodaha ka qeybgasho, waxaad sameyn kartaa waraysi fogaan arag ah (**online**), ama telefoon ama mid qoraal ah (**by email**):

Hadiyad ahaan waxaa lagu siinayaa: **voucher** (£20) aad wax kaga iibsan karto maqayada **The Faraway Tree**, 136 Church Rd, ama **Love2shop voucher** (£20)!

Mowduuca Cilmi baarista: Saamaynta siyaasadaha isku dhafka bulshada ee sumcadda xaafadaha
Kumaan ahay aniga: Ms. Giada Casarin, Doctoral researcher Human Geography, University of Bristol

Languages: English, Italian, French

Email me on yt18386@bristol.ac.uk ; Text/WhatsApp me/call me on +44 (0)7512 [REDACTED]



Vivere a Ponte Lambro (MI) Cercasi partecipanti per ricerca sul quartiere

**VIVI O HAI VISSUTO NEL QUARTIERE DI PONTE LAMBRO NEGLI ULTIMI VENT'ANNI?
TI INTERESSA PARLARE DEL TUO QUARTIERE E CONDIVIDERE ESPERIENZE E PUNTI DI
VISTA?
HAI PIÙ DI 25 ANNI?**

CONTATTAMI PER PARTECIPARE AD UN **FOCUS GROUP** (GRUPPO DI DISCUSSIONE) CON ALTRI RESIDENTI IN VIDEO-CHIAMATA SUL QUARTIERE, I SUOI CAMBIAMENTI E LA SUA REPUTAZIONE NEL TEMPO. L'INCONTRO DURERÀ CIRCA UN'ORA E MEZZA (MAX.) E SE VORRAI POTRAI CONDIVIDERE FOTOGRAFIE CHE SECONDO TE RACCONTANO IL QUARTIERE.

DOVE: ONLINE, SU ZOOM - **QUANDO:** GIORNO E ORA SARANNO FISSATI CON I PARTECIPANTI

IN ALTERNATIVA, POTREMMO ACCORDARE UN'**INTERVISTA INDIVIDUALE** DA SVOLGERE ONLINE O AL TELEFONO (1 ORA MAX.).

PER RINGRAZIARTI DEL TUO TEMPO PREZIOSO, SARÒ FELICE DI OFFRIRTI UNO DEI SEGUENTI A TUA SCELTA:

- UN **CARNET** DA 10 VIAGGI **ATM** (EURO 18)
- UNA CARTA PREPAGATA **ESSELUNGA** (EURO 20)

Per partecipare o per qualsiasi chiarimento, scrivimi una mail a giada.casarin@bristol.ac.uk o chiamami/mandami un messaggio al +39 [REDACTED]

*Chi sono: Giada Casarin, Dottoranda in Geografia Umana, Università di Bristol (Regno Unito)
Il mio progetto di ricerca: Gli effetti delle politiche di rigenerazione urbana sulla reputazione del quartiere.
Lingue parlate oltre all'italiano: inglese, francese.*

Appendix D. Example of qualitative codebook for CDA - Internal and external neighbourhood reputations.

Internal neighbourhood reputation: common codes across case studies.

Perception of changed neighbourhood	
Negative perception	
Bad school	Negative reputation of the local school(s), perceived as underfunded, less performing compared to other schools in the city, which hold a better reputation.
Feeling abandoned	Participants expressing how they feel abandoned from institutions, the city council, the police and how they feel ignored when reporting local issues.
Feeling unsafe	References to the level of criminality in the area, the presence of gangs, or drug dealing; as well as the need for more police patrols (law and order) and neighbourhood watch groups.
Lack of services	Fewer services compared to the past, which is disadvantage for residents, especially elderly people and which also prevents newcomers to move into the area. Many of the services lacking concern the younger generations: limited offer of local activities addressed to youth, that increases the risk for young people to spend time “on the street” and form gangs, responsible for disorder in the area. + school dropout problem.
Less community feeling + deflated hope	Reduced activism and “lost atmosphere” of participation compared to the past (during the implementation of policy), more separatism and lack of engaging, vibrant activities (“nothing to do”).
Fewer meeting places	Compared to the past, there are fewer informal places for residents or non-residents to meet up, socialise, especially pubs, cafes, but also shops. Similar to ‘lack of services’ but this is meant more from a social point of view.
Limited links and public transport	Not enough or inefficient public transport and links to reach surrounding areas.
Urban decay	References to abandoned, empty areas and buildings, neglected and undermaintained parks, but also to litter being left around on the streets or public areas of the neighbourhood. This is, for some participants, responsible to the external neighbourhood reputation.
Perception of change (neither positive or negative)	
Change in demography	Immigration in the area at the turn of the century (international, domestic, European). This is addressed as an historical fact; in this node this topic carries no particular positive or negative value.
Changing shops	Participants telling how over the years local shops have evolved, have been reduced, as a visible sign of the neighbourhood change.

Change as a fact	Change referred here in general terms as inevitable, neither good or bad, rather a natural consequence of changing time.
Positive perception	
Community feeling	The area presents a strong sense of cohesion, participation, interaction and support among neighbours; that is in some cases what participants identify as first reason to stay in the neighbourhood.
Feeling safe	Participants feeling safe or safer compared to the past years, they are not feeling threatened by walking at night. Quiet: here as safe place.
Good location and links	Residents appreciating links with the rest of the city that they can access by walk, bike, car, train or bus.
quiet	In-vivo code representing a place without noise and crowd (“not trendy”), nice and peaceful to live in.
Services and community centres	Statements on how services such as shops, health facilities have improved over time and how the role of community centres and the church is still very much appreciated.
Natural environment	The importance of living close to urban parks, rivers, rural areas, or the community garden.
Visual place image	
Change	Photographs describing a ‘now and then’ story, showing how streets, houses, shops, schools have changed over the years, but also how the industrial heritage is at times still visible.
Community	Photos and comments on the sense of community in the area provided by participation to local initiatives and events, as well as by the presence of community centres and institutions.
Natural environment	Photographs of nature, parks, gardens, canals.
Street art	References to murals, graffiti, and other forms of artwork that are visible in the area and provide a sense of identity.
Tower blocks	Representation of tower blocks that highly characterise the area.

Urban renewal and social mixing policy

Criticism	Critiques, complaints specifically addressed to the interventions and management.
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Organisation and actions	The way in which the implementation was organised and managed in the area, including committee meetings, the role some participants held at the time.
Positive effects	Improved facilities and helpful interventions resulting from the policy; their positive impact is still visible.

Reactions to negative reputation	
Blaming social media	The negative reputation is increasing because of the predominant role of social media in sharing and reporting mostly negative issues happening in the area.
Blaming the newspaper	The negative reputation of the area is associated to the media discourse and the newspaper: conducting an overbalanced, biased coverage focused only on negative news.
Contrasting with reality	This reputation is far from what the reality of living in the area is.
Corresponding to general perception	This reputation is in line with the general perception that residents feel is associated with the neighbourhood.
Counter-narrative	Ideas and possible ways to change the reputation of the area from the ground, whether that is accounted as necessary or not.
Reputation does not matter	Residents believing that external reputation is not something to care about, not that important for the community.
Reputation matters	Contrasting with the previous node: episodes or reflections from participants expressing how often such reputation can represent either a disadvantage or an advantage for them (assurance, school, services); implications of stigma.

External neighbourhood reputation: common codes across case studies.

Name	Description
Community participation	Individual or collective (civil society) initiatives representing an active contribution to the community or seeking for help/participation.
Education	Articles where schools, students, pupils, teachers, or education data are mentioned. Includes official reports (Ofsted).
Employment	Data about employment rates as well as job alerts (+) and unemployment rates (-).
Environment (Transport and connections)	News about the physical/public areas within the neighbourhood, such as parks and streets in general. Includes art and history (+), successful developments and works (+), disorders (-), public transports and links with the city.

Events	Manifestations, exhibitions, concerts, public events, cultural events are valued positively as they contribute to raise interest by keeping communities active and involved.
Facilities	Reference to any kind of public services in the area except for schools : e.g. post offices, playgrounds, sport facilities, youth clubs, child care, sport arenas. Wellbeing initiatives, health centres engagement in the community.
Housing	News about social housing, such as planned or completed projects to foster community spirit, improve security or improve maintenance of the buildings (+); or problems faced by tenants, sense of security, disorders (-).
Crime	Entire articles or paragraphs referring to crime in general (data, statistics..) Sub-nodes of drug abuse, violence, refer both to those articles talking only about the news itself and to paragraphs within different articles mentioning illegal activities or criminals related to the neighbourhood.
Deprivation	Articles where the neighbourhood is referred to as deprived on different counts (crime, poverty, education, housing, health, facilities..) all together, often with data or statistics.
Urban renewal	Articles or pieces of articles about funding addressed to local development, urban regeneration of the area, such as EU programs, local/national initiatives including the social mixing policies (NDC and CdQ).

