INTERCULTURAL CITIES, CONVIVENCIA AND PUBLIC SPACES:

PERSPECTIVES OF POLICYMAKERS, POLICY IMPLEMENTERS AND TARGET GROUPS OF BARCELONA INTERCULTURALITY PLAN

İren Eylül Karaoğlu

TESI DOCTORAL UPF / 2023

Thesis supervisor

Dr. Clara Cortina, Department of Political and Social Science, Pompeu Fabra University and **Dr. Martin Lundsteen,** Department of Anthropology, University of Copenhagen

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE

upf. Universitat Pompeu Fabra *Barcelona*

To the ones who are in a constant state of liminality, even when they are settled.

Yerleşikken bile hep eşikte olanlara.

Acknowledgements

I extend my heartfelt gratitude to the select individuals within my academic community who dedicated their efforts to facilitate the submission of my thesis. Beyond their contributions, the following individuals, including those outside the academic realm, played a pivotal role in enabling me to endure the exhausting, absurd, unfair conditions. Otherwise, it would be very difficult for me to complete my thesis as a non-funded, immigrant PhD candidate. To commence, I express my profound appreciation for the unwavering guidance and encouragement provided by Gülce Şafak Özdemir and Aslıhan Yurdakul, who stood by me unconditionally throughout the intricacies of my thesis journey, and who have been my family in Barcelona In the same vein, I am indebted to my psychotherapist, Meltem Tercan, for her unwavering belief in my potential and invaluable assistance in navigating my struggles with severe depression, fostering my self-discipline, and establishing healthy boundaries. My gratitude also extends to my psychiatrist, Selçuk Aslan, for his consistent support. I am particularly grateful to Pelin Doğan for her unwavering presence and the multifaceted support she provided beyond mere translation, offering unconditional assistance in various aspects of my life as an immigrant in Barcelona. I consider myself privileged to have been under the mentorship of my supervisors, Martin Lundsteen and Clara Cortina. Their exemplary conduct within academia, earnest attempts to comprehend my perspective, and dedicated efforts toward my personal and academic growth have been invaluable. Dr. María José González López, our PhD Program coordinator, also deserves acknowledgement for her sincere support during this journey. Among my friends in Barcelona and beyond, I am deeply appreciative of Burcu and Çağatay Türkay for their unwavering belief in me, periodic visits, and boundless affection. I owe a great deal to Çigdem Aydın for her constant presence, keeping her doors open and providing me space for accommodation and work whenever I needed, for always sparing a seat for me at her dining table, for her

means, always will remain anonymous), to the civil society organizations of Barcelona, immigrant associations in Barcelona, to all the activists, all the city inhabitants, neighbourhood associations of Barcelona, The City Council of Barcelona, The Religious Affairs Office of Barcelona (Oficina d'Afers Religiosos de Barcelona), Espai Avinyó, the Care Service for Immigrants, Emigrants and Refugees of Barcelona (Servei d'Atenció a Immigrants, Emigrants i Refugiats (SAIER), the Intercultural Service of Horta-Guinardó (Servei d'Interculturalitat d'Horta-Guinardó), the Intercultural Service of Sant Andreu (Servei d'Interculturalitat de Sant Andreu), The Anti-rumor Network of Barcelona (Xarxa Antirumors de Barcelona) and The Anti-rumor Network of Poblenou (Xarxa Antirumors del Poblenou), Pla Comunitari Sagrada Família, Apropem-nos Barcelona, Besòs Public Space Intervention Service (Servei d'Intervenció a l'Espai Públic del Besòs), RECI (Spanish Network of Intercultural Cities).

Abstract

This Ph.D. thesis is a compilation of three articles that aim to contribute to a deeper understanding of the intercultural policies by focusing on the perspectives of different actors about urban encounters and public spaces, studying the case of Barcelona Interculturality Plan which is a city-level urban integration policy. The research is based on a qualitative case study conducted between December 2020 and February 2022 in Barcelona, the capital of the autonomous community of Catalonia, of which 27.8% of the total population is foreign-born. This policy analysis provides empirical evidence about how the Intercultural City Programme is implemented on the ground as well as perspectives of different groups in relation to it. The first article explores the policymakers' perspective dealing with how public spaces are conceived and represented in the Barcelona ICC Programme in relation to solving its inherent problematizations. The second article illuminates how the Barcelona ICC Program is implemented in practice and compares the inherent problem representations of policymakers and policy implementers about convivencia and public spaces. The third article analyses the target groups' conceptions and experiences of convivencia and public spaces in relation to the initiatives of the ICC Programme as implemented in Barcelona. This thesis was an effort to dig into the black box of the urban integration policy (i.e. Intercultural City Program) and highlight the complex variety among different perspectives on the socio-spatial dynamics.

Resum

Aquesta tesis està formada per tres articles i té l'objectiu de contribuir a una comprensió més profunda de les polítiques interculturals centrant-se en les perspectives dels diferents actors sobre les trobades urbanes i els espais públics, estudiant el cas del 'Pla Barcelona Interculturalitat' que és una política d'integració urbana a nivell de ciutat. La investigació es basa en un estudi de cas qualitatiu realitzat entre desembre de 2020 i febrer de 2022 a Barcelona, capital de la comunitat autònoma de Catalunya, de la qual el 27,8% de la població total és estrangera. Aquesta anàlisi de polítiques proporciona evidència empírica sobre com s'implementa el programa de Ciutat Intercultural (ICC) sobre el terreny, així com les perspectives de diferents col·lectius en relació amb aquest programa. El primer article explora la perspectiva dels responsables polítics sobre com es conceben i representen els espais públics al Programa BCN Interculturalitat en relació a la resolució de les seves problematitzacions inherents. El segon article il·lumina com s'implementa el Programa BCN Interculturalitat a la pràctica i compara les representacions de problemes inherents dels responsables polítics i els que implementen les polítiques sobre la convivència i els espais públics. I el tercer article analitza les concepcions i experiències dels col·lectius destinataris de les polítiques de convivència i d'espais públics en relació a les iniciatives implementades del Programa BCN Interculturalitat. Aquest tesi doctoral va ser un esforç per aprofundir en la caixa negra de la política d'integració urbana (és a dir, el Programa BCN Interculturalitat) i posar de relleu les llacunes i connexions entre diferents perspectives sobre la dinàmica sòcio-espacial.

Table of Contents

CHAPTER 1: General Introduction

"Simmel argued that the foreigner is the one who embodies the contradiction of a being who is both near and far: Physically close, but morally far away. An inhabitant of another country is not, as long as he remains in it, a foreigner; he becomes one when he is here, in this place that is not his own, but ours, Simmel will argue. Needless to say, the efficacy of the foreigner – someone who is inside, but does not belong inside; which synthesizes what is both remote and near – is in his ability to represent all kinds of external dangers that had been introduced into the very heart of society" (Delgado Ruiz 2009: 16).

The contemporary view of migration presents a growing challenge for numerous European nations. On one side, an upsurge in xenophobic sentiments, racial discrimination, and the prevalence of anti-immigrant discourse has become evident. Conversely, a growing cohort of scholars and policymakers contends that multiculturalism has engendered societal conflicts, segregation, and a decline in social trust (Putnam, 2007) and social cohesion (Cantle, 2012). In a way, these circumstances paved the way for integrationist and neo-assimilationist approaches (Favell, 2022), but they certainly also encouraged more progressive approaches or policy frameworks such as interculturalism.

Since the 1960s there has been a scholarly interest in citizenship and national models of immigrant integration. In addition to this, the beginning of the 21st century drew the attention of immigration scholars to the 'local turn' and it became evident that the local scale is fundamental to observing immigrant integration (Varsanyi 2010). Following the emergence of local immigration policies, scholars carried out studies in cities to understand the local dimension of immigrant integration dynamics in urban settings. The intercultural policy framework is one of these interesting attempts at the urban 'governance of diversity'.

This latest attempt at managing cultural diversity, the intercultural framework, aims at improving positive interaction to eliminate 'challenges' and restore or build social cohesion. The first instance in which interculturalism is referred to in the European Union is when the Council of Europe (henceforth, CoE) issued the White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue (2008). In this publication interculturalism appears as a diversity-management policy, emphasizing the failure of certain social integration policies, especially multiculturalism (Council of Europe, 2008). When taken as an integration policy, the literature focuses on the transformative potential of interculturalism which would contribute to social cohesion by fostering a peaceful coexistence (Cantle, 2015).

Since then, it has been promoted at the international level as a city-level policy under the programme Intercultural Cities (henceforth, ICC); a programme which is founded on two beliefs: 1) that cultural diversity might lead to conflicts, and 2) that contact between people will lead to less prejudice. The cities that adhered to this programme, henceforth the Intercultural Cities, drawing on the policy framework offered by the ICC programme, have been implementing different strategies to build social cohesion by trying to eliminate barriers such as racism and anti-immigrant attitudes. Putting its focus on perceptions regarding the socio-spatial dynamics, this thesis is the product of a qualitative study that analyses the case of Barcelona, the capital of the autonomous community of Catalonia, of which 27.8% of the total population is foreign-born and which one of the first cities to implement the ICC. The findings of this PhD thesis are derived from the content analysis of policy documents as well as some activities such as radio podcasts, and fieldwork which includes semi-structured interviews, informal interviews and (participant) observations, conducted between December 2020 and February 2022.

1. The Context: Spain, Barcelona and Intercultural City Program

Barcelona as a Case Selection

In this section in addition to listing the reasons why Barcelona was selected as a case study, I aim to give the reader contextual information about Barcelona.

Barcelona is generally considered a 'Mediterranean city' due to its "climate, some geographical factors, certain similarities in the switchback of governmental change and war, a gradual process of modernization, particularly during the twentieth century, surges of urbanisation, especially after the 1950s" (Marshall 2004: 1). Barcelona has long been a place for migration which involved flows from other parts of Spain until the 1960s and foreign migration flows from outside Spain afterward (Ibarz Gelabert 2010). As the city experienced a remarkable increase in population, the existing urban spatial structure resulted in an increased population density (Garcia-López et. al. 2021) which was a factor that was often expressed by the participants of this research, arguing that the concentration of people in the narrow streets of Barcelona is a factor that increased the visibility of diversity as well as conflicts between immigrant and non-immigrant inhabitants due to a competition over public space. The urban planning policies of Barcelona are very important as well since they influenced the urban conflicts and the government's perspective on public spaces. Especially in the late 1990s, the urban planning strategies of Barcelona were criticised for segregating everyday activities and breaking up social interactions through its new spatial organisation (Magro Huertas 2012) which is just the opposite of the Barcelona ICC Program's objective of promoting and increasing positive interaction. This new spatial organisation was also criticised for commercialising and gentrifying the city which results in constant control of public space to make sure peaceful coexistence is maintained – when in fact,

there is a huge gap between the image that was promoted and the real city, since social conflicts remain unresolved (Delgado 2007).

The resistance during the Franco regime and the Transition after the death of Franco in 1975, strengthened the presence of grassroot movements and neighbourhood associations in Barcelona (Castells, 1977). The rise of socialist and anarchist movements was accompanied by the government of Socialist Party of Catalonia in the first municipal elections in 1979 until 2011. The city was then governed by Convergence and Union (Catalan: Convergència i Unió), a conservative Catalan nationalist coalition, between 2011 and 2015. Following the coalition of left-wing activists in *Barcelona en Comú,* Ada Colau came into power in 2015. During the research and writing of this doctoral thesis, Ada Colau was still in power but right before the submission of this dissertation, on the 28th of May 2023, Xavier Trias, former Barcelona mayor for the CiU party who was beaten by Ada Colau in 2015, won the 2023 elections in Barcelona. Despite Trias winning the poll, it was not yet clear who would succeed in commanding a majority in the 41-member Barcelona City Council chamber and become the elected mayor. On the 17th of June 2023, Jaume Collboni from the Partit dels Socialistes de Catalunya was chosen by majority and became the new Mayor of Barcelona.

As a well-known name due to her activism in the 15M movement -which protested the effects of economic elites in the storm of economic crises-, and the anti-eviction movement PAH (Platform for People Affected by Mortgages), Ada Colau came into power and became the first female mayor in Barcelona in 2015 and got re-elected in 2019. Her government drew attention to policies for immigrants when they declared Barcelona as a 'city of refuge' in 2015 and increased the budgets for related policies and receptions matters. While Barcelona continued to experience the influx of international migration flow, the discourse of its government regarding integration involved a presentation of

the city as an 'open city' with a commitment to interculturality as a way to manage this increased diversity in its population.

Since it has been promoting interculturalist policies since 1997, Barcelona is quite a relevant case study to contribute to the much-needed empirical studies about Intercultural Cities. However, the concept of 'Intercultural City' was first introduced by Comedia, a think-tank in the UK, during a research project in 2004. Inspired by the concept put forward by Comedia, the ICC programme was launched by the CoE as a city-level policy programme in 2008. Since then, several cities around the world, although mainly in Europe, have joined, and currently there are 165 cities in the ICC network, of which 20 are Spanish.

According to the ICC programme implemented in Barcelona, called 'Pla BCN Interculturalitat' or 'Programa BCN Interculturalitat (PROGBI)'in Catalan, positive interaction is one of the main principles of an Intercultural City, and this should be achieved through stimulating contact, mutual knowledge, and reinforcing a common sense of belonging (Barcelona City Council, 2010).

Nevertheless, discussions concerning cultural diversity and pluralism in Spain predate the promotion of interculturalism by the CoE, extending significantly prior to its advocacy. After joining the EU in 1986, and especially after entering the Schengen agreement in 1991, debates concerning immigrants particularly those from outside the EU emerged. From the beginning these focused on tackling what was perceived as an increased cultural diversity, the social integration of immigrants, and their rights (Romero, 2002; Birsl, 2004). Integration policies in Spain, and especially in Catalonia focused on interculturalism, which was perceived as a 'third way' between British multiculturalism and French assimilationism and was embraced by both conservatives and leftists from the late nineties onwards (Fernández-Suárez, 2017: 120).

Consequently, the first Municipal Interculturality Plan (Pla Municipal per a la Interculturalitat) was announced in 1997. Since then and throughout the following decade of the 2000s, interculturalism was increasingly adopted, although mainly in the educational plans of Spain and Catalonia until 2008, when Barcelona became one of the first members of the CoE's Intercultural Cities network. Only after 2008, did Barcelona start to implement intercultural policies as an Intercultural City in the way that I mean at the beginning of this chapter, which is the main focus of this thesis. After officially becoming an Intercultural City in 2008, the implementation plans of the Barcelona ICC Program (City Council of Barcelona 2010 and onwards) included the following five main lines of action:

1. **Espai Avinyó LLengua i Cultura**
2. **Intercultural Communication**
3. **Anti-Rumor Strategy**
4. **Intercultural Training**
5. **Promotion of Interculturality**

To elaborate on each line of action one by one; The Espai Avinyó - Language and Culture is an initiative that organises activities such as conferences, exhibitions, and forums to promote knowledge of diversity, as well as activities that promote the use of the Catalan language. It is the line of work that aims to offer artistic and cultural activities from an intercultural perspective, to increase the visibility and respect the cultural diversity in the city. They build collaborations with artists, various collectives and associations as well as cultural institutions. The Intercultural Communication team supports all the remaining lines by providing communicative support among different networks and disseminating their activities and discourse. This line of work is composed of communicative actions such as the dissemination of news and videos on television, in newspapers, and on social media. Barcelona has created different

frameworks of activities within the Intercultural Plan which other ICCs do not have: one of which being Anti-Rumour Strategies (ARS), which has received great attention as an example of good practice, and which the Council of Europe has been promoting ARS for other member ICCs since 2014. ARN is a network that works at the neighbourhood level, organising training activities and workshops to fight the proliferation of negative rumours, stereotypes, and prejudice about immigrants. It was originally developed in Barcelona and has since been implemented by other members of the ICC network. Barcelona has also been advising on their model for all other ICCs. The ARS is an initiative of the Barcelona ICC Program which combines training and participation activities to combat discriminatory discourses. The Anti-Rumour Network (ARN) of Barcelona works with an established group with a separate Strategy Commission, Dynamisation Commission, Communication Group, Training Group and Territorial Action Group. Apart from the City Council of Barcelona, there are various entities among the members which include NGOs, neighbourhood associations, immigrant associations, educational entities, public services, religious organisations, and some business associations. ARS seeks to prevent discrimination, improve convivencia, contribute to building an open and inclusive city, create spaces free of rumour and prejudice, and harness the social and economic potential of diversity by; triggering a change in perceptions, attitudes, and behaviours among the general population building cooperative multi-level social platform by implementing local public policy, promoting critical thinking and raising awareness reducing prejudices, false rumours, stereotypes influencing social and political agenda to draw attention. The line of work called Intercultural Training is composed of training activities to raise awareness and sensitize people to issues of cultural diversity.

The training activities target entities, municipal workers, professionals and the general population to spread the intercultural perspective. Throughout the course of fieldwork, they have organised periodic pieces of training for

municipal workers and other training activities that were requested by some entities. Lastly, the workers of the line called Promotion of Interculturality deal with technical and sometimes financial support and pedagogical activities among the workers. Its' topic includes neighbourhood-based projects promoting intercultural contact. It is a line of work that only includes activities of coordination among the policy implementers which are mostly closed to public participation.

Socio-demographic information about Barcelona

In this section, some basic socio-demographic information about Barcelona with a special emphasis on the migrant population and public space activity is presented. Just like any other city, Barcelona is not a homogeneous entity and the socio-demographic reality in its neighbourhoods varies to a certain extent.

In terms of population density, Barcelona is one of the most dense cities in Europe with 1.6 million inhabitants living in an area of 100 km2[1]. 22% of Barcelona's population is of foreign nationality. The density was problematised by the participants of this research and policy actors of the ICC Program pointed to this density as a potential source of convivencia conflicts due to high amounts of people in narrow open-air public spaces.

The city is composed of 10 districts and 73 neighbourhoods. The spatial distribution of migrants is relatively homogeneous but the migrant population is highly concentrated in two districts: Ciutat Vella (such as neighbourhoods El Raval and Barri Gotic), Sants-Montjuic and Nou Barris (such as its Ciutata Meridiana neighbourhood)[2].

---

[1] https://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/dades/en/barcelona-2022-presentation

[2] Source: City Council Of Barcelona. Enquesta Sociodemogràfica de Barcelona (ESDB) 2020 Informe de resultats https://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/premsa/wp-content/uploads/2022/04/6001791a-6cb1-43ef-b964-da7f968b04c0-1.pdf

Percentage of people of foreign nationality over total population:

% Personas de nacionalidad extranjera
sobre total de población
1068 Secciones Censales. 2023

< 5% (2)
De 5 a 9,9% (67)
De 10 a 14,9% (185)
De 15 a 19,9% (266)
De 20 a 24,9% (241)
25% y más (307)

Source: City Council of Barcelona (2023)

Source: City Council Of Barcelona. Enquesta Sociodemogràfica de Barcelona (ESDB) 2020
Informe de resultats https://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/premsa/wp-
content/uploads/2022/04/6001791a-6cb1-43ef-b964-da7f968b04c0-1.pdf

While the foreign population from EU countries are almost homogeneously
distributed in the city, the foreign population from non-EU countries are much
more heterogeneous in their distribution and they are highly concentrated in
Nou Barris and Ciutat Vella.

CARACTERÍSTIQUES DE LA POBLACIÓ

	Europa	Amèrica Central/del Sud	Àsia	Àfrica	Amèrica del Nord	Altres/No contesta
Ciutat Vella	29,0	21,4	39,7	8,1		
Eixample	53,5	36,0				
Sants-Montjuïc	42,4	38,1	11,2	6,0		
Les Corts	60,7	19,1	20,1			
Sarrià- St. Gervasi	55,0	28,0	8,4			
Gràcia	59,1	29,9				
Horta-Guinardó	39,5	45,9	8,9			
Nou Barris	21,4	53,8	15,6	8,6		
Sant Andreu	30,2	46,4	7,3	13,1		
Sant Martí	49,8	26,7	17,8			

%

Legend:
- Europa
- Amèrica Central/del Sud
- Àsia
- Àfrica
- Amèrica del Nord
- Altres/No contesta

Source: City Council Of Barcelona. Enquesta Sociodemogràfica de Barcelona (ESDB) 2020
Informe de resultats https://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/premsa/wp-
content/uploads/2022/04/6001791a-6cb1-43ef-b964-da7f968b04c0-1.pdf

In addition to the material information above, Barcelona has varying socioeconomic levels in its neighbourhoods. The territorial socioeconomic index that was developed by the Statistical Institute of Catalonia (2020) includes indicators such as working population, low-skilled workers, population with low education, young population without higher education, foreigners from low or middle-income countries and average income per person; some of the

15

neighbourhoods with the lowest levels of income can be exemplified as Ciutat Meridiana (Nou Barris district), Torre Baró (Nou Barris district), El Raval (Ciutat Vella district), La Trinitat Vella (Sant Andreu district), Vallbona (Nou Barris district), Baró de Viver (Sant Andreu district) and so on. The list corresponds with the districts that accommodate higher numbers of migrants, especially the ones from non-EU countries who are subject to stricter regulations when it comes to obtain permanent residency, work permit, obtaining right to apply for naturalisation and so on which makes it harder for them to access the labour market.

This dense city which accommodates people from different backgrounds, has a Mediterranean climate which allows people to spend time in outdoor spaces in almost all seasons of the year. Public spaces are emphasised frequently in the ICC Program (CoE as well as City Council of Barcelona) as places that are appropriate for fostering intercultural activities and interaction among city residents. As a city that has a busy calendar of outdoor festivals and narrow and noisy streets and squares, it is almost impossible to find an empty street in Barcelona. This feature of the urban structure of Barcelona is pointed out by the policymakers (interviews and document analysis of this research) as a potential source of increased contact, and conflict as well as an opportunity to organise intercultural activities.

According to the Urban Resilience Department of the Barcelona City Council's report, some public spaces in the city have higher levels of density of activity (City Council of Barcelona 2020). This report about public spaces of Barcelona was based on data such as calendars of events and public space operations produced by the City Council, yearly festivals celebrated in different districts of the city, activities of neighbourhood and parents' associations, activities in local shops that are located in the ground floor premises, street markets and fairs and

so on. Below is an example of the activity density map of the public spaces of Barcelona that was published in 2020.

Activity density map of the public spaces of Barcelona (City Council of Barcelona 2020: 13):
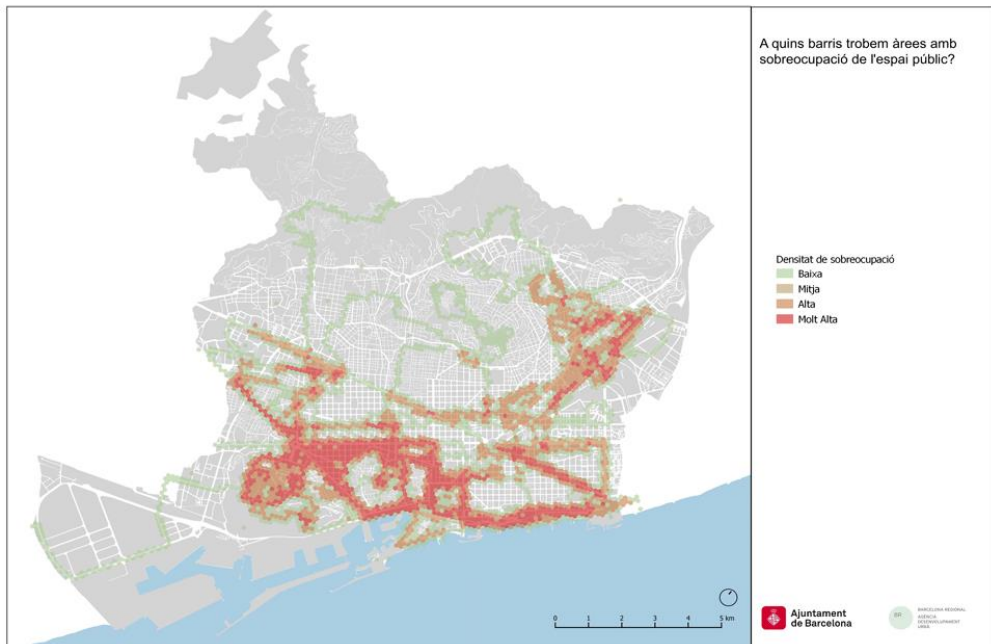
Source: City Council of Barcelona (2020: 13)

According to this map, "the neighbourhoods at the highest risk of suffering from an excess of activity in their public spaces are Sant Antoni, El Barri Gòtic, Vila de Gràcia and Sant Andreu" (City Council of Barcelona 2020: 9)

To manage the use of public space and potential conflicts, there are various departments of the City Council who work in conflict resolution teams and security officers which will be listed in detail in the following chapters. According to the City Council, these services that are related to public spaces are considered to be important actors in promoting interculturalism as a policy in Barcelona.

Situating Barcelona's integration policies at regional, national, and transnational levels

In this section, I intend to give the reader a larger picture to describe the position of Barcelona's Intercultural City Program within the national and international frameworks. City-level immigration and migrant integration policies are highly popular in the migration literature. Since the Intercultural City Program is defined as an integration policy, it is necessary to know that, despite being connected to CoE as an international-level project, the City Council of Barcelona is not an actor that is independent from the legal and political aspects of Catalonia and Spain.

In terms of policies, Spain's immigration system is decentralised to a certain extent because of its political system. The country has 17 regions which have their own legislature and bureaucracy ever since the end of the dictatorship of Francisco Franco. The autonomous communities of Spain enjoy a wide authority which hands them important responsibilities regarding immigrant integration. The division of competencies for integration across levels of government is composed of three tiers of sub-national governments which are autonomous communities, provinces, and municipalities.

To exemplify the duties at the national level; the Ministry of Employment and Social Security defines the national policy for migration and migrant integration. It also regulates the migration flows and migration permits. This body implements the social protection program for asylum seekers and defines the employment policies related to migration as well. In addition to this ministry, the Ministry of Interior acts in charge of the administration of the right to asylum. The sub-delegation of the national government in Catalonia manages migrant admissions. While the Ministry of Health takes care of the national guidelines for health policy related to the migrants, the Ministry of Justice is responsible for the procedures of granting Spanish nationality to foreigners.

18

At the level of the Autonomous Community and Generalitat of Catalonia, the responsibilities of migrants involve competencies in education, health, social services, transport, culture, local economic development, urban planning and civil protection, employment, and so on (OECD 2018).

While the Metropolitan Area of Barcelona (AMB) has varying competences on the same matter about transport and mobility, and urban planning; the Municipality of Barcelona also has competences over subjects such as urban planning, public transport, social services, housing, education, the local register called ' el Padrón', language training, welcoming policies related to migrants which goes hand in hand with the actions of the Intercultural City Program (Barcelona Interculturality Program).

When it comes to the associations that work in collaboration with them about migration-related matters, they contribute to matters such as language courses, support for reception, accommodation facilities, and so on. Organising and running activities related to intercultural programs are also important contributions of the associations and the non-state actors in matters related to migrant integration.

Although governance on matters like the legal status of migrants, border control, and so on belong to the national government, the policies that are more related to integration such as housing, and social services are run by sub-levels of government which are granted by legal frameworks such as Organic Law 4/2000. About the authority of the national government in these matters; often, during the interviews, whenever the policymakers that work as members of the City Council touch upon the socioeconomic inequalities that migrants in Barcelona face, they referred to the law on the rights and freedoms of foreigners in Spain (which is called Ley de Extranjería) as the main factor that limits their authority about welcoming and integrating immigrants because of its authority on topics such as work and residency permits, political and social

rights and so on. This way, the policymakers expressed that the power of the Intercultural City Program is limited to fighting the inequalities although the policy program had mentioned that it was based on three principles which are: 1) equality, 2) recognition, 3) positive interaction that are mentioned several times and presented as its main objectives in almost all official and academic sources.

The law (Ley de Extranjería) has been subject to discussions, objections, and updates over time (Pérez 2003), Related to this law, the restrictive policies that caused many immigrants to be in irregular status and these features of this law are widely criticised by immigrant support groups and various political parties.

Despite these limitations, thanks to the above-mentioned decentralised political system of Spain; Catalonia, and its capital Barcelona, has been an important example of its immigration policies. Catalonia's first Interdepartmental Plan on Immigration in 1993 is an important example that shows the social competencies of the autonomous communities. Moreover, Barcelona has been a model in terms of its pro-immigration policies about welcoming migrants, even those with an irregular status. An important example of that is the self-declaration of Barcelona as a "Refuge City" in 2016 with a program that targets refugees (Özdemir 2015).

Barcelona's 'municipalist policy entrepreneurship' regarding migration-related matters had been in strong coalitions with transnational networks and sometimes had conflicts with the central government (Garcés-Mascareñas and Gebhardt 2020). With the increased popularity of cities as transnational actors, it can be noted that "Barcelona is a highly networked city whose transnational mobilisation reflects activism that works toward building an open and progressive migration and integration governance model" (Triviño-Salazar 2023: 10). The Intercultural City Program is not the only transnational engagement of Barcelona in migration-related topics. In 1986, Barcelona joined

the network called 'Eurocities', and joined the Working Group on Migration and Integration in 2001 as well as the network called 'Integrating Cities' under the same umbrella (Gebhardt and Güntner 2022). The city launched the Solidarity Cities network which works on refugee-related matters under the Eurocities in 2016. Furthermore, Barcelona became a member of the European Coalition of Cities Against Racism as well (Oomen 2020). The city is one of the most networked cities at the transnational level of migration policies and integration policies (Oomen 2020).

Barcelona's welcoming attitude regarding migrants sometimes conflicted with the national government and while Ada Colau from Barcelona en Comú was in power as mayor (2015-2023), she used to criticise the national government by referring to the policy entrepreneurship (Garcés-Mascareñas and Gebhardt 2020) and transnational collaborations of Barcelona. She was boldly criticising the government, inviting them to be transparent about the resources received from the EU to accommodate the refugees, writing letters to Mariano Rajoy (then president of the Spanish government) asking for allocation of these funds (Colau Ballano 2015), balming the national government for their lack of collaboration about receiving refugees and ignoring their demand for welcoming policies while international institutions such as European Commission and United Nations were much more supportive towards Barcelona in this sense.

Unlike other European countries that were developing restrictive policies to prevent refugees from entering their countries and to be protected from the so-called 'refugee crisis' wave, some European countries, as well as cities, experienced a wave of solidarity movements. After Barcelona en Común (Barcelona in Common) won the municipal elections in May 2015, the City Council launched Barcelona's Refugee City Plan with the motto 'refugees welcome' which had a considerable amount of support from civil society

organisations. So much so that, in the following phases of this program, in 2017 thousands of people demonstrated in the streets of Barcelona to demand a change in national and international refugee policies shouting 'Our Home, Your Home' ('Casa Nostra, Casa Vostra') carrying banners such as 'No one is above another, no one is illegal!'. This initiative was an example of the bold pro-immigration and welcoming discourse of Barcelona as a political actor that intends to establish a network of relations-at the national and international level- both between institutions and civil society and between cities of different countries (Agustín and Jørgensen 2019).

Barcelona's integration policies and Intercultural City Program

The institutional setting of Barcelona concerning migrant integration is composed of an inter-departmental structure because the City Council is aware of the cross-cutting nature of migration which necessitates the involvement of other key sectoral directorates such as housing, education, social services, and so on[3]. There are four 'Areas' directed by Vice Mayors and include commissioners. Those 'areas' are: Area for Economy, Tax, Economic Promotion and Tourism, Area for Urban Planning, Ecological Transition, Urban Services and Housing, Area for Social Rights, Culture, Education and Cycles of Life and Area for Prevention, Safety, Coexistence, and Internal Affairs. The current names of these areas have been subject to change throughout the years but the content that they were responsible for, has not been subject to a lot of drastic change in recent years.

Here are some examples that depict the intersectional nature of the city-level migration governance and integration policies of Barcelona. As my data collection and analysis indicate, all of the sectors listed in these examples are also key actors for the Intercultural City Program of Barcelona, whose actions

---

[3] For the current hierarchical tree of these bodies of the Barcelona City Council, see: https://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/en/municipal-organisation-chart/arbre-jerarquic

in one way or another, intersect with the implementation of the ICC Program: The Municipal Council of Immigration (CMIB) is a very important body which includes deputy chairs (including the Immigration Commissioner) as well as spokespersons (including civil society organisations, experts and so on) and other members; which is connected to the 'Area of Social Rights, Culture, Education and Life Cycles'. The 'Barcelona Refuge City' Program is also connected to this Area. The Care Service for Immigrants, Emigrants, and Refugees (SAIER) also works in the same Area which has workers from the municipality as well as a network of people composed of NGOs (who are employed through contracts) to welcome and provide legal advice for migrants. Complementary to SAIER, the Orientation and Support Service for Immigrant Residents (SOAPI) acts as a territorialised office to welcome and support migrants by providing information about legal procedures, access to public services, and so on, and this service is also positioned under the same Area of Social Rights, Culture, Education and Life Cycles. The ICC Program of Barcelona puts a strong emphasis on the design and governance of public spaces to foster intercultural contact and positive interaction.

Commissioner for Intercultural Dialogue and Religious Pluralism which is one of the most important actors in the implementation of the ICC Program (see Chapter 3 for further details), works connected to the same Area and in close collaboration with CMIB. Although the ICC Program of Barcelona is partly connected to the CoE at the supra-national level (due to being a member of the ICC Network of the CoE) and connected to RECI (the national network of Intercultural Cities of Spain) to maintain knowledge exchange, the intercultural policies in Spain had been implemented since 1997, way before the ICC Program was launched. he decentralised political system of Spain both enables and restricts the capability of the city government of Barcelona (which is an important actor that runs the ICC Program which is the focus of this doctoral thesis) in complex ways, in terms of migrant integration. An example of this

that I have mentioned is that, although the city intends to emphasise the inclusion and the cultural recognition of the migrants through certain actions, institutions and services, the access of migrants to the economic and social sectors of life as well as their political participation and so on remains limited due to national-level policies.

As an important component of migrant integration and the fight against discrimination, ICC Program of Barcelona suggests that the city, with all of its related departments, should foster intercultural interaction and mi in its public spaces. For one of the most important objectives of the ICC Program, which is to foster inclusion and intercultural interaction in public spaces and build an open and inclusive city, a city of convivencia, the policymakers of ICC Program work in close collaboration with initiatives related to urban design and management. This action as well, is carried out with an inter-departmental cooperation and their actions are not solely run by the Area of Urban Planning, Ecological Transition, Urban Services and Housing. The initiatives of municipalities to foster interaction and social inclusion in public spaces (such as 'Open Playgrounds'[4] or Plan for Play in Public Spaces 2030[5] and so on) ensure that their plans are in accordance with interculturalism principles and they work with a participatory process which involves six different offices of the City Council such as social rights, ecology, sports, health and so on in accordance with the citizen participation regulations.

Turning back to the institutional setting of migrant integration policies of Barcelona with different levels, it could be said that the ICC Program of Barcelona as a city-level integration policy, is positioned under the responsibility of the City Council of Barcelona which is not completely independent from its relation to the other levels. Moreover, it should not be forgotten that not all the

---

[4]   https://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/educacio/ca/patis-escolars-oberts

[5]   https://bcnroc.ajuntament.barcelona.cat/jspui/handle/11703/116054

cities in Spain choose to implement the ICC Program and not all of them are members of the ICC Network. Currently, there are 165 Intercultural Cities in the world, of which 23 are from Spain.

The design and implementation process of the Intercultural City Program that is run by Barcelona is a multi-actor process that includes people from various departments of the City Hall as well as actors outside the City Hall. This complex list of actors that contribute to this policy program is developed as a result of my data analysis (Chapter 3 and Appendix D).

Apart from its relation to regional and national levels, Barcelona's intercultural policies and ICC Program are still connected to the supra-national level institution which is the CoE, that launched the network of Intercultural Cities. Once a city becomes a member of ICC Network by launching the ICC Program, it acts in collaboration with the ICC Network which aims to improve these policies by ensuring knowledge exchange among the member cities. As a member of the Intercultural City Network that was built by the CoE, Barcelona, as well as other cities, is obliged to send regular reports to the ICC Network, fill out forms that report their achievements and challenges, and explain their "good practices" following this program. And ICC Network evaluates the performance of these cities which they summarise as 'Intercultural City Index' (CoE 2019)[6]. The municipal departments are supposed to fill out a questionnaire[7] that is provided by CoE to assess a self-evaluation of their performance as an IC. Following this process, CoE informs the cities, displays their results through graphical comparisons, and publishes the reports for each city on their website.

---

[6]   https://rm.coe.int/the-intercultural-city-index-2019-a-methodological-overview/16809074ab

[7]   CoE publishes information on the function of ICC Index, its' methodology and how to fill out the questionnaire in their website. The questionnare document can be downloaded from this page: https://www.coe.int/tr/web/interculturalcities/about-the-index

According to the annual report published in 2022, Barcelona had an aggregate Intercultural Cities Index result of 77 out of 100 (CoE 2022). In that report, issues about public space are presented as a separate section of evaluation. Barcelona's performance in the Intercultural Cities Index concerning the topic of public spaces. Barcelona attained a score of 50%, falling below both the city sample's achievement rate of 68% and its previous rating of 70% in 2017. The lower score primarily stemmed from inadequate inclusion of diverse communities in the planning process and insufficiencies in facilitating their contributions. Moreover, it was reported that the city failed to adequately incorporate the diverse perspectives of its migrant and minority populations, especially when developing public spaces (CoE 2022).

It was reported that the city's approach lacked comprehensive inclusion of perspectives from migrant and minority populations during the development of public spaces. Furthermore, the absence of diverse participation and limited engagement opportunities contributed to the city's reduced score. Despite existing initiatives aimed at fostering intercultural interaction, their implementation did not comprehensively address the city's lower rating (Ibid). As a solution, Barcelona was advised to reevaluate its strategies for public space planning and learn from the experiences of other cities within the network. The CoE suggests Barcelona to follow the 'good practices' of Auckland, London borough of Camden and Dublin as examples to improve their strategies (Ibid).

The examples above illustrate that in addition to serving as a pioneer model for other ICCs in the ICC Network due to being one of the first members to launch the program, Barcelona maintains its connection with translational city networks by engaging in knowledge exchange.

Barcelona's ICC Program and the political context in the city

The origins of Barcelona's intercultural policies can be traced back to the early 2000s when the city experienced a significant influx of immigrants, leading to a

more diverse demographic landscape. In response to this demographic shift, Barcelona recognized the need to create a cohesive framework that would facilitate the integration of different cultures while aiming to preserve the essence of the city's unique identity. Consequently, the city administration embarked on a comprehensive journey to establish inclusive policies and initiatives aimed at fostering mutual respect, understanding, and collaboration among its diverse population.

In the founding policy documents, the motivation of Barcelona to adopt ICC Program as a diversity-management tool is explained by problematising the increased diversity in their demography which brought 'complexities' that need to be tackled and it presents the motive for ensuring social cohesion as an inevitable necessity to increase the city's economic competitiveness as 'one of the principal economic motors of Spain' (City Council of Barcelona 2010: 5). This is a common problem representation in integration policies. For, "the essence of policies is the intention to guide and steer processes in society, in our case, integration processes of immigrants. Explicit integration policies are part of a normative political process in which the issue of integration is formulated as a problem, the problem is given a normative framing, and concrete policy measures are designed and implemented to achieve a desired outcome" (Garcés and Pennix, 2016, p.19).

The decision behind the choice of launching the ICC Program is not only because of the rapid change in demography due to migration but also it has its historical roots of intercultural policies in Barcelona and Spain. The integration policies of Catalonia are also examples of the multi-level governance structure in Spain that is explained in previous sections.

Falguera and Serra (2021) where they explore the policy frames in the immigration policies of Catalonia since the beginning of 1990s, state that in Catalonia's immigration policies, it has been emphasized that Catalonia is a 'land

of welcome'. They found out that integration in Catalonia has mostly been presented as a 'common public culture' where the immigrants are invited to integrate, with an emphasis on proposing the use of the Catalan language in social life, without renouncing their identities and the integration process is presented as a two-way process which assign responsibilities not only to the immigrants but also to the 'host society' (Falguera and Serra 2021).

The capital city Barcelona experienced important developments in its migration policies. In Spain, Barcelona was the first city that developed an integration work plan in 1997 (Zapata-Barrero 2017). Although the significant immigration influx started in 2000s, and this influx is presented as the source and the reason for launching the ICC Program (City Council of Barcelona 2010), the city had been holding an intercultural approach since the early 1990s for actions that are related to the interaction of its residents (Zapata-Barrero 2017).

Despite the changes in the city government with different electoral results throughout the years, and their diverging attitudes towards immigration, scholars generally state that Barcelona has been a pioneering and progressive city (Zapata-Barrero 2015; Triviño-Salazar 2023) with enduring pro-immigrant policies (Bazurli 2019). Zapata-Barrero (2017) for example, explains the reason behind the endurance of Barcelona's ICC Program despite changes in political government with 'a favourable environment' that was based on consensus-building, an already-established committed consultative body (such as the Municipal Immigration Council), the support of various social and political arenas and approval of the municipal immigration work plans by all political parties (except for Partido Popular) that led to the acceptance of interculturalism as a policy paradigm (Zapata-Barrero 2015) however, the explanations remain hypothetical which lack a detailed policy analysis.

Although the first municipal plan for interculturality was published in 1997, the first Interculturality Plan that launces the Intercultural City Program in

Barcelona to be implemented as a member of the Intercultural Cities Network and project that was formed by CoE, indicates that: "The Barcelona Interculturality Plan was born out of the intention of the Barcelona City Council and all the political forces represented in it, expressed in the Working Plan on Immigration 2008-2011, of adopting the intercultural point of view as a basis for tackling the challenge of diversity. The drafting of this Plan has followed a path commenced in one of its measures, where the mandate was expressed of drafting a specific new plan to set out the Council's global political strategy for facing the challenge of coexistence in diversity in Barcelona" (City Council of Barcelona 2010: 17).

The foundational policy documents were published, which also means that immigration and integration related policies such as the ICC Program had been carried out, under different city governments. While the immigration work plan of 2008-2011 was published, Jordi Hereu was the mayor of Barcelona who was a member of PSC-PSOE (Socialists' Party of Catalonia). He was still ruling Barcelona while the Barcelona Interculturality Plan was published which is the first official policy document that introduces the ICC Program in detail, in 2010 when Barcelona officially became an IC under the umbrella of ICC Program of the CoE, although the program was already launched in 2008. Jordi Hereu was the mayor until he was replaced by Xavier Trias in 2011. Right after the inception of the ICC Program of Barcelona, Xavier Trias from the center-right Catalan nationalist CiU (Convergence and Union) came into power by replacing Hereu in 2011 and stayed until 2015 when Ada Colau from the radical-left political platform Barcelona in Common replaced him and was still in power while this doctoral research was completed.

The chronological steps of the evolution of Barcelona's ICC Program as part of the umbrella policy program of CoE can be summarised as in the following:

"From 2007 to 2011, City Council had its first Commissioner for Immigration and Intercultural Dialogue, and it was during this period that the BCN Interculturality Plan was conceived and approved, and the first intercultural lines of action of the Plan were put in place (Antirumour Strategy and Espai Avinyó). In 2011, city elections brought about a change in government and for the first time, a Commissioner for Immigration and Interculturality was named. These were important steps forward in making the issues involved in intercultural public policy visible at City Council. This implied clear and committed political leadership. In 2011, the Director of Immigration and Interculturality was named to ensure technical leadership within the council. In 2012, the Interculturality Program was created to give greater technical coherence to the lines of action already in place and implement new ones. The Program was assigned a stable budget and has grown and consolidated with a team of ten professional staff members. For the sake of clarity then, it is important to note that the Barcelona Interculturality Plan is the public policy, and the Barcelona Interculturality Program is the main technical instrument for putting the policy into practice" (Bermúdez et al. 2018:133).

Until the autumn of 2023, when the official website of the City Council of Barcelona was renewed (in terms of content and design), in all of the pages where they introduce the ICC Program of Barcelona (PROGBI), the Barcelona Interculturality Plan 2010 was presented as a downloadable core policy document for further information about the program. The same download link was included in so many pages of the City Council and most of them included a different version of the very same document, of which the page that includes the foreword of Jordi Hereu was removed. I think this was made intentionally in order to present the document as an introductory, core policy document and

not to confuse the reader because Jordi Hereu was no longer in power. In addition to this, the action plans and annual reports that were published after 2010 have also been published as downloadable documents in the official website. Both the official website of the city government and my interviewees that work at the City Council provided me with policy documents that were published in 2010 and 2014 (ICC Plan and handbooks about Anti-Rumour Strategy) and presented them as the foundational documents and main sources of information. Those old documents were valued so much that; the responses of my policymaker interviewees included excerpts from those very same documents. That is why in the following chapters I will be referring to those primary documents as sources to present the view of policymakers, the City Council of Barcelona.

That being said about the inclusion of old documents as data source, this thesis does not intend to take the ICC Program of Barcelona as a fixed, unchanging policy that is independent from time or the political context in Barcelona, Catalonia and Spain. Although analysing possible effects of historical developments and changes in political governments on the design and implementation of Barcelona ICC Program over time is not the objective of this research (which is suitable for a further and independent research topic); I tried to touch upon the political context and historical developments in related policies in order to help the reader with situating the ICC Program of Barcelona in a bigger picture.

Although the discourse (which could be found in my analysis) in the policy documents such as immigration plans and ICC plans starting from 2008 have not changed much in terms of problematisations that point the increased diversity in the city's population due to recent migration influx as a problem that might lead to decrease in social cohesion as well as increase in conflicts, which needs to be managed through fostering positive interaction; and the

discourse that presents this new diversity as an opportunity to increase the city's economic competitiveness has not changed as well; the new ICC Program (City Council of Barcelona 2021) that covers the work plan until 2030 and was published while Ada Colau was still in power, include some changes in addition to this discourse. The program for example, in the newly published documents, uses a much more careful language compared to the former documents with an emphasis of feminism, intersectional approach, and autocritique about the limits of the ICC Program such as insufficiency of the city government to address the inequalities, recognition of diversity as well as the necessity to avoid oversimplification and generalisations which had hindered its' effectiveness (City Council of Barcelona 2021: 6; Ibid: 7; Ibid: 8; Ibid: 13).

Indeed, during the phase of interviewing with policymakers and conducting observations in policy program activities at the same time, one of my interviewees (a former key policymaker that still works in drafting the policy) told me that they were working on the drafting of the soon to be published Barcelona Interculturality Plan 2021-2030, and that they will put more emphasis to feminism, intersectionality and inequalities in order to renew its' language and catch up with the new trends.

Surely, neither the objectives of ICC Program nor the integration, migration or diversity-related policies had been independent from the historical political developments and attitudes of the governments in power. Although Catalonia was regarded as a pioneer example in terms of accommodating diversity compared to other parts of Spain, the discriminative discourse of certain parties such as Platform for Catalonia (PxC) and some right-wing parties had gained support (Burchianti and Zapata-Barrero 2014; Burchianti and Zapata-Barrero 2012) and took harder stances on immigration-related matters in some cities (Hernández Carr 2011).

Catalonia as well as Barcelona had been responsible of discriminative practices as well, which is contrary to the objectives of the ICC Program about increasing the visibility of diversity in public spaces and fighting with discrimination over the residents' ethnicity and religion. An important example is the 'burka debate' about amendments that forbids wearing burka in public spaces. The regulation in LLeida, a city that is very close to Barcelona, which had become known as 'burka regulation' was aligned with the 'claim for civility' (Triviño-Salazar 2018) put forward by the supporting political parties PSC, CiU and PP who have been famous for their (varying amounts of) anti-immigrant discourse (Burchianti and Zapata-Barrero 2012).

And similar amendments were proposed in Barcelona as well (Burchardt and Griera 2019). In 2010 (the same year when Barcelona launched the ICC Program), various Catalan municipalities including Barcelona, passed amendments about the local law of civility which forbids wearing burka or niqap in public spaces and public buildings (Burchardt et al. 2015; Griera and Burchardt 2016; Burchardt and Griera 2017). Islamaphobia was increased in Spain and the presence of Muslims became a matter of public controversy as well as a matter of debate about security concerns (García et al. 2011). These regulations were withdrawn after a short while but the way these people have become targets of regulation is widely discussed in literature with a focus that was beyond secularism and discussed as a hegemonic, contested and exclusionary notion of public space (Buchardt and Griera 2017. In addition to the ban about burka, the 'Civility Ordinance' (Ordenença de civisme) that was approved in February 2014 targeted other forms of appearance such as nudism or activities like begging, drinking alcoholic beverages, playing football and so on (City Council of Barcelona 2005). Such policies led to a heated debate about 'civility' and 'usage of public spaces' that analyses regulations as a tool for categorisation of the 'desired' civic citizen as opposed to the 'undesirable' other (who is uncivil) (Lundsteen and Fernández González 2021; Galdón-Clavell 2016).

Ramon Sanahuja[8], who is a very important policy actor in the drafting of the ICC Program (2010) and former director of immigration and reception at the City Council of Barcelona, interprets these regulations as a factor that increase prejudices towards migrants. He stated that:

"Hay que tener en cuenta que durante el primer semestre de 2010 han tenido lugar en la opinión pública catalana y en los medios de comunicación un fuerte y largo debate sobre dos temas que han ocupado la atención mediática. Por un lado, el debate sobre la conveniencia o no de empadronar a las personas en situación irregular, debate alentado a raíz de la negativa suscitada por el Ayuntamiento de Vic. Por otro lado, el debate sobre la conveniencia de establecer una regulación o no relativa a las prendas de vestir niquab y burka. Ambos debates mediáticos y sociales pueden haber contribuido más a empeorar la percepción del conjunto de la sociedad sobre la inmigración que la propia situación de crisis económica" (Sanahuja 2011: 95).

"It must be taken into account that during the first half of 2010, a long debate took place in Catalan public opinion and in the media on two issues that have occupied media attention. The first one was, the debate on whether or not to register people in an irregular situation, a debate encouraged as a result of the refusal raised by the Vic City Council. The second was the debate on whether or not to establish a regulation to niquab and burqa clothing. Both the media and social debates may have contributed to the worsening in society's perception of immigration as a whole rather than the economic crisis" (Sanahuja 2011: 95).

---

[8] Sanahuja is one of the first people that crafted the ICC Program (2010) and had worked for Barcelona City Council in various directorate positions related with immigration for more than 15 years, under various mayors, represented Barcelona City Council for years and still actively works in shaping the intercultural policies, which make him a very important data source.

He argues that that although intercultural policies date back to 1997, the percentage of immigrant population was much lower in these years and with the increased diversity in demography of Barcelona, the city government decided to make a shift in handling this diversity and launched ICC Program in 2010 with special emphasis on fighting with prejudices (Ibid). He says:

"La principal novedad de esta estrategia es situar la promoción de la inte-racción como el centro de la acción política" (Ibid: 101).

"The main novelty of this strategy is to place the promotion of interaction as the center of political action" (Ibid: 101). And that

"Barcelona renueva sus esfuerzos virando el centro de la acción política hacia la promoción de la convivencia, la interacción positiva y la interculturalidad"(Ibid: 103).

"Barcelona renews its efforts by shifting the focus of political action towards the promotion of *convivencia*, positive interaction and interculturality" (Ibid: 103).

In addition to these historical developments about migration, integration and diversity management and urban policies that had been subject to diverging views of political parties and governors, as of 2015; the City Council of Barcelona drew even more attention with its pro-immigration attitude and especially Ada Colau who runs the 'radical leftist city government' was boldly criticising the national-level policies that limit the city's actions.

Right after Barcelona en Comú took the office, the chief police of municipal police force (Guardia Urbana) resigned, stating that the new city government has anti-police attitudes (Navarro 2015) and the City Council supported street vendors ('manteros' which were mainly composed of racialised and undocumented migrants) by relaxing the policing which made 'manteros' more visible on the streets. Media presented this as a public securtiy problem and Ada Colau was accused of being an inefficient and 'permissive' mayor in dealing with security issues in the streets (Gubern 2016) Despite criticisms, some define

Barcelona en Comú's action as fighting with racism through avoiding the criminalisation of racialized people in public spaces (Hansen 2019).

It was argued that, as part of the new municipalist movement, Colau increased the political visibility of Barcelona in transnational solidarity networks by emphasising her pro-migration attitude (García-Agustín and Jørgensen 2019). While Colau intended to make Barcelona a pioneer city in refugee reception (with the City of Refuge Program), her actions and the intense politicisation of the matter led her administration to clash with the former conservative Spanish government under the leadership of Prime Minister Mariano Rajoy who staunchly supported the centralist stance on refugee acceptance, granting cities a secondary position (Garcés-Mascareñas and Gebhardt 2020; Triviño- Salazar 2023).

Fernández-Suárez and Espiñera (2021) where they examine the role of Barcelona in Ada Colau era in protecting the rights of irregular migrants, found that the austerity measures enforced by the state limit the cities' financial power and the Aliens Law (Ley de Extranjería) limit political transformation. However, with their radical solutions, cities are capable of creating symbolic changes and sometimes opposing the institutional practices and extending 'the right to the city' (Fernández-Suárez and Espiñera 2021: 64).

2.Theoretical Underpinnings

The theoretical references that underpins this research are Foucault's notions such as discourse and governmentality, Carol Bacchi's Foucault-influenced concept 'problematisation' which takes governance as a 'problematising activity' (Rose and Miller 1992: 181), Nikolas Rose's notions of 'questions' and 'answers' about policymaking as well as the urban studies literature which include Lefevbre's socio spatial approach such as the social production of space and the right to the city.

Since my focus on analysing this case is to understand the perspectives related to socio-spatial processes, it is important to note that everyday-policymaking includes 'making (up) public places' (Bacchi 2009; Bacchi and Goodwin 2016) as well. Instead of relying on academic or technical definitions or making up any definition, the point of departure of my data collection and analysis was the definition and conception of 'public spaces' (which are often referred to as parks, libraries, museums, sanctuary places, plazas and so on) made by the ICC Program and the perceptions on the very same 'concept according to various actors. This decision was purely analytical. That being said, just like other concepts; 'public spaces' are constituted in certain policies as well by defining which places are considered as 'public' or 'private' according to the 'governers', how could or should those public spaces be used, what kind of behaviours are accepted as appropriate, 'civil', permissible or legal in those public spaces, who are the 'subjects' that use those places through laws, regulations and so on all of which include 'problematisations' . Surely, this does not mean that 'public spaces' as such, are constructed only by the government but rather, what I try to say is that this concept has also been subject to 'construction' within the discourse and practices of policies, rules and regulations. All of these concepts below will also be referred to, in the following sections, about interculturalism as a policy paradigm.

Policies can be seen as prescriptive measures (Bacchi and Goodwin 2016) , serving as proposals and guidelines for appropriate behaviour, as described by Foucault who defined the scope of his analysis as "'texts written for the purpose of offering rules, opinions, and advice on how to behave as one should" (Foucault 1986: 12). The broad conceptualization of 'government' as 'the conduct of conduct,' encompassing self-governance, interpersonal relations, relations within communities or institutions, and 'relations concerned with the exercise of political sovereignty' (Gordon 1991: 2-3), underlies this focus. If scholars are to analyse such materials (policies) with this focus, this entails

identifying what they aim to change, thus revealing the implicit representation of the 'problem,' (Bacchi and Goodwin 2016).

Rather than 'proposals' and 'problems', Nikolas Rose (2000: 58) presents a similar argument using the terms 'answers' and 'questions'. According to Rose, imprisonment, marketization, and community care function as prescriptive guidelines that problematise specific behaviours. Understanding these 'guides' (e.g., marketization) as 'answers' necessitates reconstructing the problematizations that give them intelligibility, thereby exposing their limitations and presuppositions for further scrutiny.

About social policies, Sophie Watson (2000: 73) says: "in Foucauldian terms social policy is a highly normative discipline which constructs ideal models of society based on notions of social justice which disguise the concrete functioning of power". As a means to maintain the 'order' through constructing problems, questions and answers; policymaking then, involves categorisation of its objects. Shore and Wright describe this as such: "from the cradle to the grave, people are classified, shaped and ordered according to policies" (2003: 4). This is the reason why it is possible to interpret the making, implementation and/or the effects of policies as productions that translate into lived realities rather than neutral and objective ways of grouping people.

The concept of governmentality and Foucault-influenced governmentality studies here are useful since the concept is closely connected to policies related to migration, integration and diversity-management. Governmentality refers to a way of thinking or mentality that enables the exercise of power by social authorities to manage populations in modern polities (Miller and Rose, 1990). Governmentality scholars have an "analytic edge" over policy analysts, as they are able to step outside the conceptual framework of "policy science" and critically examine taken-for-granted knowledge and expertise (Miller and Rose, 1990). Influenced by poststructuralism, governmentality scholars view both

theorists and practitioners as "subjects" in process, immersed in taken-for-granted knowledge that requires critical scrutiny (Miller and Rose, 1990). This challenges the notion of policy analysts as mere technicians and emphasises the need for critical reflection.

In this sense, scholars like Stephen Ball describe policy as discourse, emphasising the constitutive nature of policies and how they exercise power through the production of "truth" and "knowledge" (Ball, 1993). This perspective shifts attention from how people make policy to how policy makes people. This reminds us of Foucault's understanding which takes power as a productive and relational thing that could "produce 'problems', 'subjects', 'objects' and 'places' " (Bacchi and Goodwin 2016: 29). Foucault's works such as "The Archaeology of Knowledge" and "The History of Sexuality" provide the foundation for this focus, that aims to understand power relations, knowledge production, and the ways in which discourses shape social reality.

The emphasis in the literature on governmentality revolves around the persistent belief in the "programmatic character of government," which is depicted as an enduring optimism regarding the development of programs to manage society more effectively (Miller and Rose 1990: 4). This notion is frequently supported by allusions to policymakers and policy workers functioning as "programmers" and administrators (Miller and Rose 1990: 4, 27–28; Rose et al. 2006: 86, 99). Nevertheless, as highlighted by O'Malley et al. (1997: 513), within the framework of governmentality, there exists room to acknowledge the "constitutive role for contestation (among rulers, and between and among those who are ruled)." This is why while analysing the 'policy programme' which is the object of my case study, instead of acting like a technician takes policy as a fixed and neutral entity, this research intended to deconstruct, question and critically examine the case.

This research, does not argue that the discourse that the Intercultural City Program of Barcelona are effective (as well as successful in being the only factor that creates effect) in putting into practice the subjects, objects, problems and 'places' it produces through their discourse but rather, it investigates the inherent problem-representations by paying attention to and comparing the perceptions and 'meanings' according to different actors that are involved in different stages. Indeed, the process of policy analysis adopts a critical stance that is founded in the above mentioned frame.

Considering all of the understandings above, this empirical study that focuses on intercultural policies, takes a critical stance towards the studied subject which is a much-needed redressing from the overly optimistic and mostly not data-grounded political science studies (about Intercultural Cities).

Intercultural policies and their relation to the conceptual focus of this research

The term 'interculturalism' emphasises cross-cultural dialogue.It has been used in various references since the 1970s, appearing in various phrases like 'intercultural education'. As an integration policy framework, 'interculturalism' had begun to be used in Canada at the beginning of 1980s and following Canada, the concept emerged in European countries as a city-level integration policy strategy. To summarise its conception as a city-level policy framework with White's (2017) words: "From this point of view, one might say that an intercultural city is a city that makes deliberate use of the diversity and antidiscrimination paradigms in order to facilitate long-term, constructive interactions between citizens of diverse origins" (White 2018: 28). As an integration strategy, in the founding documents of this policy framework which was launched by the Council of Europe in 2008 as 'Intercultural Cities Programme', it is stated that it is an urban governance policy that aims to encourage positive interaction and intercultural mixing as a means to prevent

cultural conflict that could rise because of cultural diversity. According to the COE's definition:

> "INTERCULTURAL CITIES (ICC) is a Council of Europe programme supporting local authorities to design and implement inclusive integration policies. The programme is based on the 'intercultural integration policy model' which focuses on enabling communities, organisations and businesses to manage the diversity of people in a way which ensures the equal value of all identities, cohesion and competitive advantage" (Council of Europe 2016: 1).

Since COE launched the ICC Programme in 2008, the number of Spanish cities adopting the intercultural approach has been increasing. Currently there are 165 cities in the ICC network, of which 20 are Spanish. Barcelona was one of the first to implement intercultural policies. Barcelona's 2010 Interculturality Plan, for example, was part of the City Council's 2008 Immigration Working Plan.

Interculturalism is conceived as a policy tool that aims at building social cohesion and a sense of belonging in diverse societies and cities. Accordingly, negative perceptions, rumours, and lack of knowledge are seen as barriers for intercultural interaction, *convivencia*, and the social inclusion of immigrants (Barderi, 2018). Consequently, the policies and actions to be undertaken must aim at fighting these, promoting positive interaction (Cantle, 2012), and avoiding segregation, ghettoization, and the establishment of any cultural and social barriers between people (Zapata-Barrero, 2019).

One of the guiding theories of this policy framework is Gordon Allport's (1954) intergroup contact hypothesis. In his influential book *The Nature of Prejudice*, Allport specified four positive factors in a contact situation that might decrease prejudice (Allport, 1954: Ch. 16): 1) equal status between the groups, 2) common goals, 3) intergroup cooperation, and 4) the support of authorities, law or custom. However, while a certain association between increased

intergroup contact and decreased prejudice has been pointed out in more recent studies (Pettigrew and Tropp, 2006), other aspects such as inequalities and the role of space remain understudied in the research inspired by intergroup contact theory, and yet, these topics are crucial. For this reason, while interpreting the perceptions of different actors of the Barcelona ICC Program, this research focuses on their conceptions and perceptions about public space and the role it has in their problem representations (see Chapter 2 and 3).

The ICC Program, as well as the literature that defends intercultural policies, often emphasises the importance of interaction among people in the public spaces of cities. In this sense, the ICC Program often argues that public spaces should be full of activities that facilitate intercultural interaction and a peaceful coexistence. In their research on intercultural policy practices in relation to conviviality and super-diversity, Padilla et al. (2014) and Padilla and Olmos-Alcaraz (2022) found that when applied in a top-down manner, intercultural policy programme activities such as cultural street festivals could in fact limit intercultural convivialities. On the contrary, activities that were designed and planned in a bottom-up manner, allowing civil society organisations to be more active in the process, could potentially enable more intercultural convivialities.

Most scholars who write on the concept of conviviality, feel the necessity to trace the concept convivencia because of its etymological and conceptual relevance. Convivencia is a commonly used term in Spanish discourse which was popularised by philologist and historian Américo Castro. Although this research focuses more on convivencia as a vernacular term that is used to describe situations related to urban conflicts in Spain, it is important to know that all of these perspectives above inspired the sociologists, geographers, anthropologists and lots of scholars who research on encounters. Castro used the term to depict peaceful cohabitation of mediaeval Christians, Jews and Muslims while tracing the cultural encounters and inter-religious dialogue, also

it is argued that he questioned the dominant discourse on national identity and Spanish history (Gutiérrez Rodríguez 2019). In Spain, convivencia is a very common concept which is almost always presented alongside concepts such as insecurity and conflicts between neighbours. Indeed, the Convivencia Offices (Oficinas de Convivencia) have an important role in implementing and maintaining intercultural policies in the ICCs of Spain.

As Erickson (2011) puts it – convivencia has been described as "a vernacular interculturalist project… an alternative to both xenophobic and liberal multiculturalist discourses circulating in Europe" (Erickson 2011: 114). Despite being a consequence of coexistence and cohabitation, the concept goes beyond them and has a moral underpinning of mutual acceptance. In a similar vein, Hernando-Lloréns (Hernando-Lloréns, 2019) traced the convivencia policies in schools in Spain, and genealogically analysed the practices and discourses of the policy making institutions. She found that the problematization of convivencia in the discourse has shifted in Spain over the years. According to her study, while in the 1980s and 1990s convivencia was associated with liberal values and equality, in 2000s the discourse of convivencia in educational policies turned into a project to protect people from the "uncivilised other", especially extra-European immigrants (Hernando-Lloréns, 2019: 534), and as such it became a surveillance policy that criminalised and racialized the youth. She states that while the current educational policy of Spain "calls for convivencia as a framework for including historically marginalised youth, its discourse and practices also serve to exclude them through the very production of the citizens to be integrated into society" (2019: 535).

It is this exclusive conception of convivencia in the studies dealing with Spain, that makes it relevant to analyse the conceptions of the policymakers and policy implementers of the Barcelona ICC Program - which aims to foster a peaceful *convivencia* and mutual acceptance among the city inhabitants - and the

conceptions and perceptions of the city inhabitants about convivencia and public space in an Intercultural, avant-gardist city like Barcelona. In this sense, the third and fourth chapters of this research analyses the perspectives of policy implementers (Chapter 3) and the city inhabitants (Chapter 4) about convivencia and public spaces in Barcelona. This way, this PhD thesis combines the literature on interculturalism with the literature on social construction and production of space and contributed to the emerging research on the 'politics of convivencia' (see Chapter 4) and the much-needed empirical studies on interculturalism as an urban integration approach.

The academic literature of interculturalism and the theoretical literature on the ICC, often lack empirical grounding and the main references are mainly academics and policymakers who are favourable of the policy model, and generally optimistic about its transformative effects (Bermúdez et al., 2018; White, 2018). In fact, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish it from the official policy documents of the CoE's Intercultural City Program, such as guidelines and handbooks, published by policymakers, and any self-critique or attempt at proving the utility of the framework is surprisingly, almost absent.

Although certainly they are very useful publications for researchers, one might argue that there is an honest need for critical research dealing with the policy programme itself, but also the activities run by the policy programme as objects and the policymakers and policy implementers as subjects of analysis, and the experiences and perceptions of the target groups in relation to this programme. Therefore, instead of having a normative optimism about the potential benefits of interculturalism or intercultural policies, the first objective of this research was to critically examine the policymaking and policy implementation of this ICC Program. It is carried through observing and analysing the discourse of the various actors, paying attention to how they perceive and represent the problems, how they conceive and represent the public spaces and the

interaction that happens within them. Focusing on the discourse and problematisations of the key actors helped me to see the divergence between the various key actors' assumptions behind governing, and that the limits and frames of their discourse leads to some important aspects in the urban life being silenced. In accordance with the above-mentioned objective, Chapter 2 includes details on how public spaces are conceived and represented in the policymaking stage of the Barcelona ICC programme in relation to solving its inherent problematizations. Chapter 3 includes details on how the policy programme is implemented in practice and compares the inherent problem representations of policymakers and policy implementers about convivencia and public spaces. And the fourth chapter analyses the target groups' conceptions and experiences of convivencia and public spaces in relation to the initiatives of the ICC Programme as implemented in Barcelona. All of these reveals the divergence between the initial perceptions and conceptions of the policymakers, the policy implementers, and the people that the ICC policy programmes target.

Therefore, this research is a contribution to the much-needed empirical research literature on interculturalism as a city-level urban integration policy framework. The long history of intercultural policies and the urban history of Barcelona (see section 2.1. of this chapter) makes this city a perfect case to study this urban policy framework. It is not the first study that focused on the role of space in interculturalism and intercultural policies. About spatial aspects of promoting interculturality and intercultural place-making, there have been thorough theoretical contributions (such as Wood and Landry 2008; Wood 2009; Bloomfield and Bianchini 2004) and some important empirical research (such as, Favaro 2002; Seidlová and Chapman 2017; Barreiro and Gonzalez 2020). Unlike the majority of the related studies, especially the theoretical ones, this study did not have a normative presupposition thinking interculturality was a 'good' and desirable perspective for restoring social cohesion which waits us

there to be studied the 'how' part by observing its implementation and examples of 'good practices'. Rather, this research critically questioned the normative aspects of intercultural policies from the very beginning (such as the necessity of intercultural contact, its definitions of social cohesion, its aspirations about an 'open' and 'inclusive' city/public space and so on.) and searched for what these concepts meant for different actors by analysing their discourse critically. Studying the inherent problem representations (Bacchi 2009) of various actors was a big part of this.

Rather than the possibility and methods of coexistence and or (an intercultural) convivencia in the public spaces of a city, the research focused on the 'politics of convivencia' while interpreting the perspectives of different actors. This case study has shed light on the intricate dynamics and interactions among stakeholders from diverse sectors such as civil society and public policy, emphasizing the need for a comprehensive understanding of the operational landscape concerning local migration and integration policies. The findings of this research highlight the necessity of avoiding the oversimplification of the 'Intercultural City' concept and its theoretical underpinnings as a singular policy paradigm. Instead, the study underscores the imperative for further case-specific investigations to enable more robust generalizations that are firmly grounded in empirical evidence.

Intercultural Policies and Public Space

Much of the literature on interculturalism and intercultural dialogue has been written in the disciplines of education, political science, sociology, and linguistics and most of them leave out references to space or place, be that the city or the neighbourhood. An exceptional example is Saitta's (2020) proposal of Intercultural Urbanism (see Chapter 2).

Today we know that, rather than being a mere physical container, space should be understood as socially produced and constructed through the daily

interactions of the people (Lefebvre, 1991; Wolch and Dear, 1989). Therefore, neither prejudice nor *convivencia* in a city can be considered independently from the local and global socio-spatial processes in which they are entwined.

However, indeed intercultural contact, which inspired the idea of Intercultural Cities as an urban policy for the social integration of migrants, cannot be thought of separately from the spatial organisation of intergroup relations and the locatedness of the contact (Dixon, 2001). The dichotomy of 'us' and 'them' is always associated with the ideas of 'here' and 'there' (Gupta and Ferguson, 1992) since our social identities include engagements within the material environment. As such, between the concepts of 'us' and 'them' there are not only social but also spatial boundaries which lead to conceiving people who transgress those 'boundaries' as matters 'out of place' (Sibley, 1995). Therefore, interactions are not irrelevant to our experiences and constructions of places. Spaces and places are socially constructed and transformed through people's experiences and interactions (Kuper, 1972; Sen and Silverman, 2014).