Appendix E. List of participants' pseudonyms and characteristics

NDC area			
<i>Pseudonym</i>	<i>Neighbourhood</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>Age</i>
<i>Current long-term residents</i>			
1. Shaila	Barton Hill since 1995	Female	25-30
2. Martha O' Braidy	Lawrence Hill since 2002/2003	Female	30-40
3. Talylyn01	Barton Hill for 46 years, now Redfield	Male	Over 60
4. SSS	Lawrence Hill since 1986	Female	30-40
5. Daniel	Redfield since 1999	Male	Over 60
6. 22	The Dings since 2001	Female	50-60
7. Bernie	Barton Hill since 1985	Male	50-60
8. Lena	Redfield since 1953	Female	Over 60
9. Brooks	Barton Hill since 2007	Female	30-40
10. Markus	Barton Hill since 1996	Male	25-30
<i>Former long-term residents</i>			
11. Emma C	Barton Hill from 1983 to 2013, now Fishponds	Female	30-40
12. Louise	Barton Hill until 1996, now St. George	Female	50-60
13. Adam	Barton Hill from 1987 to 2006, now St. George	Male	50-60
14. Sandra	Barton Hill from 2001 to 2014, now out of Bristol	Female	50-60
<i>Newcomers</i>			
15. Prince Buster	Redfield since 2016	Male	30-40
16. Angst-on-the-Moon	Redfield since 2018	Female	30-40
17. Lara F	Barton Hill since 2017	Female	30-40
18. Saturday G	Barton Hill since 2016	Female	40-50
19. Thomas S	Redfield since 2018	Male	30-40
20. Patrick	Redfield since 2016	Male	30-40

Ponte Lambro			
<i>Pseudonym</i>	<i>Since</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>Age</i>
<i>Current long-term residents</i>			
1. Carlo	1954	Male	Over 60
2. Angela	1977	Female	Over 60
3. Fabrizio	For 25 years, then since 2017	Male	40-50
4. Roberta	1971	Female	50-60
5. Pepe	1988	Male	50-60
6. Debora	1969	Female	50-60
7. Rachele	1991	Female	50-60
8. LoZio77	1977	Male	40-50
9. Volontario Sottovoce	1979	Male	Over 60
10. Simon	1987	Male	30-40

11. Mr. Bristow	1997	Male	30-40
12. Maurizio	1976	Male	50-60
<i>Former long-term residents</i>			
13. Stella	From 1975 to 1998, then from 2006 to 2015, now Santa Giulia	Female	40-50
14. Alberto	From 1969 to 1996, now Mecenate area	Male	50-60
15. Barbara	Until 1996, now Viale Ungheria area	Female	50-60
16. Sara	Until 2016, now Taliedo area	Female	30-40
17. Affi	Until 1987, then still visited until 2011, now Repubblica area	Female	Over 60
18. Ilaria	From 2014 to 2017, now Santa Giulia	Female	40-50
19. A.V.	From 1987 to 2011, now out of Italy	Male	30-40
<i>Newcomers</i>			
20. Vittoria	2015	Female	40-50

Appendix F. Ethics form and Risk assessment approvals



SCHOOL OF GEOGRAPHICAL SCIENCES

It is helpful if you submit your completed form as a .doc, .docx, or .rtf file, not a .pdf – Thanks

RESEARCH ETHICS MONITORING FORM, 2019-20

B: POSTGRADUATE STUDENTS

Research by all academic and related Staff and Students in the School of Geographical Sciences is subject to the standards set out in the Code of Practice on Research Ethics.

It is a requirement that prior to the commencement of all funded and non-funded research that this form be completed and submitted to the School’s Research Ethics Committee (REC). The REC will be responsible for issuing certification that the research meets acceptable ethical standards and will, if necessary, require changes to the research methodology or reporting strategy.

A copy of the research proposal which details methods and reporting strategies must be attached. Submissions without a copy of the research proposal will not be considered.

The REC seeks to establish from the form that researchers have (i) thought purposefully about potential ethical issues raised by their proposed research; and (ii) identified appropriate responses to those issues.

Name: Giada Casarin email: yt18386@bristol.ac.uk

Title of research project: *The impact of social mixing policies on neighbourhood reputations. A comparative study between Lawrence Hill (Bristol) and Ponte Lambro (Milan).*

Course [M1007 / M0009 / **Doctoral research**] Funding source (if any) /

				External/lay scrutiny required?
		YES	NO	Action
1.	Does your research involve living human subjects?	X		If NO, go to Q.3, 12, 13, & ‘Declaration’
2.	Does your research involve ONLY the analysis of large, secondary and anonymised datasets?		X	If YES, go to Q.3, 12, 13, & ‘Declaration’
3.	Do others hold copyright or other rights over the information you will use, or will they do so over information you collect?	X		If YES please provide further details below
4.	Will you give your informants a written and/or verbal summary of your research and its uses?	X		If NO, please provide further details below.
5.	Does your research involve covert surveillance (for example, participant observation)?		X	If YES, please provide further details.

6.	Will your informants <i>automatically</i> be anonymised in your research?	X		If NO, please provide further details below.
7.	Will you explicitly give <i>all</i> your informants the right to remain anonymous?	X		If NO, please provide further details below.
8.	Will monitoring devices be used openly and only with the permission of informants?	X		If NO, why not? – give details below.
9.	Have you considered the implications of your research intervention on informants?	X		Please provide details below.
10.	Will data/information be encrypted/secured, and stored separately from identification material to maintain confidentiality?	X		If NO, why not?
11.	Will your informants be provided with a summary of your research findings?	X		If NO, please provide further details.
12.	Will there be restrictions on your research being available through the university data archive (e.g. by the sponsoring authorities or from participants)?		X	Please provide details below
13.	What other potential ethical issues arising from this research have you identified?		X	Please state below how they will be taken into consideration.

Further details: *please start paragraph(s) with the question-number to which they refer.*

1. My research employs qualitative methods involving the participation of people (i.e. general public): residents living in the two case study neighbourhoods (Lawrence Hill, Bristol; Ponte Lambro, Milan). The eligible participants should be over 25 years old and live in the area since late 1990s or be newcomers (under 5 years).

2. I will use both secondary and primary data sources. For primary data collection, research methods involving the analysis of primary data are: discourse analysis and focus groups. Focus groups participants will be gathered with the help of local organisations and community centres (in Bristol, Eastside Community Trust, Barton Hill History Group and Barton Hill Settlement; in Milan: C.A.G. Ponte Lambro, Arci Checkpoint Charlie, A. MEN. LIN. C. Onlus), which will be asked to advertise the meetings on their newsletters, social media and websites, as well as through snowball sampling if necessary. According to the number of participants showing interest in the project, I will undertake focus groups with one (or more) group of residents. Each group will meet twice (no longer than 90 minutes for each meeting) and will be composed by a sample of six residents (max.) with the aim of enabling and moderating a balanced and relaxed discussion around the internal reputation of the area they live in.

Given the extraordinary circumstances of the Covid-19 global pandemic, focus groups will be run online (or, only IF possible, according to the current national government and university regulations, in a socially distanced setting at the local organisation), date and time will be agreed with participants. Participants will be offered a gift voucher (£20) in order to incentivise them to take part, and thank them for their time; this is not something that could in any way influence the content of focus groups.

Depending on the participants' internet connection and availability, both synchronous and asynchronous modes of discussions will be considered: Zoom, for instance, allows to use the group chat during a real-time conversation. Facebook/Whatsapp groups or email threads might be considered as well to create asynchronous discussions among participants with scarce availability or inadequate digital equipment. These last strategies could be applied to help mitigate digital exclusion among disadvantaged households.

I have undertaken methodological training on how to run online focus groups with the South West Doctoral Training Partnership workshop (September 2020).

Because of the extraordinary circumstances due to pandemic lockdowns (regional or national), qualitative semi-structured interviews might be suggested to interested participants in the following circumstances: while waiting for a focus group to be formed, if a minimum of 3 people is not reached soon enough to form a focus group; after the focus group in order to further explore some information that were not sufficiently addressed in the focus group; as alternative method of data collection if both synchronous and asynchronous focus groups do not meet the participant's preferences. This method will prevent participants to lose interest in the project and will provide significant data to triangulate with the focus group later on.

4. Prior to run focus groups in both neighbourhoods, I will contact local cultural organisations and community centres through which I will advertise the call for focus groups participants. This contact will be made by email or social media, by phone, as well as in person (in the case of Lawrence Hill, Bristol). I will provide informants with a summary of my research objectives and methodology (information sheet) as well as with the necessary consent forms to undertake research in the field. During the recruitment process, I will check with participants their availability and any challenge or distraction they might have to deal with during the focus group in order to mitigate social and digital exclusion: the stability of internet connection; the possibility for them to speak from a private and safe environment, with few distractions; their preferred digital platform (Zoom, Skype, Microsoft Teams); their preferred time and day of the week. This information will allow me to design, if necessary, asynchronous discussions as complementary modes of communication.

5. In the event of online neighbourhood forums, I will make myself known to the organisers ahead of time and explicitly seek their permission to attend. Only if the local organisation allows me to assist to neighbourhood forums, I will take this opportunity to undertake participant observation and thus draw on any insights gained in the course of such activity. On these occasions, I will be observing while participating to the online neighbourhood forums; no covert observation will be carried on.

6. and 7. As the research will consist in engaging directly with informants, participants' names will be anonymised in the process of data analysis, with pseudonyms. The latter will be stored separately from their personal details on an encrypted external device (see point 10). A consent model and an information form will inform participants on, among others, the purpose of the research, their role in the project, how their data will be recorded, stored and used and their right to be anonymous. This will be communicated with participants at the start of each focus group as well.

8. Online focus groups will most likely be run via Zoom or similar platforms, according to the participants' preferences, that allow to record both the audio and video of the conversation. As I will be the only moderator, video recordings of focus groups discussions will be necessary in order to catch details related to group interactions and power dynamics that were not noticed while running the meeting. However, I will not retain the video footage beyond the successful completion of my thesis.

Alongside with this digital recording, I will also use a voice recorder and notepads for notetaking during the meetings as backup tools. In the consent form and at the start of each focus group, I will ask informants for permission to record (both audio and video) the conversation, explaining again the purposes of the practice and of the research as well as the use of the collected data. In addition, I will encourage them to turn off their webcam or mute their microphones when, for personal reasons, they would feel more comfortable in doing so.

9. My research interventions will require a time commitment from selected participants – especially in this challenging period – but this will be weighed against the potential positive implications of my research intervention, that may include a greater sense of inclusion in the local community and/or increased understanding of possible implications of their neighbourhood reputation in their everyday life. With regards to the emotional implications of my research during focus groups, I will pay particular attention to informants’ signs of stress or distress worsening during the interaction, and I will take appropriate action: pausing the discussion and/or changing topic of conversation, reminding participants that they can leave the focus group at any time if they do no longer feel comfortable. I will check in later with them to make sure they feel better, and they are still keen to take part in the project. I am aware that my positionality might differ depending on the methodology being used (focus group or 1-1 interview) and for this reason, I will take into account participants’ vulnerability during the data collection.