As such, the prejudice which intercultural policies intend to reduce also has a spatial dimension, as it causes avoidance of sharing spaces with stigmatised groups. Dixon (2001) exposed, however, that intergroup contact studies failed to notice the importance of spatial organisation and the locatedness of contact until the 2000s. Within most diverse settings, groups remain spatially divided and contact simply involves navigation within spatial barriers. This was a restrictive understanding of spatiality. Therefore, social integration demands a reconstruction of social space so that self and the other can come together. Whatever else it may entail, this process will require a realignment of the barriers that are holding us apart (Dixon, 2001: 602). It is evident that the discursive environment, emplaced experiences, and relationships construct space (Aiello and Bonaiuto, 2017; Proshansky et al., 1983). In fact, this connection between discourse and the social construction of public spaces –

which are associated with boundaries and the locatedness of intercultural contact – is one of the main reasons for this thesis. In this sense, since the official documents of the ICC Program and the literature that defends the intercultural policies point public spaces and convivencia as important facilitators of socially cohesive and intercultural city, the second objective of this doctoral thesis was to analyse how different actors conceive of and represent public spaces. Indeed, Chapter 2 for example, reveals that the way policymakers conceive and represent public spaces neglects the above-mentioned complex and socially constructed character of spatial dynamics. In accordance with this objective, the chapters reveal that various key actors and the target groups have contrasting and complementing arguments about these concepts in relation to the initiatives of the ICC Program as it is implemented in Barcelona.

In addition to these, although Barcelona, as well as the other 165 cities in the network, appears as an Intercultural City in the policy documents and international platforms such as the Intercultural Cities Programme launched by the Council of Europe, probably few inhabitants would describe their city in these terms. In fact, most of the city inhabitants would not even be aware that they were defined as an Intercultural City resident. Yet, the policies potentially have an effect on them and as there might certainly be a divergence between the initial perceptions and conceptions of the policymakers, the policy implementers, and the people that the ICC policy programmes target, it seems of utmost importance to examine the conceptions of the policymakers, policy implementers and target groups of this urban policy programme about public spaces and the interaction that happens within them. Throughout this thesis that identified the problematisations of a complex set of actors that take part in the Intercultural City Program of Barcelona, I observed the experiences and perceptions of the city inhabitants that participate in the public activities of this program as 'target groups', and tried to understand how they *conceive* the

concepts that the policymakers have problematised. The study reveals that there is a distance between the design and implementation of the Intercultural City Program of Barcelona and the complex reality on the ground. The policy implementers, including many actors like members of civil society organisations, street-level bureaucrats and so on, find the artefacts (Wedel and Feldman 2005) put forward by the policymakers to be misleading or distant from the realities of daily life and tweak them as much as possible to fit in with the reality that they are dealing with (Chapter 3). Also, the city inhabitants who participate in the activity programs of the Barcelona Interculturality Plan have varying thoughts about the politics of convivencia in the public spaces and the structural racism that they face which the city government and this policy programme fail to tackle according to them (Chapter 4). Indeed, the ICC Program of Barcelona often emphasises that their strategy was based on a triangle of principles which are equality, recognition of diversity and positive interaction and puts forward that it is committed to fighting inequalities, but this study reveals that during the activities of this policy program, the complex inequalities on the ground are not tackled.

The Discourse and Problematisations

Several studies have argued for examining the perceptions and the discourses of the policy implementers because they are productive and they have the potential to affect the outcomes of their practices. In a study about Italy's intercultural policy model for instance, it is argued that while interculturalism favours a middle ground between traditional integration models, in fact it became a form of assimilationism via the discourse on 'social cohesion' (Barberis 2018).

As I have mentioned before, few studies have been produced on this policy framework from thought to practice, and few have taken into consideration the perception or view of the target groups or inhabitants. The importance of discourse where the problematisations appear is visible in the research

questions of this thesis that deals with the inherent problem representations of the policymakers and policy implementers of Barcelona ICC Program. Especially in the first two articles (Chapter 2 and 3), I adopted a methodological approach developed by Carol Bacchi (2009) which draws attention to the constructed character of problems and highlights the role of policymakers and policy implementers in building the understanding of the problems which will be detailed in the following section. According to Foucault's definition, 'problematization' is described in two different ways. One refers to thinking problematically, which he presents as a method of analysis, and the second refers to 'how and why certain things (behaviour, phenomena, processes) become a problem' (Foucault 1985: 115, cited in Bacchi 2012: 1). My theoretical frameworks focused more on the second meaning. Focusing on implied problem representations helps us to understand the assumptions behind governing, examine the limits and frames that the discourses can create and identify what has possibly been silenced within these social interventions.

The actors of this policy program (such as policymakers and implementers) have different positions in the branches of the governing bodies of the municipality, we know that these actors have different levels of power in relation to this policy program in terms of decision-making, design, implementation, and the potential impacts of this policy. Considering the power inequalities between these actors, focusing on their discourse becomes even more important. From a social constructivist approach in policymaking, governments have a more advantaged role within this construction process because their understandings, conceptualisations ans so on which are rooted in their discourse, 'stick', becomes real and constitutes the way we are governed. Therefore, the third main objective of this research was to always have a focus on the constructed character of this policy program and to understand how the actors perceive and represent the 'problems' in addition to the subjects and the

relationships they produce through their discourse. This was one of the main things that allowed me to work more critically in this policy analysis.

3. Methodology

Although the methods that I adopt for each article are explained in detail in the following chapters, in this section I will broadly explain how I have tackled the above-mentioned objectives and gathered information to answer the research questions that I have mentioned. Also, I will explain the relevancy of Barcelona as a case selection.

Especially in Chapter 2 and 3, the policy analysis approach that I have adopted called 'What is the problem represented to be?' (WPR) argues that policies are productive - i.e. they constitute problems and policymakers actively take part in the production of those problems, and therefore we are being governed through problematisations (Bacchi 2009: 1-4). This widely used methodological framework of policy analysis together with the Critical Discourse Analysis, allowed me to see the subjects, objects and their relationships were produced.

While social constructivist approach in policy analysis draws our attention to how policy-makers and participants "make sense of the world" (Colebatch 2006, p.9), Bacchigoes forward and argues that the governments have a more advantaged role within this construction process because their understandings 'stick', becomes real and constitutes the way we are governed.

WPR approach draws upon four intellectual traditions which are social construction theory, poststructuralism, feminist body theory and governmentality studies (Bacchi 2012: 264). Bacchi's WPR provides six interrelated questions (APPENDIX B) to analyse the policy that allows the researcher to investigate the perceptions and assumptions of policy-makers and how they get involved in the production and representation of the problems and the solutions, the implied problem representations and the conceptual

logics that underlie the problem representations. I have adopted a few questions from her list as a general framework which helped me form my interview questions as well as the analysis of all the material that was collected.

The methodological framework that Bacchi proposes is shaped by poststructuralist thinking that takes policy as a social construct and intends to avoid the positivist tendency that treats policies as objective decisions of rational authorities (Shore 2012). She often calls for the need for anthropological approaches to policy analysis that treats policy as a cultural phenomenon (Bacchi and Goodwin 2016). The objective of this thesis is to unpack the constructed meanings in the ICC Program as well. Shore (2012: 90) for example, depicts the difference of anthropological approach in policy analysis in the following way:"Whereas most scholars tend to treat policy as a given, seldom questioning its meaning or ontological status as a category, an anthropology of policy starts from the premise that "policy" is itself a curious and problematic social and cultural construct that needs to be unpacked and contextualised if its meanings are to be understood".

The methodological approach of Bacchi suggests both paying attention to practices and the discourse paying attention to how it becomes possible for the actors to say or do things. Especially about discourse analysis, Bacchi suggests analysing the data through highlighting key discursive practices, analysing what is said (especially in interviews or policy documents) by paying attention to the meanings that they produce and construct, interrogating the productions of subjects, paying attention to see (especially during the interviews or observations) if an actor or the receivers of the policy makes a comment which appears unusual, inappropriate or out of 'context' that offers a taken-for-granted 'reality' (Bacchi and Goodwin 2016).

Because "things said" have important functions in installing certain norms and subject positions. They play a critical role in forming "subjects", "objects", and

"places", and giving authority to certain discursive practices. Hence, they need to be studied in terms of what they produce, or constitute, rather than in terms of what they "mean". For example, a comment such as "women are less inclined to take risks" produces "women" as risk averse. Or, a comment that "I don't have the skill for that job" produces "skills" as human attributes, and as required human attributes (required for the job). Similarly, a reference such as "I always celebrate Australia Day" produces "Australia" as a legitimate spatial entity given the endorsement of a national public holiday" (Bacchi and Goodwin 2016: 118). Therefore while analysing 'what is said, the researcher needs to ask questions such as: "Which norms do the 'things said' invoke? Which 'subjects' are produced? Which 'objects' do they create? Which "places" are produced as legitimate?" (Bacchi and Goodwin 2016: 118).

The methodological framework that Carol Bacchi (2009) draws for policy analysis had been very useful for me in conducting critical discourse analysis on policy documents and interviews. To critically analyse the discourse of the key actors and explore their "problematisations", I used some guiding questions such as (Bacchi and Bonham 2016):

"Which norms do the "things said" invoke?
Which "subjects" are produced?
Which "objects" do they create?
Which "places" are produced as legitimate?"

Because, things that are said or written (in policy documents and/or interviews) have functions in producing, constituting certain norms, subject positions, subjects, objects and places. "Foucault (1986: 10) offered problematization as a theoretical intervention in exploring the production of 'subjects' by studying "the conditions in which human beings 'problematize' what they are, what they do, and the world in which they live". The policy analysis method (Carol Bacchi) that I adopted, has a normative stand from the very beginning and offers an approach (mainly

influenced by Foucault and postructiralism) in order to question how governing takes place. It also urges the researcher to be skeptical towards the policy itself and the knowledges that support these policy proposals. It suggests to take policy as a discourse which directs attention to "the way in which policy ensembles, or collections of related policies, exercise power through a production of 'truth' and 'knowledge'" (Ball 1993: 14). While the second and third chapter analyses the perceptions of policymakers and policy implementers by adopting this approach, the fourth chapter turns to the perception of target groups who participate in the activities of the ICC Program to understand how they conceive of public spaces and convivencia in relation to the initiatives of this policy program.

Data Collection and Analysis

The research was a qualitative case study which is a product my fieldwork[9] that took place between December 2020 and February 2022 in Barcelona.

My research design in terms of data collection and analysis was evaluated by the Institutional Committee for Ethical Review of Projects (CIREP) of my university before I start my fieldwork. My data collection plan was approved and certified by CIREP under the condition that I follow the guides of EU Commission about research ethics. In accordance with these guidelines, although I had a representative sample of participants that had various identities in terms of age, class, gender, religion, ethnicity, profession, neighbourhood

---

9 Although this is neither an ethnography nor an anthropological study, as a political scientist I use the term 'fieldwork' for my active data collection period. Just as Robert K. Yin defines, qualitative case studies might involve fieldwork which is generally used as a broad term encompasses a range of data collection methods that involve direct engagement with the research context, on-site data collection and physically being in the natural setting that the research topic involves, while adopting methods such as interview, observation, document analysis and so on. Although I was not allowed to attend in the decision-making process of policymakers which happens behind the doors, I call the activities that I have attended which are in the schedule of the ICC Program as 'natural settings' and I lived for five years in the city of which I was conducting a case study about. This, of course, does not mean that I included my daily life experience as a data source in my research plan since it is not an auto-ethnography.

that they reside and so on; and although I took all these aspects into consideration, I anonymised the participants. An example for this anonymisation is that, although I interviewed with the important key actors that are in charge of drafting and managing the ICC Program, I have not revealed their professional titles (which are visible in the operational table in Appendix d) and referred to them as 'policymakers' or 'policy implementers'.

Firstly I should indicate that my research was highly affected by the Covid-19 pandemic, as were the actions of the ICC Program of Barcelona and most of its' activities were either cancelled or conducted in online format which can clearly be seen by comparing their pre and post-pandemic annual activity reports. We woke up to a new reality which the people and policy actors were not prepared for, that had unequal effects on society, that put our lives in an unbearable uncertainty which made all of our plans unimportant and meaningless and the way that Spain managed this process was insufficient and highly criticised.

Although I could conduct some interviews via online tools, my observations as well as my mobility that is needed to meet with key actors in order to identify interviewees and activities were highly affected in complex ways. After the complete and strict lockdown that started in March 2020 was ended, the restrictions in Spain, that were implemented by very strict police control in Barcelona, remained in force for a long while such as limiting inhabitants' mobility in a 1km2 square circle around their homes, allowing children to go out but prohibiting access to all playgrounds, varying time slots to go out for walk or exercise for different groups, physical distance and obligation of wearing masks in public spaces, night curfews, limited capacity for activities in closed spaces, closing the restaurants down then opening them up only for take away orders and so on. The restrictions gradually decreased but had remained in force until the end of my data collection period. Not to mention that I got infected more than one time during the participant observations and had to stay

in quarantine although we were allowed to participate in activities (wearing masks) in closed spaces.

The findings of this research rely on content analysis of 24 Policy documents (Appendix C), interviews with 38 participants (Appendix E) and analysis of 19 activities in total (Appendix A) through conducting participant and non-participant observations for 14 of them and conducting content analysis on 5 of them which are auditions of radio podcasts (Appendix A). The above-mentioned live radio podcast activities were retrieved through listening, downloading and transcribing the auditions and analysed through content analysis.

Although all the data that was collected complement each other and somehow inform the whole project, the sources presented in each article are different and listed as follows:

Articles	Research Goals	Research Methods
1st article (Chapter 2)	how public spaces are conceived and represented in the Barcelona ICC programme in relation to solving its inherent problematizations, perceptions of the policymakers	content analysis of 24 policy documents, semi-structured interviews with 14 policymakers
2nd article (Chapter 3)	how it was implemented in the case of Barcelona Interculturality Plan (or Intercultural City Program of Barcelona) and the inherent problem representations of and policy implementers about convivencia and public spaces	participant and non-participant observations of 14 activities, content analysis of 5 activities, semi-structured interviews with 13 policy implementers
3rd article (Chapter 4)	the target groups' conceptions and experiences of convivencia and public spaces in relation to the activities and initiatives of the ICC Programme as implemented in Barcelona.	participant and non-participant observations of 14 activities, content analysis of 5 activities, semi-structured interviews with 11 city inhabitants

The activities that I have participated and/or observed, included discussions and dialogues among participants with rich information about how they perceive these activities of the ICC Program as well as how they perceive the daily life in Barcelona in terms of the concepts that my thesis and the ICC Program was focused on. In addition to these, the informal conversations that I had during the activities that I have attended as an observant and participant, I had the opportunity to cross check the data that I have collected. During those activities, I had the chance to observe both the policy implementation and the experiences and thoughts of the targeted groups of that policy program. If my data source was solely based on interviews, I would have needed to conduct more interviews especially with the target groups in order to reach that data saturation for Chapter 4.

As it was reported by my interviewees, the core team that works on the design and management of the ICC Program at the City Hall was composed of 12 people but I conducted 15 interviews by including key former policymakers who still informally work on the policy program with the municipal staff. Two of the people in this set were also involved with policy implementation.

Among the policy implementers, I conducted interviews with 13 participants and these people's names were always pronounced by policymakers and the policy documents. In almost all interviews, the key actors mentioned some names and suggested that I get in touch with those people in order to obtain further information. This helped me to ensure validity when it comes to choosing the right people to conduct interviews.

Appendix e provides anonymised information about the participants that were subject to interviews. Information about participants that were observed during activities are listed in Appendix A and information about what I mean by their roles can be seen in the operational table of actors in Appendix d. Apart from analysis of policy documents and conducting content analysis for activities in

form of auditions (radio podcasts), the findings rely on 38 interviews and observations of 14 activities (including participant and non-participant observations) as well as content analysis of 5 activities (auditions of live radio-podcasts).

The key actors of the ICC Program are already listed with their professional titles in order to explain how I categorised them within the tables of previous Appendices. However, the tables anonymise the participants in order not to reveal their identities. Tables below include the participants that I have interviewed with and the participants that I observed (and actively engaged with) during the activities that I conducted observation. The exact number of participants in the crowded activities that I attended for observation are mostly unknown (like concerts, guided tours etc.).

The main selection criteria in identifying interviewees for the sets of policymakers and policy implementers were involvement in the core team that is responsible of Barcelona's ICC Program at the City Council, involvement in the Anti-Rumour Network which is a very important component of the ICC Program. Other selection criteria for these groups were to be involved in departments or services of the municipality and City Council that are pointed as the responsibles for carrying out the objectives of the ICC Program since it is an interdepartmental program (Chapter 1), being identified as an actor/worker by official policy documents (such as guides, reports and so on) or being identified and referred to as such, by the interviewees that have knowledge about the team. The other selection criteria were applied in order to include people with varying levels of power and knowledge. For example, a municipal officer that is in charge of managing the policy program with highest level of authority and a technician or a secretary that works in the same team might have diverging levels of power in decision making as well as knowledge about

the policy which also depends on how long they have been working in that field.

To conduct interviews with the participants that attend in the ICC Program activities, I got in touch with them at the end of the activities and requested an interview about the activity and my thesis topics in general. However, they are not the only data source to interpret the perceptions and experiences of the target groups (participants of activities) I engaged with much more participant during or after the activities through informal conversations also I had the chance to observe them, their discussions and behaviour during the activities.

The informal interivews listed in the table (Appendix E) are the city inhabitants that I met during my observations in the intervention areas that were pointed by the policy implementers and I engaged with them in a spontaneous, informal while there were no activities or events in the streets that were pointed out as intervention places. They were long-established business owners (such as grocery store, bar and so on) in those settings and I approached them to ask if they have any knowledge/comments of the (before-mentioned) interventions of the intercultural and convivencia services (policy actors of the ICC Program) and the convivial conflicts that occur in their neighbourhood.

The selection criteria for interviewing or observing the people that belong to the target population of this policy program (which is defined as all of the inhabitants of Barcelona) were not as rigid as the ones of former groups. The objective of the last article (Chapter 4) of this research was to obtain information about conceptions and experiences of convivencia and public spaces in relation to the initiatives of the ICC Programme as implemented in Barcelona. Therefore I aimed to compare their perceptions with the key actors of this policy program. This inevitably led me to collect information from the inhabitants that participate in the activities and projects that ICC Program organises which are open to public, that directly targets the inhabitants which

are the practices of the program that directly touches the people, concerning the conceptual focus of my research. These activities were mostly published in the activity schedules of the ICC and Espai Avinyó bulletins which include workshops, discussion forums, artistic activities and so on. Similarly, it led me to collect information (interview and observation) from the people that were targeted by certain initiatives of the ICC such as the informal interviews that I conducted in Horta and El Carmel neighbourhoods after a key policy implementer that works at the Service of Interculturality and Convivencia of Horta Guinardó neighbourhood pointed those places and told me that they intervened in specific areas for conflict resolution (Chapter 4).

Since this research also intended to observe the experiences and perceptions of the inhabitants regarding the activities of the ICC Program (Chapter 4), I did it so by attending in those public activities in order to encounter with these people that were directly exposed to the ICC Program's activities which allows them to know that they live in an 'Intercultural City' and that the city government had invited them to participate in an activity with a topic and purpose that is expected to realise the aims of this policy program. Although this choice made me dependent on the activity schedule of the ICC Program and unable to identify or know participants prior to these actions, this was an appropriate way to encounter with inhabitants that have the chance to see and experience certain activities of this policy program.

Those activities that I attended were intense exercises in accordance to what ICC aimed to achieve, the activities for implementing the ideals of this policy program, the opportunity to spread the discourse and objectives of ICC Program to the inhabitants by drawing a frame, setting a time and place, a platform with a topic (such as a theatre play about islamaphobia in the neighbourhoods followed by a discussion forum with the audience) inviting the inhabitants to 'meet' with what ICC Program intends to 'do'.

The combination of formal and informal interviews, coupled with (participant) observations, facilitated a nuanced analysis of the policy's implementation and its implications for the targeted population, contributing valuable insights for policymakers and researchers.

Despite limitations (Appendix A), the adaptive fieldwork plan prioritized activities and interviews aligned with the research's conceptual focus, ensuring a nuanced understanding of the program's objectives and their practical implications across diverse neighbourhoods in Barcelona. Integrating multiple methods, the careful selection of interviewees and active participation in program activities provided a rich and diverse dataset, fostering a nuanced and holistic understanding of the complex interplay between policy objectives, implementation strategies, and community dynamics.

Further explanations and justifications of data collection can be found in the Appendices.

4.Structure of the thesis

I have structured this thesis around the policy process, first studying the policy-making critically, by employing the WPR approach by Bacchi (2009) (see Chapter 2), and then looking into the implementation with the same approach by comparing the views of policymakers and policy implementers (see Chapter 3), and then exploring the view from below by focusing on the perceptions of the target groups in relation to the activities of the ICC Program (see Chapter 4). The thesis is composed of three interconnected articles which are followed by a conclusion section (Chapter 5) that summarises their connection, discusses main results and the limitations of this research and proposes further lines of research.

The first article of this PhD thesis deals with the problem formulations involved in the framework, at the level of the policymakers, it illuminates how

public spaces are conceived and represented in the Barcelona ICC programme in relation to solving its inherent problematizations. The second article (Chapter 3) deals with how it was implemented in the case of Barcelona Interculturality Plan (or Intercultural City Program of Barcelona) and analyses the inherent problem representations of and policy implementers about convivencia and public spaces which also gives the reader the chance to compare their view with the policymakers' perspectives that takes place in Chapter 2. Both of these chapters have a focus on the concepts of public space and convivencia -which are important points emphasised by this policy programme- and analyses how different actors conceive of them. As a continuation of these, and in line with the idea of analysing the particular social and cultural worlds that policies are embedded within (Shore, Wright and Però, 2011), the third article (Chapter 4) focused and analysed the target groups' conceptions and experiences of *convivencia* and public spaces in relation to the initiatives of the ICC Programme as implemented in Barcelona.

Bibliography

Aiello, A., and Bonaiuto, M. (2017). Rhetorical approach and discursive psychology: The study of environmental discourse. In M. Bonnes, T. Lee, and M. Bonaiuto (Eds.), *Psychological Theories for Environmental Issues* (pp. 235–270). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315245720-14

Agustín, Ó. G., and Jørgensen, M. B. (2019). "Solidarity Cities and Cosmopolitanism from below: Barcelona as a Refugee City." Social Inclusion 7(2): 198–207.

Allport, G. W. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Addison-Wesley.

Ajuntament de Barcelona (2005a) Projecte d'ordenança de mesures perfomentar i garantir la convivencia ciutadana a la ciutat de Barcelona https://bcnroc.ajuntament.barcelona.cat/jspui/bitstream/11703/87123/1/17644.pdf

Ajuntament de Barcelona. (2021). Enquesta Sociodemogràfica de Barcelona (ESDB) 2020 Informe de Resultats Del 16 de Novembre Del 2020 Al 24 de Febrer de 2021. Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona. https://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/premsa/wp-content/uploads/2022/04/6001791a-6cb1-43ef-b964-da7f968b04c0-1.pdf.

Bacchi, C. (2012). Why Study Problematizations? Making Politics Visible. *Open Journal of Political Science*, *02*(01), 1–8. https://doi.org/10.4236/ojps.2012.21001

Bacchi, C. and Goodwin, S. (2016) Poststructural policy analysis: A guide to practice. New York: Springer.Back, L., and Sinha, S. (2016). Multicultural Conviviality in the Midst of Racism's Ruins. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, *37*(5), 517–532. https://doi.org/10.1080/07256868.2016.1211625

Ball, S.J. (1993). What is policy? Texts, trajectories and toolboxes. Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education, 13 (2), 10–17.

Barberis E. (2018) Interculturalism as conservative multiculturalism? In: Oosterlynck S, Verschraegen G, Van Kempen R (eds) *Divercities*. Bristol: Policy Press, pp. 115–138.Barcelona City Council. (2010). *Barcelona Interculturality Plan*. Barcelona City Council. (2021). *Superblock Barcelona Towards the city we want*. https://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/superilles/sites/default/files/20210202_Superblock_Barcelona_web.pdf

Barreiro, W., Gonzalez, F. B. O. (2020) The production of intercultural urban landscapes, a multi-scalar approach: the case of Ballarò, Palermo. Urban Des Int 25, 250–265. https://doi.org/10.1057/s41289-020-00126-6

Bazurli R. (2019). "Local Governments and Social Movements in the 'Refugee Crisis': Milan and Barcelona as 'Cities of Welcome'." South European Society and Politics 24(3): 343–70.

Bermúdez, K., Crespo, R., Sanahuja, R., and Astudillo, C. (2018). Building Intercultural Policies and Practices in the City of Barcelona. In Bob W. Wite (Ed.), *Intercultural Cities Policy and Practice for a New Era* (pp. 103–144). Palgrave Macmillan, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-62603-1_6

Birsl, Ú. (2004). Migración e interculturalidad en Gran Bretaña, España y Alemania (Vol. 13). Anthropos Editorial.

Bloomfield, J., and Bianchini, F. (2004). Planning for the Intercultural City. Stroud: Comedia.

Burchardt, M., Griera, M., and García-Romeral, G. (2015). "Narrating Liberal Rights and Culture: Muslim Face Veiling, Urban Coexistence and Contention in Spain." Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies 41(7): 1068–87.

Burchardt, M. And Griera, M. (2019) To see or not to see: explaining intolerance against the "Burqa" in European public space, Ethnic and Racial Studies, 42:5, 726-744, DOI: 10.1080/01419870.2018.1448100

Burchianti, F, and Zapata-Barrero., R. (2012). "Political Discourses and Intolerance toward Migrants in Catalonia Policy Brief." Accept Pluralism (12): 1–10.

Burchianti, F., and R. Zapata-Barrero. (2014). "Is Catalonia Immune to Racism? An Analysis of Intolerant Political Discourses of Mainstream Party Representatives (2010–2011)." Journal of Immigrant and Refugee Studies 12 (4): 401–417. doi: 10.1080/15562948.2014.932478

Cantle, T. (2012). Interculturalism: For the Era of Globalisation, Cohesion and Diversity. *Political Insight*, *3*(3). https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2041-9066.2012.00124.x

Cantle, T. (2015). "Implementing Intercultural Policies." In Interculturalism in Cities Concept, Policy and Implementation, ed. Ricard Zapata-Barrero. Cheltenham, Edward Elgar Publishing

Castells, M., Romero de Solís, I. (1997). *Movimientos sociales urbanos*.

City Council of Barcelona. (2020). *RESILIENCE PLAN DIAGNOSIS. What Impact Do Programmed Activities Held in Public Space Have on Relationships between the People Living in the Neighbourhood?* Barcelona: City Council of Barcelona. https://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/ecologiaurbana/ca.

City Council of Barcelona. (2021). Barcelona Interculturality Plan 2021- 2030. City Council of Barcelona. https://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/bcnacciointercultural/sites/default/files/documentos/barcelona_interculturality_plan_2021-2030_1.pdf

Colau Ballano, A. (2015). Letter to Mariano Rajoy Brey. 5 September 2015 https://www.lasvocesdelpueblo.com/archivosubidos/Carata%20de%20la %20alcaldesa%20de%20Barcelona%20en%20Común,%20Ada%20Colau %20,%20a%20Rajoy%20sobre%20la%20inmigración.pdf

Colebatch, H.K. (2006). What work makes policy?. Policy Sci 39, 309–321 https://doi.org/10.1007/s11077-006-9025-4

Council of Europe. (2008). *White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue "Living Together As Equals in Dignity"* (Issue May). Council of Europe Publishing. https://www.coe.int/t/dg4/intercultural/source/whitepaper_final_revise d_en.pdf

Council of Europe. (2016). *Intercultural cities - The art of mixing*. Council of Europe Publishing.

Council of Europe. (2019). *The Intercultural City Index 2019 - A Methodological Overview.* Council of Europe https://rm.coe.int/the-intercultural-city-index-2019-a methodological-overview/16809074ab

Intercultural Cities Secretariat Council of Europe. (2022). *Barcelona Intercultural Cities Index Analysis 2022.* Council of Europe: France.

Delgado, M. (2009). "Seres de Otro Mundo: Sobre La Función Simbólica Del Inmigrante." *In La Dinámica Del Contacto Movilidad, Encuentro y Conflicto En Las Relaciones Interculturales*, Barcelona: CIDOB, 13–23.Delgado Ruiz, M. (2007). *La ciudad mentirosa. Fraude y miseria del "Modelo Barcelona"*. Los Libros de la Catarata.

De Torres Barderi, D., (2018). *Antirumours Handbook 2018*. Council of Europe.

Dixon, J. (2001). Contact and Boundaries. *Theory and Psychology*, *11*(5), 587–608. https://doi.org/10.1177/0959354301115001

Erickson, B. (2011). Utopian virtues: Muslim neighbors, ritual sociality, and the politics of "convivència" on JSTOR. *American Ethnologist*, *38*(1), 114–131.

Elias, A., and Mansouri, F. (2020). A Systematic Review of Studies on Interculturalism and Intercultural Dialogue. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, *41*(4), 490–523. https://doi.org/10.1080/07256868.2020.1782861

Falguera, X. C., Serra, M. S. (2021). "Immigrant Integration Policies in Catalonia (1993-2017): Political Frames." Migraciones 52(2021): 221–47.

Favaro, G. (2002). *I centri interculturali: luoghi di mediazione e di scambio fra culture*. In Didattica interculturale Nuovi sguardi, competenze, percorsi, ed. D. Demetrio and G. Favaro. Milano: Angeli.Favell, A. (2022). *The Integration Nation. Immigration and Colonial Power in Liberal Democracies*. Polity.

Fernández-Suárez, B. (2017). The Design of Migrant Integration Policies in Spain: Discourses and Social Actors. *Social Inclusion*, *5*(1), 117–125. https://doi.org/10.17645/SI.V5I1.783

Fernández-Suárez, B., and Espiñeira, K. (2021). The Role of the 'Cities for Change' in Protecting the Rights of Irregular Migrants in Spain. Urban Planning, 6(2), 56-67. https://doi.org/10.17645/up.v6i2.3811

Filomeno, F., A. (2017). Theories of Local Immigration Policy: Politics of Citizenship and Migration. Baltimore: Palgrave Macmillan.Florida, R. (2005). Cities and the creative class. In *Cities and the Creative Class*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203997673/CITIES-CREATIVE-CLASS-RICHARD-FLORIDA

Foucault, M. (1986) [1984], The use of pleasure. The history of sexuality, Volume 2, (trans: Hurley, R.). London: Viking Press.

Galdon-Clavell, G. (2016). Uncivil cities: Insecurity, policy transfer, tolerance and the case of Barcelona's "Civility Ordinance". *Urban Studies*, 53(9), 1–17. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098015581771.

Garcés-Mascareñas, B., Gebhardt, D. (2020) Barcelona: municipalist policy entrepreneurship in a centralist refugee reception system. CMS 8, 15 (2020). https://doi.org/10.1186/s40878-020-0173-z

García Agustín, O. and Jørgensen, M. B. (2019). "Solidarity Cities and Cosmopolitanism from below: Barcelona as a Refugee City." *Social Inclusion* 7(2): 198–207.

Garcia-López, MÀ., Nicolini, R. and Roig Sabaté, J.L. (2021) Urban Spatial Structure in Barcelona (1902–2011): Immigration, Spatial Segregation and New Centrality Governance. Appl. Spatial Analysis 14, 591–629 . https://doi.org/10.1007/s12061-020-09365-0

García, A., Vives, A. , Expósito, C. Pérez-Rincón, López, L., Torres, G. Loscos, E. (2011). "Velos, burkas … moros: estereotipos y exclusión de la comunidad musulmana desde una perspectiva de género." Investigaciones Feministas 2: 283–298.

Gebhart, D. (2014). Building Inclusive Cities: Challenges in the Multilevel Governance of Immigrant Integration in Europe. Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute.

Gebhardt D., and Güntner S. (2022). "'We as Leaders of major European Cities'–How Eurocities Works to Influence EU Migration and Integration Policies." *Local Government Studies* 48 (6): 1113–31.

Giddens, A. (1991). *Modernity and Self-Identity Self and Society in the Late Modern Age.* Polity Press.

Gilroy, P. (2004). *Postcolonial melancholia.* Columbia University Press.

Gordon, C. (1991). Governmental rationality: An introduction. In G. Burchell, C. Gordon, P. Miller (Eds.), The Foucault effect: Studies in governmentality. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Griera, M., and M. Burchardt. (2016). "Religión y espacio público: el conflicto en torno a la regulación del velo integral islámico." *Papeles del CEIC*, 2016 (2): 1.

Gubern, A. (2016, May 26). Ada Colau, una alcaldesa permisiva [Ada Colau, a permissive mayor]. ABC. Retrieved from https://www.abc.es/espana/abcicolau-alcaldesa-permisiva-201605260329_noticia.html.

Gupta, A., and Ferguson, J. (1992). Beyond "Culture": Space, Identity, and the Politics of Difference. *Cultural Anthropology*, *7*(1), 6–23.

Hansen, R. B., (2019) City of Refuge and Migration The Barcelona en Comú movement: forming European networks of solidarity. pp. 55-77 in Wenke Christoph and Stefanie Kron (eds.) *Solidarity Cities In Europe Charity Or Pathways To Citizenship: A New Urban Policy Approach*. Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung: Berlin

Harvey, D. (1989). From Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism: The Transformation in Urban Governance in Late Capitalism. *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography*, *71*(1), 3–17. https://doi.org/10.1080/04353684.1989.11879583

Hernando-Lloréns, B. (2019). Differentiating citizenship, criminalizing diversity: Problematizing convivencia in education in Spain. *Curriculum Inquiry*, *48*(5), 521–539. https://doi.org/10.1080/03626784.2018.1546541

Hernández-Carr, A. (2011). "¿La hora del populismo? Elementos para comprender el «éxito» electoral de Plataforma per Catalunya." Revista de Estudios Políticos 153: 47–74.

Ibarz Gelabert, J. (2010). Migration in the formation of the labour market in the Barcelona Docks (1910-1947). Journal of Mediterranean Studies, 19(2), 271–293.

Instituto de Estadística de Cataluña (2020) Indicadores socioeconómicos Valores Por barrios de Barcelona https://www.idescat.cat/pub/?id=istandn=14075andgeo=mun:080193andlang=es

Kasper, E., McGranahan, G., Lintelo, D., Gupte, J., Tranchant, J.-P., Lakshman, R., and Nesbitt-Ahmed, Z. (2017). *Evidence Report No. 220: Inclusive Urbanisation and Cities in the 21st Century* (Issue 220). Institute of Development Studies. https://opendocs.ids.ac.uk/opendocs/handle/20.500.12413/12849

Kuper, H. (1972). The Language of Sites in the Politics of Space. *American Anthropologist*, *74*(3), 411–425.

Lefebvre, H. (1991). *The Production of Space*. Blackwell.

Lundsteen, M., and Fernández González, M. (2021). Zero-Tolerance in Catalonia: Policing the Other in Public Space. *Crit Crim* **29**, 837–852. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10612-020-09533-1

Lydon, M., and Garcia, A. (2015). Tactical urbanism: Short-term action for long-term change. In *Tactical Urbanism: Short-Term Action for Long-Term Change*. Island Press.

Magro Huertas, T. (2012). "The spume that beats at the gates of the city"Urban social movements in Barcelona (1964-1986). In Josep Maria Montaner, Fernando Álvarez, and Zaida Muxí (Eds.), *Critical Files The Barcelona Model 1973-2004*. Ajuntament Barcelona. Marshall, T. (2004). "Chapter 1 Introduction." In Transforming Barcelona, ed. Tim Marshall. Barcelona: Routledge, 1–23.

Mehaffy, M. W. (2019). New Urbanism and the New Urban agenda. In Emily Talen (Ed.), *A Research Agenda for New Urbanism* (pp. 139–152). Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd. https://doi.org/10.4337/9781788118637.00014

Miller, P., and Rose, N. (1990). Governing economic life. Economy and Society, 19 (1), 1–31.

Navarro, M. (2015), 'La cúpula de la Guardia Urbana dimitirá ante la llegada de Colau', in *El Periódico*, 29 May 2015, available at https://www.elperiodico.com/es/barcelona/20150528/la-cupula-de-la-guardiaurbana-dimitira-ante-la-llegada-de-colau-4228782

OECD (2018), Working Together for Local Integration of Migrants and Refugees in Barcelona, OECD Publishing, Paris. https://doi.org/10.1787/9789264304062-en

Oomen, B. (2020). Decoupling and Teaming up: The Rise and Proliferation of Transnational Municipal Networks in the Field of Migration. International Migration Review, 54(3), 913-939. https://doi.org/10.1177/0197918319881118

O'Malley, P., Weir, L., and Shearing, C. (1997). Governmentality, criticism, politics. Economy and Society, 26 (4), 501–517.

Özdemir, G. Ş. (2022). "Urban Solidarity Typology: A Comparison of European Cities since the Crisis of Refuge in 2015." Cities (130) https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2022.103976

Padilla, B., Azevedo, J., and Olmos-Alcaraz, A. (2014). Superdiversity and conviviality: exploring frameworks for doing ethnography in Southern European intercultural cities, *38*(4), 621–635. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2015.980294

Padilla, B., and Olmos-Alcaraz, A. (2022). Exploring cultural policies in Southern Europe from the lens of conviviality in contexts of super-diversity. SN Soc Sci 2, 274 https://doi.org/10.1007/s43545-022-00572-9

Penninx, R., and Garcés-Mascareñas, B. (2016). The Concept of Integration as an Analytical Tool and as a Policy Concept. In: Garcés-Mascareñas, B., Penninx, R. (eds) Integration Processes and Policies in Europe. IMISCOE Research Series. Springer, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-21674-4_2

Pérez, N. O. (2003). "Spain: Forging an Immigration Policy." *Migration Policy Institute*. https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/spain-forging-immigration-policy.Pettigrew, T. F., and Tropp, L. R. (2006). A meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *90*(5), 751–783. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.90.5.751

Proshansky, H. M., Fabian, A. K., and Kaminoff, R. (1983). Place-identity: Physical world socialization of the self. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, *3*(1), 57–83. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0272-4944(83)80021-8

Putnam, R. D. (2007). E Pluribus Unum: Diversity and Community in the Twenty-first Century The 2006 Johan Skytte Prize Lecture. *Scandinavian Political Studies*, *30*(2), 137–174. https://doi.org/10.1111/J.1467-9477.2007.00176.X

Romero, B. A. (2002). De fundamentalismos institucionales y discursos culturalistas: la construcción de otredades en la política de inmigración española. In La inmigración en España: contextos y alternativas (pp. 407-420). Laboratorio de Estudios Interculturales.

Rose, N. (2000). Powers of freedom: Reframing political thought, 1st edition 1999. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rose, N., O'Malley, P., and Valverde, M. (2006). Governmentality, Annual Review of Law and Social Science, 2, 83–104.

Rose, N., and Miller, P. (1992). Political power beyond the state: Problematics of government. The British Journal of Sociology, 43 (2), 173–205.

Ruiz, M., D., (2008). Seres De Otro Mundo: Sobre La Función Simbólica Del Inmigrante. In La Dinámica Del Contacto Movilidad, Encuentro y Conflicto En Las Relaciones Interculturales, Barcelona: CIDOB Edicions, 215–25.

Saitta, D. (2020). *Intercultural Urbanism: City Planning from the Ancient World to the Modern Day*. Zed Books Bloomsbury Publishing.

Sanahuja i Vélez, R. (2011). El impacto social de la crisis: el papel del mundo local en la integración de la inmigración: estudio de caso de Barcelona. Anuario CIDOB de la Inmigración, 2011, pp. 76-103, https://raco.cat/index.php/AnuarioCIDOBInmigracion/article/view/355469

Sen, A., and Silverman, L. (2014). *Making place: space and embodiment in the city* (A. Sen and L. Silverman, Eds.). Indiana University Press.

Seidlová, M., and Chapman, P. (2017). Combating unequal inclusion of immigrants into the host society: comparing policy responses in London and Paris. In Inequalities in the UK, ed. D. Fée and A. Kober-Smith, 285–303. London: Emerald Publishing Limited.Scholten, P. (2015). Between National Models and Multi-Level Decoupling: The Pursuit of Multi-Level Governance in Dutch and UK Policies Towards Migrant Incorporation. In *International Migration and Integration*, online first June 18, 2015: 1–22. doi:10.1007/s12134-015-0438-9.

Shore, C. and Wright, S. (1997) .Anthropology of public policy: Critical perspectives on governance and power. London: Routledge.

Shore, C., and Wright, S. (2003). Policy: A new field of Anthropology. In C. Shore, and S. Wright (Eds.), Anthropology of policy: Perspectives on governance and power. New York: Routledge.

Shore, C., Wright, S. and Però, D. (Eds.) (2011). *Policy Worlds: Anthropology and the Analysis of Contemporary Power*. Berghahn Books.

Sibley, D. (1995). *Geographies of Exclusion: Society and Difference in the West* (1st ed.). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203430545

Soja, E. W. (1989). *Postmodern geographies: the reassertion of space in critical social theory*. Verso.

Triviño-Salazar, J. C. (2023). Transnational City Networks on Migration and Integration and Local Collaborative Governance: Establishing the Nexus. International Migration Review, 0(0). https://doi.org/10.1177/01979183231154558

Vanolo, A. (2014). Smartmentality: The Smart City as Disciplinary Strategy, *51*(5), 883–898. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098013494427

Varsanyi, M. (2010). Local and State Politics of Immigration. In The International Studies Encyclopedia, ed. R. Denemark, 1–20. London: Blackwell Publishing and Blackwell Reference. Online. November 10, 2014.

Venkov, N. (2019). Conviviality Vs Politics of Coexistence: Going Beyond the Global North. *CAS Sofia Working Paper Series*, *11*, 1–42.

Watson, S. (2000). Foucault and the study of social policy. In G. Lewis S. Gerwitz, J. Clarke (Eds.), Rethinking social policy. New York: Open University Press.

Wedel, J. R., and Feldman, G. (2005). Why an anthropology of public policy? *Anthropology Today*, *21*(1), 1–2. https://doi.org/10.1111/J.0268-540X.2005.00321.X

White, B. W. (2018). *Intercultural Cities: Policy and Practice for a New Era* (B. W. White, Ed.). Springer Nature. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-62603-1

Wolch, J., and Dear, M. (1989). The Power of Geography How Territory Shapes Social Life. In M. D. Jennifer Wolch (Ed.), *The Power of Geography (RLE Social and Cultural Geography)*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315819457

Wood, P. (ed.). (2009). Intercultural Cities Towards a model for intercultural integration. Report from Intercultural cities, joint action of the Council of Europe and the European Commission. Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing.

Wood, P., and Landry, C. (2008). The intercultural city: Planning for diversity advantage. In *The Intercultural City: Planning for Diversity Advantage*. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781849773089

Zapata-Barrero R. (2017). "Intercultural Policy and Multi-Level Governance in Barcelona: Mainstreaming Comprehensive Approach." International Review of Administrative Sciences 83(2): 247–66.

Zapata-Barrero, R. (2019). Intercultural Citizenship in the Post-Multicultural Era. SAGE Publications.

CHAPTER 2: Intercultural City Programme of Barcelona and public space: an analysis of problematizations and conceptualisations in policymaking

Abstract

Since 2008, the Council of Europe has been promoting interculturalism as a city-level integration policy model under the name Intercultural Cities Programme (ICC) to facilitate intercultural interaction, fight prejudice and discrimination, and enhance inclusion and social cohesion. The member cities within the Intercultural City Network have developed several policy programs to build open and inclusive cities. These programs present cultural diversity as a challenge that needs to be managed, and at the same time as an advantage that would increase economic growth. Since policies are usually designed to address problems, it is important to investigate what the problems are perceived to be. Accordingly, by adopting Carol Bacchi's (2009) WPR (What is the Problem Represented to Be?) approach in policy analysis as an analytical framework, this article illuminates how public spaces are conceived and represented in the Barcelona ICC programme in relation to solving its inherent problematizations. The findings suggest that the conception of public spaces of Barcelona's ICC programme neglects the complex reality in the city.

Introduction

Interculturalism as a policy framework to manage cultural diversity, aims at improving positive interaction to eliminate 'challenges' and restore or build social cohesion (see Chapter 1). The first instance in which interculturalism is referred to in the European Union is when the Council of Europe (henceforth, CoE) issued the White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue (2008). In this publication, interculturalism appears as a diversity-management policy, emphasising the failure of certain social integration policies, especially multiculturalism (Council of Europe, 2008). When taken as an integration policy, the literature focuses on the transformative potential of interculturalism which would contribute to social cohesion through fostering intercultural contact and a peaceful coexistence (Cantle, 2015).

It has been promoted by the Council of Europe at the international level as a city-level policy under the programme Intercultural Cities (ICC) since 2008. The cities adhered to this programme (henceforth the Intercultural Cities), drawing on the policy framework offered by the ICC programme, have been implementing different strategies to build social cohesion by trying to eliminate barriers such as racism and anti-immigrant attitudes. As it is stated in the previous chapter, by referring to Allport's (1954) theory, interculturalism as a policy paradigm is defended to be a framework that can (and should) avoid segregation, ghettoization, cultural and social barriers between people in cities and a common sense of belonging can be built through this policy.

Negative perceptions, rumours and lack of knowledge are seen as barriers for intercultural interaction, and the social inclusion as well as the integration of immigrants (De Torres Barderi 2018). The ICC programme views public spaces as suitable settings to implement various activities which create spaces that allow positive interaction and participation of "diverse profiles of people" (Baglai et. al. 2015; De Torres Barderi 2018). Much of the literature concerning

interculturalism and intercultural dialogue has been written in the disciplines of education, political science, sociology, and linguistics, and it often deals with intercultural competencies, intergroup contact and relations, governance of migration and diversity, leaving out any reference to space or place, be that the city or the neighbourhood.

An exception is Dean Saitta's (2020) proposal of Intercultural Urbanism as a body of theory and practice to build open and inclusive cities. He criticises most of the recent paradigms like New Urbanism (Mehaffy, 2019), Tactical Urbanism (Lydon and Garcia, 2015), Smart Urbanism (Vanolo, 2014), Creative Urbanism (Florida, 2005), Sustainable Urbanism (Kasper et al., 2017), and many others, arguing that usually their understanding of culture is normative and typological. While Saitta (2020) argues that physical spaces cannot guarantee any social outcome, he defends that planning and design should accommodate multiple forms of diversity and allow spontaneous interaction with spaces that are supported by activities and events that foster conviviality, as conceived by Gilroy (2004). Similarly, while the literature that takes interculturalism as a policy framework for migrant integration, mostly leaves out the importance of spatial dimensions, there is a large body of work in the areas of urban studies and geography that focus on intergroup relations taking socio-spatial dynamics as their main focus. Today, these contributions of the geography literature suggest that, although it is meaningful to look for the role of inter-group contact in the relationship between social cohesion and ethnic diversity, it is important to know which kind of space do these interactions occur and that not every contact occur in these spaces are meaningful and lead to prejudice-reduction (Valentine 2008). In fact, inter ethnic interaction in public spaces are often quite superficial and sometimes those encounters could reinforce the already existing negative attitudes (Valentine 2008; Matejskova and Leitner 2011). In addition to that, depending on the level of public or privateness of the

urban space, the intergroup interactions that occur in those spaces vary (Piekut and Valentine 2017).

According to the definition of the COE, an Intercultural City "...encourages greater mixing and interaction between diverse groups in public spaces" (Council of Europe 2017: 3). In addition to that, defenders of interculturalism as a policy paradigm, see public space as a zone of contact and a suitable arena for focusing on the barriers of interaction, contact promotion and knowledge exchange (Wood and Landry, 2012). However, space is socially constructed and experienced and prejudice leads to avoidance of sharing space with the stigmatised groups, also spatial dimensions of the barriers about interaction is much more complex (Chapter 1). As a result, it is important to examine the role of space within the problematization of the policies of social cohesion and to see how the policymakers conceive and reflect upon these issues. In this sense, being one of the first cities to adopt intercultural policies (See Chapter 1) and having a history of urban planning policies that became a controversial topic among scholars, Barcelona is a very suitable case for this study (See Chapter 1). Due to the relevance of this context that is explained briefly in the previous chapter, this article takes the Intercultural Cities Program of Barcelona as a case for its analysis.

To clarify the conceptual focus, the point of departure about my definition of 'public space' was the way it was defined in the ICC Program. Although the "publicness" and "openness" of public spaces are matters of different arguments and discussions within the literature, the word "public space" is taken as it was defined by the Intercultural City Program, the key actors of this program and the City Council of Barcelona which are outdoor or indoor places that are open to public such as squares, streets, public gardens, parks, shopping malls, museums, cultural centres, municipal centres, sanctuary spaces and so on.

When the key policy actors that are responsible of ICC Program speak of inequality in terms of religious diversity; the policymakers, implementers (such as organisers and key actors of the Religious Affairs Office (oar) etc.) and policy documents indicate that, the christian people have their public spaces, the churches to organise their religious activities (like prayers, funerals etc.) due to lack of public spaces for other religions and the domination of christian religion, people from other religious groups like muslims, buddhists and so on cannot find places to organise their own religious activities so that the municipality tries to open up temporary public spaces such as municipal buildings for their activities (like Friday prayer, iftar, activities of the Hindu community etc.). The lack of places of worship is defined as lack of public spaces for religions other than Christianity.

Another example about their definition of public spaces is presented in the activity reports of past years, and official policy documents like guidelines and handbooks (as well as in the responses of my interviews) of the Anti-Rumour Strategy (an initiative of the ICC Barcelona):

In the past years, the policy program hosted two pop-up "anti-rumour cafes" in the public libraries by placing tables and seats in one of the rooms of the public library and they organised a workshop about prejudices towards diversity. This was a "temporary cafe" that was built for this activity for a few hours. They present this activity in the policy documents hosting two pop-up anti-rumour cafés which would promote the anti-rumour message and act as a public space for integration.

So, the ICC Program considers these activity rooms in the public libraries and the temporary 'space' that they have generated as 'public spaces' as well, which are 'built/generated' in order to start a transformation, participation, interaction and integration.

The event called The Night of Religions (La Nit de les Religions) which is considered as an important action of the Intercultural City Program organised by OAR department, is also presented as a festival that transforms these sanctuary places (such as churches, mezquitas) into open public spaces for participation and interreligious exchange.

Some scholars argue that policies also involve a neoliberal form of governance which produce local responsible subjects within communities (individuals, responsible citizens, entities etc.) which enables "'governing at a distance', seeking to create locales, entities and persons able to operate a regulated autonomy" (Rose and Miler, 2010: 1). *Governmentality*, as Michel Foucault termed it, is here a valuable concept that refers to the techniques, rationality, styles of problematization and practices that policymakers or governors use to shape conduct and "the productive effects of power [which] are observed through problematizations" (Bacchi 2012: 4). It urges us not only to find out how policymakers conceptualise the "problem" that they want to cure but also to examine how governing and rule happens through this conceptualization. That is why in the case of the Intercultural Plan of Barcelona and ICC Program, the targeting of interactions between migrants and the "native population" (Council of Europe 2013), identification of neighbourhoods and urban public spaces as zones of intervention and management, and appointment of the presence of migrants and prejudices of individuals as the sources of racism and discrimination, can be considered productions of problems and subjectivities. The objective of this research is to identify how this policy programme conceives and represents public spaces in these inherent problematizations.

The article is divided into four sections. As the context is already depicted in Chapter 1, I start by explaining the theoretical background. Following this, I present the methodology, which adopted a policy analysis approach and drew on semi-structured interviews and content analysis. Then comes the analysis of

the Barcelona Intercultural City programme and the conclusive remarks from this research.

1. Theoretical Background: Interculturalism, living together in urban space and problematizations

A recent systematic review of the interculturalism literature once again highlights that, despite the proliferation of theoretical debates, there remains a dearth of adequate empirical studies examining the applicability of interculturalism as an approach in urban encounters (Elias and Mansouri 2020). While much of the examples in the literature (Bermúdez et. al. 2018; White et. al. 2018) take interculturality as a desired and positive concept, there are studies thatdeal with questioning the constructed character of intercultural policy paradigm, focusing on its inherent problem representations like viewing diversity as a problem (Padilla and Olmos-Alcaraz 2022). Bozic-Vrbančić (2016) for example, interpret Intercultural City Programme as "radically biopolitical" (2016: 87) and argues that it infantilizes the city inhabitants and see them as objects to be governed by regulating their relationships through promotion of intercultural dialogue, which is a 'constructed concept' as an object of evaluation.

In a similar line, Palomera and Aramburu (2012:15) where they explore the gaps in the implementation of intercultural model focusing on the promotion of so called 'intercultural conviviality' in a Spanish neighbourhood, argue that:

"The potential paths towards a form of interculturalism that would have social justice as its main axis—based on the creation of durable cross-communal linkages—are constantly hindered through bureaucratic mechanisms. The key discussion around issues of work, housing and other basic resources, which are at the foundation of the 'conviviality' problem in poor neighbourhoods, are left out of the public agenda. However, it is precisely this kind of discussion what

would really allow poor people to emancipate not as members of an ethnic group but as citizens, as current interculturalists like to say (Amin, 2002). In other words, though in theory interculturalism should "emphasize what different people have in common," in the path towards achieving real forms of participation and citizen emancipation actual policies are narrowed down to the mere task of preventing conflicts, of whatever kind they might be".

Arguing that there is a need for further research that critically assess the conceptualisations of intercultural policies, this chapter focuses on the discourse of policymakers and the official policy documents before getting into the analysis of policy implementation stage which will be introduced in the following chapter.

The optimistic views about interculturalism argues for its potential to bring a peaceful coexistence while we are living together in urban space (Chapter 1). The dichotomy of 'us' and 'them' is always associated with the ideas of 'here' and 'there' (Gupta and Ferguson 1992), since our social identities include engagements within the material environment. As such, between the concepts of 'us' and 'them' there are not only social but also spatial boundaries which lead to conceiving people who transgress those 'boundaries' as matters 'out of place' (Sibley 1995). Therefore, interactions are not irrelevant to our experiences and constructions of places.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, until the 2000s, intergroup contact studies did not consider the spatial organisation of contact. Moreover, it is apparent that the discursive environment, emplaced experiences and social relationships construct the space (Proshansky et al. 1983; Aiello and Bonaiuto 2003). To comprehend this, I here employ the analytical framework proposed by Carol Bacchi (2012), focusing on the inherent problem representations in the policy.

The idea of problem representation refers to 'the understanding of the "problem" implied in any policy or rule' (Bacchi 2012: 298). This focus helps us

to understand the assumptions behind governing and the possible silenced parts of the social interventions. This article scrutinises the Barcelona ICC programme paying more attention to the conceptualizations, representations, inherent problematizations (see section 1.3. Of Chapter 1) and solutions.

The governing takes place through problematizations (which Bacchi (2012) calls 'problem representations') that constitute objects of thought and subjects which enable the act of rule (Bacchi 2012). Governmentality urges us not only to find out how policymakers conceptualise the "problem" that they want to cure but also to examine how governing and rule happens through this conceptualization.

2. Methodology

At this stage, the analysis that informs this article, adopts Carol Bacchi's (2009) policy analysis approach called *What is the problem represented to be?* (WPR) as an analytical tool. The article is based on a content analysis of 24 policy documents (Appendix c) [10]published mostly by the City Council of Barcelona and Council of Europe, and semi-structured interviews conducted between November 2020 and January 2021 with 14 key actors in the policymaking. The policy documents include official documents like work plans, activity plans, annual reports, handbooks, training documents and so on. Of the 14 interviewees, 12 were all conducted with key policymakers responsible for creating and managing the ICC programme of Barcelona. They work under the City Government Commission and are in charge of management and design of Barcelona Interculturality Programme as well as other responsibilities. Apart from them, two former policymakers were included as well, since they have crafted the

---

[10] "For the complete list of the 24 policy documents that were analysed for this article as well as the selection criteria for including them in this list, see Appendix c.".

original policy programme and the main policy documents (like work plans, handbooks etc), who still work on the creation of work plans and guidelines leveraging their substantial know-how about the policy program, which surpasses that of certain current key actors. To maintain anonymity, the names, responsibilities and titles of the participants will not be revealed in this article.

The participants were recruited in accordance with the information that was gathered from the policy documents, the pilot interviews and the organisation chart provided by the City Council of Barcelona. With theseinformation, I have built a an operational table (Appendix D) of actors to differentiate the policymakers who work on the design of the ICC programme and identify my interviewees before starting my fieldwork. The taxonomy that I have built was inspired by the taxonomy proposed by Bullock et al. (2021). Since the team of policymakers were fixed and already defined by the city government, I did not have the chance to build a sample of participants that were balanced in terms of gender, age and other diversities. The number of participants were also shaped by this fixed list of actors. Nevertheless, I enlarged the list by including above-mentioned former policymakers who held office until recently, to have a complementary picture which also helped me validate my findings.

Critical Discourse Analysis was adopted in this analysis and MAXQDA was used as a CADQAS package for the coding of the data. The annual policy documents that belong to different years and the variety within the interviewees and the documents ensured the validation of the data through triangulation. The data was coded and analysed paying attention to two main things: the conceptualization and representations of space in relation to the inherent problematizations.

Being part of a larger study that investigates the stages of policymaking, implementation and the experiences and perceptions in relation with the Barcelona ICC Programme, this article deals with the conceptualization and the

making of this policy. The WPR approach that is adopted in this article draws attention to the constructed character of problems and highlights the role of policymakers in building the understanding of the problems (APPENDIX B). Having a normative stand from the beginning, contrary to the idea that views policies as a reaction to an existing problem, WPR argues that policies are productive, they constitute problems and policymakers actively take part in the production of the problems, therefore we are being governed through problematizations (Bacchi 2009:1-4). Adopting the WPR approach through Critical Discourse Analysis of the documents and interviews helps us see the subjects, objects and the relationships between them that these problematizations produce.

3. Analysis of Barcelona Intercultural Plan

> "Cultural differences due to migration or the presence of minority groups can, if left unmanaged, undermine the city's sense of community and identity, and weaken its ability to respond to challenges, adapt to change, attract investment and grow" (Council of Europe 2013:24).

The quote above belongs to the policy documents published by the Council of Europe (2013) as a practical guide for the application of the Intercultural City model as an "urban model of intercultural integration". Here, cultural diversity is presented as a source of problem that needs to be governed in order to prevent other "problems", which serves as an introduction for us to understand the conceptualizations of policymakers.

The ICC programme of Barcelona constitutes the city as a space to be governed, which consists of neighbourhoods with different characteristics that need tailored activities. Although this policy programme has not specifically been developed to design and manage the urban space, the public spaces have a vital role in the inherent problematizations and the solutions. Sometimes

material, sometimes in an immaterial sense the policy programme conceives public spaces as spaces to be built, managed, promoted, and transformed into open, inclusive, prejudice-free, negative rumours-free, stigmatisation-free, secure and civil settings. The findings also suggest that just like space, the policy constitutes the city population as subjects that are parties of conflict if not managed, mainly classified as immigrant and non-immigrants through an "us and them" discourse, suggesting that "a common us" should be built, through interfering into their relationships. Before getting into the role of space, first we will deal with the subjects that are produced by the policy program, to understand whose social cohesion, whose city and whose conflict are mentioned.

3.1. Subjects: Natives and Immigrants

The ICC programme presents the city residents as two different groups, either "migrants" or native "host community/society" (see for instance, Khovanova-Rubicondo and Pinelli 2012; Baglai et. al. 2015; City Council of Barcelona 2010, 2012), and invites the "native population" to be at ease with these "foreigners". The policy program for example, organises activities that aims to raise the critical awareness of the 'native population', increase their empathy towards the immigrants and invites them to question and dismantle the negative rumours about immigrants such as immigrants steal their jobs (Baglai et. al. 2015: 47). According to the ICC Program of Barcelona, to be able to turn this cultural diversity appeared because of the recent flow of immigration into a cultural enrichment by exploiting its potentialities can only be possible if this diversity is "acknowledged and valued" (City Council of Barcelona 2010: 35). And this could be achieved by making the "recently arrived" (Ibid 2010: 36) migrants acknowledge the cultural heritage of the city as well as taking actions that increase the tolerance of the native residents towards the newcomers by fighting with their prejudice towards these newly arrived migrants. This

reasoning of the plan of actions above, which is taken from the official policy documents that introduces the program, can be considered as productions of problems (for example, 'diversity') *subjectivities.* (such as natives and immigrants).

Another problem representation and subjectivation example is that, the program targets the interaction between migrants and the "native population" (such as Council of Europe, 2013), to turn it into a positive interaction as a way to reinforce social cohesion and aiming to turn this "intercultural coexistence" (City Council of Barcelona, 2010: 6) to a normal, mundane aspect of everyday life "in all social and urban spheres" (City Council of Barcelona, 2010: 6). To be able to achieve this, urban public spaces are seen as zones of intervention and management, and the mere presence of migrants and prejudices of non-immigrant individuals are appointed as the source of conflicts as shown in the example below:

> "The arrival of people from around the world has often generated new situations of use of public spaces, in relations or on a neighbourly scale, that can generate tensions and provoke small conflicts in everyday coexistence. Sometimes these problems are caused by new residents not knowing the rules, whilst this lack of knowledge, fear and the lack of relations can make the intensity of these tensions rise out of all proportion across the whole population. In this context, knowledge and the compliance with rules of coexistence by all citizens is the principal guarantee for the pacific channelling of conflicts" (City Council of Barcelona, 2010: 40).

It is also emphasised that ""manager of public spaces" who promotes the establishment of rules and regulatory stand- ards for the use of public spaces" (Ibid: 40).

Building social cohesion through managing diversity is presented in the Intercultural Cities programme as a tool for "exploiting the potentialities of diversity" (City Council of Barcelona 2010, p.4) within the policy documents. Therefore, one of the reasons for the effort to avoid conflicts is presented as using the *diverse population* for the economic development of the city.

> "The principal goal of this Plan is to define the city's own strategy
> for peaceful coexistence in diversity: that is to say, to define a
> political strategy on how we interpret and face the challenges posed
> by the increase in socio-cultural diversity and how we exploit its
> potentialities" (City Council of Barcelona 2010: 9).

According to the policy documents, this would be done through "treating migrants as a resource for local economic, social and cultural development, and not only as vulnerable groups in need of support and services" (Council of Europe 2016, p. 1). Although the city's economic agenda on immigrants is not the main concern of this article, the purpose to include such quotes is to show the reader that the policy program's definition of migrants as people that are different from the 'natives', that bring challenges, and subjects that need to be decided what to do with. By doing this, the program constantly divides the subjects (the residents of this city) into two groups through an 'us and them' dichotomy, and presents the 'natives' as the ones who belong to Barcelona more and constantly reinforce and constitute these two groups. The city is depicted as a place that belongs to the "natives" which constitutes the "host society" and the original owners of urban space, neighbourhoods, and so on, and which is a population that needs to tolerate the presence of immigrants by correcting their false perceptions about them, and promoting positive interaction with the help of policymakers. In that sense, the "us" that has been existing for a long time, should be rebuilt by "integrating" immigrants in it.

The immigrants by this way, are perceived and/or represented as the source of conflict by their mere presence, although mostly due to the prejudices of the "native population" because of their different cultures, they should also be educated to follow the rules for peaceful coexistence while using public spaces (which are mainly defined through security and civility), and adapt to the life of the neighbourhood that they have newly joined in. The program suggests (City Council of Barcelona 2010: 41) to inform the migrants, since they are newcomers, about the rules of using the public spaces and how to behave in those spaces in order to preserve the peaceful coexistence and emphasises the importance of them following the rules as a solution in order not to annoy the non-immigrant, already established residents which might, according to the ICC Program, trigger their prejudices and provoke conflicts. Following these conditions, "a common us" and "a common sense of belonging" should and can be built by this policy program through organising activities in public spaces that promote intercultural interaction. To avoid conflicts and to construct this cohesion, public spaces also need to be managed both by using them to organise prejudice-reducing activities and by community policing. All of these above-mentioned findings related to public spaces will be detailed in the following sections.

3.2. Conceptualizations and discourse about space

The documents note that the implementers organise rumour gathering workshops which is part of the Anti-Rumour Strategy branch of the ICC Program, in order to identify rumours about immigrants and produce activities to dismantle them. In these data collection phase (which is presented as collecting information about rumours), the non-immigrant residents have been asked what they think about the increasing migration flow and sociocultural diversity in the city and what they think would be helpful to have peaceful relations with them in their neighbourhoods (City Council of Barcelona

2010:18). They are asked what they think about the presence and behaviours of immigrants in their neighbourhoods and public spaces (D-CAS, n.d.). All of these ideas are collected to write up the policy document called Barcelona Interculturality Plan' as well as to trigger discussions and to educate the "host population" about the new diversity that they have to live with. As those responsible for prejudiced attitudes, as a result of the awareness-raising and anti-rumour campaigns (Baglai et. al. 2015), the non-immigrant population are constituted as subjects that are expected to be willing to share public spaces with the immigrants, and the public spaces are represented as spaces that should be designed and managed in a way that turns them into welcoming and inclusive places for these 'newcomers'.

3.3. The role of public spaces in the inherent problematizations and solutions

> "The increase in cultural diversity has brought about, amongst other factors, new and old ways of being and using public spaces, amenities, shops -the street level, strengthening its important socialising role and thereby bringing about new complexities that need to be tackled" (City Council of Barcelona 2010, p. 38).

In the document and the discourse of the policymakers, the presence of migrants is problematized and their supposedly diverse forms of usage of spaces are conceived as sources of conflict, negative rumours, prejudice and stigmatisation both about immigrants and the spaces they use which needs intense intervention. To exemplify this discourse, The Anti-Rumor Strategy (ARS) that belongs to this policy program, used to organiserumor-gathering and rumour dismantling workshops and speaks with the "native population" using the "us and them" dichotomy over space. While they argue that the majority do not want to share public space with immigrants (Tarantino 2014) it seems like the policy implementers problematize this during the interviews with "native"

city residents. Here are some examples from the questions (asked by municipal staff to the city inhabitants) from the interviews to gather information about prejudice towards immigrant population:

> "How do you think the population of the neighbourhood or municipality experiences the presence of immigrant population in the streets, squares or parks? What does the population think about their behaviour and attitude? (Only if it is not mentioned: do you think that the population thinks that this population occupies these public spaces in an exclusive way and that it misuses them? and other similar statements?)..." (D-CAS, n.d.:14).

> "How is the convivencia like in the neighbourhood/municipality? Has it changed in recent years? Has the influx of foreign people influenced this coexistence in any way? Has there been any conflict between indigenous and foreign populations? (explain briefly what it has consisted of) What aspects create more suspicion among the indigenous population?"(D-CAS, n.d.:p.16).

> "And in relation to the gypsy community, what is convivencia like? Has it changed in recent years? Has there been any specific conflict? (explain briefly what it has consisted of). What aspects create more suspicion in the non-Roma population? " (D-CAS, n.d.:16).

> "What rumours have you heard about the link between migrants, refugees and ethnic minorities...and the use of public space?" (De Torres 2018:27).

These dialogues taken from the policy documents are conducted to gather rumours about the immigrants and "ethnic minorities" since the policymakers present the source of discriminative and racist behaviour as negative opinions,

fear, lack of knowledge about "the other", lack of interaction, prejudice and negative rumours about immigrants. The purpose of this is, according to the policy-makers, to dismantle any prejudice and rumour through educating and sensitising activities, and consequently increase the willingness of the non-immigrant population to share public space with immigrants. In the policy documents that explains the ARS strategy, the rumours that are collected from the native people about convivencia are presented as:

> " 1. Arrival of immigrants: 'We are invaded'
>
> 2. Welfare System: 'They receive social aid'
>
> 3. Taxes: 'They do not pay taxes'
>
> 4. Trade: 'They receive aid to open up shops, those shops are not subject to inspection'
>
> 5. Health system: 'They abuse the health services and the emergency services'
>
> 6. Identity: 'We are losing our identity'
>
> 7. Coexistence and civility: 'They do not know the rules, they are uncivil'
>
> 8. Housing: 'They live in overcrowded apartments and they cause a decrease in the value of properties'
>
> 9. Educational system: 'They lower the level of quality of education in the schools'
>
> 10. Public space: 'They over-occupy and misuse public space'
>
> 11. Work and training: 'They are uneducated. They steal our jobs'
>
> 12. Integration: 'They are a burden and they do not want to integrate'" (Direcció de Serveis d'Immigració i Interculturalitat and Ajuntament de Barcelona, n.d. : 7)

It is both reported by the policymakers and the above mentioned document that, after collecting these rumours the ARS team starts an informative session

which is called "Did you know that…" (Direcció de Serveis d'Immigració i Interculturalitat and Ajuntament de Barcelona, n.d. : 7) and they present objective data that they have collected about immigrants to the audience, arguing that this objective information would help dismantle and weaken the chain of rumours that cause negative perceptions about them. Although in the documents that are prepared by policymakers and policy implementers as a guideline includes these negative perceptions, I saw that the policymakers reproduce this 'us and them' language both in the grounding of their problematisations and the solutions that they suggest in terms of public space usage which will be detailed in the following paragraphs.