Focus groups participants will be invited to join with me in Participatory Photo Mapping, which results will be then asked to be published in a local exhibition towards the end of the fieldwork at local community centres. More specifically, in the first focus group, I will ask participants to bring for the next meeting old and new photographs of their neighbourhood; I will upload this material on a digital map on Google Maps My Maps so that the collaborative map will then support in-depth discussions around both the neighbourhood image, its change after the social mixing intervention and the comparison with the external reputation.

I have undertaken methodological training at the CURA Summer School (Leicester, June, 2019) with a view to using such participative tool in a positive and empowering way.

10. Collected data will be secured and stored in different ways according to the data. Fully anonymised information (data from focus groups, including photographs and maps) will be stored in an encrypted file both on my personal account of the University of Bristol OneDrive portal and on an encrypted external drive. These may be kept beyond the end of the PhD and the thesis submission and used in other forms of research dissemination, so long as participants have given consent. Whereas identification and decoding material will be stored only in encrypted files on an encrypted external drive (offline) and deleted at the end of the PhD study. The end of the PhD is anticipated to be December 2022. Confidentiality will be ensured indeed by separating focus groups notes and transcribed data from identification material and by encrypting each folder for additional protection of the individuals’ privacy. Participants will be informed in consent forms and at the start of focus groups about how their data will be stored and used. Pseudonyms will be communicated and agreed with participants; their names and pseudonyms as well as contact details will be stored in different folders from focus groups’ recordings and transcriptions.

11. Providing informants (residents and local organisations staff) with a summary of my research preliminary and final findings, will be important in order to get back to the community that was actively involved in the research project. Community centres might be interested in the research findings for several reasons: to learn more about their neighbours; to identify and design ways of improving integration and participation within the neighbourhood; possibly, to learn best practices, while getting to know a different context in a distant European country.

Declaration

I have read the School’s Code of Practice on Research Ethics and believe that my research complies fully with its precepts.

I will not deviate from the methodology or reporting strategy without further permission from the School’s Research Ethics Committee.

Student

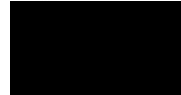
Signed



Date 20/10/20

Supervisor

Signed



Date 13/10/20

Progress:

(please leave blank)

A	Submission complete	13/10/20	20/10/20		
B	Clarification requested	13/10/20		17/12/2020	
C	Approval granted		20/10/20		

Approved by Paul and Rachel – ethics code RE-B-CASARIN-20201020

Modified by Giada to include interview methodologies 15th December 2020

HUMAN GEOGRAPHY FIELDWORK RISK ASSESSMENT FORM

DESTINATION(S)	Ponte Lambro neighbourhood, Milan, Italy	
Timescale of Project Fieldwork:	From: 14/06/2021	To: 14/08/2021

	NAMES	Mobile phone number Ensure enabled for use abroad		NAMES	Mobile phone number Ensure enabled for use abroad
Leader	Giada Casarin	+39 [REDACTED] (Italian) +44 (0)7512 [REDACTED] (UK)	3		
2			4		

PLEASE PROVIDE DETAILS OF PROJECT FIELDWORK:

Research title: The impact of social mixing policies on neighbourhood reputations: a comparative study between Lawrence Hill (Bristol) and Ponte Lambro (Milan).

During the above two months, I will undertake ethnographic fieldwork in the neighbourhood of Ponte Lambro (one of my case studies) by spending limited periods of time there each month (see Transport Arrangements below). While in Milan the following activities are planned:

- Living in and exploring the neighbourhood
- Taking notes and photographs from observation (or on behalf of research participants)
- If needed, distributing flyers of the call for participants around the area (local community centres, local schools, places of worship, community boards), in order to recruit residents of the neighbourhood for remote data collection (by phone/online)

OFFSITE WORKING

<p>Transport Arrangements i.e. Hire vehicles / car</p> <p>NOTE: overseas fieldwork and overnight stays are currently restricted</p> <p><i>Motor insurance for 'business use including the carriage of passengers' (where appropriate) needed for own vehicle/bike use.</i></p> <p><i>University motor insurance only applies to hire vehicles booked through Procurement or departmental vehicles.</i></p>	<p>Flight to Venice Treviso from Bristol Airport: 05/06/2021 - flight number FR8240 (Ryanair)</p> <p>My relatives will pick me up from the airport and I will spend the required days of quarantine in my hometown, Bolzano (South Tyrol, Italy). From time to time and according to the needs of my data collection (remote data collection with research participants), I will travel by train to Milan to live there for about 2/3 weeks each month to undertake field ethnography.</p> <p>At the moment, due to the uncertain circumstances of the current COVID-19 pandemic, only a one-way flight ticket to Italy has been booked. I expect to fly back to Bristol on the 21/08/2021, from Venice Treviso. Information of the return flight will be communicated as soon as possible (presumably in the month of July 2021).</p>
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<p><i>Please ensure you have a copy of the UoB motor insurance certificate.</i></p> <p>Wherever possible transport must be in separate vehicles. If research activities require close contact, then vehicle windows should be kept open to increase ventilation and contact time should be kept to a minimum. This must be separately risk assessed to determine if additional precautions are necessary. Consider whether a travel/working buddy could be found from within the same household (should also be a member of UoB staff/PGR). When considering travel time ensure that excessive driving time is not applied to meet the required day trip limit.</p>	
<p>Locations of work</p>	<p>Ponte Lambro neighbourhood, Milan, Italy</p>
<p>If Applicable, Address of Residential Base/Hotel/Accommodation</p> <p>Telephone and email</p>	<p>(Private accommodation) Viale Enrico Forlanini 56, 20138 Milan, Italy</p> <p>+39 [REDACTED]</p> <p>yt18386@bristol.ac.uk</p>

FIELDWORK ACTIVITIES & HAZARD MITIGATION:

If the answer is yes to any of the following questions you must read and respond to the 'Considerations' in the 'Hazards & Mitigating Actions' box

ACTIVITY	CONSIDERATIONS	HAZARDS & MITIGATING ACTIONS
Offsite Working e.g. an external archive, interviewing subjects or participant observation		
<p>Will you be working anywhere off campus?</p> <p><u>YES/</u> NO</p>	<p>Researchers should have at least one external contact who is aware of movements during the working day. Contact must know itinerary (including location) and must be telephoned once researcher is back at a safe location. Contact must know what action to take if they do not receive a telephone call.</p> <p>If chance is built into the itinerary, the researcher should consider sharing access to their GPS on their phone e.g. via iPhone's Find My Friends and Google maps.</p> <p>Researcher to provide details of how they may be contacted whilst working off-site. Must also have phone numbers for UoB Security and a School contact with them always.</p>	<p>Both my supervisors and my partner are aware of my planned movements and will be kept updated. I will inform and update my partner daily, while my supervisors will be updated weekly or fortnightly by email.</p> <p>If my partner or my supervisors do not receive any contact (message/mail/call) from me, they can contact me via email or mobile phone. I will share with my emergency contacts name, address and phone number of my landlady in Milan, so that if they fail to make contact with me while I am there, they can reach her.</p> <p>Google maps or iPhone's Find My Friends will be used to share access to my GPS on my phone when needed.</p> <p>I can be contacted by email or mobile phone at any time. Free roaming within the EU is still in place.</p>

		I will always carry phone numbers of UoB security and School office with me in both phone and agenda.
	How will the researcher get to and from the locations?	Once arriving in Italy, in my hometown (Bolzano), I will travel to Milan from time to time by train. I will use city bus to travel within Milan, from my accommodation to the field site.
	Researcher must have emergency procedures in place i.e. phone contacts, know nearest hospital/ medical centre and ensure that accidents /incidents are reported to Safety and Health. If travelling abroad researcher(s) must ensure all necessary vaccinations have been taken before travelling.	I will always carry with me emergency phone contacts and I know where the nearest hospital/medical centre is in Milan. I also know where to find the nearest pharmacy/clinic for COVID-19 tests when needed. With regards to COVID-19 vaccination, as soon as it will be available for me, I will certainly take it (I belong to the under 30 age group and I do not have any medical condition).
	Researchers should consider their physical safety and if they will be using equipment when off-site. For example, manual handling risks, operation of machinery, tools, use of specialist equipment etc. School equipment must have passed safety check prior to use.	I will not be using any equipment when working in the field. A notepad and my phone or a digital voice recorder will be my only tools to take notes and pictures during ethnographic observation.
Data Gathering via Face-to-Face Contact/Observation e.g. interviews, focus groups or participant observation		
Are you gathering data from people or via observation? YES/ <u>NO</u>	How will contact with participants be made? i.e. do not give out personal mobile number, home number or home email, etc.	There will be no in-person contact with research participants (residents) in the field. Participants will be recruited and interviewed remotely and online; I will share my UoB email address. My personal mobile number (Italian number) will only be shared in the event that interested participants do not have an email address or a computer and they prefer having a 1-1 interview over the phone (as I already experienced with my other case study, Bristol).
	Will data gathering take place in a safe environment, e.g. another workplace, public space? How will participants get there?	There will be no in-person contact with research participants in the field. Data collection from participants will only be undertaken remotely (online or by phone). Ethnographic observation around the neighbourhood of Ponte Lambro will involve walking, observing places and people, taking notes and photographs. The latter will not include people, only the environment or objects, for instance.
	Is the data gathering process and location suitable for the participant? e.g. vulnerable/elderly/ infirm/ disabled? Do you need any extra provisions or procedures?	See previous point.
	Will participant need a chaperone or translator if they have limited English or are from a different culture? Are there other cultural/political factors that need to be considered so as not to cause offence?	See previous point. Online/remote focus groups or interviews will be run in Italian (my mother tongue). However, as the neighbourhood presents a high number of immigrants, I will also consider English or French as alternative languages, to make the participant feel more comfortable.
	What support will be available? i.e. will anyone else be available to assist if you call for help?	I will not need support during online/remote data collection with participants, as I will be based in my hometown (Bolzano), at my

		residence address, or at my domicile address in Milan. (see address above). When living in Milan, near the field site, my landlady, who lives upstairs, will be the nearest person to assist me in the case of an emergency.
	How will you deal with aggressive/violent behaviour? Advice is to leave the situation immediately. What precautions will be taken to prevent this from happening?	Explorations and observations in Ponte Lambro will be conducted only on daily hours (as already done in Bristol) and I will not put myself in dangerous situations. However, if I cannot handle it, I will immediately remove myself from the situation and call for help from passers-by. I will contact my emergency numbers (including my landlady) if needed. If the situation is more serious, I will call the Local Emergency Services (police/ambulance).
COVID-19 considerations		
Can 2m social distancing be maintained? Are all participants aware face coverings are mandatory on campus? Are there appropriate hygiene measures in place throughout e.g. hand sanitiser and cleaning?	I will be adopting Covid-19 measures on both public transport and public spaces in the area: wearing face masks, maintaining social distancing, sanitising my hands on every occasion during the day and the travels. I know where to find pharmacies/clinics where local testing can be arranged. When in my accommodation in Milan, I will be living alone.	If suffering from Covid-19 symptoms, I will go home immediately, get tested locally, self-isolate at home and report to my emergency contacts (partner, landlady), my PhD supervisors and the University.
Alcohol Consumption/Drug Use		
Excessive consumption of alcohol or drugs could result in dangerous behaviour and accidents/incidents. Note assessment may include a mark for professionalism, which includes attitude, behaviour, attendance, and participation. Drunken and disorderly behaviour will not be tolerated.		


CHECKLIST FOR FIELDTRIPS	PLEASE TICK BOXES					
Has pre-fieldwork meeting with supervisor/students been arranged to discuss this risk assessment?	YES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NO	<input type="checkbox"/>	N/A	<input type="checkbox"/>
If any of the participants are under 18, has a specific risk assessment been completed?	YES	<input type="checkbox"/>	NO	<input type="checkbox"/>	N/A	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Have the necessary permissions been obtained?	YES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NO	<input type="checkbox"/>	N/A	<input type="checkbox"/>
Has adequate insurance cover (for all students and staff) been obtained? Staff must complete the UoB online application system to be eligible for travel insurance cover: http://www.bristol.ac.uk/secretary/insurance/travel-insurance/ Policy number: RTT276323	YES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NO	<input type="checkbox"/>	N/A	<input type="checkbox"/>
Have you checked FCO guidance for your destination (applies to overseas fieldwork only)?	YES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NO	<input type="checkbox"/>	N/A	<input type="checkbox"/>
Are contingency plans in place in case of an emergency?	YES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NO	<input type="checkbox"/>	N/A	<input type="checkbox"/>
Is there adequate provision for participants concerning health problems, disabilities, and gender?	YES	<input type="checkbox"/>	NO	<input type="checkbox"/>	N/A	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

Has the Signature section been completed?	YES	x	NO			
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PLEASE REPORT ALL ACCIDENTS AND NEAR MISSES USING THE SAFETY AND HEALTH SERVICES REPORTING TOOL: <http://www.bristol.ac.uk/safety/>

EMERGENCY PLAN			
Location of nearest defibrillator if known			
Satellite phone number (if in remote location)			
	PHONE NUMBER	ADDRESS (if necessary)	
Local Emergency Services	118 / 112		
Nearest Hospital	+39 02 6363.1	Ospedale Macedonio Melloni, Via Macedonio Melloni, 52, 20129 Milano	
University of Bristol Security	0117 331 1223 (24/7)	University Safety and Health Services	0117 928 8780 (M-F, 9-5)
Student Wellbeing Service	0117 428 4300 (M-F, 9-5)		
<p>SafeZone is a free-to-use safety app that is available to staff and students when they travel overseas. The app allows you to alert the University's Security Services via your mobile phone if you ever need urgent assistance, or if you want to let Security Officers know where you are. If you are travelling overseas on University business or as part of your studies, use of SafeZone is mandatory.</p>			

ACCEPTABLE BEHAVIOUR		
<p>Everyone deserves to be treated with courtesy, respect and consideration. Unacceptable behaviour may involve actions, words or physical gestures that could reasonably be perceived to be the cause of another person's distress or discomfort. Unacceptable behaviour does not necessarily have to be face-to-face, and may take many forms such as written, telephone or e-mail communications or social media.</p> <p>See http://www.bristol.ac.uk/media-library/sites/equality/documents/Acceptable-Behaviour-Policy.pdf for information on the University's Policy on Acceptable Behaviour. Further information for students regards this policy and allegations of unacceptable behaviour can be found at: www.bristol.ac.uk/secretary/student-rules-regs/</p> <p>Students must follow the instructions and advice issued by all staff and remember that acceptable behaviour applies not only to fellow students and staff members, but to members of the public and accommodation staff.</p> <p>If you feel that you are not being treated acceptably, you should report this behaviour to your personal tutor, supervisor or another staff member. If you do not feel comfortable doing so, then report to any of the three people you have chosen below.</p> <p>These individuals can include your partner, family member or a friend.</p>		
Name	Email	Phone number
1. Alessio Scopelliti (partner)	alessio.scopelliti@bristol.ac.uk	+44 [REDACTED]
2. Prof. David Manley (supervisor)	d.manley@bristol.ac.uk	+44 1179288305
3. Prof. Julie MacLeavy (supervisor)	julie.macleavy@bristol.ac.uk	+44 1179288901

SIGNATURES			
Name of Supervisor	Julie MacLeavy		
Signature of Supervisor <small>Typing your name here will be accepted instead of a signature if you are submitting this form via email</small>	Julie MacLeavy	Date	05/05/2021
Name of person completing assessment (if different)	Giada Casarin		
Signature (if different) <small>Typing your name here will be accepted instead of a signature if you are submitting this form via email</small>	Giada Casarin	Date	04/05/2021
Name of person checking	Stuart Bellamy		
Signature of person checking <small>Typing your name here will be accepted instead of a signature if you are submitting this form via email</small>	Stuart Bellamy	Date	6/5/21
Head of School name	Antony Payne		
Head of School signature <small>Typing your name here will be accepted instead of a signature if you are submitting this form via email</small>		Date	06-05-2021

Emergency Procedures

1 Central University Emergency Plan

The University has a standard procedure in the event of any incident resulting in death or serious injury to a member of staff or student, or to any other person on University premises;

- Member of the public or the University community reports incident to Emergency Services (usually including the Police) and also may inform Security Services.
- Depending on the situation the Police or appropriate member of emergency services should notify the next of kin.
- Police or member of University community informs Security Services who informs Registrar/Nominee and the Director of Health and Safety.

The following persons should be contacted by the Registrar/Nominee:

1. Vice-Chancellor
2. Personnel Director (staff) / Academic Registrar (student)
3. Director of Communications and Marketing
4. Bursar
5. Director of Health and Safety
6. Head of Department / Warden of Hall
7. International Students' Advisory Service
8. Staff/Student Counseling Service
9. Student Finance Office
10. Chaplaincy
11. Accommodation Office
12. Students Union

The Personnel Director/Academic Registrar/Registrar Nominee should:

- Ensure that the next of kin have been notified
- Quickly inform the next of kin of their main contact point, if needed, at the University
- Ensure appropriate arrangements for collection of the deceased's belongings
- Ensure that colleagues/friends of the deceased are informed in an appropriate manner. The friends of deceased students may be identified through the department, residence, and Students' Union clubs and societies

- Ensure appropriate arrangements are made if the next of kin visit the University
- Take responsibility for strategic decisions, overall co-ordination and University's general response
- Ensure that friends/colleagues are aware of the help and support which is available e.g. staff/student counseling, Students' Health Service (if there are health concerns), Hall Wardens/Tutors, departmental personal tutor, Chaplaincy
- Inform friends/colleagues of funeral arrangements and attempt to ensure appropriate University attendance at the funeral
- Ensure Embassy or High Commission is informed, if appropriate
- Ensure wishes regarding treatment of body are ascertained and repatriation, financial and funeral arrangements are satisfactory, if appropriate*
- Ensure Faculty Office is informed for record-keeping purposes – students only
- Ensure memorial service, collection/other financial support and messages of condolence are arranged as appropriate*
- Arrange for letter from Vice-Chancellor to be sent to the family on behalf of the University.

Director of Communications and Marketing:

- Prepare and circulate a statement to all appropriate University staff, if the media are likely to be interested, and liaise with the media directly if required.

Director of Health and Safety:

- Assume tactical control of the event if involving serious injury or death, referring to Registrar for strategic decisions as necessary. Represent the University in any official investigations, if these prove necessary.