The policymakers of the Barcelona ICC Program indicated in the interviews that the attempts of migrant groups to build their own public spaces trigger conflicts and negative reactions of the non-immigrant city inhabitants. When asked about the reason of higher rate of convivencia conflicts in certain neighbourhoods, one of the policymakers referred to the presence of the immigrants and the prejudice of the non-immigrant residents as the source of conflicts in the neighbourhoods that have a larger Muslim population:

> *"In Barcelona there are conflicts associated with the origin of the people when it comes to building a mosque (mezquita), a Muslim mosque. This does not happen in the case of the Evangelical churches of the Latins or other groups. But when it comes to the mosques a part of the population considers that a mosque has two consequences: first, a drop in the value of the houses and, second, a great attraction of Muslim people in the neighbourhood. Two years ago, a very serious conflict took place in Nou Barris, and we had to send our teams to carry out a mediation which was successful, despite the willingness of political and media groups to destroy the convivencia."* (Policymaker 1)

While the above-mentioned participant presents the source of a convivencia conflict as the prejudice of the native population, further examples concerning

the conceptions of public space and convivencia can be seen in the policy documents which sometimes contradict each other. In policy documents and reports on public space management, it is seen that conflicts in the neighbourhoods are mostly conceived as caused by the actions that are considered as molesting or incivil which might result in a decrease in sense of security and civility in public spaces. The perceived security is presented as a sense that is affected by crime level, rundown urban environment that lacks well-groomed places and uncivil behaviour. The conflicts taking place in public spaces are depicted as *convivencia* conflicts, in which *convivencia* is described through "civility", following the rules about using public space. Although the documents do not provide any evidence that immigrants get involved in uncivil behaviour, they suggest that immigrants are newcomers who are ignorant about the rules of coexistence therefore they should be well informed about the rules of using public space.

Not having much to do with the cultural relativism that was mentioned as source of conflict, the uncivil behaviours and improper use of public spaces can be exemplified as: sleeping, painting graffiti, alcohol consumption, vandalism, prostitution and taking showers or washing clothes in the fountains (City Council of Barcelona 2015; City Council of Barcelona 2016). The interviewees, when they are asked about the problems about *convivencia* and whether and how they intervene in these situations, reported that it is not their department's job to interfere; instead, the conflicts that take place in public spaces are solved by conflict resolution teams of the city hall such as the city police, Street educators, neighbourhood Technicians, Mediators and so on.

The policymakers of the ICC Program of Barcelona perceive *convivencia* as a thing that has more to do with the public order, civility and sense of security which should be managed by the conflict resolution teams. They say that what they expect and do, are influencing all the departments of the city hall including

the conflict resolution teams by offering them sensitising and awareness-raising trainings about interculturality and the diversity in the city, so that the management of the conflicts and/or public spaces would be done with an intercultural approach, consistent with the city's intercultural program. They hope to avoid the conflicts before they occur by triggering changes in people's perceptions through the activities that are organised by the intercultural policy implementers (awareness raising activities, artistic events, workshops, festivals etc.) and through promoting positive intercultural dialogue amongst neighbours.

The policymakers also think that making the cultural diversity visible in public spaces by supporting and organising cultural activities will help the "local residents" see, accept and tolerate the presence of immigrants in the city. This tolerance and acceptance can be achieved both by making the cultural diversity visible in public spaces and by increasing the interactions among people with a different origin. We saw this argument numerous times in both the policy documents and the literature on interculturalism that defends it as a policy framework by referring to the previously mentioned (Chapter 1) Intergroup Contact Hypothesis of Gordon Allport (1954). However, it is evident that neither the implementation of the policy programme nor the reality of daily life fully meet the prejudice-reducing conditions (Chapter 3) that Allport specified (Chapter 1). Another neglect here about making cultural diversity visible in public spaces is that the mentioned spaces are used simply as a demarcation, or at most a simple container. The history and social construction of the neighbourhood are not considered, nor is the socio-spatial structuring that made some people live in small apartments, having debts an so on which are important factors of power inequalities that needs to be considered when it comes to spatial topics (Lunsteen 2022; 2023).

The lack of intercultural interaction is problematised again by another interviewee who views the fact that people do not know each other and that there is not much opportunity to know each other in our daily lives as a problem:

> *"...pero y yo creo que también ahora estamos un punto o... no existe, pero no hay tampoco unos espacios de interacción demasiado es decir, la realidad con vive en paralelo, no? Yo bueno, quizá voy a comprar a la tienda y tal... pero en realidad aún está bastante cerrado...este desconocimiento es decir, no conozco al vecino, lo he visto más o menos.Petar, pero no, no lo conozco profundamente y por lo tanto me va, son mis prejuicios o mi propia experiencia sin tener una interacción significativa real, no?" (Policymaker 2)*

> "...but I also think that we are now we are at a point where... it [interaction] doesn't exist, but there are no spaces for interaction either, that is to say, we live paralell lives right? I mean, maybe I go to a grocery shop...but in reality it's still quite closed [for interaction]... this lack of knowledge, I mean, I don't know my neighbour, I have been seing him around but no, I do not know him deeply and therefore it is my prejudice [about him] or my own experience without having a real meaningful interaction, no?" (Policymaker 2)

According to the interviews, it seems like the policymakers conceive public spaces as settings that economic inequalities become visible through disturbing ways of usage (drug dealing, prostitution, street vendors, homeless people…) and since the disadvantaged people include high number of immigrants, these ways of usage has the potential of triggering negative perceptions towards immigrants. An interviewee says:

> "Another issue that is also historically bothering the public space is prostitution. This is an issue in certain areas of the city. And now, probably, the face of the prostitution is the face of a migrant. Come

on, this is Barcelona. Okay, Barcelona has been known for prostitution for more than hundred years. But in the public spaces, at the moment, the people who work as prostitute are mainly foreigners" (Former policymaker 1)

"Another issue that bothers people is the street vendors in the public space. Most of the street vendors, the majority of them have a different religion [than Christianity], you know, they are black or they are Pakistani but, you know, this is one of the activities that migrants in irregular status have a possibility to make some money...So,I would say, this could be a problem because most of them are migrants from Senegal or from Pakistan" (Former policymaker 1)

Here, in the quotations above, apart from reproducing the language of prejudiced city inhabitants, the policymaker depicts a very specific conceptualization of what a public space should be like and under which conditions it becomes problematic. This way, the policymaker depicted the presence of migrants in the streets as a source of prejudice.

Regarding the use of public space, nearly all of the participants mentioned the high density of Barcelona as a potential source of conflict and a factor that makes diversity visible. The common view was that the narrow streets, the scarcity of open public spaces, the high density due to the size of the metropolitan area, all lead to excessive encounters and the possibility of a negative, conflictive interaction. In fact, at the very beginning the policy program depicted interaction and encounters in public spaces as favourable things to be increased. The contradiction here is that, the interaction that is desired, is seen as the source of the problem as well. Therefore, not all forms and frequencies of interactions are favoured. Also, according to the interviewees, the small size of the apartments and the warm Mediterranean

climate are strong factors that lead to excessive usage of certain public spaces which again includes a potential of the visibility of 'diversity' and conflict.

Not all the policymakers neglect the socio-economic structuring while they speak of spatial issues. According to the perception of the policymakers, all of these factors make public spaces a scarce resource that people would compete over.

> "Now, what happens is that the use of public space varies depending on the culture and the origin of people. For example, if you live in a small house, inevitably you spend time in public spaces more often. For example, the children want to play ball and the gentlemen and ladies want to sit down and sunbathe there and...other people want to use the same benches as well. This is a scarce resource and we need to manage this in some way" (Policymaker 3)

> "Barcelona is a very ompact city with limited green spaces and parks. Bounded by the sea on one side and a river on the other, the area is quite narrow Also, we live in a mediterranean climate so people spend time in public spaces more often...For example, people of Pakistani origin who play cricket, need a very large space because this sport requires a lot of space and then there is a competition for the use of a public space that is already scarce". (Former policymaker 2)

About the density issue, some policymakers draw attention to the public/private distinction:

> "The level of human presence and density is very high and the occupation of public space is constant. It is simply a problem. The problem is, when the private space is of poor quality and is small,

you need to use public space more - because your needs are not met in the private space. If you go to Sarria or Pedralbes [high income neighbourhoods with wide houses], where you have flats, houses of two hundred square metres or three hundred square metres with a private garden, you do not need public space at all. If you live on Escudellers Street or Robador Street [lower income, stigmatised neighbourhoods with small houses], with flats of forty fifty square metres, you need to go out because you can't stay there all day. There is a problem of inequality in housing that forces us to be more present in public space and then public spaces are scarcer due to density…Second problem is that, if you come from Pakistan or from Latin America, your conception of public space is different because your cultural traditions are different. For example, in some cultural traditions women are not present in public space and only men are in public space, and speak in public space and occupy that public space. So this is a bit weird here because the public space is small, and [if] a mother wants to go for a walk with her baby carriage and the square is full of men who are always there, they do not move and they are talking - in the end there is a problem of space occupation, right? And then there are some different cultural traditions. For example in Colombia, Ecuador, on Sundays, you are used to doing barbecue with a grill in the park, right? So you do a barbecue, but people are not used to the ones who cook meat on grills in the park. Then there arises a convivencia problem" (Policymaker 4)

Here, about the encounters the density is problematized and the increase of number of people is seen as a source of conflict. But this increase of density is presented through a private and public distinction as if people with large "private spaces" would not spend time in public spaces. Moreover, the 'private space' that is used as an indicator of inequality is reduced to be about housing

and the privatisation of public spaces that leads to the inequalities in the use of public spaces remains untouched. Furthermore, when the participant was asked to interpret conflicts in public space, the interviewee identifies conflicts with *convivencia* problems and presents the source of conflicts as cultural diversity by reducing the complexity of daily life to the national origins of city inhabitants.

Another source of conflict addressed in the intercultural policy programme is the presence of worship spaces that are used by different religious groups, especially mosques (*mezquitas*). Stigmatisation of Muslim immigrants reveals itself as conflicts over worship spaces in the neighbourhoods and Barcelona Intercultural Plan conceives these mosques as spaces that makes religious diversity visible in the public spaces of the city (City Council of Barcelona 2019). The insights they give about the conflicts can be interpreted as, the identity of the people who claim access to a space matters and could become a source of prejudice:

> "About the mosque conflict in Calle Japón, our mediation was in fact only pedagogical...Firstly, if you want to set up a space of worship, the rules and regulations are clear. You open up this space if you meet the requirements. This is not a matter of negotiation...Most of the time, people that want to set up these spaces are not aware of these regulations and we inform them about these procedures...We were there next to the conflict resolution team and we also informed the other neighbours about the opening of the mosque, about what kind of activities would take place in it. And we have listened to them and gathered information about the source of their fear and anxieties. We usually get involved in these situations in a pedagogical sense...Even more important than mediating these conflicts, there appears a serious lack of information within the society. For instance, when Muslim

students enrol in the schools, Islamophobic attitudes emerge, and we receive a lot of questions from families about the female students wearing headscarf, etc. There is a serious lack of knowledge in the society about the freedom of religion, right to education, etc." (Policymaker 1)

In relation to solving the inherent problematizations of the policy, Intercultural City Programme conceives and represents public spaces as spaces that can be constructed and transformed -both material and immaterial sense- by triggering from above, mainly through 1) managing its use, 2) educating people about its use, 3) sensitising people about the diversity that exists in the city and 4) building "a shared sense of belonging" (City Council of Barcelona 2016).

In addition to the power of the departments and staff that are connected to government, the Intercultural Program expects or promises participation of other actors as well. Although the change that is expected to occur is presented as if it could be created by triggering from above, the ICC Program of Barcelona states that it is a participative strategy in the official policy documents multiple times. The participation that they refer to is the expectation that the funded çivil society organisations and non-state actors in order to realise their aims. The City Council trusts that activities of the ICC Program, which includes projects and events designed by a variety of çivil society actors, would be able to transform the city by promoting intercultural interaction, diversity recognition and prejudice-reduction in public spaces where the public activities take place.

According to the policy program, public spaces play an important role in achieving the objectives and integrating "the newcomers" into the life of the established, native residents. For these purposes, public spaces should ideally be open, inclusive and accessible to all and urban planners should pay attention to foster interaction. Here, the policymakers and the official policy documents do

not claim that the public spaces in Barcelona are ideal in terms of inclusivity and openness but rather, they present this idea as an objective of this policy program. In addition to that, according to the program, public spaces can/should be transformed into spaces free of exclusion, racism, prejudice, negative rumours about immigrants through temporary activities like festivities, conferences, artistic activities, exhibitions and Anti-Rumor activities which are composed of awareness-raising trainings and workshops about racism and discrimination. It is also noted that urban planners that were referred to as "intercultural place-makers" (Council of Europe 2013) should consider the objective of increasing the interaction while building or improving public spaces. Physical construction of the city here is presented without referring much to the social construction of spaces. Another ideal presented about urban space is that territorial segregation should be avoided through policies addressing territorial economic inequalities since it is seen as one of the sources of stigmatisation of certain groups. The territorial segregation is mainly problematised when it comes to the concentration of migrant residents (it is worse if they are from the same origin) in certain neighbourhoods because it is feared that this would create grouping among people and prevent intercultural mixing (especially in the policy documents). I asked the policymakers why they think this concentration happens, they noted that the migrants' soci-economic status in the society which makes them end up settling in low-cost neighbourhoods. During the interviews, the structural racism that prevents migrants from accessing the labour market often remained untouched..

The policy program suggests that one way to avoid conflicts is informing immigrants about the rules of using public spaces which are mostly defined through security and civility. The management is carried through community policing (Abanades, D. M. 20192019) and by strengthening the role of various professionals connected to municipality including "Street Educators" (Educadors de Carrer) who prevent and interfere with the conflicts of 12-25

years old youngsters , the City Police (Guàrdia Urbana), Street based social workers (Tècnics a Partir del Carrer), the Conflict Management Service (Servei de Gestió de Conflictes), the Intercultural Mediation Service, neighbourhood Technicians (Tècnics de Barri), etc" (City Council of Barcelona 2010: 48).

By sensitising the non-immigrant population about the diversity in the city in relation with negative attitudes and racism, and "building" a common sense of belonging, the policy programme presents public spaces as settings that can be constructed and/or transformed to conflict-free, rumour-free, discrimination and prejudice-free places. The programsuggests using the already existing public spaces to organise trainings, workshops and artistic activities to promote positive intercultural interaction and prejudice-reduction. By this way, "temporary spaces" would be created, which would contribute in transforming the space that has been used for this activity. For instance, to dismantle prejudices about immigrants, the trainers set up tables in the public libraries, call this activity "Anti-Rumor Cafes" (de Torres Barderi 2018) and discuss stereotypes with a limited group of voluntary participants. After the activity ends, although the "cafes" no longer exist, the policy programme considers these activities as creating temporary spaces that contribute to transforming the public spaces in the neighbourhood by triggering change in intercultural relationships. Unlike the previous work plans, including several critiques about the inequalities within the city life that neglects multiple forms of diversity, the newly published Barcelona Interculturality Plan 2021-2030 makes more emphasis on the necessity of justice, accessibility and the inclusivity of the urban planning and public spaces of the city (City Council of Barcelona 2021).

Another way that public spaces are represented in conflict resolution through sensitising people about diversity is that the policy sometimes suggests organising activities in the spaces that are seen as the sources of conflicts. This view is adopted in the activities about religious diversity. For example, to

interfere in the relationships about the xenophobic and islamophobic protests that took place to prevent the opening of mosques in some neighbourhoods of Barcelona, the policy program, organized guided tours that take native residents to some mosques in order to inform them about the culture and practices in other religions. The activities that promote interreligious dialogue are conducted not only as tailored activities after conflicts but also as regular activities once in every year organised with the collaboration of the Office of Religious Affairs since 2016. These activities that are organised mostly in sanctuary places, are seen as promotion of meeting spaces for different religious communities. Those activities that are promoted from above are expected to increase the visibility of cultural diversity in the city. This once again reveals that the policymakers problematised prejudice, disinformation, lack of intercultural or inter-religious contact rather than complex power inequalities that enhances the urban bordering practices.

The last method that is suggested to transform the city is increased sense of belonging of immigrants and construction of a "shared sense of belonging" that is accompanied by finding "a common us" (City Council of Barcelona 2010; 2012; 2016). By this way, the policy programme argues, conflicts in the neighbourhoods could be reduced and some of the appropriate spaces to build this sense of belonging among immigrants are neighbourhood associations, cultural centres, civic centres, libraries etc. An example often referred to in the policy documents is the activity that takes neighbourhood residents to a guided tour that informs them about the history of the neighbourhoods.

4. Concluding Remarks

Intercultural Cities programme problematizes diversity, arguing that migration brought challenges, that migrants need to be "integrated". It detaches itself from multiculturalism, claiming that it failed to avoid conflicts and brought segregation. Instead, the intercultural policy framework claims the social life in

the cities should be "intercultural" which requires interaction, sharing the same spaces, mixing, interacting, encountering each other and eliminating spatial segregation.

UnlikeAmin and Thrift(2002) who argues no matter how inclusive a space was designed, the prejudiced and marginalised people would stay away from those places, those in favour of intercultural policy approach defend that the lack of social cohesion and intercultural contact among people, could be overcome if the public spaces are well-managed and well-conceived by the help of an "intercultural" urban planning (Wood and Landry 2008; Council of Europe 2013; Zapata-Barrero 2019) and an "intercultural place-making" (Council of Europe 2013:63). According to this view of policymakers, the main source of conflict is the diversity and the cultural relativism and prejudice that it brings, and conflict can and should be avoided by restoring *convivencia* among the native population and the migrants.

The responsibility and cause of the conflict is mostly presented as prejudice that occurs mainly because of the presence of diversity. And the benefit of managing diversity and taking diversity as an "advantage" (see for instance Khovanova-Rubicondo and Pinelli 2012) is presented as an increase in productivity and social and economic development. Including immigrants into urban life, would also mean an increase in the advantages that they would bring to socio-economic development. The barrier in front of making the most of this advantage, is presented as racist and discriminative attitudes of some native citizens who are often referred to as the "host society" (Council of Europe 2013) that needs to learn to peacefully share the space that they own with the immigrants, by welcoming them, getting to know the commonalities between themselves, overcoming the fear of the unknown other, empathising with them and the city government collaborating with civil society, is ready to remove these factors, promote and manage this intercultural relationship, towards a socially cohesive future.

The way the purpose of integration is presented handbook on Barcelona's Anti-Rumor Strategies to guide other IC cities, connecting it with economic growth of the city is consistent with what David Harvey (1989) calls the shift in urban governance from managerialism which was focused on service and benefits for the urban population, to entrepreneurialism in which cities take entrepreneurial actions for economic development that promotes city as an object to attract new business. Therefore, the discourse in ICC Programme as an urban model casts a question mark upon how policymakers conceive the city and the spatially grounded social processes in it. This means the cohesion that is aimed to be built and the space to be constructed might be the product of problematization of these urban conflicts (including racism, discrimination etc.) as barriers in front of the promotion of the city as "a good business climate" (Harvey 1989:11).

By representing the non-immigrant residents as "host society" and presenting the increase in their willingness to share public spaces with the immigrants as a success indicator, the policy conceptualises urban space as settings belonging to the non-immigrant residents. Regarding the relationship between the problems, responsibilities and subjects that the discourse of this policy produces, space is represented as a setting of relations, of conflict and an appropriate setting for policy implementation.

The implementation of ICC programme is presented as intense interventions that can build and transform the public spaces into open, inclusive, prejudice free spaces through 1) preventing the conflicts and managing use of space through community policing 2) educating, especially immigrant groups, about the rules of public space usage 3) using the already existing public spaces to organise sensitising and educating activities for the host society about cultural diversity, prejudice and racism, 4) investing in improving physical conditions of

the public spaces in disadvantaged and stigmatised neighbourhoods and 5) building a shared sense of belonging to the neighbourhoods.

Focusing on the implied problems that this policy programme addresses, the discursive constructions within the conceptualizations of this policy allows us to see what exactly it is that the policy programme aims to manage and how it aims to do so. Because "policy sets forth problems to be solved or goals to be achieved and identifies the people whose behaviour is linked to the achievement of desired ends. Behavioural change is sought by enabling or coercing people to do things they would not have done otherwise" (Schneider and Ingram 1993:335). In this sense, when we examine the role of space in all these, Barcelona ICC programme points the relationships within the public spaces, the way people use spaces and the feelings of people towards those spaces as things to be managed. However, objectifying the public spaces, neighbourhoods and producing subjectifications as such, neglects the multi-actor and complex character of the everyday constructions of space and the fact that space is socially produced and experienced (Lefebvre 1991; Low 1996; Wolch and Dear 1989). This means that "Intercultural place-making", constructing an open and inclusive city and all the other constructions of space are multi-actor and social processes. This makes it equally important to investigate the social effects of these problematizations that neglect the nature of this process by observing the implementation and target groups on the ground in future research. Since policy implementation is a multi-actor process, it is important to pay attention to the perceptions of different actors who implement the policy and to the world of the target groups to see the gaps between the designers' world and the city inhabitants. This is why the further stages of this research deals with observing the implementation of this policy program and the perceptions of it's target groups about the relations in public spaces, which reveal the huge gaps between various actors.

Lastly, the picture that ICC Programme as an "urban model of intercultural integration" depicts, leaves a lot of important aspects of urban life silenced. The injustices which release themselves in spatial aspects of city life, unlike it is presented by ICC Program, is more than a simple question of prejudice and perception of some city residents. Approaching the problems of 'minority groups' in the city life, and by presenting the barriers as prejudices, perceptions and behaviours of the individuals, the policy programme also seems to neglect taking into consideration that racism is structural and the problems also involve power inequalities and socio-economic inequalities.

Bibliography

Abanades, D. M. (2019). *Intercultural Cities Manual on Community Policing.* Council of Europe: Council of Europe. https://edoc.coe.int/en/living-together-diversity-and-freedom-in-europe/7930-intercultural-cities-manual-on-community-policing.html

Aiello, A., and Bonaiuto, M., (2003). "Rhetorical Approach and Discursive Psychology: The Study of Envi- Ronmental Discourse." In *Psychological Theories for Environmental Issues*, eds. Mirilia Bonnes, Terence Lee, and Marino Bonaiuto. Ashgate: Routledge, 235–70.

Allport, G. W., (1954). *The Nature of Prejudice.* Addison-Wesley.

Amin, A., and Thrift, N., (2002). *Cities: Reimagining the Urban.* Oxford: Polity.

Astor, A. (2016). "Social Position and Place-Protective Action in a New Immigration Context: Understanding Anti-Mosque Campaigns in Catalonia." *International Migration Review* 50(1): 95–132.

Ajuntament de Barcelona. (2019). Programa Bcn Interculturalitat Memòria 2019. Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona https://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/bcnacciointercultural/sites/default/files/documentos/memoria_progbi_2019.pdf

Bacchi, C. (2009). *Analysing Policy.* Pearson Australia Pty Ltd.

———. (2012). Why Study Problematizations? Making Politics Visible. *Open Journal of Political Science*, *02*(01), 1–8. https://doi.org/10.4236/ojps.2012.21001

Back, L., and Sinha, S. (2016) Multicultural Conviviality in the Midst of Racism's Ruins, Journal of Intercultural Studies, 37:5, 517-532, DOI: 10.1080/07256868.2016.1211625

Baglai, C., De Torres Barderi, D., Ó Siochrú, S., and Khovanova-Rubicondo, K. (2015). "CITIES FREE OF RUMOURS: How to Build an Anti-Rumour Strategy in My City." http://pjp-eu.coe.int/documents/6374912/0/Prems+079615+GBR Final+2587+CitiesFreeRumours+WEB+21x21.pdf/c01ea15a-0195-494f-820f-00ada611f01f.

De Torres Barderi, D., (2018). *Antirumours Handbook 2018*. Council of Europe.

Barcelona City Council. (2010). Barcelona Interculturality Plan. City Council of Barcelona: Barcelona.

Barcelona City Council and its Directorate of Immigration and Interculturality. (2014). C4i Communication for Integration Catalogue of Anti-Rumour Activities Deliverable No.8 (Issue November). Council of Europe.

Bermúdez, K., Crespo, R., Sanahuja, R., and Astudillo, C. (2018). Building Intercultural Policies and Practices in the City of Barcelona. In Bob W. Wite (Ed.), *Intercultural Cities Policy and Practice for a New Era* (pp. 103–144). Palgrave Macmillan, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-62603-1_6 Božić-Vrbančić, S. (2016). BIOPOLITICS AND INTERCULTURAL CITIES IN EUROPE. Folia Linguistica et Litteraria, (14), 73-88.

Cantle T. (2008). Community Cohesion: a New Framework for Race and Diversity. Basingstoke: Plagrave Macmillan.

Cantle, T., (2012), *Interculturalism: The New Era of Cohesion and Diversity,* London, Palgrave.

Cantle, T. (2015). "Implementing Intercultural Policies." In Interculturalism in Cities Concept, Policy and Implementation, ed. Ricard Zapata-Barrero. Cheltenham, Edward Elgar Publishing

City Council of Barcelona. (2012). Immigration Plan 2012-2015 Barcelona. Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona

———2014). "A Practical Guide for Anti Rumour Agents How to Fight Rumours and Stereotypes about Cultural Diversity in Your City."

———. 2017. *Programa Bcn Interculturalitat Memòria 2017*. Barcelona.

———. (2021). *Barcelona Interculturality Plan 2021-2030*. Retrieved from https://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/bcnacciointercultural/sites/default/files /documentos/barcelona_interculturality_plan_2021-2030_1.pdf

Council of Europe. (2008). White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue "Living Together As Equals in Dignity" (Issue May). Council of Europe Publishing. https://www.coe.int/t/dg4/intercultural/source/whitepaper_final_revise d_en.pdf

———. (2013). The intercultural city step by step. Council of Europe Publishing.

———. (2016). *Intercultural cities - The art of mixing*. Council of Europe Publishing.

———. (2017). Results of the Intercultural Cities Index Barcelona April 2017. Council of Europe.

———. (2019) Intercultural Cities –Annual report. Council of Europe Publishing.

D-CAS. Pautas Metodológicas Para La Detección de Rumores. (n.d.) Barcelona: D-CAS. http://www.antirumores.com/resources/pautas_metogologicas_deteccion _rumores.pdf.

Direcció de Serveis d'Immigraci, o i Interculturalitat Ajuntament de Barcelona. (n.d.) Estrategia BCN Antirumores. Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona. http://www.antirumores.com/resources/estrategia_bcn_antirumores.pdf.

Dixon, J. (2001). Contact and Boundaries. *Theory and Psychology*, *11*(5), 587–608. https://doi.org/10.1177/0959354301115001

Delgado, M., (2007). *Sociedades movedizas. Pasos hacia una antropología de las calles.* Barcelona: Anagrama, 275 p. [ISBN: 978-84-339-6251-5]

Dixon, J., (2001). "Contact and Boundaries." *Theory and Psychology* 11(5): 587–608.

Dixon, J., and Durrheim, K., (2004). "Dislocating Identity: Desegregation and the Transformation of Place." *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 24(4): 455–73.

Elias, A., and Mansouri, F. (2020). A Systematic Review of Studies on Interculturalism and Intercultural Dialogue. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, *41*(4), 490–523. https://doi.org/10.1080/07256868.2020.1782861

Erickson, B., (2011) Utopian virtues: Muslim neighbors, ritual sociality, and the politics of convivència. American Ethnologist 38(1): 114–131.

Feld, S., and Basso, K., H., (1996). *Senses of Place.* School of American Press.

Fernández Suárez, B. (2017). The Design of Migrant Integration Policies in Spain: Discourses and Social Actors. Social Inclusion, 5(1), 117-125. doi:https://doi.org/10.17645/si.v5i1.783

Florida, R. (2005). Cities and the creative class. In *Cities and the Creative Class.* Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203997673/CITIESCREATIVE-CLASS-RICHARD-FLORIDA

Giddens, A., (1991). *Modernity and Self-Identity : Self and Society in the Late Modern Age.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Gilroy, P. (2004). Postcolonial melancholia. Columbia University Press.Goonewardena, K., Kipfer, S., Milgrom, R. and Schmid, C., (2008). Space, Difference, Everyday Life: Reading Henri Lefebvre *Space, Difference, Everyday Life: Reading Henri Lefebvre.* eds. Goonewardena Karnishka, Stefan Kipfer, Richard Milgrom, and Christian Schmid. New York: Routledge.

Gupta, A., and Ferguson, J. (1992). Beyond "Culture": Space, Identity, and the Politics of Difference. *Cultural Anthropology*, *7*(1), 6–23.

Harvey, D. (1989). *The Condition of Postmodernity*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

———. 2003. *The New Imperialism* . Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hopkins, N, and Dixon, J. (2006). "Space, Place, and Identity: Issues for Political Psychology." *Political Psychology* 27(2): 173–85.

Jameson, F. (1991). *Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*. Duke University Press.

Kasper, E., McGranahan, G., Lintelo, D., Gupte, J., Tranchant, J.-P., Lakshman, R., and Nesbitt-Ahmed, Z. (2017). *Evidence Report No. 220: Inclusive Urbanisation and Cities in the 21st Century* (Issue 220). Institute of Development Studies. https://opendocs.ids.ac.uk/opendocs/handle/20.500.12413/12849

Khovanova-Rubicondo, K. and Pinelli, D. (2012). Evidence of the Economic and Social Advantages of Intercultural Cities Approach. Meta-analytic assessment for the Council of Europe. http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/cultureheritage/culture/Source/Cities/Review.doc

Kuper, H. (1972). "The Language of Sites in the Politics of Space." *American Anthropologist* 74(3): 411–25.

Larsen, T. S., and Nagel Delica, K. (2019). "The Production of Territorial Stigmatisation: A Conceptual Cartography." *City* 23(4–5): 540–63.

Lefebvre, H. (1991). "The Production of Space." *The production of space.*

Low, S. (2017). "Public Space and the Public Sphere: The Legacy of Neil Smith." *Antipode* 49(Smith 2009): 153–70.

———. 2000. Anthropologica *On the Plaza: The Politics of Public Space and Culture*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

———. 1996. "Spatializing Culture: The Social Production and Social Construction of Public Space in Costa Rica." *American Ethnologist* 23(4): 861–79. http://doi.wiley.com/10.1525/ae.1996.23.4.02a00100 (April 14, 2020).

———. 1999. Review Literature And Arts Of The Americas *Theorizing the City: The New Urban Anthropology Reader*. ed. Setha M Low. London: Rutgers University Press.

Lundsteen, M. (2022). *Convivencia. Migration and Urban Transformation in a Small Catalan Town.* Challenging Migration Studies Series. Rowman and Littlefield.

Lundsteen, M. (2023). Migration and Urban Space in a Small Town in Catalonia: The Contested Neighbourhood. *Migration Studies, Onlinefirst* DOI: https://doi.org/10.1093/migration/mnad009

Lydon, M., and Garcia, A. (2015). Tactical urbanism: Short-term action for long-term change. In *Tactical Urbanism: Short-Term Action for Long-Term Change*. Island Press.Macnaghten, P. (1993). "Discourses of Nature: Argumentation and Power." In *Discourse Analytic Research*, eds. Erica Burman and Ian Parker. London: Routledge, 52–71.

Magro Huertas, T. (2011). "The Spume that Beats at the Gates of the City" Urban Social Movements in Barcelona (1964-1986)" in Josep Maria Montaner, Fernando Álvarez and Zaida Muxí eds., *Critical Files. The Barcelona Model* 1973-2004. Ajuntament de Barcelona: ETSAB-UPC, 2011, pp. 110-115.

Di Masso, A., and Dixon, J. (2015). "More Than Words: Place, Discourse and the Struggle over Public Space in Barcelona." *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 12(1): 45–60. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14780887.2014.958387.

Mehaffy, M. W. (2019). New Urbanism and the New Urban agenda. In Emily Talen (Ed.), A Research Agenda for New Urbanism (pp. 139–152). Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd. https://doi.org/10.4337/9781788118637.00014

Minard, R. D. (1952). "Race Relationships in the Pocahontas Coal Field." *Journal of Social Issues* 8(1): 29–44. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.1952.tb01592.x (April 15, 2020).

Nightingale, D. J., and Cromby, J. (1999). *Social Constructionist Psychology: A Critical Analysis of Theory and Practice - David J. Nightingale, John Cromby* . Buckingham: Open University Press.

Padilla, B., and Olmos-Alcaraz, A. (2022). Exploring cultural policies in Southern Europe from the lens of conviviality in contexts of super-diversity. SN Soc Sci 2, 274 https://doi.org/10.1007/s43545-022-00572-9

Palomera, J. and Aramburu, M., (2012)."From the Intercultural Model to its Actual Implementation in a Spanish neighbourhood". *EASA Workshop 2012: Working Papers.* 5. Retrieved from https://scholarworks.umass.edu/chess_easa/5

Pettigrew, T. F., and Tropp, L. R. (2006). "A Meta-Analytic Test of Intergroup Contact Theory." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 90(5): 751–83. https://doi/10.1037/0022-3514.90.5.751 (April 15, 2020).

Proshansky, H. M., Fabian, A.K. and Kaminoff, R. (1983). "Place-Identity: Physical World Socialization of the Self." *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 3(1): 57–83. https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1016/S0272-4944(83)80021-8 (April 15, 2020).

Purdy, S. and Kwak, N. H. (2007). "Introduction: New Perspectives on Public Housing Histories in the Americas." *Journal of Urban History* 33(3): 357–74. http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/0096144206297128.

Putnam R. D. (2007). E Pluribus Unum: diversity and community in the Twenty-first century, The 2006 Johan Skytte Prize Lecture, Scandinavian Political Studies 30.

Reicher, S. (2007). "Rethinking the Paradigm of Prejudice." *South African Journal of Psychology* 37(4): 820–34. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F008124630703700410 (April 15, 2020).

Relph, E. C. (1976). *Place and Placelessness*. London: Pion.

Rodman, M. C. (1992). "Empowering Place: Multilocality and Multivocality." *American Anthropologist* 94(3): 640–56.

Rose N., and Miller P. (1992) Political power beyond the State: problematics of government. Br J Sociol. 2010 Jan;61 Suppl 1:271-303. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-4446.2009.01247.x. PMID: 20092498.

Rose, N. and Miller, P. (2010), Political power beyond the State: problematics of government. *The British Journal of Sociology,* 61: 271-303. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-4446.2009.01247.x

Xarxa BCN Antirumores. (2016). *Pla d'acció Xarxa BCN Antirumors 2016-2020. Barcelona*: Ajuntament de Barcelona. https://media-edg.barcelona.cat/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/PAX-2016_2020.pdf

Saitta, D. (2020). *Intercultural Urbanism: City Planning from the Ancient World to the Modern Day.* Zed Books.

Schneider, A. and Ingram, H. (1993) 'Social Construction of Target Populations: Implications for Politics and Policy', The American Political Science Review, Vol. 87, No. 2, pp. 334 – 347.

Sen, A., and Silverman, L. (2014). *Making Place: Space and Embodiment in the City*. eds. Arijit Sen and Lisa Silverman. Indiana University Press.

Sibley, D. (1995). *Geographies of Exclusion Society and Difference in the West*. London: Routledge.

Smith, N. (1990). Uneven Development: Nature, Capital, and the Production of Space *Uneven Development: Nature, Capital, and the Production of Space*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Soja, E. W. (1989). *Postmodern Geographies ꞉ The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory*. Verso.