2. Procedure Following a Serious Accident or Incident

1. Attend to anyone injured and withdraw remaining members of your group to a safe location. Send for help (preferably at least two persons), or use a mobile phone to summon emergency services giving information on the exact position of the party and the nature of the injuries. Take steps to warn other persons of any dangers that may remain, until local authorities etc take over.
 2. Do not discuss the matter except with authorised personnel, (e.g. Police or Fire Brigade). Do not give opinions, even if you are competent to do so, and limit any discussion to a factual report.
 3. In the case of a serious accident or incident, notify the University Safety Officer by telephone Bristol 44(0)117 928 8780 during office hours or Security on 44(0)117 928 7848 (out of office hours). If a message has to be passed on indirectly, make sure that it includes a telephone number at which you may be reached.
 4. A spokesman for the party, usually the Leader, must draw up a factual report for the Head of School as soon as practicable after the incident while memories are fresh.
- PLEASE REPORT ALL ACCIDENTS AND NEAR MISSES USING THE SAFETY AND HEALTH SERVICES REPORTING TOOL: <http://www.bristol.ac.uk/safety/>**

3. Procedure to follow after a vehicle accident

1. Call the police and/or an ambulance if required
2. Call Security Services on 0117 331 1223 if in Bristol and assistance is required
3. Give the University's and our insurer's name and address and vehicle registration number to those involved in the accident (our insurers are: Zurich Municipal - Policy number NHE-05CA06-0013-52, Motor Claims Centre, PO Box 3322 Interface Business Park, Swindon, SN4 8XW, tel 01489 882 110 zmmotorclaimsoffice@uk.zurich.com)
4. Give the name and address of the owner to those involved, if the vehicle is not ours, e.g; it is a hired or leased vehicle.
5. For each vehicle involved, take a note of the registration number, name and address of driver and owner (if different) and name and address of insurer.
6. Ask any witnesses for their names and addresses.
7. Make a note of the location details, damage to other cars and property and the number of any Police Officer attending the scene. Take a photograph of the scene if possible or do a sketch - a free accident sketching tool is available: <http://draw.accidentsketch.com/>
8. Show the police our motor insurance certificate if they need to see it. You are required by law to provide details of your motor insurance, when requested to, at the scene of an accident. If you cannot comply with this, you must report the accident to the police within 24 hours. In fact, all University vehicles should be logged on the central MIB database.
9. Never admit liability or offer payment.
10. Report the accident to the Insurance Office as soon as you can.

Reporting the claim when you get back to the University:

Please contact the Insurance Office on 0117 39 41828 or insurance-enquiries@bristol.ac.uk to report the accident. We will provide you with a claim form to complete so that we can register the claim with the insurance company as soon as possible.
You will need the following details for the claim form: the registration number of the vehicle you were driving, the date and time of the incident, the location of the accident and details of any damage caused to your vehicle or any third party vehicle, as well as the registration number and name of any third party involved.

Appendix G. Interview and focus group outline in English and Italian.

a) The map and the pictures

I wanted first to thank you for contributing with your photographs to the map.

1. First of all, considering your own photographs of the area, why did you choose those specific places and-what is/are the picture that means the most to you?

- What did you wish to express with your pictures in general?
- How would you describe your experience/perception of the area?

Now, I am going to copy in the chat the link of the collective map, if you have not seen them yet and I will give you a couple of minutes to have a look at them on your own.

As you can see, the resulting map of the group comprises of many photographs of different places of the area, covering more or less the whole area of interest. Colours indicate different members of the forum who shared their pictures. It is very interesting to see the different perspectives on the neighbourhoods.

2. What are your thoughts about the map and the pictures of other participants? What comes to your mind when looking at them?

- ❖ How do you see them?
 - Do you feel they represent the area in an adequate way?
- ❖ What kind of (place) image does the map paint, in your view? What is the image prevailing from the map, a positive/negative/neutral or objective/detached image of the area?

3. Do you relate with this image? In your opinion does this image correspond to what you have been experiencing?

- ❖ If yes/no: Why? Could you please give an example of that?
 - Do you reckon there is enough material to express the area's identity or is there something missing?

b) The neighbourhood over time

1. In one word/phrase, how would you describe your neighbourhood now compared to the past (if they are different)? It can be both the recent past, first time you arrived, or the past in terms of your perception before moving in.

- ❖ Why? Can you elaborate on that?

2. Could you please describe such change more in detail? What are the greatest changes you have witnessed over time?

- ❖ Can you give examples of the change you perceive? (ex. physical, social, economic, demographic)
- ❖ What aspects do you feel are now negative compared to the past? What would YOU like to change in the area now that maybe was there in the past?
 - Was the area always like that?
- ❖ On the other hand, what aspects do you feel are now positive compared to the past in the area?
 - Was the area always like that?

3. What do you think brought to such change?

- ❖ Does this change come from inside or outside the area or does it have multiple causes?

- Can you motivate your answer?
- Can you give an example?
- ❖ Do you know/remember any urban regeneration policy in your area?
 - What is your opinion towards that policy?
- ❖ Have you ever heard about the NDC?
 - Yes: How? Do you remember anything about it? Opinion?
 - No: *NDC was a national urban regeneration scheme developed in 10 years (2000-2010) to improve UK areas affected by multiple disadvantage with a budget of £50 million. Community at Heart was the resident-led organisation set up to identify and address with residents and partner agencies local issues.* Opinion?

c) The external reputation, is this the reality?

Within my research project I am also considering the change in terms of the external reputation of the area, before and after the NDC interventions. I have analysed the discourse on Barton Hill and Lawrence Hill ward on newspapers articles of the Bristol Post in two different periods: 1998-2000 and 2017-2019. And this is what came up (turn camera on WhatsApp/share screen on Zoom).

In the time prior to the NDC, 63% of the news I had analysed depict a negative image of the area; and between 2017-2019 the discourse seems to have worsen, with a negative image still in the 73% of articles analysed. (more than 300 for pre-policy; about 100 for assessment)

In both instances, articles show mostly a bad image of the area, the majority of them talk about crime, use and dealing of drugs, whilst a minority of articles express a positive reputation, talking about social cohesion and events in the area.

1. What are your thoughts/feelings towards the images that the newspaper portraits here? Did you expect that?

- ❖ If yes, why?

2. My analysis shows no big improvements of the public image of the area after these many years. In your opinion, why is it still so?

- ❖ What are the factors determining this reputation?

3. How much does this reputation matter for you? Do you perceive such reputation from the outside in any contexts other than media?

- ❖ Do you feel such reputation might affect/is affecting your life here in any way?
 - Yes: Why? Examples.
- ❖ Do you think it is necessary to do something about it?
 - No: Why not?
 - What could the community do to communicate a different portrait/image of the area?
 - Should the community be the only one responsible for that?

COVID: This was not planned, but in this exceptional and critical circumstance of lockdown, how do you see your area? (only for current residents)

- ❖ Do you perceive any change in your community or the area in general now?
 - Good or bad?
 - Is there local support and community aid?
- ❖ Has your experience of the area changed? How? (examples)

a) La fotomappa

Nella chat ora le incollo il link per vedere l'ultima versione della mappa così le lascio qualche minuto per sfogliare le fotografie e poi apriamo la prima parte del focus group/intervista con una prima domanda.

1. Innanzitutto, avrebbe piacere di parlare delle/a sue/a foto? Magari raccontando cosa esprimono, cosa voleva rappresentare?

- Cosa voleva raffigurare con questa foto? Perché l'ha scelta o scattata?
- (in caso di molte foto) Qual è la foto che le è più cara tra queste?

2. Riguardo alla mappa e considerando le foto che la compongono, cosa le viene in mente? Che emozioni prova osservando questa immagine/rappresentazione del quartiere?

- ❖ Che tipo di quartiere trasmettono queste foto?
 - Rappresentano Ponte Lambro in modo adeguato secondo lei?
 - C'è abbastanza materiale per esprimere l'identità del quartiere o manca qualcosa?
- ❖ Che tipo di immagine/rappresentazione vedete?

3. Si può dire secondo lei che questa rappresentazione corrisponde alla sua esperienza quotidiana nel quartiere?

- ❖ Sì/no: Perché? Può darci qualche esempio?

b) Il quartiere nel corso del tempo

1. Se dovesse utilizzare una parola o una frase per descrivere Ponte Lambro, cosa direbbe? Anche pensando allo stato attuale rispetto al passato.

- ❖ Parole/frase interessante: Come mai ...? Ci può dire di più?

2. Secondo lei come è cambiato il quartiere nel tempo? Quali sono state le trasformazioni maggiori?

- ❖ In particolare, che tipo di cambiamenti? (dal punto di vista fisico-strutturale, sociale, economico, demografico..)
- ❖ Che cosa secondo voi è peggiorato a Ponte Lambro, dove vorrebbe vedere un cambiamento oggi? (edilizia, scuola, coesione sociale, sicurezza, trasporti, verde, aree comuni...)
- ❖ Cosa invece è migliorato nel quartiere rispetto al passato? (edilizia, scuola, coesione sociale, sicurezza, trasporti, verde, aree comuni...)

3. Secondo lei quali sono i fattori che hanno portato a questi cambiamenti nel tempo?

- ❖ Le cause sono esterne, interne o hanno diverse origini?
 - Come mai?
 - Può darci un esempio?
- ❖ Ci sono degli interventi di rigenerazione urbana che ricorda particolarmente in questi anni?
 - Qual è la sua opinione in proposito?
- ❖ Ha sentito parlare del Contratto di Quartiere del 2004?
 - Sì: Quale esperienza ha di quegli anni? / Cosa ne pensa?
 - No: *Con il programma nazionale del Contratto di Quartiere II del 2004 si intendeva riqualificare Ponte Lambro sotto diversi punti di vista: gli alloggi popolari/l'edilizia, incluso il Laboratorio di Quartiere (di Renzo Piano) tra le stecche di via Ucelli di Nemi; i servizi e lo spazio pubblico; la partecipazione sociale e l'integrazione tra abitanti.* - Nota qualche miglioramento in questi termini negli ultimi anni, ad es?

c) The external reputation, is this the reality?

Nell'ambito del mio mio progetto di ricerca considero anche l'evoluzione della percezione esterna del quartiere, in particolare dalla prospettiva della stampa locale, prima e dopo gli interventi del CdQ. Ho analizzato più di 140 articoli delle edizioni locali della Repubblica e del Corriere della Sera che parlavano di Ponte Lambro tra il 2002-2004 e tra il 2017-2019. Analizzando in maniera critica le tematiche e il linguaggio degli articoli, ho tratto i seguenti risultati: condivido schermo.

Prima del CdQ, una grande maggioranza, circa l'84% degli articoli analizzati dipingeva Ponte Lambro in modo negativo, facendo prevalere l'immagine del quartiere abbandonato, svantaggiato economicamente, la periferia degradata. Dopo anni dall'inizio dei lavori del CdQ, il quartiere viene raccontando diversamente, le notizie positive aumentano considerevolmente, arrivando quasi a metà del totale analizzato. Le notizie di cronaca sono ancora molto presenti ma molti sono gli articoli che parlano di miglioramenti nei servizi e qualità dell'aria ad es.

1. Come si sente di fronte all'immagine dipinta dai giornali? Se lo aspettava?

❖ Se sì, come mai?

2. La mia analisi mostra lievi miglioramenti della reputazione di Ponte Lambro nel tempo portando ad un relativo equilibrio nelle notizie.

❖ Ha notato anche lei questi miglioramenti dell'immagine di PL oppure la rappresentazione negativa persiste ancora oggi? E viene dato abbastanza spazio alle notizie positive?

3. Quanto conta quest'immagine/reputazione negativa sulla zona? La percepisce anche in altri contesti? (se sì, quali)

❖ Questa reputazione ha un qualche peso sulla sua quotidianità?

- Sì: come mai, in che modo? Esempi.
- No: su quella di altri che conosci? Esempi

❖ Cosa si potrebbe fare per comunicare un'immagine diversa di Ponte Lambro?

- Soprattutto, di chi sarebbe responsabilità?

(extra) COVID: Per finire, nell'ultimo anno, tra un lockdown e l'altro, come vede Ponte Lambro?

❖ Nota qualche differenza/cambiamento nella comunità, nel quartiere? Quale?

- Positiva o negativa?
- Come è cambiato il suo rapporto con il quartiere?

❖ C'è aiuto e assistenza nel quartiere in questo periodo difficile?

Appendix H. PPM photo exhibitions in Bristol and Milan

Bristol - Barton Hill History Group, Community History Day, St. Anne Board Mill Social Club, 30th October 2021



Milan – Laboratorio di Quartiere first meeting, CAM community centre, 5th April 2023



Appendix I. Source text of quotes from the Italian case study (Chapter 5 and 6).

Newspaper articles - Chapter 5:

p. 109 - "E già che ci siamo, bisogna volerlo sicuramente anche nelle zone lontane dal centro, in quelle periferie che continuano a essere una ferita aperta per Milano. Dove si accumulano problemi e ritardi e dove l'emergenza traffico è soltanto una delle tante che si devono fronteggiare. Perché se d'estate il centro ci appare più vivibile, nei mesi di luglio e agosto alcune zone della cintura diventano lande desolate. Più negozi chiusi, meno corse dei bus, poche o nessuna iniziativa culturale. [...] Si dia un segnale anche in questa direzione, senza le mirabolanti promesse che poi non vengono mantenute (come nel caso di Ponte Lambro)". (Corriere della Sera, 14/06/2002)

p. 110 - "Per questo Ponte Lambro è ancora così, una ferita aperta nella civile Milano, un non luogo dove si disfa la città e fallisce ogni tentativo di riqualificazione". (CdS, 31/08/2003)

p. 110 - "Ponte Lambro, Calvairate e l'Ortica I quartieri dell'abbandono e del disagio. Il sociologo Marc Augé, professore all'Ecole des Hautes Etudes di Parigi, per parlare delle trasformazioni urbane e sociali in atto nelle città ha creato un neologismo: i nonluoghi. Questi nonluoghi sono dei microcosmi della città caratterizzati dall'idea di isolamento, spaesamento, «avanzo». Se ne possono individuare anche a Milano. E d'estate sono ancora più isolati, soli. Iniziamo il viaggio da Ponte Lambro, classico nonluogo poiché la tangenziale lo recide dalla città". (CdS, 21/08/2003)

p. 111 - "Più che di sicurezza, insomma, è questione di vivibilità, «il rischio nasce quando si fanno vivere le persone nei quartieri dormitorio, perché sono i dormitori che annientano le relazioni sociali e favoriscono prima o poi l'emergere della microcriminalità»". (CdS, 27/07/2003)

p. 111 - "Per noi il centro è il luogo dove stare insieme per evitare di stare in mezzo alla strada e trasgredire alla legge. In questo quartiere non c'è assolutamente niente e poi vi lamentate che a 16 anni ci mettono dietro le sbarre del carcere minorile. Vogliamo una vita diversa e voi non ci volete aiutare! Fate un primo passo e spiegateci perché non volete riaprire il centro!". (CdS, 07/03/2002)

p. 112 - "Violenza a Ponte Lambro, lite a Palazzo Marino. Lo hanno devastato e distrutto. Hanno spaccato vetri e tapparelle, rovistato nei cassetti, rubato le chiavi di tutte le porte. Il centro sociale di via Parea, in Ponte Lambro, ormai è sotto assedio. E fa paura a chi ci lavora: al custode, che ha chiesto il trasferimento. All'unica operatrice del Comune rimasta in servizio, che si trova costretta a fronteggiare bande di ragazzini del quartiere che si presentano in gruppi di venti o trenta, con spray e cattivissime intenzioni." (CdS, 06/03/2002)

p. 112 - «Qui andiamo oltre i limiti di personale, qui ci vuole l'intervento della Questura. E, come prima cosa, credo che non sia più possibile far lavorare delle donne in un posto così a rischio». (CdS, 06/03/2002)

pp. 112-113 - "Come a Quarto Oggiaro, Calvairate, Ponte Lambro, i quartieri a rischio di Milano. Ogni giorno questi preti di frontiera devono lavorare tra bande di baby gang, spacciatori e immigrati allo sbando. [...] Questo quartiere di Rozzano somiglia, forse, a tutti questi. Con le ripetute denunce di degrado: alcuni anni fa, per protestare contro l'abbandono di rifiuti per le strade, alcuni abitanti avevano costituito un comitato per cercare di mantenere pulita la zona. Tentativi di scrollarsi di dosso l'etichetta di Bronx. [...] Sono i commenti di chi è stato testimone della sparatoria. Di chi ha visto, ancora una volta, qualcuno morire per caso. Perché colpito da una pallottola vagante, in una scena da Far west cittadino, che assomiglierebbe a un film se i morti non fossero veri." (CdS, 23/08/2003)

p. 113 - "«Abbattiamo i ghetti di periferia»." (CdS, 01/09/2003)

p. 113 - "«I quartieri-ghetto sono da abbattere»." (CdS, 01/09/2003)

p. 114 - "Nello stesso palazzo anziani poverissimi, tossici e malati mentali". (CdS, 02/03/2003)

p. 114 - "Logica del ghetto americano". (CdS, 01/09/2003).

p. 114 - "Chiusi dentro ed emarginati". (CdS, 01/09/2003).

p. 114 - «La ricostruzione potrebbe offrire l'occasione di creare quartieri meno omogenei per redditi e per disagio sociale». Come? «Coinvolgendo nell'operazione i privati - suggerisce Penati -, che potrebbero ricostruire una parte delle abitazioni sul suolo pubblico, risolvendo il problema della carenza di risorse e aprendo spazi, accanto all'edilizia popolare, per l'edilizia convenzionata in vendita e in affitto. Così il mix sociale sarebbe garantito». (CdS, 01/09/2003)

p. 114 - «Una riqualificazione avviene soltanto se garantisci un ambiente sicuro. Altrimenti, abbatti, ricostruisci e poi, senza sicurezza, ti ritrovi il degrado.» (CdS, 02/09/2003).

p. 114 - «Scuole definite a rischio per le condizioni socioambientali, il numero di ragazzi seguiti dal tribunale dei minori e dai servizi sociali, la percentuale di stranieri e nomadi.» (CdS, 10/09/2003)

p. 115 - «Il rischio era riferito alla presenza di microcriminalità nell'ambito del quartiere, alla diffusione delle condizioni di disagio sociale, all'abbandono scolastico e alle bocciature degli studenti.» (CdS, 15/04/2002)

p. 115 - «Finanziamenti speciali messi in conto per tutti i docenti che si impegnano a tenere aperte le classi e a vigilare sui ragazzi anche oltre l'orario delle lezioni.» (CdS, 10/09/2003)

p. 116 - «L'8 giugno prossimo verrà inaugurato il mercato settimanale nel parcheggio di via Serrati. [...] In quello stesso weekend di festa, che il «Nuovo comitato» sta organizzando assieme alla parrocchia del Sacro Cuore e alla cooperativa Ponte Lambro, verrà tagliato dall'assessore Tiziana Maiolo il nastro del centro sociale che era stato chiuso e che era stato vandalizzato da ragazzi del posto «arrabbiati» con il Comune per la chiusura dell'unico spazio dove potevano ritrovarsi». (CdS, 16/05/2002)

p. 116 - «Risultati concreti, finora? «Almeno uno sì. Ed è il Forum cui ora partecipano tutte le associazioni della zona. Si riunisce una volta alla settimana, e serve. Se all'inizio la gente guardava al progetto di riqualificazione con diffidenza e basta, adesso molti hanno capito che possono venire e porre domande concrete, far proposte, e magari aiutare anche noi a trovare soluzioni migliori di quelle originarie». (CdS, 07/09/2003)

p. 116 - «Non bisogna distruggere, ma trasformare», dice, pensando al suo piano di riqualificazione del quartiere milanese di Ponte Lambro. E «non è vero che la periferia è brutta e ignorante. Scrisse Italo Calvino: ci sono frammenti di città felici che continuamente prendono forma e svaniscono.» (CdS, 06/09/2003)

p. 117 - «Ponte Lambro non è il quartiere del degrado e della malavita». [...] E, comunque, la festa va bene: ma non è quella che risolve i molti problemi che ancora ci sono a Ponte Lambro». (CdS, 07/06/2002)

p. 117 - «In molte case dell'Aler continua a piovere, nuovi gruppi di immigrati hanno riportato lo spaccio in zona, il senso unico di via degli Umiliati non è stato cambiato, il campo di via Serrati ancora non è pronto. Ma i residenti della zona hanno imparato la filosofia dell'ottimismo: «Cerchiamo di sottolineare il poco fatto, nella speranza che l'amministrazione faccia ancora».». (CdS, 16/05/2002)