SOS Racisme Catalunya. (2017). *InVisibles. L'estat Del Racisme a Catalunya. Informe 2017*. Barcelona. http://www.sosracisme.org/wpcontent/uploads/2018/03/InformeSOS2017_InVisibles_compressed.pdf.

Sutton, R. (1999). Overseas Development Institute *Working Paper 118 The Policy Process: An Overview*. London: Chameleon Press Ltd.Tarantino, F. (2014). "The BCN Anti-Rumour Strategy and the BCN Anti-Rumour Network." (January). http://www.eu-mia.eu/media/library/20-01-2014-15-09-23/at_download/AttachmentFile

Vanolo, A. (2014). *Smartmentality: The Smart City as Disciplinary Strategy, 51*(5), 883–898. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098013494427

Venkov, N. (2019). *Conviviality Vs Politics of Coexistence: Going Beyond the Global North*. 11. CAS Working Paper Series. Sofia: Centre for Advanced Study Sofia.

Wacquant, L. J. D. (1992). 18 An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology *Towards a Social Praxeology: The Structure and Logic of Bourdieu's Sociology*. eds. Pierre Bourdieu and Loïc J. D. Wacquant. Cambridge: Polity Press.

White, B. W. (2018). *Intercultural Cities: Policy and Practice for a New Era* (B. W. White, Ed.). Springer Nature. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-62603-1

Wood P. (2015). Meet me on the corner? Shaping the conditions for cross-cultural interaction in urban public space. In R. Zapata-Barrero (Ed.), *Interculturalism in cities: concept, policy and implementation* (pp. 53–75). Cheltenham: Edward-Elgar Publishing.

Wood, P., and Landry, C. (2012). The intercultural city: Planning for diversity advantage. In *The Intercultural City: Planning for Diversity Advantage*. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781849773089

Wolch, J., and Dear, M. (1989). The Power of Geography (RLE Social and Cultural Geography) *The Power of Geography How Territory Shapes Social Life*. ed. Michael Dear Jennifer Wolch. London: Routledge.

Wright, S. C., and Baray, G. (2012). "Models of Social Change in Social Psychology: Collective Action or Prejudice Reduction? Conflict or Harmony? ." In *Beyond Prejudice, Extending the Social Psychology of Conflict, Inequality and Social Change* , eds. John Dixon and Mark Levine. New York: Cambridge University Press, 237–60.

Zapata-Barrero, R. (2019). *Intercultural Citizenship in the Post-Multicultural Era*. SAGE Publications.

Zukin, S. (1991). The Journal of American Folklore *Landscapes of Power: From Detroit to Disney World*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

CHAPTER 3: Intercultural City Program of Barcelona, Convivencia and Public Space: Perspectives of policy making and policy implementation

Abstract

Migration is increasingly perceived as a challenge to many European countries. Since 2008, the Council of Europe (COE) has been promoting interculturalism as a city-level integration policy model under the name Intercultural Cities (ICC) programme to facilitate intercultural interaction, fight prejudice and discrimination, and enhance inclusion and social cohesion. The member cities within the Intercultural City Network have developed several policy programmes to build inclusive cities. The objectives of these policy programmes include managing and creating public spaces that facilitate peaceful encounters, intercultural contact, inclusion and convivencia. Since policies are usually designed to address problems, it is important to investigate what the problems are presented to be (Bacchi 2009). Accordingly, through semi-structured interviews with policy implementers and observation as well as content analysis of the activities, the article analyses the case of Barcelona Interculturality Program, illuminates how the policy programme is implemented in practice and what the inherent problem representations of policy implementers about convivencia and public spaces are. This also reveals the differences between the perspectives of the policymakers and policy implementers about the conceptualisations and artefacts (Wedel et al 2005).

Introduction

Growing international migration is perceived as a challenge for most European countries, resulting in increasing xenophobia, racism and anti-immigrant sentiments and discourses. Recent debates state that multiculturalism has given rise to conflicts, segregation and reduced social trust (Putnam 2007) and social cohesion (Cantle 2008). These debates have increased the popularity of the intercultural approach as a new policy paradigm, as it aims at promoting positive interaction in order to eliminate 'challenges' and restore or build social cohesion. An idea which is based on the belief that increasing cultural diversity if left unchecked might lead to conflicts.

The intercultural approach has been promoted at the international level by the Council of Europe (henceforth, COE) - specifically, since 2008, as a city-level policy named the Intercultural Cities programme (henceforth, ICC). Within this policy framework, ICCs have been implementing different strategies to build social cohesion by trying to eliminate barriers such as racism and anti-immigrant attitudes. However, despite its popularity, how they are grounded or are actually implemented are still understudied.

As explained in the previous chapter, the ICC approach is inspired by Allport's (1954) intergroup contact hypothesis. As a policy paradigm, interculturalism is understood as a tool to build social cohesion in diverse societies by promoting positive interaction and a common sense of belonging (see Chapter 2). Although in some of the policy documents of Barcelona ICC Programme underlines the necessity of these conditions while designing activities that promote intercultural interaction (De Torres Barderi 2018, p. 55), it is evident that neither the implementation of the policy programme nor the reality of daily life fully meet the prejudice-reducing conditions that Allport specified.

In contrast to the ICC Programme – where negative perceptions, rumours and lack of knowledge are seen as the main barriers for intercultural interaction,

convivencia and the social inclusion of immigrants (De Torres Barderi 2018) – some social theorists argue that to understand social relations and practices (such as living together) one must consider the socio-spatial processes involved (Soja 1989; Harvey 1989; Giddens 1991). As a result, it is important to examine the role of space within the ICC policy's problematisation about social cohesion and to see whether and how the role of space is recognised and or dealt with in these problem representations. Therefore, this article not only examines how the policy program is implemented in practice, but also illuminates the perspectives of policy implementers by examining their inherent problem representations about convivencia and public space. This way, it also reveals the distance between the conceptualisations of the policymakers that were mentioned in Chapter 2 and the criticisms of the policy implementers towards them, because of the and the complex reality on the ground, when it comes to implementation of the strategies.

Indeed, as it is discussed in the previous chapter, in the case of the Intercultural Plan of Barcelona, the targeting of interactions between migrants and the 'native population' (COE 2013), the identification of neighbourhoods and urban public spaces as zones of intervention and management, and the appointment of the presence of migrants and prejudices of individuals as the sources of racism and discrimination, can be considered productions of problems and subjectivities. The objective of this article is therefore not only to examine the practices of this policy but also to identify what the inherent problem representations of policy implementers about convivencia and public spaces are. Unlike most of the literature that takes interculturalism as an integration policy framework, and a a desired and positive concept/framework, this chapter as well, critically analyses all the concepts in this study's focus and tries to understand meanings according to various actors.

The article is divided into four sections. As the context about history and objectives of Barcelona's ICC programme was already explained in Chapter 1 and 2, this article starts with the theoretical background including the relationship between policy as a process and the problematisations. Secondly, it presents the methodology section. Following these initial sections, we find the analysis and conclusion.

1. Theoretical Background

1.1. Interactions in urban space

As it is mentioned in Chapter 1 and Chapter 2 in detail, neither intercultural contact nor the results of any form of interaction are free from the socio-spatial dynamics and the locatedness of these encounters. ICC Program's strong emphasis on Alport's (1954) contact theory, hoping that promoting contact would reduce prejudice is a restrictive understanding in two ways. First, neither these promotion activities of the policy programme nor our daily lives include the optimal conditions that would lead to prejudice-reduction. Second, the restrictive understanding of spatiality neglects the fact that we need to transgress the spatial boundaries that accompany people's social identities and hold them apart (Dixon 2001).

As it is already discussed in the previous chapters, all these spatial aspects and the evidences in the literature which reveal that social construction of space is connected to relationships, experiences and discursive environment; is the reason why this study aims to explore the perceptions and problematisations of various actors about public space and convivencia.

1.2. Policy-making as a multi-actor process

Scholars have developed theories about the role of actors to explain policy making processes. It is mostly argued that public policies are developed within a network of interaction between multiple actors (Kenis and Schneider 1991;

Marsh and Rhodes 1992; Klijn 1997). Within this network of interactions, the range of activities are limited by rules and the institutional context (Ostrom et al., 1994). Three factors were identified that drive the behaviour of the actors: values, perceptions and resources (Mitroff 1983; Sabatier 1988; Jobert 1989; Scharpf 1997).

The description of objectives, targets, goals and preferences express the values of the actors (Sabatier 1988; Hermans and Thissen 2008). Perceptions are the image according to actors about how the world operates, and about the other actors within the network and it constitutes the causal beliefs about a policy problem (Bots et al., 2000; Scharpf, 1997; Hermans and Thissen 2008). Resources are the practical instruments of actors to reach their aims, which give them the power to influence the other actors and the rules within the network (Coleman and Skogstad 1990; Hermans and Thissen 2008). Therefore, to understand how a policy is generated, designed and implemented, one needs to consider the multi-actor policy making process and the perceptions and values of these actors which is directly related with the interests, targets, goals and activities within the policy.

Recent studies that work on the differences between the design and implementation stages of policies usually intend to observe the factors behind policy failure (McConnell 2015; Hudson et al. 2018). The problems about implementation used to be studied as "policy- implementation gap" (Gunn 1978) which is shaped by complex, multifaceted, factors that include hard to solve "wicked problems" (Rittel and Webber 1973). As Hupe (2019) notes: "Implementation gaps then remain difficult to understand, while implementers may be blamed for non-compliance. What actually happens, and particularly why, remains opaque- until the black box is opened" (Hupe 2019:173). These studies clearly indicated that the thoughts, expectations, perceptions of policy-makers, stakeholders, target groups and everyone that are considered to be

affected by these policies, might be different during various stages of design and implementation. The fact that policy programmes are political processes (Wedel et. al. 2005) makes it important to dig into and observe the implementation process to reveal the diverse, contradictory, nonlinear, surprising nature of these processes.

As Caponio and Donatiello (2017) noted in their study about the implementation of intercultural policies in Italian cities:

> "Policies cannot just be identified with official programmes: along with rhetorical frames, policies are also the product of 'action policy frames' (Schön and Rein, 1994), i.e. the frames that are used in implementation processes in order to construct the problem in a specific situation. Analysing policy practices appears to be of extreme relevance if we are to understand what interculturalism really means, especially in a context of economic crisis and shortage of resources" (Caponio and Donatiello 2017).

Beyond the optimistic language that promotes the idea of Intercultural City, there is an unillumined side, the implementation, which this research digs in.

2. Methodology

The article adopts Carol Bacchi's (2009) policy analysis tool: i.e. What is the problem represented to be? (WPR). Contrary to the view that policies are a reaction to an existing problem, WPR argues that policies are productive - i.e. they constitute problems and policymakers actively take part in the production of those problems, and therefore we are being governed through problematisations (Bacchi 2009: 1-4). Adopting the WPR approach via Critical Discourse Analysis of the documents and interviews helps us to see the subjects, objects and their relationships were produced. Bacchi's approach has been widely used in various public policy studies. While social constructivist

approach in policy analysis draws our attention to how policy-makers and participants "make sense of the world" (Colebatch 2006, p.9), Bacchi (2014, p 33) goes forward and argues that the governments have a more advantaged role within this construction process because their understandings 'stick', becomes real and constitutes the way we are governed. As it is mentioned in the previous chapters, this approach draws attention to the constructed character of problems and highlights the role of policymakers and policy implementers in building the understanding of the problems. This widely used methodological approach was suitable to pay attention to inherent problematisations policy implementers who are a complex set of workers that bring this policy programme to life. (see Chapter 1 and 2 for further justifications).

2.1. Data Sources and Fieldwork

The data collection is a product of a fieldwork that was conducted between December 2020 and February 2022. The data set includes 13 semi-structured interviews with policy implementers which include key actors like civil servants (street-level bureaucrats) in relevant services (like The Services of Interculturality and Convivencia of certain neighbourhoods, Community Development Plans of certain neighbourhoods, The Public Space Intervention Services of certain neighbourhoods and lots of entities including NGOs, neighbourhood associations, immigrant associations, religious organisations etc.), activity organisers that were members of civil society organisations and the mentioned services (Appendix d), and (participant and non-participant) observations (14) as well as content analysis (5) of 19 activities in total that took place between December 2020 and February 2022 (Appendices A, G) which took between 45 minutes to 3 hours, some of them were once-only activities, some of them were part of a series of activities, some of them included multiple sessions due to being part of certain ongoing projects.

Due to the Covid-19 pandemic, the number of activities were lesser compared to pre-pandemic years. The types of activities involve encounter groups, guided

city tours, radio podcasts, theatre performances, monthly meetings of policy implementers, discussion forums, concerts and so on. Validity is ensured through triangulation in my data collection which involves gathering data from various sources and actors. The data that I have collected at previous stages of my research (Chapter 2) also allowed me to ask well-informed questions to my participants.

Among more than 125 activities that are potentially observable for my fieldwork, I conducted participant observation in 19 activities (Appendices A and B). Of the 33 Espai Avinyó activities during the course of the fieldwork, I observed 7 activities simply because most of the activities that were representative of the conceptual focus of my research were organised around Espai Avinyó. Of the 25 different Anti-Rumour Network (ARN) activities I was able to attend one activity due to limitations of access (Appendix A). Most of the ARN activities were organised on demand of certain entities (like schools) without public announcement and were close to the public. Among these five lines of work, I focused on the first and the third line since they are relevant for the conceptual focus of our research and they were the two lines that were open to public participation.

The selection of the activities to observe depended on various factors like limitations of access and the relevancy with my conceptual focus. I chose the activities that are representative of the conceptual focus of our research and omitted other non-relevant activities. The remaining 11 activities that was observed do not belong to the list of 5 lines that were mentioned before, but instead, they were activities that belong to the special projects of civil society that were funded by the city government and activities of other actors such as The Office for Religious Affairs and the municipal, neighbourhood-based services of interculturality and convivencia. These activities were organised by actors that were pointed as important policy implementers by the Barcelona

Interculturality Program. The selection of activities heavily depended on the announcements of the city council via social media and e-mail bulletins and most of them were not announced beforehand, since they were not open for the enrolment of the whole city. Nevertheless, they were counted and added in the data about the number of activities that were reported in their annual report document.

2.2. Interviews, (Participant) Observations and Content Analyses of Activities

The interviewees (Appendix E) were identified according to the data collected for the previous stages of my research from the official policy documents like previous annual activity and budget reports, work plans, guidelines, handbooks and the interviews with the policymakers which also helped me build a typology of actors (Appendix d) and activities (Appendix A). A limitation which is an important finding of this research is that, the Intercultural Program is a vague term when it comes to understanding how it is implemented because the objectives, the city that are depicted in the policy documents does not clarify concrete actions and practices of this policy programme (see Appendix A).

In order to understand how the policy program was implemented, I built an operational table of key actors based on the policy documents and sometimes revised that table in accordance with the new information I collected during the interviews.

Today, it is known that policy implementation is not a mere 'administrative activity' that simply applies what policymakers (decision makers) have ordered (Sutton 1999) and one cannot help but agree the term Clay and Schaffer (1986) uses to describe implementation: a 'chaos of purposes and accidents'.

Policy actors include people who are responsible for decision-making about the design and implementation of policies and they might have a variety of roles,

influences and responsibilities depending on the context while the policy is being implemented (Bullock et. al. 2021).

Scholars that apply policy analysis, suggest that identifying the policy actors are crucial to analyse implementation, however there is not a one-size-fits-all tool for building a taxonomy of actors (Bullock et al. 2021; Crable et al. 2022; Presseau et al. 2019). The challenges about identifying actors and building a clear taxonomy occur because the actors who impact the decisions about implementation might change over time and their roles are sometimes ambiguous (Kingdon and Stano 1984). Other reasons for this challenge of identification is that the actors might sometimes be inconsistent and masked and although the organisation of the team is presented in some official sources, most of the decision-making process occurs behind the scenes (Kolleck et. al. 2022).

Considering the lack of one-size-fits-all methodological guidance and that all researchers should adapt their classifications according the case that they are studying, I built my own operational table of actors and I found the taxonomy proposed by Bullock et al. (2021) useful to apply on my case and my classification of actors, although not being entirely the same, mine is influenced by their definitions. While grouping the participants as policymakers and policy implementers, I was fully aware that these are not homogeneous groups of actors and the reasoning behind this grouping is to make it easier for the reader to understand the phase of action that those actors were involved with.

While the long list of actors can be found in the operational table provided in Appendix d, the table below shows the reasoning and descriptions behind the identification of actors. Instead of homogenising the actors, the intention behind the formation of these groups is to classify them in order to understand the implementation process and make the data collection easier. The reason why participants were presented as 'policymakers' or 'policy implementers' in the articles is to anonymise the actors and make it easy for the reader to understand

their function. The data source for all of the tables below are policy documents, interviews and some of the observations.

Table 1: Taxonomy of policy actors. Source: Author's own elaboration informed by her data collection and the public policy analysis literature.

Policy Actor	Definition	Role According to Action
Developers and designers	People who craft the policy in accordance with the 'inherent problem representations' (Bacchi), who design and revise the program as well as the ones who have the capability to pass and launch the policy program which can be enforced through legal and organisational frameworks. Generally the examples for this group include politicians, legislative staff that are involved in drafting and management of the policy, people that are authorised for communicating between developers and implementers about the tasks of the policy package and so on. For this policy analysis, the developers also include individuals that are involved in preparation and dissemination of guidelines with varying power of influence in the decision making (especially in the case of Barcelona's ICC Program).	Policymaker
Implementer	People that are responsible for decisions during implementation planning (in our case an example is the people that coordinate projects in neighbourhood-based municipal services that are mentioned), active implementation, or policy sustainment. This list of actors might overlap with the policy developers. In our case, these also refers to the subsidised organisations and individuals, the contracted trainers, the organisers and implementers of activity schedule, the front-line workers which include street-level bureaucrats (Lipsky 1980), the municipal civil servants from various departments that are expected to act in accordance with the principles of this policy program.	Policy implementer

Although the table above shows the reasoning behind my identification of actors as policymakers and policy implementers. Both the literature on public policies and the data-collection period of my research made me aware that; the policymakers and policy implementers are not homogeneous entities but they are composed of a different range of actors who are not always fixed, they do not have equal levels of power, freedom or influence in decision-making and implementation, some of them might belong to more than one category (making, implementing) and most importantly, the policy analysts should be aware of their limitations because the policymaking and implementation processes are not entirely transparent.

The variety of roles that can be seen in the table in Appendix d, explains the reasoning for classification of actors, and the operational table in the same appendix include actors, which is informed by data collection and analysis for the case of Barcelona's ICC Program. In order to anonymise the identities of the participants, the tables do not indicate the interviewees that participated in this research. Most of the listed actors (such as the ones that work at the City Council, the ones from civil society or neighbourhood associations) are not solely responsible for the ICC Program but rather, they contribute to the implementation of this policy program. For this reason, the structure of relationships between them do not have a clear hierarchy. Due to this lack of clear hierarchy and the other responsibilities of the actors that are not relevant to the intercultural policies, it was not easy to draw a chart that maps their complex interaction. I chose to create an organisational table instead. I have reached my interviewees through their official email addresses as well as phone calls. The activities to be participated as an observant were identified based on the data collection as well as activity programme documents that were disseminated via social media and email bulletins. I conducted the interviews first. This allowed me to identify activities that were not announced in the official e-bulletin of the ICC Program (like the encounter group and the monthly meetings of some implementers). To attend the activities that

were disseminated through bulletins, I followed the guides on registration and got in touch with the organisers and facilitators to inform them about my research and observation. During the activities I introduced myself, the details of my identity as a migrant and informed the participants about my research, acting in accordance with the guides of the European Commission on research ethics. My research project was confirmed and certified by the Institutional Committee for Ethical Review of Projects (CIREP-UPF).

Since those activities were mostly designed for migrants, I could have been an ordinary participant in these activities. For this reason, other participants never found my presence strange, never saw me as an observer who normally would not attend those activities.

I paid attention to build a set of interviewees in which none of the identities were under represented and intended to include a wide range of diversity (like age, power inequalities, ethnicity, gender etc) but the list of my potential interviewees was fixed and depended on being a civil servant and/or a funded policy implementer. For this reason, I was bound by the list of policy implementers. Likewise, I was bounded by the activities that were designed by the policy implementers but, since it is impossible to attend all the activities I paid attention to select the ones that fall into the categorisation that I have mentioned before in order to have themes as diverse as possible and to select the ones that are representative about the focus of my research. I have thematically categorised all of the activities that were announced and selected the ones to participate paying attention to the relevancy with my research and the representativity of the data. Except for the online activities, my participant observations took place in seven neighbourhoods and each one of them are diverse and representative as the list includes working class neighbourhoods, gentrified, touristic and stigmatised neighbourhoods. My sample of locations is representative in terms of the urban conflicts that take place in the city.

My semi-structured interviews took 40-80 minutes. The interviews were held in Spanish, transcribed in Spanish through two different automatic speech recognition services that were produced by Amazon Transcribe and Collectivat. All of the transcriptions were reviewed and edited (if necessary) manually by me and translated to English. The thematic analysis of these data was conducted in English paying attention to the original versions. Critical Discourse Analysis was adopted, and MAXQDA was used as a CADQAS package for the coding of the data. In order to avoid any misunderstandings and increase the efficiency of the interviews, in almost 90% of my fieldwork, I worked with a professional translator (who is a native Turkish-speaker like me and an expert both in Spanish, Catalan, English and Turkish) during the interviews and my participant observations and took her support in moments that I felt necessity. My translator had signed a non-disclosure agreement for data protection. Before conducting the interviews, I informed all interviewees about the presence of my translator. I also clarified that I do not speak Catalan and emphasized that their comfort was of utmost importance to me. I assured them that if they preferred to express themselves in Catalan, I would rely on my translator for consecutive interpretation, although this may entail a slight delay. They agreed to have the interviews in Spanish. Some of my interviewees were immigrants with advanced or native level of Spanish and the rest were either native or bilingual Catalan and Spanish speakers which made them comfortable in using Spanish language while expressing their thoughts.

3. Analysis and discussion

The following sections of the findings includes how the policy programme was implemented in practice and the inherent problem representations during the implementation about public space and convivencia as well as general criticisms of the policy implementers towards the policymakers in order to make explicit the distance between their perspectives.

3.1. What is happening on the ground?

The implementation of the policy program involves a complex array of actions, which are vague and difficult to identify, and involves both permanent and non-permanent actors. In the following sections, I will explain the reported challenges brought about by financial instability, the complexities on the ground that the ambitious arguments of this policy program fail to address, the viewpoints of policy implementers with a focus on the concepts of public space and convivencia, and finally, I will discuss the criticisms raised by policy implementers regarding, implementation, and the design of the program. Subsequently, I will discuss the main results.

If we were to examine the actual implementation of the Barcelona ICC Programme (Barcelona Interculturality Plan), the findings indicate that the program's objectives of fostering intercultural contact and transformation were primarily expected to be carried out through the outsourcing of funding to civil society organizations. However, it is important to note that implementation also relies on the efforts of street-level bureaucrats (Lipsky, 1980) who work within specific departments of the municipality. The findings do not suggest that objectives were met and the implementation takes place as a mere administrative process that is loyal to the program. Similarly, the findings do not suggest (and have never been collected with an aim for) an evaluation about whether the planned actions were put into practice or whether the policy program reached its' aims. By asking 'how' they 'do' 'what they do', collecting data to understand how the policy program was implemented, led to identifying actors (policy actors, departments and so on) who were expected to act in a certain way to put ICC Program in practice, and what exactly they do under the name of this policy. In this sense, the ICC Program of Barcelona is an inter-departamental and multi-actor policy program.

An important finding was that, since the objectives of the policy program are defined in vague terms, it is not easy to identify the concrete actions and practices of this program when it comes to analysing the implementation. The ICC Programme is generated by Area of Culture, Education, Science and Community which belongs to the Sixth deputy mayor's office and under this area, there is a Commissioner for Intercultural Dialogue and Religious Pluralism who is in charge of the department with the same name and the intercultural policies of Barcelona. But the ICC Programme is a participatory and a multi-actor strategy (Appendix d). Despite the City Council's visible efforts to make the implementation process of this policy program participatory, key actors from civil society organizations have expressed concerns about the consistency and stability of the funds they receive to fully realize their actions. These concerns will be further explored in the following sections.

Apart from the policymaking team consisting of approximately 12 people at the city council, the implementation of the policy program involves the cooperation and participation of numerous actors, comprising a much larger group than the team itself. These key actors include the Services of Interculturality and Convivencia of specific neighborhoods, Community Development Plans of certain neighborhoods, the Office for Non-Discrimination, Barcelona Discrimination Observatory, the Immigrant Guidance and Hosting Service (SOAPI), the Religious Affairs Office, the Public Space Intervention Services of certain neighborhoods, as well as various entities such as NGOs, neighborhood associations, immigrant associations, research and educational institutions, religious organizations, business associations, and artistic entities. Some civil society organizations regularly participate in the policy-making process by attending meetings of the annual work plans of the Barcelona Interculturality Plan. Furthermore, they are also involved in decision-making groups within the Anti-Rumour Network of Barcelona, which plays a crucial role in the program's actions.

During the data collection and analysis period, I was able to develop an operational table (Appendix D) that illustrates the multi-actor and inter-departmental structure of Barcelona's ICC Program implementation. However, it's important to note that the actors listed in the table are not solely responsible for implementing or designing the ICC Program. Therefore, I have chosen not to present a hierarchical chart that depicts their relationships with each other. Doing so would create conflicting information that contradicts the actual operational tree of the City Council[11]

Actors and Actions

Although the program have always mentioned that the interculturalism should be adopted by all of the departments, the City Council officialised this in 2021 by setting up a committee and calling this network as "Interdepartmental Intercultural Committee" (Ajuntament de Barcelona, n.d.) that intends to "drive interculturality throughout the municipal organisation, ensure intercultural perspective governance in the city, and facilitate the implementation and development of the new Barcelona Interculturality Plan" which is "highest body for monitoring the development of the Interculturality Plan" (Ajuntament de Barcelona, n.d. 14)[12]. For this reason, the list in the Appendix d includes actors from departments that have responsibilities other than running the ICC Program but are still involved in the implementation of the ICC Program. One of the main objective of this program (according to the document analysis and interviews) is to ensure that all departments of Barcelona Municipality do their jobs having an intercultural perspective.

---

[11] https://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/en/organigrama-municipal/arbre-jerarquic

[12] Ajuntament de Barcelona. (n.d.). Government Measure Move towards Interculturality Governance Instruments and Mechanisms. Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona. https://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/bcnacciointercultural/sites/default/files/documentos/government_measure._move_towards_interculturality_1.pdf

The implementation of ICC Programme consists of activities such as workshops, training activities, dissemination activities, conferences, exhibitions, forums, podcasts, artistic activities like theatre performances, movie screenings, concerts and so on. There are five lines of action in the implementation of Barcelona's Plan (Chapter 2).

Although the annual reports present the actions of ICC Program under five categories (which they call 'lines of actions'), the analysis of all the official policy documents and interviews shows that the mentioned working groups under these categories are not the only workers/actors that implement the ICC Program. That is the reason why some of the actions and activities of the program cannot be listed under these categories. An example for that is the projects of civil society organisations that are funded by the program and their teams that appear as main implementers (some of them are in close collaboration with people who draft the work plans) of the ICC Program of Barcelona. Another example for that is the inter-religious activities (like 'The Night of Religions') that are implemented with the support of Religious Affairs Office of Barcelona, which is presented in the policy documents as one of the most important actors of Intercultural City Program of Barcelona. These are examples that explain why some of the activities that I observed (Table 3 in Annex A) are not always listed under these 'lines of work' (Chapter 2) in the official policy documents such as work plans or annual reports.

The themes of the activities can be classified as cultural diversity, colonialism, youth, feminism, historical memory, education, roman population, religious pluralism, sexual diversity and gender and solidarity (City Council of Barcelona 2020; 2021).

The public activities mostly take place at civic centres, neighbourhood centres, cultural facilities, libraries, showrooms, worship centres and educational centres (City Council of Barcelona 2021) and due to the Covid-19 pandemic, the

number of online activities like radio podcasts has increased. The activities are primarily open to the public through pre-registration. However, due to the ongoing pandemic, there are significantly limited spots available for most of the activities, in contrast to the pre-pandemic period. Notification of the activities are mostly done through social media platforms, posters, bulletins via email for the subscribers. The notifications are almost always written in Catalan and sometimes in Spanish. The language used in those activities are mostly Catalan. In some activities, the speakers and participants use both Spanish and Catalan or only Spanish. Activities in languages other than Catalan and Spanish are almost non existent. One example took place on the International Mother Language Day, a musical forum called 'Musics amb Accents' that involved immigrants singing songs and reading poems in their mother language where all of the presentations except for the performances were held in Catalan and Spanish.

This language barrier makes it impossible for the non-Catalan and non-Spanish speakers to participate in the agenda of activities in the ICC Programme, which promises participation, equality, and representation. In order to address this language barrier, the ICC Programme activities include promotion of Catalan language courses and use of Catalan language in social life (City Council of Barcelona 2010) arguing that they aim to avoid communication problems by "preserving the role of the Catalan language as the main pillar and language for communication" (City Council of Barcelona 2021: 26).

The funding is carried out through project-based subsidies to civil society organisations, granted by the City Council of Barcelona. Municipal services such as The Services of Interculturality and Convivencia which act as the neighbourhood-based branches of the ICC Program, that design and implement the policy by adapting it to the problems of their own neighbourhood, receive a regular budget to carry out their duties but the civil

society organisations are funded through a subsidies model which requires them to write up projects and apply for annual funding calls. All of the civil society actors that I have interviewed, complained about this funding system:

"La forma en la cual tenemos dinero, como te dije, cuando presentamos al ayuntamiento un proyecto, lo presentamos en enero. Claro el año 2021 ya lo hemos presentado. En junio sabremos si tenemos el dinero o no…Entonces, el problema es que qué haces de enero a junio? Un trabajo comunitario no lo puedes hacer solamente seis meses del año. No son proyectos puntuales. son cosas se empiezan y tardan cinco años en crecer. si empiezo algo en 2021, tengo que esperar junio para empezarlo? Porque antes no se si voy a tener tiempo, si hay dinero para pagarme. y luego qué? En diciembre lo paro? y vuelvo a esperar seis meses? Si no hay continuidad ningún proyecto puede funcionar así…En lugar funcionar subvenciones, que cada año tienes que hacer un proyecto y a ver si te lo dan o no, que sea otro tipo de remuneración que sea continua"

"The way we have money is, as I told you, we present a project to the city council, we present it in January. Of course, we have already presented it in 2021. In June we will know if we have the money or not...So, the problem is what do you do from January to June? Community work can only be done six months of the year. These things cannot be on-off projects. These things take five years to grow. If I start something in 2021, do I have to wait until June to start it again? And then what? Shall I stop it in December? and I wait six months again? If there is no consistency, no project can function like this. Instead of working with subsidies that require producing a project every year and seeing if it is admitted, there should be another way" (Policy implementer, Civil society actor and street-level bureaucrat at community development plan in a neighbourhood):

Due to this subsidiary funding model, the actors that implement the policy programme are different from the actors who design the general framework of this policy program. That is because the City Council who initiates the ICC Programme, mostly outsources its' implementation through funding the people who mostly do not work in the governing bodies in the city. This fact, leads to observing differences between the discourse of the policymakers and the individuals that actually implement the policy program.

As in the previous chapter, Barcelona ICC Program argues that the lack of knowledge and communication between people from different national origins increases prejudice and discrimination which needs to be dismantled through promoting intercultural interaction and prejudice-reduction. Here we witness that the criticisms of the policy implementers is beyond this idea. A policy implementer argued that the policy program fails to cover the real problems in the city:

> *"Yo creo que el texto formal del programa, como está escrito, es muy problemático…Me parecen terribles…Entonces, el marco la estructura es de una estructura de racismo institucional. Y sobre esa estructura de racismo institucional, tenemos un programa intercultural como que infantiliza y desconoce esos problemas. Habla de dialogo, reconocimiento, interacción, pero sin hablar de los problemas reales de la gente. Que no son problemas de interacción. Yo no creo que haya un problema global de interacción entre culturas. Y ni siquiera creo que algo así realmente existe aquí como que la gente tiene tensiones culturales. Creo que son tensiones racistas, que pasan también por tensiones de clase, por supuesto"*

> "I think that the formal text of the program, as it is written, is very problematic...It is terrible to me...And on top of that structure of institutional racism, we have an intercultural program that infantilizes and ignores those problems. It talks about dialogue,

recognition, interaction, but without talking about the real problems of the people. They are not interaction problems. I don't think there is a global problem of interaction between cultures. And I don't even think that something like that really exists here, as if people have cultural tensions. I think they are racist tensions, which also run through class tensions, of course…"

Before moving on to the observations about the implementation, let us rethink: who are the policy implementers? The policy implementers include street-level bureaucrats from various departments and members of civil society organisations. Among those, the implementers who were funded by the City Council were mostly people who are members and representatives of civil society organisations. At the beginning of my interviews, I asked them to present themselves, their role in that entity, the actions of their organisation but more importantly, what their specific role in relation with the ICC Program is. The answers were always long, full of explanations of their values that motivate their activism and their anti-racist attitude; but their connection with the ICC Program was only limited to a project that was funded by the City Council, which is a small part of the entire work that they have been doing. And the participants complained about the lack of adequate financial sources to fully carry out their ideals.

Therefore, it can be argued that the organisations and the individuals taking part in them (policy implementers) have a separate identity which is beyond the ICC Programme, although they are taken as 'actors' that 'implement' the intercultural policies in my research. They were activists that take part in civil society organisations with a much larger agenda than boosting 'intercultural relations' among people. This shows that not only the term 'policy' but also the term 'policy implementer' or 'key actor' should not be thought of as a neutral, homogeneous, and linear arms that are connected to a governing body. This

also reminds us that, despite seeming like a neutral word, policies are fundamentally political (Shore and Wright 1997; Wedel et. al. 2005).

Although the participants are funded by the 'governors', they were quite critical of how things were governed in terms of dismantling racism, discrimination as well as the management of the public spaces.

The activities of the ICC Program that are run by the civil society actors, are very important arenas that depict one of the main findings of this research. A thick description about what was happening during the activities related to the specific focus of this research (which was the problematisations and perceptions about public space and convivencia) would be: While the 'Intercultural City' as a policy paradigm acknowledges the value of public spaces and intends to use, manage, design, make them accessible and even generate these 'spaces' for positive contact-promotion; for representing the diversity in the city and for conflict resolution, the activities of ICC Program depicts a different picture. The places that are used for running the activities for targeted populations, turn into spaces that accommodate the discussions about problems that the city inhabitants, especially the migrants face with. The city is not an inclusive area for them, in fact, it is an exclusive space accompanied by the deadlock and complex inequalities that the inhabitants (with intersectional identities and disadvantages) experience. The spaces that the activities are organised, turn into platforms - through knowledge-exchange- for validating once again that these individuals are vulnerable, that they are not comfortable, that they are excluded or subject to discrimination and so on.