p. 117 - ««Sicurezza e riqualificazione» sono state le due parole forti usate dal vicesindaco Riccardo De Corato». (CdS, 03/09/2003)

p. 117 - «“E anche le condizioni di vivibilità del quartiere Ponte Lambro sono notevolmente migliorate, grazie alla proficua collaborazione tra il Comune di Milano e le forze di Polizia.”». (CdS, 16/01/2003)

p. 118 - ««Ho chiesto l'istituzione di una specie di intelligence delle forze dell'ordine per eliminare dai caseggiati i "mandarini" dell'abusivismo. Che poi sono gli stessi che spacciano droga nei quartieri.» (CdS, 03/09/2003)

p. 119 - «Non importa sapere chi sono, a noi basta sapere che ci sono, che intorno a noi esistono persone dall'umanità spontanea e generosa come quella dei due fidanzati che hanno salvato un marocchino accoltellato a Ponte Lambro. A noi piacciono quei due fidanzati che se la sono «andata a cercare» per non lasciar morire dissanguato un giovane marocchino con precedenti per spaccio, sgozzato con un cutter da un balordo equadoregno: questioni di droga, affari loro, si potrebbe dire con il cinismo della politica vincente. Ma una vita è una vita, anche quando è di scarto e giace su una strada un po' malfamata di un quartiere che da anni non vuole più essere associato a parole come Bronx, periferia, terra di nessuno.» (CdS, 15/08/2018)

p. 120 - «Accade in tutti i buchi neri della città.» (La Repubblica Milano, 17/12/2017).

p. 120 - "Allarme Ats, mancano 64 medici di base. I quartieri più scoperti sono Quinto Romano e Ponte Lambro. Ma a soffrire sono diverse zone della città, quasi tutte in periferia." (La Repubblica Milano, 10/04/2017)

p. 120 - "Città ai margini." (CdS, 09/08/2018)

p. 120 - "Sette luoghi perduti di Milano." (CdS, 30/10/2017).

p. 121 - "Ponte Lambro a Milano è qualcosa di più di una periferia offuscata dal degrado e dall'isolamento. È un'incompiuta devastata dall'astronave del boom: ai campi, alle rogge, agli orti e alle lavandaie si è sovrapposta l'ondata migratoria degli anni Sessanta, valigie con lo spago e manovalanza da stipare nelle case popolari frettolosamente disegnate, realizzate in fotocopia dal Comune. Un lungo e spettrale corridoio stradale fiancheggiato da anonimi appartamenti è diventato il sottopasso della piccola malavita, base di spaccio e motorini rubati." (CdS, 30/10/2017)

p. 121 - "L'obiettivo era regolarizzare le posizioni degli occupanti abusivi "storici" di alloggi, che versano in condizione di particolare necessità: disabili totali, madri disoccupate con più figli, anziani con pensioni sotto la minima. [...] Ventisei abitazioni in cui vivevano, e vivono ancora oggi, persone che, prima di aspettare l'assegnazione di un alloggio, hanno deciso di occupare, per disperazione o per sfiducia nel sistema." (La Repubblica Milano, 20/06/2018)

p. 121 - "Ma ha anche una condizione di emarginazione fisica che lo isola, in barba a qualsiasi operazione di restyling, chiuso com'è tra le piste dello scalo di Linate, il fiume Lambro e il reticolo della tangenziale Est. Vi si arriva solo con un tortuoso sottopasso impraticabile da un pedone." (CdS, 11/04/2017)

p. 122 - "Approfitto della sua lettera per registrare una buona notizia che riguarda proprio le periferie: il sindaco Sala ha annunciato che questa parola non deve più esistere. Chiamiamoli quartieri cittadini, chiamiamoli Baggio, Corvetto, Rogoredo, Ponte Lambro, Stadera e basta." (CdS, 26/06/2018)

p. 123 - "«Diamo il via agli interventi in parchi ed aree verdi di periferia [...] illuminando i percorsi pedonali con nuovi punti luce, più bassi e potenti, sistemati sotto gli alberi al fine di togliere i camminamenti dal buio e renderli più sicuri»". (La Repubblica, 03/01/2017)

p. 123 - "Due giovani fidanzati chiamando il 118 e tamponando la ferita hanno difeso una vita, non il malaffare, lasciando a Ponte Lambro il segno di un civismo che resiste e va sostenuto." (CdS, 15/08/2018)

p. 123 - "Solo giovani invece nella riqualificazione di Ponte Lambro pensata da Renzo Piano. Il Comune chiederà ai gestori di allestire 30 unità immobiliari. Ostelli e studentati." (CdS, 11/12/2017)

p. 124 - Ponte Lambro, progetto fallito. (CdS, 18/02/2003)

p. 125 - "Nello specifico, il modello si è arenato su 44 famiglie che non vogliono essere trasferite e quindi il laboratorio di Piano è fermo». E quindi? «E quindi continuiamo a trattare. Più della metà di questi nuclei hanno accettato il trasferimento e li abbiamo spostati, stiamo lavorando agli altri. Ma ci vuole tempo." (CdS, 07/09/2003)

p. 125 - "Ma chi glielo spiega a quella gente che, «per il suo bene», dovrà lasciare la casa in cui ha vissuto finora? [...] Difficile spiegare che i soldi per il progetto Piano seguono un canale mentre i finanziamenti per le manutenzioni ne hanno un altro assai più secco e lento." (CdS, 07/09/2003)

p. 126 - "[...] i problemi di zone sofferenti, come Ponte Lambro, non si risolvono con i mausolei del grande architetto di turno, ma con interventi mirati, diffusi e continui, di natura sociale, di sicurezza pubblica, di promozione del lavoro, di manutenzione e risanamento delle case abitate, di sostegno e affiancamento ai cittadini perbene e di buona volontà, impegnati per il riscatto del loro quartiere, che sono sempre e ovunque la chiave di volta dei veri ricuperi urbani." (CdS, 13/06/2002)

p. 126 - "A Ponte Lambro, periferia Sud-est del capoluogo lombardo, l'idea è quella di prendere una fetta di quei grandi casermoni e farne qualcosa di completamente nuovo, portandoci terziario, attività, riqualificazione urbana che nelle intenzioni dovrebbe rianimare l'intera zona." (CdS, 07/09/2003)

p. 127 - “IL QUARTIERE; Ponte Lambro Il «rammendo» incompiuto. Il ponte di vetro e acciaio collega le due stecche delle «Case bianche» di Ponte Lambro, lungo la via Ucelli di Nemi. È la porta d'ingresso sul «Laboratorio di quartiere», che però non è mai stato ultimato: Renzo Piano lo progettò 16 anni fa. Nel quartiere da allora sono stati investiti 60 milioni di euro, ma il rilancio resta a metà.”. (CdS, 11/04/2017)

p. 127 - “Lo spostamento delle famiglie per l'inizio dei lavori è complicato. Poi c'è la burocrazia dei ricorsi. Il ritardo delle gare d'appalto. Il nuovo sindaco. Il rammendo di Ponte Lambro è previsto nel contratto di quartiere, ma l'impresa che ha vinto i lavori con il massimo ribasso è in difficoltà. Nel 2015 si ferma. Fallisce. Rien va plus.”. (CdS, 29/10/2017)

p. 128 - Ponte Lambro, ultimo atto. Quello che manca per completare il progetto di recupero e convertire quella stecca di case popolari senz'anima in un luogo di vitalità. Palazzo Marino lancia un avviso pubblico per trovare operatori interessati a terminare, valorizzare e gestire l'immobile mai ultimato di via Guido Ucelli di Nemi. (La Repubblica Milano, 18/11/2017)

p. 128 - “Riflessione, farsi delle domande, ragionare sul modo più giusto per affrontare le questioni legate alla vita e alla città.”. (CdS, 19/10/2017)

p. 128 - “Un suo progetto avviato, interrotto, ripreso, poi ancora bloccato a Ponte Lambro diventa metafora della rinascita civile e umana per rompere l'isolamento di una periferia bollata come ghetto, una sfida che chiama a raccolta i giovani, la politica, le imprese. [...] Senza abbattere e cancellare la storia, ma ricucendo e portando un mix funzionale, questo angolo di città può diventare un esempio per tutti.” (CdS, 29/10/2017)

Transcripts from participants - Chapter 6:

p. 151 - C'è una parte diciamo antica del quartiere che sarebbero la cascina Canova che non esiste più la Cascina del Gerbone o Zerbone e il mulino Spazzola. Queste erano le tre parti storiche che hanno insieme al Bagutto che hanno qualche secolo sulle spalle. Poi c'è una parte diciamo del 900 quando è nato il borgo di Ponte Lambro che la cooperativa piuttosto che quelle immagini degli anni venti o Anni Cinquanta rappresentano bene. (Carlo, current long-term resident, over 60)

p. 153 - Immagina una casa in un quartiere di periferia di fianco c'è una cascina con degli animali e quindi i bambini era solito che si facesse la gita con i genitori con i parenti che so la domenica. Si incontravano parecchie persone su questa strada che una volta era sterrata, era proprio una strada di campagna. E questo riguarda un po' la mia infanzia, la mia emotività. (Fabrizio, current long-term resident, 40-50)

p. 153 - Allora per me le mucche la fattoria. Luogo clou della mia infanzia quando avevamo il capriccio quando avevamo cinque minuti quando i miei genitori non ne potevo più ascoltate ci prendevano e ci portavano a veder le mucche. Purtroppo con l'alluvione sono state portate via. Purtroppo ma la fattoria è sempre stata il punto più divertente del quartiere secondo me un altro posto a cui sono estremamente legata. E quando ci penso mi viene la lacrima. (Stella, former long-term resident, 40-50)

p. 154 - Poi c'era un'altra parte che mi piace questa qui di via Umiliati dove c'erano le lavanderie sul fiume. Perché dietro passa il fiume Lambro. E una volta in via Umiliati si andava a lavare i panni. Immagina le signore con le ceste piene di panni sporchi che andavano sul fiume a lavare. C'era questa sorta di molo dove si andava tutti a lavare i panni. Carino. (Fabrizio, current long-term resident, 40-50)