What is revealed during the activities is the opposite of the optimistic and vague objectives of the ICC Program about public space and convivencia. During the conversations, the 'targeted' participants as well as çivil society organisation members - sometimes in a cathartic way- take an x-ray of the city, read it; and validate that, what they have been experiencing -their problems, the inequalities,

exclusion and all that- are there. There they were: visible, spotted, confirmed like a cancerous tissue that they have always known.

Complex inequalities and positionalities

The participant observation of the activities in addition to the interviews, showed how the activities of ICC Programme reveals the inequalities between the city inhabitants. Unlike the ICC Programme and interculturalism that culturalises the differences between people, inequalities between the participants were complex and intersectional.

A telling example was the encounter group called "Grupo de Mujeres Migrantes" (Migrant Women Group) organised by the intercultural and solidarity section of a neighbourhood organisation whose project was funded by the City Council of Barcelona. This neighbourhood organisation was one of the key actors both in decision-making and the implementation of the ICC Programme of Barcelona.

I observed the implementation of intercultural policies of this neighbourhood organisation by 1) interviewing with their project coordinator 2) observing the closed meetings of the organisation 3) conducting participant observation in the sessions of their activities that belong to the intercultural project (encounter group called Migrant Women Group) 4) interviewing with the facilitator of the encounter group sessions and 5) interviewing with the participants of these encounter group sessions.

During the sessions of Migrant Women Group, being woman and migrant were not enough to homogenise the identities in this encounter group, because some of them were from Latin America, native Spanish speakers who can easily access social life, compared to some women from Morocco or Lebanon who were obliged to learn a totally different and difficult language and they were more racialised than the other ones because of their national origin, culture,

accent, skin colour, etc. Likewise, the access to residency permit, citizenship, work permit and so on is much easier for Latin Americans than it is for people from other parts of the world. This reality was revealed on the first day of the meetings, while the participants were introducing themselves. When the undocumented woman from Morocco heard the national origin of the Bolivian woman, she said "Oh! You have everything!" Referring to their legal position, the Latin American woman started crying, expressing how disadvantaged she was due to her unemployment and the discrimination that she had been experiencing for a long while in Barcelona.

Being migrant and woman did not equalise their experiences in daily life, all of them were unemployed due to Covid restrictions (they worked at restaurants, worked as cleaners etc.) and had varying disadvantages. Rather than an intercultural contact which makes us get to know each other's culture, what we share with each other was the problems which restricts our access to the labour market and our right to the city (Lefebvre 1996). The director of this encounter project explained it with these words, during our interview:

> *"Pero lo que pasa es que son las personas más oprimidas que tendrían que disfrutar del 100% de mis horas, y no la mitad. Entonces, por eso hicimos un giro a de estrategia, y nos orientamos más hacia la acogida. Las necesidades de las personas racializadas o inmigrantes, o de origen cultural no española tiene necesidades más complicadas que una persona blanca o española o de familia española…por ejemplo, si dices, voy a abrir un taller gratis en el casal, sin discriminación. si lo abres a todo el mundo sin discriminación, van a venir gente que tiene tiempo, que tiene dinero para pagar a una niñera para los niños, o que tiene acceso a la información, que ya tiene la red y sabe cómo funciona y culturalmente sabe que es un taller. Entonces, no esta abierto sin discriminación. Esta abierto siempre con las mismas personas que van a poder llegar. Entonces, luego pensamos, no. Las personas que necesitan los servicios*

municipales son las que menos utilizan los servicios del ayuntamiento. Por ejemplo, la otra investigadora que habló en la otra reunión, había hecho un diagnóstico del barrio. Hay 20% del barrio que es de origen migrante. De este 20% hay 0% que conoce el servicio público que puede contestar a sus dudas legales."

"...what happens is that it is the most oppressed people who would benefit from 100% of my work-hours…So, that's why we made a shift in strategy, and we oriented ourselves more towards the reception (acogida). Racialized people or immigrants of non-Spanish cultural origin have more complicated needs than a white or Spanish person. For example, if you say, I'm going to open up a workshop, open to everyone, without discrimination. Then the participants would be the ones who have time, who have money to pay a babysitter for children, or who have access to information, who already have the network and know how it works and who culturally knows that it is a workshop. So, it would not be open without discrimination. It will always be the same participants. Then we thought, no, the people who are in need of council services are the ones who use council services the least. For example, the other researcher who spoke at the other meeting had made a diagnosis of the neighbourhood. There are 20% of the neighbourhood that is of migrant origin. Of this 20%, 0% of them know the public service that can answer their legal doubts" (Policy implementer, Civil society actor as well as street-level bureaucrat).

Although the policy documents and the policymakers (see Chapter 2) indicate an aim to intervene in people's relations by creating an intercultural contact among immigrant and non-immigrant residents which leads to a knowhow, prejudice-reduction (Allport 1954) and evoke a tolerance in the native residents

towards immigrants and this way decrease racism and discrimination, what I observed was some projects that were funded by the City Council for the ICC Programme, led an interaction only among migrant people and helped them build a network knowhow about civil services and solidarity organisations that they can consult.

This section explained how the ICC Program operates on the ground, the unfortunate dependency of civil society to the City Council and how the various activities revealed the complex nature of the 'differences' between city inhabitants whom are the target groups of this policy programme.

It is clear that a policy programme is not something monolithic, neutral, homogeneous, a linear and neat process, that is implemented by a single actor or a group of similar-minded people. Yet, usage of the term 'policy' in everyday discourse represents the concept "as something that is both neutral and rational: a mere tool that serves to unite means and ends or bridge the gap between goals and their execution—in short, a legal-rational way of getting things done" (Wedel et al 2005: 37).

The implementation and the problem representations

We now turn to the findings on how policy implementers see the problems in the city, how they subjectify (Bacchi 2009) the responsible of these problems, their perceptions on the spatially grounded problems and the convivencia and cohesion that was aimed to be 'built'. These will be presented in three sub sections.

Stigmatised spaces, as keys to build intercultural relations

According to most of the policy implementers, certain public spaces are seen as important symbols of stigmatised populations as well as key places to organise activities that would help fighting with negative perceptions and racism since

these places had bad reputation due to stigmatisation and racism towards the people that live and/or spend time in those places.

During the gathering of data on the policy implementers' views about the problems related to public spaces and convivencia, I asked them what they thought was the source of the problems and what or who they thought were responsible for the problems that they aimed to solve. Some policy implementers, echoing the policymakers (Chapter 2), problematised the ignorance of the city residents about each other's culture and told that this is the reason why people were subjected to prejudice which they think would lead to racism and discrimination. One evidence according to them that validates their thought was the negative reactions of the city residents towards the opening of mosques.

The city inhabitants of Barcelona usually oppose having mosques in their neighbourhoods and especially some fascist groups organise protests (see for example Astor 2016; Lundsteen 2020; Lundsteen 2022b; Lunsteen 2022a). According to my interviews, some of the units of the city council that are responsible for intercultural policies (like The Religious Affairs Office, The Services of Interculturality and Convivencia of the neighbourhoods) tries to protect the Muslim groups by supporting them through the opening process of mosques and works like a mediator in these kinds of conflicts.

Regarding the 'ignorance' of city residents that leads to prejudices about cultural diversity, the policy implementers believe that the lack of knowledge of the non-immigrant city inhabitants about the groups that they are prejudiced about, could be improved and their prejudices can be reduced for example by attending the guided tours to the prayer spaces that were built by various religious groups. For that reason, both The Services of Interculturality and Convivencia of certain neighbourhoods and the Religious Affairs Office, which are important actors in the implementation of the intercultural policies in

Barcelona, organise activities in churches, mosques, Buddhist temples and so on. Observations in these activities revealed that according to the policy implementers, they are important places for the prejudiced people to build knowhow about the religion or the culture of that group which might lead to a decrease in prejudice and about these groups.

"Spaces for Relations"

In the policy documents, public spaces in cities are presented as 'spaces for relations' (see for instance COE 2008; City Council of Barcelona 2010) that should be designed, used and managed to foster intercultural and interreligious dialogue and to create 'spaces of interculturality' (City Council of Barcelona 2010: 13). The urban planners who follow intercultural policies in designing public spaces are presented as 'intercultural place-makers' (CoE 2013).

Sometimes I referred to the above-mentioned objectives and concepts and asked my interviewees (policy implementers) what they thought about the objective of generating open, prejudice-free, rumour-free, intercultural spaces and whether and how they contribute to that. Here is an example from a policy implementer:

> "The truth is that it is no longer one of our objectives, as I told you, this interculturality would become a consequence. Rumour and prejudice are in people's minds! So you can't build a space free of them! Well, I think we generate intercultural spaces regarding the use of the Casales [cultural centres] and Ateneu Poblet [a neighbourhood centre where the activities take place], the idea is that people use the spaces of the cultural centres and then interact with each other. For example, they would think: 'every time I enter or leave my sewing workshop, the young Nepalese are playing video games, so we cross', and they will coexist together, until it is normalised. It's not that we're obliged to talk, but hey, we would

eventually have a chat. First they have to occupy the space. If they don't, how are they going interact?" (Policy implementer, civil society actor)

The most evident action of the implementers about the topics of public space and convivencia is a series of radio podcasts called 'Radiografias' and the project called "Creación Joven' run by The Services of Interculturality and Convivencia and Espai Avinyó in cooperation with civil society networks, as a project includes a series of radio podcasts which involves interviews with youngsters in stigmatised and lower-class neighbourhoods. The speakers ask questions about how the youngsters define public space, their habits of using public space and their complaints about the neighbourhoods.

The interviews include many complaints about the discrimination and racial profiling of the police towards racialized people, the safety issues like pickpocketing and harassment, the poor lighting of the streets, the lack of sense of security, gentrification, higher policing in stigmatised neighbourhoods, being stigmatised according to how they use public spacesö not being protected by the police when it comes to their own safety and so on which will be mentioned in the following chapter (Chapter 4).

The policy implementers of ICC Programme finds it important to ask what the city inhabitants think about public spaces and draw attention to the inequalities that reveal themselves in public spaces and stigmatised neighbourhoods. But the speakers that present the radio podcasts do not comment much on the reported issues, do not build any arguments about whether and how it is connected to the ICC Programme and its objectives and they do not call for action.

Returning to the artefact that was created as an objective called 'intercultural spaces', not every policy implementer finds it useful. After conducting participant observation in an activity that took place at a museum which was a discussion

about the cultural representation and dominance of Spanish culture in the museums. I had an interview with the trainer of that activity and asked her whether and how their activity called 'Impossible Museums' produces a space for intercultural dialogue, or an 'intercultural space'. The answer was:

> *"Creo que no. Y creo que eso no debe. Es que yo creo que crear un espacio intercultural no debería ser un objetivo. 'Museos Imposibles' puede contribuir a crear unos espacios donde la gente sienta que el espacio público le pertenece. Y la gente sentirá eso cuando el espacio público este desracializado, o abriendo el espacio para discutir las relaciones de poder entre un grupo cultural y otros"*

> "I think not. And I think that it should not. Because I believe that creating an intercultural space should not be an objective. 'Impossible Museums' can contribute to creating spaces where people feel that public space belongs to them. And people will feel that when public space is deracialized, or when we open up the space to discuss power relations between one cultural group and another" (Policy implementer, civil society representative and trainer in ICC Programme activities).

The implementation of ICC Program involves various and conflicting opinions among policymakers and implementers whether and how public spaces should be free of racism.

Varying opinions on interventions and 'convivencia'

The implementation of the ICC programme is presented in the policy documents as a set of intense interventions which can transform the city by 1) preventing conflicts and managing the use of space through community policing; 2) educating immigrant groups in particular about the rules of public space usage; 3) using already existing public spaces to organise sensitising and educational activities for the host society about cultural diversity, prejudice and

racism; 4) investing in improving the physical conditions of public spaces in disadvantaged and stigmatised neighbourhoods; and 5) building a shared sense of belonging in neighbourhoods.

However, the implementers of the ICC Program summarise their thoughts and actions about intervening in relationships and restoring convivencia in the following way.

The directors of Public Space Intervention Services of Besos neighbourhood, who are important conflict resolution teams and key actors in ICC Program, think that convivencia conflicts occur mainly because people do not obey the rules about how to use public spaces or molest each other with their behaviour but the number of complaints are higher when it comes to stigmatised groups like Roman people. They believe festivals could bring people together and decrease their prejudices. The policy implementers who work at The Services of Interculturality and Convivencia of the Horta-Guinardó neighbourhood, think that conflicts mostly occur between immigrant and non-immigrant populations because of the prejudice and lack of communication. However, the Service of Interculturality and Convivencia of Sant Andreu neighbourhood has a more realistic definition about the source of the problems and have a different conception of the convivencia that is depicted:

> *"Cuando empezó el proyecto el Servicio de Interculturalidad, Yo eso siempre lo digo, que es el barrio de Trinidad donde trabajo y vivo, la realidad de Trinidad, por ejemplo, que es diferente de Bon Pastor, diferente de Baró. La realidad de Trinidad es buena convivencia de entrada, buena convivencia de los que viven en el barrio. Pero cuando rascas un poco, o bastante, ya encuentras un micro racismo. Así que sí, buena convivencia, todos iguales, todo no sé qué...Pero mientras que tú como inmigrante seas buen inmigrante. Pero mientras que tú como inmigrante seas buen inmigrante. o sea, haces lo que yo veo bueno, un buen vecino. Si no es así, ya no es bienvenido. Entonces la convivencia es eso, es*

tú te Adaptas a lo que hay en el barrio, y si no... [no]. Nuestro trabajo aquí es dar voces a esas personas que son minoría. Eso es un objetivo muy grande nuestro trabajo. En Trinidad el porcentaje de inmigrantes en el barrio es como El Raval. Puede llegar a 30-35% o algo así. La mayoría son marroquíes, de Pakistán, y de países latinoamericanos. En Bon Pastor, por ejemplo, existe la población gitana, o la comunidad gitana. Y también le pasa lo mismo como con los inmigrantes. Ellos viven en comunidad entre ellos, se cuidan entre ellos. Pero el resto del barrio lo ve como un gueto. Si hay problemas de tráfico, de drogas etc, pues son los gitanos"

"When the Interculturality Service project started, I always say that it is the Trinidad neighbourhood where I work and live, the reality of Trinidad, for example, which is different from Bon Pastor, different from Baró. The reality of Trinidad is good convivencia from the outset, good convivencia among those who live in the neighbourhood. But when you scratch a little, you find a micro-racism. So yes, good coexistence, everyone seems equal, everything seems fine... But as long as you are an immigrant you need to be a 'good immigrant'. That is, you should behave as what they see as a good neighbour. If not, you are no longer welcome. So convivencia is that, it's you that should adapt to what is in the neighbourhood, and if not... [no]. Our job here is to give voice to those people who are a minority. That is a very important goal of our work. In Trinidad the percentage of immigrants in the neighbourhood is like El Raval. It is 30-35% or something like that. Most are Moroccan, from Pakistani, and from Latin American.In Bon Pastor, for example, there is the Roman population, or the gypsy community. And the same thing happens to them as with immigrants. They live together as a community, they take care of each other. But the rest of the neighbourhood sees it as a ghetto. When there are problems

of trafficking, drugs, etc., people put the blame on the Roman neighbours" (Street-level bureaucrat, policy implementer, civil servant works as a director).

She presents this concept of desired peaceful coexistence among people as an adaptation to the 'host society'. And intervention, according to her, means taking actions to protect the disadvantaged people who are the scapegoats.

Not all the actors have the same thoughts about intervening in the relationship between city inhabitants and the possibility or necessity of building 'intercultural spaces' and a sense of belonging. The policy implementer who was paid to give trainings about decolonisation and racism perceives the intercultural interventions as 'cultural surveillance':

> "Of course, I do not even agree with the concept of interculturality. Because when it talks about creating an intercultural space in the literature of interculturality, what it is saying is that the linguistic, religious communities or communities of origin, do not live in their bubbles alone, but that these communities have to be intervened by the institutions with the people of the neighbourhood, of the country here. It's like a kind of cultural surveillance for me. An intercultural space, what it means is beware of making ghettos. That is why I disagree with the idea of intercultural interaction as a kind of mandate. Because there is one. . . This fits very well with surveillance security plans, for example, of Muslim communities or Latino communities, as different types of suspicious communities, some framed as gangs and others as possible violent subjects. So, I think that interculturality as an intervention in these communities is vigilance. And I do not agree with the idea of 'intercultural spaces'. We must create anti-racist or deracialized, decolonial spaces where people feel like they absolutely belong to the city where they live. I

believe that the issue with Barcelona, and the Spanish state in particular, is that it does everything possible so that migrants and the children of migrants always feel that we are migrants. And it creates many obstacles to have a sense of belonging" (Policy implementer, civil society organisation representative).

Criticisms raised against policymakers and the policy program

My observations and interviews revealed that, the conceptualisations and artefacts that are put forward by the policymakers are found to be misleading and/or distant from the realities of daily life and the same concepts are either perceived differently or they are not embraced by the policy implementers as much as the policymakers do. It would not be wrong to conclude that especially the participants from civil society that are funded by the City Council see a gap between the objectives of the ICC Program of Barcelona and the bitter realities that exist in this city. One of the policy implementers summarised this disagreement in the following way:

> *"Aquí hay muchas cosas, además eso a me toca también personalmente. Como aquí no hay ningún político, ningún jefe puedo hablar tranquilamente. Esto es una contradicción permanente, la institución genera un programa para promover la interculturalidad y la misma institución en otro sitio está haciendo cosas que es todo el contrario. Es mi opinión personal, hay alguien que ha creído que tenía sentido realmente tener un programa de interculturalidad; tener sentido porque se ha creído, realmente cree que la interculturalidad tiene sentido. Y al mismo tiempo hay alguien que piensa que está bien porque queda bien tener un programa de interculturalidad. Ahí hay una contradicción en la institución. Y luego a nivel de la gente que estamos trabajando en el programa, también hay una contradicción. Porque somos muy conscientes de que la institución es estructuralmente racista. Porque es lo que hay. Pues si hay una oportunidad de trabajar contra el racismo y para la interculturalidad con algunos recursos que*

salen de la institución, pues igual también está bien aprovecharlo. Pero claro es una contradicción gorda. Ahí estamos un poco luchando con esto. Realmente la idea de la convivencia, también es un poco mi opinión personal, yo creo que la idea de convivencia también es muy problemática porque yo creo que remite a una idea de paz social que se consigue invisibilizando y haciendo callar un montón de conflictos. Porque también el conflicto forma parte de la vida humana, incluso en un mundo ideal, tiene que haber conflicto, porque si no es una cárcel, no?! Y creo que al final la idea es poder saber un poco cómo gestionar el conflicto y la contradicción. Lo que nos preocupa es cómo esta sociedad, este grupo, incluso la institución, convive con estos conflictos. Los conflictos por racismo o discriminación están ahí. Y tienes que ser capaz de gestionar eso"

"There are many things here, besides that also touches me personally. Since there are no politicians here, no boss, I can speak freely. This is a permanent contradiction, the institution creates a program to promote interculturality and the same institution in another place is doing things that are quite the opposite. It is my personal opinion, there is someone who has believed that it really made sense to have an intercultural program; make sense because it has been believed, really believes that interculturality makes sense. And at the same time there is someone who thinks that it is good because it looks good to have an intercultural program. There is a contradiction in the institution. And then at the level of the people who are working on the program, there is also a contradiction. Because we are well aware that the institution is structurally racist. Because it is what it is. Well, if there is an opportunity to work against racism and for interculturality with some resources that come from the institution, then it is also good to take advantage of it. But of course it is a big contradiction. This is a struggle. In fact, I

156

think that the idea of convivencia is also very problematic because I think it refers to an idea of social peace that is achieved by making a lot of conflicts invisible and silencing them. Because conflict is also part of human life, even in an ideal world, there has to be conflict, because if not, it is a prison, right?! And I think that in the end, the idea is to be able to know a little about how to manage conflict and contradiction. Of course, a society without conflict is impossible. What concerns us is how this society, this group, even the institution, lives with these conflicts. The conflicts due to racism, or discrimination are there. And you have to be able to manage that" (Policy implementer, civil society actor).

The question of dependency

ICC Program is always mentioned as a "participatory strategy". And the method of implementation of this policy is outsourcing the responsibilities of the municipality by funding certain civil society actors and certain municipal services. Here, I argue that it overlaps with the idea of neoliberal governance restructuring like strategies of "soft neoliberalism" which conducts "governing through community" (Nikolas Rose 1996) that tries to integrate civil society actors and local communities in the local systems of governance. It also might take us to the discussions about whether the state tries to transfer its functions about social welfare to the non-profit organisations.

Nearly all the policy implementers, during the interviews, mentioned that the ICC Program was not a sufficient action to change the city, to solve the problems, but they were still applying for the funds within this frame. And all these "implementers" are financially dependent on the city government. This reminds us of the criticism of Evans et al (2005) that summarises this problematic relationship within the "neoliberal government":

"The presence of a "funding regime" implies that there exists "a unified set of values and regulations governing the relationship between the non-profit and voluntary sector and their stakeholders, including funders" (Scott 2003, 35). Market/business principles, fiscal restraint and government control through the contract rest clearly at the centre of this "funding regime". Moreover, non-profit third sector organisations are being positioned to police their contracts with the state. NPOs mediate between citizens and the state to ensure the contract terms are fulfilled. However, where they depend on the state for funding of service delivery, they are not autonomous to negotiate on behalf of their client groups" (Evans et al 2005: 82).

Considering that state, municipalities or local governments outsource the implementation of their responsibilities to the non-state actors through a funding system and make those institutions or individuals dependent on their fundings; it is evident that this process somehow limits the autonomy of these actors. The 'participatory program' (City Council of Barcelona 2010) requires civil society organisations to convince the authorities to be paid in order to be able to implement their projects.

Therefore, the observations and interviews reveal that the relationship that emerges between the NGOs and the administration of this policy program includes limitations and dependency although the official policy documents never mention an intention like that. This complex relationship, according to the policy implementers (especially the ones that are not civil servants but are members of NGOs), is an important factor that prevents them from achieving the objectives of their project-based actions that are connected to these intercultural policies.

Obviously, they also think that their limited power prevents eliminating the power inequalities between city inhabitants (such as the one between migrants and non-migrants) which seems like the most important problem according to them. Here, a question to be asked for further research might be, how do these complex relations influence the results in a broader sense?

In addition to that, it is evident that although the problem representations of most of the implementers are usually different than the ones of policymakers, the civil society organisations still prefer trying to make use of these limited resources as opportunities to realise their ideals.

3.2. Further discussion of main results

It is not surprising to find out that policy implementation in our case is composed of a complex network of actors and interactions in which the activities are limited by the institutional context and rules (Ostrom et al. 1994).

As it is evident in the literature; the values, perceptions and resources are important drivers that affect the behaviour of the actors in policy making and policy implementation. As it is mentioned before, the perceptions of these actors constitute the causal belief about the policy problems. The varying thoughts, expectations and perceptions of policymakers, stakeholders and policy implementers and the target groups who are expected to be affected by this policy, is in line with the public policy literature that demonstrates this variety.

Since civil society organisations play a crucial role in facilitating communication between the public and the government, it is encouraging to observe that the city government provide financial support for these organisations in order to implement intercultural policies. This funding affords them the opportunity to provide feedback on their findings to the government once their activities are

completed. However, their financial dependency on the policymakers might be dangerous and limiting in terms of bringing the objectives into life.

The observations on the ground verifies that policy implementation is "a disorderly learning process than a predictable procedure" (Berman 1980: 211). Another reason why it is not surprising to come across such diverging opinions is that, the "interdependence among organisations...fosters conflict...and confounds policy implementation" (Menzel 1987: 13) and policy implementation, is a conflict and bargaining model where there is no "commonality of purpose" and involves various organisations' series of moves aiming to influence the other organisations where none of the actors have precise control over the outcomes (Elmore 1978).

The definitions above were contributions of the scholars interested in understanding the policy failures or theorising how policies were implemented in practice.

This research did not intend to find out whether or not this policy program has failed. Here, I argue that the scholars that contribute in the literature about public policy, would not be surprised by my findings since they already have spent time observing the complexity of the contexts, and gaps between design, implementation, as well as the outcomes.

However, I find these findings useful to point out a gap in the publications about interculturalism as a policy framework. I argue that the findings, at least, invite us to rethink the ambitious arguments within this framework.

Although I think that further research about other cases are needed to make more accurate generalisations, I think most Intercultural Cities might give us similar results with Barcelona in terms of the above-mentioned distance between different perspectives among the policy actors.

While scholars argued that further empirical research are needed to have sufficient evidence to support ICC policies in terms of creating open, inclusive, socially cohesive cities, I find it important to emphasis the need for further research that critically assess the conceptualisations of ICCs and what those concepts mean for the target groups and/or the various actors that take place in the implementation of such policies; without treating original the objectives and actions of ICC Programmes as unquestionable premises.

4. Concluding Remarks

This article dealt with how the ICC Program of Barcelona was implemented in practice, and what the inherent problem representations about convivencia and public space are according to policy implementers (during the implementation). This also allows us to compare the problem representations of the policy implementers to the perspectives of the policymakers that were analysed in Chapter 2.

Focusing on the perceptions related to convivencia and public spaces, the findings of this article revealed that there are gaps between the thoughts of policymakers and policy implementers. In fact, the implementers are mostly critical of the City Hall and the policymakers.

Apart from the decision-making process that takes place behind closed doors, the practices and

The data collection that lasted between December 2020 and February 2022 (considering the interruptions due to Covid-19 pandemic) revealed that the implementation of The Barcelona ICC Programme takes place through 1) outsourcing the action plans through a fuding the civil society organisations and 2) funding the municipal services that are in charge of maintaining 'convivencia' and 'interculturality'.

Despite being dependent on the city government, policy implementers often hold different perceptions and thoughts compared to the policymakers. An overwhelming majority of policy implementers expressed that the ICC Program was inadequate and unsuitable in effecting meaningful change within the city. They found the conceptualizations and artifacts presented by the policymakers to be misleading and disconnected from the realities of everyday life. Moreover, these concepts were either interpreted differently or not fully embraced by the policy implementers to the same extent as by the policymakers.

The ICC Program is announced as a participative strategy and annually spares a budget that is over 1,5 million Euros (Ajuntament de Barcelona 2021). However Triviño Salazar (2023)found that, despite the city's entrepreneurial stance towards migrant integration policies, the city government (especially during the term that Ada Colau was in power)- unlike the governors express- was not fully incorporating local civil society actors in policymaking but rather, the government was holding the authority and decision-making about the integration-related policies and their relationship to the non state actors were only based on regular informative meetings. According to Triviño-Salazar's (2023) findings, the collaboration between city government and nonstate actors was also "selectively used by local governments to legitimize their position at home and abroad" (Triviño-Salazar 2023: 20).

In case of convivencia conflicts which are depicted as vernacular conflicts that occur mostly due to improper/uncivil behaviours, it is evident that, most of the time migrants or other stigmatised populations are the scapegoats.

Many policy implementers acknowledge that, while the idea of creating 'intercultural spaces', promoting intercultural dialogue, and reducing prejudice within the city's population is important, it cannot be their primary focus when they receive funding for their activities. According to them, prioritising solidarity with migrants who face economic challenges and constant

discrimination takes precedence. They argue that the complex inequalities present among city residents go beyond mere cultural and ethnic differences; they are rooted in structural racism. These migrants have urgent and unmet needs that require attention, rather than just a superficial cultural exchange in society. Consequently, the desired 'intercultural convivencia' and the notion of public spaces fostering peaceful coexistence, as proposed by policymakers, are seen as naive, misleading, and sometimes superficial by the policy implementers.

While the case study focused on multiple activities, the research also illuminated the interplay between actors from various sectors (civil society, public policy, etc.) which certainly needs more focus. And the research revealed that rather than homogenising the concept of 'Intercultural City' further empirical research are needed in order to make generalisations.

Bibliography

Allport, G. W. (1954). *The nature of prejudice* . Addison-Wesley.

Ajuntament de Barcelona (2021) Gaseta Municipal 10 de setembre del 2021 https://w123.bcn.cat/APPS/egaseta/cercaAvancada.do?reqCode=downl oadFileandpublicacionsId=21813

Astor, A. (2016). "Social Position and Place-Protective Action in a New Immigration Context: Understanding Anti-Mosque Campaigns in Catalonia." *International Migration Review* 50(1): 95–132.

Bacchi, C., (2009). *Analysing Policy*. Pearson Australia Pty Ltd.

Bacchi, C. (2012). Why Study Problematizations? Making Politics Visible. *Open Journal of Political Science*, *02*(01), 1–8. https://doi.org/10.4236/ojps.2012.21001

Barcelona City Council and its Directorate of Immigration and Interculturality. (2014). *C4i Communication for Integration Catalogue of Anti-Rumour Activities Deliverable No.8* (Issue November). Council of Europe.

Berman, P. (1980). Thinking about programmed and adaptive implementation: Matching strategies to situations. In H.M. Ingram and D.E. Mann (Eds.), Why policies succeed or fail (pp. 205–227). Beverly Hills : Sage.

Bots, P.W.G., van Twist, M.J.W., van Duin, R. (2000) "Automatic Pattern Detection in Stakeholder Networks" Proceedings of the 33rd Hawaii International Conference on System Sciences. 1-10.

Bloomfield, J., and Bianchini, F. (2004). Planning for the Intercultural City. Stroud: Comedia.

Bullock, H. L. et al. (2021). "Understanding the Implementation of Evidence-Informed Policies and Practices from a Policy Perspective: A Critical Interpretive Synthesis." Implementation Science 16(1): 1–24.

Cantle T. (2008). Community Cohesion: a New Framework for Race and Diversity. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Caponio, T., and Davide D. (2017). "Intercultural Policy in Times of Crisis: Theory and Practice in the Case of Turin, Italy." Comparative Migration Studies 5(1): 1–16.

Clay, E. J. and Schaffer, B. B (eds.) (1986) Room for Manoeuvre, An Explanation of Public Policy in Agriculture and Rural Development. London: Heinemann.

Colebatch, H.K. (2006). What work makes policy?. Policy Sci 39, 309–321 https://doi.org/10.1007/s11077-006-9025-4

Coleman, W. and Skogstad. G. (1990a). 'Policy communities and policy networks: a structural approach,' in William Coleman and Grace Skogstad, eds. Policy Communities and Public Policy in Canada: A Structural Approach. Mississauga, ON: Copp Clark Pitman, pp. 14-33.

Crable, E. L. et al. (2022). "Where Is 'Policy' in Dissemination and Implementation Science? Recommendations to Advance Theories, Models, and Frameworks: EPIS as a Case Example." *Implementation Science* 17(1): 1–14. https://doi.org/10.1186/s13012-022-01256-x.

De Torres Barderi, D. (2018). *Antirumours handbook 2018*. Council of Europe.

Cantle, T. (2012). Interculturalism: For the Era of Globalisation, Cohesion and Diversity. *Political Insight*, *3*(3). https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2041-9066.2012.00124.x

City Council of Barcelona. (2010). *Barcelona Interculturality Plan*. Barcelona City Council. (2021). *Superblock Barcelona Towards the city we want*. https://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/superilles/sites/default/files/20210202_Superblock_Barcelona_web.pdf

City Council of Barcelona. (2020). *Superilla Barcelona*. City Council of Barcelona.

City Council of Barcelona. (2021). *Barcelona Interculturality Plan 2021-2030*. City Council of Barcelona. https://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/bcnacciointercultural/sites/default/files/documentos/barcelona_interculturality_plan_2021-2030_1.pdf

Council of Europe. (2008). *White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue " Living Together As Equals in Dignity "* (Issue May). Council of Europe Publishing.

Council of Europe. (2013). *The intercultural city step by step*. Council of Europe Publishing.

Council of Europe. (2016). *Intercultural cities - The art of mixing*. Council of Europe Publishing.

Dixon, J. (2001). Contact and Boundaries. *Theory and Psychology*, *11*(5), 587–608. https://doi.org/10.1177/0959354301115001

Evans, B., Richmond, T., and Shields, J. (2005) Structuring Neoliberal Governance: The Nonprofit Sector, Emerging New Modes of Control and the Marketisation of Service Delivery, Policy and Society, 24:1, 73-97, Doi: 10.1016/S1449-4035(05)70050-3

Elmore, R. F. (1979). Backward Mapping: Implementation Research and Policy Decisions. Political Science Quarterly, 94(4), 601–616. https://doi.org/10.2307/2149628

Giddens, A. (1991). *Modernity and Se If-I den ti ty Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*. Polity Press.

Gunn, L. (1978), 'Why is implementation so difficult?', Management Services in Government, November.

Gutiérrez Rodríguez, E. (2019). Creolising Conviviality: Thinking Relational Ontology and Decolonial Ethics Through Ivan Illich and Édouard Glissant. In Oscar Hemer, Maja Povrzanović Frykman, and Per-Markku Ristilammi (Eds.), *Conviviality at the Crossroads* (pp. 105–124). Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-28979-9_6

Harvey, D. (1989). From Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism: The Transformation in Urban Governance in Late Capitalism. *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography*, *71*(1), 3–17. https://doi.org/10.1080/04353684.1989.11879583

Hermans, L. M. and W. A. H. Thissen (2008). "Actor Analysis methods and their use for public policy analysts." European Journal of Operational Research 196: 808-818.

Hudson, B., Hunter, D., and Peckham, S. (2019) Policy failure and the policy-implementation gap: can policy support programs help?, Policy Design and Practice, 2:1, 1-14, Doi: 10.1080/25741292.2018.1540378

Hupe, P. (2022). "62: Street-Level Bureaucracy". In Elgar Encyclopedia of Public Management. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited.

Jobert, B. (1989). The Normative Frameworks of Public Policy. Political Studies, 37(3), 376–386. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.14679248.1989.tb00277.x

Kenis, P. and Schneider, V. (1991). 'Policy networks and policy analysis: scrutinizing a new analyti-cal toolbox', pp. 25–59, in B. Marin and R. Mayntz (eds.)

Kingdon JW, Stano E. Agendas, alternatives, and public policies Vol. 45. Boston: Little, Brown; 1984. p. 165–169.

Klijn,E.-H.(1997) 'Policy Networks:An Overview.Managing Complex Networks: Strategies for the Public Sector', in W.J.M.Kickert, E.-H.Klijn and J.F.M.Koppenjan (eds) Managing Complex Networks,pp. 14–34.London:SAGE.

Kolleck, N. et. al. (2022). "Behind the Scenes How International Treaty Secretariats Use Social Networks to Exert Influence in the Global Climate Policy Regime." In International Public Administrations in Global Public Policy, eds. Christoph Knill and Yves Steinebach. London: Routledge, 202–21.

Kuper, H. (1972). The Language of Sites in the Politics of Space. *American Anthropologist*, *74*(3), 411–425.

Landry, C., and Wood, P. (2008a). The intercultural city, Planning for the diversity advantage. London: Earthscan.

Lefebvre, H. (1991). The production of space. *The Production of Space*.