p. 156 - Però questo recupero dà proprio l'idea che anche nella periferia si può vedere qualcosa di bello. Non bisogna per forza andare in centro per trovare una bella una bella area verde. (Rachele, current long-term resident, 50-60)

p. 156 - Un quartiere senza parco è un quartiere un po' morto infatti in estate i bambini. Rende il quartiere vivo da un certo punto di vista. (Simon, current long-term resident, 30-40)

p. 159 - Nel tempo io da ragazzo ci andavo perché per me nel quartiere era l'alternativa diciamo sana di non finire in cattive frequentazioni con drogati spacciatori delinquenti. (Fabrizio, current long-term resident, 40-50)

p. 160 - Sono le foto che dimostrano quello che il cambiamento che c'era stato già prima a quel momento nel quartiere dove noi come associazioni e gli enti ci hanno permesso di fare e quindi la gente conviveva con noi,

condividendo i momenti di stare insieme, I bambini venivano giocavano, noi li aiutavamo, organizzavamo e questo era un momento forse più bello del quartiere, questi anni qua sono stati gli anni più belli. (Volontario Sottovoce, current long-term resident, over 60)

p. 162 - A me piace la periferia perché penso che si veda no un po il cuore della realtà di oggi, di un posto. (Sara, former long-term resident, 30-40)

p. 163 - E la cooperativa è rimasto per mio papà un luogo molto importante dove incontrava gli amici dopo il lavoro e adesso che mio papà ha una certa età è un luogo di aiuto perché lui va li capiamo che è riconosciuto e rispettato. È anche aiutato. Ecco in questo Ponte Lambro per me è una risorsa. (Debora, current long-term resident, 50-60)

p. 163 - A me a differenza di altri non mi sono mai creata problemi a dire che ero di Ponte Lambro perché poi mi ha insegnato anche a stare con tutti. Nel senso che non si giudicava cioè io stavo bene e questa cosa mi è rimasta anche adesso quando conosco qualcuno non mi fermo all'apparenza alle dicerie. (Barbara, former long-term resident, 50-60)

p. 164 - Mi ricordo che si trovavano le pallottole di bossoli, bossoli di armi nel giardino della scuola. Non so come potevano essere finite ma secondo me di una sparatoria non so. Era tipo il West, penso che in certi anni li è stato come West, totale West. (A.V., former long-term resident, 30-40)

p. 165 - Da abitante devo dire che ho visto momenti molto peggiori della vita di questo quartiere. Ora è un tranquillo quartiere di periferia anche se nasconde i suoi capiti le sue ha i suoi lati oscuri diciamo. Però la vita è molto più tranquilla. (Fabrizio, current long-term resident, 40-50)

p. 165 - Non ha niente a che fare per esempio con Corvetto cioè anni luce. Mi dispiace dirlo però Corvetto io ci vado io ho fatto anche in passato lavori di strada in Corvetto ha un disagio fortissimo. Noi non possiamo minimamente paragonarci cioè noi viviamo bene a Ponte Lambro. (...) Perché non c'è la sicurezza, io voglio tornare la sera tranquilla. (Sara, former long-term resident, 30-40)

p. 166 - Poi con la rivalutazione del quartiere di poco più di dieci anni fa. Quindi tutto il lavoro che è stato fatto nei confronti delle case di via Ucelli di Nemi è stato molto positivo e anche appunto la creazione della piazza con i sampietrini con le panchine con gli alberi. Questo di sicuro positivo. (Debora, current long-term resident, 50-60)

p. 167 - Penso che a un chilometro in linea d'aria qua c'è tutta la riqualificazione dell'area ex Monte city. Per le Olimpiadi invernali e quant'altro, il palazzetto dello sport, centro commerciale, si parla di queste nuove iniziative. E di qua non c'è neanche 2milioni, 3milioni di euro per portare a termine il progetto Renzo Piano. Queste sono le disparità della grande Milano e della periferia dimenticata. (Carlo, current long-term resident, over 60)

pp. 167-168 - Io non accetto che Milano abbia delle zone dormitorio perché Milano è Milano (...) Quindi non è perché sono in periferia pago meno, pago come te, sono di Milano come te, e non ho niente di più, ne di meno. Invece a questo punto voi avete tutto. Noi abbiamo sempre meno. (Volontario Sottovoce, current long-term resident, over 60)

p. 168 - Sembra una strada abbandonata di campagna e non una strada di Milano, Milano lì non esiste. (Angela, current long-term resident, over 60)

p. 171 - [...] se è abusivo non hai il contratto non ci dovresti essere, non lavori, per mantenere la tua famiglia spacci eccetera eccetera eccetera eccetera. (Rachele, current long-term resident, 50-60)

p. 171 - Per quanto riguarda non c'è una comunità. Non so se. Ed è piccola o comunque divisa perché c'è la comunità popolare la comunità del privato non si uniranno mai. O difficile che si uniscano perché quello privato dice io casa mia l'ho comprata in privato non voglio sapere niente. Ho più diritti eccetera quelli popolari abbandonati. (A. V., former long-term resident, 30-40)

p. 171 - Di là ci sono i bambini degli egiziani e di qua ci sono i bambini italiani. (Roberta, current long-term resident, 50-60)

p. 172 - Mi raccomando non è questione di razzismo. Però se uno straniero che non è registrato e deve venire qua perché trova delle zone che non sono controllate, vivono nel loro modo, perché vivono nella sporcizia, tutto quanto, ma portano degrado nel quartiere. (Volontario Sottovoce, current long-term resident, over 60)

p. 172 - Purtroppo si sa laddove ci sono case popolari è risaputo che spesso vengono al loro interno persone di un certo cetto sociale una certa mentalità una certa etnia e purtroppo non tutti sono dei santi ecco. (Ilaria, former resident, 40-50)

p. 173 - Prima io tornavo di notte e non avevo paura forse era una vecchia mafia era più una delinquenza d'onore? Adesso non c'è più questo onore perché sono cavalli pazzi. (Roberta, current long-term resident, 50-60)

p. 174 - La clinica le quattro Marie che adesso è il Monzino e due vie interne basta era proprio tutto campi. Completamente diverso di adesso cioè fino a qualche anno fa c'erano ancora le vecchiette che sulla via umiliati si mettevano in mezzo alla strada a chiacchierare con la sedia come si faceva in Sicilia. Noi, io abitavo in una casa di ringhiera quando sono venuta qui ad abitare e giocavamo in mezzo alla strada. (Roberta, current long-term resident, 50-60)

p. 176 - La vita cambia. Prima questo quartiere era pieno di immigrati dal Sud. Adesso è pieno di immigrati dal mondo. Sempre stati sociali deboli sono per dire no. Questo è quello che vedo che è cambiato. (Fabrizio, current long-term resident, 40-50)

p. 177 - Insomma nel 2005 succede questa cosa bellissimo. Scopriamo però che danno lo sfratto a un sacco di nostri amici o familiari che devono lasciare il quartiere perché dovranno costruire questa struttura di cui non si capisce bene se sarà proprietà della Polizia Municipale, uffici del Comune. (Fabrizio, current long-term resident, 40-50)

p. 179 - A vederlo era un po' come l'hotel quello degli anni 90 famosissimo hotel buttato giù, non hanno mai finito e uno poi pensa sempre ci provano ma poi alla fine non ne viene fuori niente. (Barbara, former long-term resident, 50-60)

p. 179 - Però tolti quelli che sono stati mandati via che non saranno stati contenti però c'era l'idea e la sensazione di finalmente pensano un po anche a noi, han dato una sistemata sistemato un po di cose, han rifatto la strada e quindi ci sistemano bene. (Rachele, current long-term resident, 50-60)

p. 180 - Degli anni bellissimi dico che io stanco perché mi alzavo presto, andavo a casa tardi smonta rimonta ma felice in un modo meraviglioso perché secondo me questa era la socialità. (Volontario Sottovoce, current long-term resident, over 60)

p. 180 - Delle persone anche specializzati nella socialità, nel gestire anche come investire la popolazione su una serie di problemi e capire quali erano le esigenze primarie e dare anche un percorso per portare la soluzione ai problemi. (Carlo, current long-term resident, over 60)

p. 181 - Prima il quartiere, se solo mi fermavano con la macchina per fare un controllo vedevano che abitavo a Ponte Lambro facevano già delle allusioni e io più di una volta ho anche detto scusate non vi permetto di questo perché io non c'entro niente col quartiere, vivo lì, ma non c'entro niente. (Volontario Sottovoce, current long-term resident, over 60)

p. 181 - Però per l'opinione pubblica dopo vent'anni di cose brutte che sono successe a Ponte Lambro. Se tu sei nato cioè se tu dici abito a Ponte Lambro ehh lì sei. [...] però è un po un'etichetta che secondo me ci rimarrà. (Rachele, current long-term resident, 50-60)

p. 183 - Non mi è mai pesato, io amo le periferie, trovo altre zone centrali dispersive e di passaggio come se non ci fossero radici. La periferia ha il suo fascino e sa di casa. (Sara, former long-term resident, 30-40)

p. 183 - Cosa si potrebbe fare? Intanto far aumentare i servizi. Perché già se c'è un mezzo in più, sistemano il ponte di Renzo Piano, curano l'estetica, sistemano via Camaldoli - cioè aumentare quei servizi, l'estetica, il decoro, l'igiene. (Angela, current long-term resident, over 60)

p. 184 - Una persona la può vedere dire "ah ma qua non ci sono mai andato, guarda c'è questa cosa bella, posso anche andare a vederla e faccio un percorso". (Debora, current long-term resident, 50-60)

p. 184 - Se a un certo momento le notizie continuano a parlarti dietro uno dice ma chi me lo fa fare. (Volontario Sottovoce, current long-term resident, over 60)

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