Lefebvre, H. (1996). Writings on Cities. Edited by Kofman, E. and Lebas, E. Oxford: Blackwell

Lipsky, M. (1980). Street-Level Bureaucracy: Dilemmas of the Individual in Public Services. New York: Russell Sage Foundation. Politics and Society, 10(1), 116-116. https://doi.org/10.1177/003232928001000113

Lundsteen, M. (2020). "Conflicts in and around Space. Reflections on 'Mosque Conflicts' through the Case of Premià de Mar". In Journal of Muslims in Europe, 9 (1), pp. 43-63. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1163/22117954-12341410

Lundsteen, M. (2022a). La mezquita constestada. Islamofobia, racismo anti-musulmán y capitalismo. Barcelona: Edicions Bellaterra. ISBN: 978-84-19160-04-1

Lundsteen, M. (2022b). The Mosque Conflict in Catalonia: Space, Culture, and Capitalism. Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books. ISBN: 978-1-66690-895-4

Marsh, D. and Rhodes, R. (1992). 'Policy communities and issue networks. Beyond typology',pp. 249–68, in D. Marsh and R.A.W. Rhodes (eds.).

McConnell, A. (2017, May 24). Policy Success and Failure. Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics. Retrieved 3 Nov. 2023, from https://oxfordre.com/politics/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.001.0001/acrefore-9780190228637-e-137.

Menzel, D. C. (1987). An Interorganizational Approach to Policy Implementation. Public Administration Quarterly, 11(1), 3–16. http://www.jstor.org/stable/40861332

Mitroff, I. I., (1983). Stakeholders of the Organizational Mind. Toward a new view of organizational policy making. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Ostrom, E., Gardner,R., and Walker,J. (1994). Rules, games, and common-pool resources. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Presseau, J. et al. (2019). "Action, Actor, Context, Target, Time (AACTT): A Framework for Specifying Behaviour." *Implementation Science* 14(1): 1–13.

Putnam, R. D. (2007). E Pluribus Unum: Diversity and Community in the Twenty-first Century The 2006 Johan Skytte Prize Lecture.

Rittel, H.W.J., and Webber, M.M. (1973). Dilemmas in a general theory of planning. Policy Sci 4, 155–169 https://doi.org/10.1007/BF01405730 *Scandinavian Political Studies*, *30*(2), 137–174.

Rose, N. (1996). The death of the social? Refiguring the territory of government. *Economy and Society*, 25(3), 327-356.

Sabatier, P. (1988). An advocacy coalition framework of policy change and the role of policy- oriented learning therein.' Policy Sciences 21:129-168.

Scharpf, Fritz W. (1997). Games real actors play. Actor-centered institutionalism in policy research. Boulder, CO: Westview.

Shore, C., and Wright, S. (Eds.). (1997). Anthropology of Policy: Perspectives on Governance and Power (1st ed.). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203451038

Schön, D. A., and Rein, M. (1994). *Frame reflection: Toward the resolution of intractable policy controversies*. New York: Basic Books.

Scott, K,. (2003). Funding Matters: The Impact of Canada's New Funding Regime on Nonprofit and Voluntary Organizations, in collaboration with the Coalition of National Voluntary Organizations. Ottawa, ON: Canadian Council on Social Development.

Seidlová, M., and Chapman, P. (2017). Combating unequal inclusion of immigrants into the host society: comparing policy responses in London and Paris. In Inequalities in the UK, ed. D. Fée and A. Kober-Smith, 285–303. London: Emerald Publishing Limited.

Soja, E. W. (1989). *Postmodern geographies : the reassertion of space in critical social theory*. Verso.

Sutton, R. (1999). Overseas Development Institute *Working Paper 118 The Policy Process: An Overview*. London: Chameleon Press Ltd.

Triviño-Salazar, J. C. (2023). Transnational City Networks on Migration and Integration and Local Collaborative Governance: Establishing the Nexus. International Migration Review, 0(0). https://doi.org/10.1177/01979183231154558

Wedel, J. R., and Feldman, G. (2005). Why an anthropology of public policy? *Anthropology Today*, *21*(1), 1–2. https://doi.org/10.1111/J.0268-540X.2005.00321.X

White, B. W. (2018). *Intercultural Cities: Policy and Practice for a New Era* (B. W. White, Ed.). Springer Nature. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-62603-1

Wood, P., and Landry, C. (2012). The intercultural city: Planning for diversity advantage. In *The Intercultural City: Planning for Diversity Advantage.* https://doi.org/10.4324/9781849773089

CHAPTER 4: Intercultural Cities and Public Space in Barcelona according to the Target Groups

Author 1: İren Eylül Karaoğlu

Author 2: Martin Lundsteen Department of Anthropology, Universitat de Barcelona, Barcelona, 08001, Spain

Abstract

Migration is increasingly perceived as a challenge to many European countries. On the one hand, we see an expansion of xenophobia, racism, and anti-immigrant and discriminatory discourses in general. On the other, a rising number of scientists and policymakers argue that multiculturalism has given rise to conflicts, segregation and reduced social trust and social cohesion. These circumstances paved the way for integrationist and neo-assimilationist approaches, but also interculturalism. In fact, since 2008, the Council of Europe has been promoting interculturalism as a city-level integration policy model under the name Intercultural Cities Programme. One of the objectives of this is to manage and create public spaces that facilitate peaceful encounters, intercultural contact, inclusion and convivencia. This article is part of a larger case study focused on the Intercultural City Program of Barcelona that contrasts perspectives of policymakers, policy implementers and the target groups, and as such it analyses the target groups' conceptions and experiences of convivencia and public spaces in relation to the initiatives of the ICC Programme as implemented in Barcelona. Through interviews, content analysis and observations of activities,it illuminates how the target groups of intercultural policies conceive convivencia in public spaces in relation with the activities and initiatives of the Intercultural City Program as it is implemented in Barcelona.

Introduction

How interculturalism as a policy paradigm became popular, how it was examined in the literature, and the history and objectives of this policy framework as a city-level integration policy were elaborated in chapters 1, 2 and 3. In addition to these, the previous chapters dealt with the problem formulations involved in the framework at the level of the policymakers (Chapter 2), policy implementers (Chapter 3) and with how the ICC policy program was implemented in the case of Barcelona (Chapter 3) thereby focusing on the perception and conception of the problems as well as on the interpretation of the policy framework. As a continuation of these, and in line with the idea of analysing the particular social and cultural worlds that policies are embedded within (Shore, Wright and Però, 2011), the present article then focuses and analyses the target groups' conceptions and experiences of *convivencia* and public spaces in relation to the initiatives of the ICC Programme as implemented in Barcelona. As it is previously explained in detail (AUTHOR 1, Chapter 1), her long history of promoting intercultural policies and the urban history of the city makes Barcelona a very important case for this study.

In fact, although Barcelona, as well as the other 165 cities in the network, appears as an Intercultural City in the policy documents and international platforms such as the Intercultural Cities Programme launched by the Council of Europe, probably few inhabitants would describe their city in these terms. In fact, most of the city inhabitants would not even be aware that they were defined as an Intercultural City resident. Yet, the policies potentially have an effect on them and as there might certainly be a divergence between the initial perceptions and conceptions of the policymakers, the policy implementers (AUTHOR 1, Chapter 2 and 3), and the people that the ICC policy programmes target, it seems of utmost importance to examine the conceptions

of the target groups of this urban policy programme about public spaces and the interaction that happens within them.

This way the analytical focus is both on the ways in which the city inhabitants *conceive* the concepts that the policymakers have problematised (Foucault, 1980; Bacchi, 2012) in relation to the practices of this policy program, through an analysis of concrete examples of implementation. Methodologically speaking, a mixture of participant observations and interviews has been employed to elicit data on these topics. More concretely, 14 participant observations and 5 content analysis were conducted to analyse 19 activities in total (discussions, workshops, meetings, artistic activities, radio podcasts etc.) proposed by ICC Program of Barcelona which were mostly open to the public, and 11 interviews were conducted in total with inhabitants and participants in the abovementioned activities.

The article is structured as follows. First, we will present the relationship between space and convivencia in the intercultural policies, then we will present the theoretical background and state-of-the-art, and after that, the methodology. Following this, comes the analysis. And, finally, the conclusive remarks are put forward.

1. Cities and the Role of Space in the Intercultural Policies

In the ICC programme, interculturalism is conceived as a policy tool that aims at building social cohesion and a sense of belonging in diverse societies and cities. Accordingly, negative perceptions, rumours, and lack of knowledge are seen as barriers to intercultural interaction, *convivencia*, and the social inclusion of immigrants (Barderi, 2018). In addition to the fight towards these, the policy programme aims to promote positive interaction (Cantle, 2012), and avoid segregation, ghettoization, and any cultural and social barriers between people (Zapata-Barrero, 2019).

One of the guiding theories of the overarching framework is, as mentioned earlier (Chapter 2 and 3), Gordon Allport's (1954) intergroup contact hypothesis. However, while a certain association between increased intergroup contact and decreased prejudice has been pointed out in more recent studies (Pettigrew and Tropp, 2006), other aspects such as structural and institutional racism, labour market and housing market segregation, gender inequality, socio-economic inequality, and especially relevant for this article the role of space, all remain largely understudied in the research inspired by intergroup contact theory, and yet, as will become apparent from the data presented in this article, these topics are crucial to the target groups of the Intercultural Policies.

The exclusive conception of convivencia in the studies dealing with Spain, which was explained in detail in the previous chapters of this thesis (Author 1, Chapter 2 and 3), makes it relevant to analyse the conceptions of the inhabitants about convivencia and public space in an intercultural avant-gardist city like Barcelona. Indeed convivencia – Spanish for 'living together', as Erickson (2011) puts it – has been described as "a vernacular interculturalist project… an alternative to both xenophobic and liberal multiculturalist discourses circulating in Europe" (Erickson 2011: 114).

However, despite the official discourse about interculturality and 'intercultural convivencia', it is uncertain whether and how it is experienced on the ground. Indeed, the literature on conviviality suggests that it is better to problematize the normativeness and hopefulness of this concept (Back and Sinha, 2016) and calls researchers 'to move from looking at the techniques for living together to the politics of living together' (Venkov 2019: 5).

Consequently, the first theoretical and methodological move of this article is to study the *politics of convivencia*, focusing here on the thoughts of those inhabitants subject to discrimination, racism, exclusion, and everything that the ICC

Program intends to eliminate. In fact, following Sandercock (2003), this is also a political stance in favour of those often without voice in the policies:

> "Official urban discourses (those produced by City Councils, Departments of Planning, Police Departments, mainstream media) tend to legitimize and privilege the fears of the bourgeoisie, their fears of those 'Others' who might invade or disrupt their homely spaces, their habitus. We rarely hear from those folks whom official discourse classifies as Other, about their fears: the fear, for example, of being hungry, homeless, jobless, of having no future in the city, of being unable to provide for one's children, the fear of not being accepted in a strange environment, the fear of police or citizen violence against them" (Sandercock, 2003: 124).

The lacking empirical evidence on the utility of this policy framework and the need for critical research was already mentioned in the previous chapters. This article aims to contribute in the much needed critical research dealing with the policy programme itself, by taking the activities run by the policy programme as objects and the policymakers and policy implementers as subjects of analysis as well as focusing on the experiences and perceptions of the target groups in relation to the initiatives of this policy program.

2. Theoretical Background in relation to space and convivencia

Elias and Mansouri's (2020) recent systematic review noted that there is a lack of sufficient empirical studies on the applicability of interculturalism as an approach in urban encounters. As it is already discussed in previous chapters, understanding social relations and practices like living together is nor possible without taking into account socio-spatial processes (Lefebvre, 1991; Giddens, 1991; Harvey, 1989; Soja, 1989; Wolch and Dear, 1989). The literature that defends interculturalism sees public space as a zone of contact and a suitable

arena for focusing on the barriers of interaction, contact promotion and knowledge exchange, however, their studies does not seem to take into account the complexity of spatial dimension of prejudice and contact as it was discussed in detail in the previous chapters.

We will here focus on the role of public space and convivencia in the conceptions of the target groups of the intercultural policies of Barcelona, thereby combining the literature on interculturalism with the literature on the social construction and production of space and will contribute to the emerging research on the politics of convivencia.

3. Methodology

The article rests upon fieldwork conducted between December 2020 and February 2022, which involved mainly participant and non-participant observations and interviews, to be explained in detail below. At various times, the observation part of the fieldwork was interrupted due to Covid-19 restrictions, so was the in-person activities of the ICC Program of Barcelona that are open to public.

3.1. (Participant) Observation and Content Analysis of Activities

19 activities of which 7 of them were held online, were analysed in total. 14 of them were analysed through participant and non-participant observation and 5 of them which were live radio podcasts; were listened, downloaded, transcribed and content analysis were applied on them (Appendix A). Participant observations were conducted for 12 of the 19 activities and the rest were observed. The duration of the activities spanned from 45 minutes to 3 hours. While some of them were once-only activities, others were part of a series of activities, and some of them even included multiple sessions as part of ongoing larger projects (Appendix A).

Due to the Covid-19 pandemic, the number of activities during the fieldwork were less compared to pre-pandemic years. The types of activities involved encounter groups, guided city tours, radio podcasts, theatre performances, monthly meetings of policy implementers, discussion forums, concerts and so on. The activities were identified in the activity programme documents disseminated via social media and email bulletins. Also, the previous stage of the research where policy implementers had been interviewed, allowed us to identify activities that were not announced in the official e-bulletin of the ICC Program (such as the encounter group and the monthly meetings of some implementers).

Since it was physically impossible to attend all the activities, the activities were categorised, and attention was paid to those that fell into the scope of the research – i.e. (public) space and convivencia, and within this aiming for as diverse and representative a data set as possible, both in terms of themes and locations.

Consequently, among the five lines of work mentioned in further detail below, we focused on the first and the third line since they are relevant for the conceptual focus of our research, and they were the two lines open to public participation. Thus, of the more than 125 activities aoffered (see Appendix A, Table 1), the main researcher conducted participant observation of 19, as well as observations in the neighbourhoods specified as areas of intervention by the policy implementers during the interviews (see Appendix A, Table 2 and Table 3).

The selection of the activities to observe depended on various factors like limitations of access and the relevancy with our research focus (see Appendix A, Table 3 and 4). We chose the activities that were representative of the conceptual focus of our research and omitted other non-relevant activities. The selection of activities heavily depended on the announcements of the city council via social media and e-mail bulletins and most of them were not

announced beforehand, since they were not open for the enrolment of the whole city (see Appendix A, Table 5). Nevertheless, they were counted and added in the data about the number of activities that were reported in their annual report document. The activities observed took place in the following neighbourhoods: Sagrada Família, El Carmel, Horta, Gràcia, Sants, Trinitat, and El Raval, Poblenou all varied in terms of socio-economic indicators and territorial stigmatisation, and representative in terms of the urban conflicts taking place in the city (see Appendix A, Table 4 and 5).

Before attending the activities, the organisers and facilitators were contacted and informed about the research objectives. During the activities the main researcher introduced herself, including details of her identity as a migrant, and informed the participants about the research, acting in accordance with the guides of the European Commission on research ethics. The main researcher then took an active part in the activities, observed and engaged in discussions as well as informal conversations with the participants afterwards, and interviewed some of the participants, and later complemented these interviews with people from the target groupsthat were pointed by the policy implementers as subjects of certain interventions. Although direct observation, participating in the online and in person activities, and taking field notes were conducted, these have been complemented with the recorded data from the organisers.

3.2. Interviews

Although 38 interviews were conducted during the fieldwork of this doctoral thesis, only 11 of them will be referred to here (see AUTHOR 1, Chapter 2 and 3 for more information on the whole project and methodology). The formal interview participants were reached by asking the participants if they would like to participate in an interview after the activities, and usually lasted between 20 to 60 minutes. In addition to the 5formal semi-structured interviews, 6informal interviews were conducted with participants of the activities and the residents

and business owners in two stigmatised public spaces pointed out by the ICC implementers in the previous stage of the research (see Appendix e fort he participants). The interviewees aimed to include a variety of inhabitants. The purpose was to build a cohort in which none of the existing identities would be under-represented and at the same time include diversity in terms of age, power inequalities, ethnicity, gender, etc., but the list of potential interviewees was fixed.

Among the participants of the activities, only 5 of them agreed to have an interview. Except for one of them, a Catalan lady of around 70 years of age, all of them were of migrant origin: a man of around 60 years old from Uruguay, a woman of around 55 years old from Lebanon, a woman of around 30 from Morocco, a woman in her 20s from Latin America. Except for these participants, 6 informal interviews were carried out in two neighbourhoods that were pointed as problematic areas of intervention by the neighbourhood-based intercultural services. Those 11 interviews were not the only source of information about the target groups in relation to the actions of the ICC Program. During the 19 activities, the main researcher was able to observe the discussions of the participants as well as to engage in informal conversations with them (in 14 of the activities) in activities which accommodated large numbers of participants and included rich and representative data.

In connection to the incidents around the Pastrana and Bacardi square, the main researcher spoke with a young Chinese university student, the daughter of a bar owner, a man from Honduras who works at a fruit shop, two men from Pakistan who work at a supermarket, a man from Pakistan who is a bar owner, and another man of unknown origin who works at a bar, all working in the area.

The interviews were held in Spanish, transcribed into Spanish, and finally translated to English. The thematic analysis of these data was conducted in English paying attention to the original versions, and MAXQDA was used as a

CADQAS package for the coding of the data. To avoid any misunderstandings and increase the efficiency of the interviews, in almost 90% of the fieldwork, the main researcher worked with a professional translator (also a native Turkish-speaker and an expert both in Spanish, Catalan, and English) during the interviews and the participant observations.

3.3. Selecting activities for observation

As mentioned earlier in detail (Chapter 1), the implementation of Barcelona ICC Program plan included the following five main lines of action: Espai Avinyó LLengua i Cultura, Intercultural Communication, Anti-Rumor Strategy, Intercultural Training and Promotion of Interculturality.

Among the lines of work, the category called Intercultural Training is composed of training activities that targets entities, municipal workers, professionals and general population with the objective to spread the intercultural perspective. Throughout the course of fieldwork, they have organised periodic trainings for municipal workers and other trainings that were requested by some entities. We have omitted their activities from our observation list because of their irrelevance with our research focus. Also, the workers of the line called Promotion of Interculturality deal with technical and sometimes financial support and pedagogical activities among the workers. It is a line of work that only include activities of coordination among the policy implementers which are mostly close to public participation that is why we excluded this category from our fieldwork observations.

Among more than 125 activities that are potentially observable for our fieldwork, the main researcher conducted participant observation in 19 activities as well as observations in the neighbourhoods that were specified as areas of intervention by the policy implementers during the interviews. Of the 33 Espai Avinyó activities during the course of the fieldwork, the main researcher observed 7 activities simply because most of the activities that were

representative of the conceptual focus of our research were organised around Espai Avinyó. Of the 25 different Anti-Rumour Network (ARN) activities we were able to attend one activity because of the limitations of access (Appendices A and B). Most of the ARN activities were organised on demand of certain entities (like schools) without public announcement and were close to the public. Among these five lines of work, we focused on the first and the third line since they are relevant for the conceptual focus of our research and they were the two lines that were open to public participation.

The selection of the activities to observe depended on various factors like limitations of access and the relevancy with our research focus. We chose the activities that are representative of the conceptual focus of our research and omitted other non-relevant activities. The remaining 11 activities that the main researcher observed do not belong to the list of 5 lines that were mentioned before, but instead, they were activities that belong to the special projects of civil society that were funded by the city government and activities of other actors such as The Office for Religious Affairs and the municipal, neighbourhood-based services of interculturality and convivencia. These activities were organised by actors that were pointed as important policy implementers by the Barcelona Interculturality Program. The selection of activities heavily depended on the announcements of the city council via social media and e-mail bulletins and most of them were not announced beforehand, since they were not open for the enrolment of the whole city. Nevertheless they were counted and added in the data about the number of activities that were reported in their annual report document.

4. Analysis: The Intercultural Cities Seen from Below

The ideas and concrete framework, policies, and activities notwithstanding, the main purpose of this article is to describe and analyse the conceptions of the participants and the target groups of the intercultural policies of Barcelona,

especially in relation to public space and convivencia. The resulting themes have been structured into two sections.

4.1. Generating Inclusive Spaces in an Exclusive City/Society

Overall, the activities (workshops, discussions, forum theatres, concerts, etc.) of ICC Programme open to the public, explicitly aimed to change the negative perceptions around diversity, to generate open and inclusive spaces that would facilitate intercultural interaction, free of rumour and prejudice. These activities often took place in cultural centres, municipal service buildings, churches, museums, the cultural spaces, and bars built by cooperative companies and associations. That is, spaces which were also used for other purposes than the activities of this programme.

When asked the participants they told us that they felt welcomed and, mostly, that the space and the atmosphere generated during the activities were inclusive and anti-racist. In fact, the observation of the discussions during the activities and the interviews confirms that these activities and the temporary spaces generated from the activities and the interaction in them, were unlike the everyday togetherness in the city itself. The participants reported that the daily lives of people in Barcelona are full of inequalities, subject to racism and discrimination and that the public spaces in the city, which are mostly privatised and exclusive, are not comfortable spaces to spend time in. One of the participants who was an undocumented migrant stated during the encounter group activity series called Migrant Women Group at the cultural centre of Sagrada Familia neighbourhood association:

> *"Aquí, en la Sagrada Familia, la gente que trabaja aquí es buena gente. Me*
> *tratan bien. Pero fuera hay racismo. Por ejemplo, aquí somos inmigrantes de*
> *muchas religiones, por ejemplo musulmanes. Cuando hay una oportunidad de*
> *trabajo, no me eligen a mí, eligen a otras personas. Cuando los latinos solicitan*
> *los mismos trabajos, hablan español, tienen religiones diferentes. Los*

empresarios les dan prioridad. Hace cuatro años que no tengo papeles, nunca pude encontrar trabajo. Vivo sin papeles, sin trabajo, sin apoyo. Quiero mejorar mi situación. Tengo hijos, necesitan muchas cosas"

"Here in Sagrada Familia the people who work here are nice people. They treat me well. But outside, there is racism. For example, here we are immigrants with many religions, for example Muslims. When there is a job opportunity, they do not choose me, they choose other people. When the Latinos apply for the same jobs, they speak Spanish, they have different religions. The employers prioritise them. It has been four years, I do not have my papers, I could never find a job. I live without papers, without work, without support. I want to improve my situation. I have children, they need a lot of things" (Moroccan female undocumented migrant).

Nonetheless, some of the participants that attended in activities did not even feel comfortable in the spaces that the activities took place. Taking into consideration its design and use of public spaces one of the immigrant participantdescribed Barcelona as a racist, colonial, privatised and exclusive city during the interview that was conducted after the activity took place:

"Yo viniendo del sur del mundo, cuando llegué acá, Me impresioné de que en las plazas hubieran bancas para sentarse una persona. Una ciudad que no está pensada Para reunirse, para encontrarse, para generar conversaciones, para conocerse. Es una ciudad muy individualista, una ciudad hecha para el consumo, muy en línea con el Capitalismo, se instaló a través de esta política colonial...desde el monumento a Cristóbal Colón hasta el General Prim, esta ciudad está llena de edificios, calles, monumentos y espacios públicos que están diseñados para seguir legitimando el poder de los Blancos y para excluir a las

personas que son vistas como inferiores por la división racial, impuesta a través del colonialismo"

 "Coming from South America, when I got here, I was surprised that there were single-seater benches in the squares for one person. It is a city that is not designed to meet, to make acquaintances, to generate conversations, to get to know each other. It is a very individualistic city, a city made for consumption, very much in line with Capitalism, it was installed through this colonial policy…from the Christopher Columbus monument to General Prim, this city is full of buildings, streets, monuments and public spaces that are designed to continue to legitimise the power of White people and to exclude people who are seen as inferior by the racial divide, imposed through colonialism" (Latin American, university student, female migrant resident, participant of the activity called Impossible Museums).

During the same activity that took place in the Ethnological World Cultures Museum, the organiser (speaker) had spoken almost in the same line with the participant and invited us to question the colonial culture within the city that lacks representation of diverse groups, stating that the public spaces and cultural management of the cities are sometimes designed as if none of these diversity existed. After her presentation, we were invited to take a tour at the museum, form groups and take seats around 5-6 tables, discuss what we saw in accordance with our topic followed by another gathering in the presentation room this time for a collective discussion.

Interestingly, although the ICC Program promises and aims to generate participative, inclusive spaces (during and through the activities) open for discussion; despite the critical and anti-racist discussions accommodated in the space at the museum that was reserved for the activity, unlike other participants,

the above-mentioned interviewee reported that she did not even felt comfortable or welcomed in that space (museum) either.

Regarding the physical design and use of the public spaces, an immigrant participant from another activity criticised the new pedestrianisation project of Barcelona called *Superilla* (Superblock Barcelona) (City Council of Barcelona, 2021; City Council of Barcelona, 2020) stating that it does not solve the insufficiency and privatisation of public spaces, and that especially the youngsters do not have sufficient spaces to socialise outside the sphere of consumption.

In this sense, according to some of the interviewees the intercultural interaction is also limited in the city. As one of them, who had been familiar with the program documents and been participating in multiple events of the Anti-Rumour Network which is an key component of the ICC Program, reports; a reason why ICC activities cannot reach their objectives and construct a city without prejudice and racism is that the number of city inhabitants who participate in the activities are very few and in some of the activities, the participants already know each other, and, are already sensitive to these topics. For these reasons, he reported that the activities were unable to reach the targeted groups in terms of the stated objectives.

He gave further examples from the social movements in the city that he actively got engaged with and reported that even those were incapable of reaching out the whole city.The most telling example of an action of the ICC Programme that are directly related to the topics of public space and convivencia, is a project of Espai Avinyó and The Services of Interculturality and Convivencia, situated in two neighbourhoods called Horta Guinardo and Sant Andreu, and which includes a series of radio podcasts. During the three episodes of the podcast which we have had access to, youngsters living in stigmatised and lower-income neighbourhoods are interviewed, and the speakers ask how they

define public space, their habits of using public space and their complaints regarding the neighbourhoods. The interviewees talk about intersectional aspects of their identities, discrimination and racial profiling of the police towards racialised people, the number of police officers in the area being higher compared to other neighbourhoods, the safety issues in the mentioned neighbourhoods concerning pickpocketing and harassment, that the many police officers do not protect them from sexual assault, the poor lighting of the streets, the lack of sense of security, the results of gentrification, and so on.

The organisers of the radio podcasts emphasise the importance of diverse use of public space and the importance of public spaces in relation to intercultural relations over and over, but their interviewees argue that many of the problems arise from social inequalities. After all problems concerning the use of public space (due to the lack of private space), racial profiling of the police, increased policing, safety issues (sense of security in the public spaces) are seen much more in the stigmatised lower income neighbourhoods. One of the interviewees who lives in one of the most criminalised neighbourhoods of Barcelona called El Raval, describes the rise of racism and criminalization of people in her neighbourhood by comparing today's conflicts with the 1990s:

> "25:45 Si pudierais seguiríais viviendo este barrio?
>
> 25:46 No nos queda otra, cariño mío, somos pobres. ¿Qué vamos a hacer?
>
> 25:53 En el caso de que no fueráis?
>
> 25:53 Entonces sí, me iría fuera. me iría al sur, mi madre es andaluza me vivir a Jerez de la Frontera, a Cádiz…Antiguamente El Raval estaba de puta madre. Le decías a la gente antes del noventas y dos mil había mucho toxicómanos y en el noventa un boom de que se murieron muchos. Tu les veías drogándose en la esquina. me

acuerdo le decía mi madre, es la hora del cole, se levantaban, y se iban a otro lado que no les vieran. ahora pasa con la niña, y te dicen "vete a tu puto país". Encima eres de aquí"

"Radio podcast host: If you had the chance to move to other neighbourhoods, would you still live in this neighbourhood?

El Raval neighbourhood resident (interviewee): We have no choice, my love, we are poor. What are we going to do?

Radio podcast host: What if you were not poor?

El Raval neighbourhood resident (interviewee): Then yes, I would go outside. I would go to the south, my mother is Andalusian, and I would live in Jerez de la Frontera, in Cádiz… In the past, El Raval [her current neighbourhood] was fucking cool. Before the 1990s and 2000s there were lots of drug addicts and in the 90s there was a boom and many of them died. You would see people getting high on the corner. I remember my mother once told a girl, "Hey, it's school time", they got up, and went somewhere else to use drugs so they wouldn't be seen. Now the same thing happens to the girl who does drugs in the corner of the street, but now they tell her "Go to your fucking country". Although she is from here!"

But El Raval is not the only place that is stigmatised and criminalised. During an interview, a civil servant officer of The Service of Interculturality and Convivencia of Horta-Guinardó reported that they made interventions in certain squares in relation to convivencia conflicts and conflicts related to cultural diversity. The interviewee had pointed out some conflictive squares, and even people subject to conflicts, and explained that they had set up meetings with the conflicting parties and organised pedagogical activities regarding racism and cultural diversity. Not all the squares she pointed were

stigmatised areas. One of them were pointed as a space for intervention regarding the convivencia conflicts and noise which was Plaza Bacardí, a peaceful square in the Horta neighbourhood and it turned out that the area was misreported by the policy implementer, in fact the problematic area was a street full of bars, very close to that square. The stigmatised square that was reported as object to invertention by the above-mentioned intercultural services was Plaza de Pastrana in El Carmel neighbourhood which had been subject to stigmatisation.

The main researcher thus went to the two squares pointed by the key policy actor interviewee (Pastrana and Bacardi), to observe the environment subject to the intervention of interculturality and convivencia services and conducted some informal interviews with the business owners (a bar, a supermarket, and a greengrocery), and with some other bar and shop owners very close to the square. The mentioned squares were public spaces that belong to lower-income neighbourhoods. Pastrana square is located in the neighbourhood El Carmel which suffers high territorial stigmatisation (see for example Mata-Codesal, 2019), while Bacardí square belongs to a lower-income area of the neighbourhood Horta. Following the civil war, working class migrants used to settle in the peripheral neighbourhood El Carmel due to the affordable accommodation but the inhabitants of that neighbourhood were suffering from high levels of territorial stigmatisation and their neighbourhood was ill-designed with insufficient public spaces. Plaza Pastrana which served as a centre of the neighbourhood used to have a bad reputation especially in 80s due to heroin consumption. The square and the neighbourhood is still famous for its 'uncivil' and 'improper' use of public spaces and there has been a "Working Group for the Problems in Plaza Pastrana" (Mata-Codesal, 2019).

Although the Plaza Bacardí was pointed out as a problematic area that had been subject to intervention by the interviewee from the Service of Interculturality

and Convivencia of Horta-Guinardo, after the main researcher had informal interviews with the long-established immigrant business owners, it turned out that the problematic areas in terms of convivencia conflicts (involving disturbances due to noise at night, high intake of alcohol etc.)   was the 200 metres away street that is full of bars where she had the chance to have a detailed informal interview.

From the observations and interviews we can see that all the business owners interviewed in the two areas complain about problems of 'convivencia', here defined as high intake of alcohol and drug consumption (only in Pastrana), fights among drunk people and a general lack of safety. And they reported no conflicts involving racism. Moreover, when asked about the municipal services and their interventions, it turned out they had no knowledge about the Service of Interculturality and Convivencia of Horta-Guinardó. Surprisingly as The Service of Interculturality and Convivencia Horta-Guinardó coordinator had previously explained in an interview that whenever there was a conflict in Plaza Pastrana, the neighbours pointed out a business owner as the scapegoat and made racist accusations. She had also explained that they had been doing certain pedagogical interventions about the 'good use' of the square, and that they usually intervene in conflicts in specific ways.

When the main researcher asked them if the municipal services do anything to solve the problems that they complain about, they reported that nearly every evening municipal police arrive at the Pastrana square to intervene. The business owners in Plaza Pastrana interviewed, see the police officers as forces that the city hall sends to solve conflicts. The participants from Plaza Bacardí also reported that the city hall hangs some notices on the buildings and streetlamps which include warnings about making noise in the neighbourhood. A second-generation migrant from the family that run a bar on the busy street close to Plaza Bacardí reported that the 'convivencia conflicts' mostly reman

unsolved. After trying to infer the definition of convivencia for those interviewees, when asked how they think the City Council solves or intervenes the problems that they pointed out, the answer always involved incivil actions of disturbing people as well as the actions of police officers in terms of interventions

Similarly, near the Bacardí square which was reported as an intervention area by the same policy implementers for example, the Chinese participant from the above-mentioned bar reported that when people break the rules by for instance by making noise in the street and thereby annoy the neighbours, the police blame the bar owners although they had already warned their clients. She herself mentioned that apart from the working hours at the bar of her family, she does not like to spend time in her neighbourhood but rather spends it on her university campus because she thinks the low level of education in the neighbourhood (Horta) makes people rude and uncivilised. It was a common pattern that the interviewees in the activities which the main researcher participated, associate convivencia with the concept of 'civility' which involves examples like not molesting people with noise, obeying the defined rules of using public spaces, and obeying the new announced social distance regulations about Covid-19. In the following section we will therefore turn to the politics of convivencia.

4.2. The Politics of Convivencia: Between 'Us' and 'Them'

Although according to the participants some of the activities of the ICC Program can generate intercultural dialogue, which in turn can contribute to improving convivencia, both immigrant and non-immigrant participants bear on a conception of convivencia which is strongly associated with an 'us and them' dichotomy, mostly expressed through the concepts of civility and 'proper' use of public space (see AUTHOR 2, 2021, 2022, for more thorough analyses of the interplay of these two and their connections with racism).

The interpretations of social life in the city are fundamentally framed by the participants' sense of diversity. During the observations and most of the interviews, we observed how diversity occurred either in relation to the ethnic appearance of some of the inhabitants or disturbing individuals or groups of people, such as 'black people', 'women with hijab', 'Roma people', 'feminist protesters', 'drunk people', and 'junkies'.

Concerning the possibility of intercultural interaction and relations in public spaces, a migrant participant reported that when they pick up their grandchildren from school, they see that children from different national origins play together in the playground but unlike the kids, the parents end up interacting only with the ones of their national origin. Because of his experience, the participant argued that it was difficult to build intercultural interaction in the public spaces of the city.

Unlike the migrants, all of the the non-immigrant participants that the main researcher was able to engage with during and after the activities that I participated, believe that the activities of ICC Programme are good at achieving its aim of generating intercultural dialogue in public spaces which might lead to decrease their prejudices especially when it comes to inter-religious dialogue. The activities that include guided tours to the public spaces associated with cultural and religious diversity were satisfactory for the participants and both during the activities and the interviews afterwards, the participants mentioned that these activities contribute to reducing people's fear of 'the other', according to them an important step for improving *convivencia* overall.

An example of this was The Night of Religions (Les nits de les religions), an activity organised by the interreligious entity of Catalonia called AUDIR and the Office for Religious Affairs (OAR) of Barcelona, one of the main actors of the design and implementation of the ICC Programme. This is an annual activity which lasts two days including guided tours to religious spaces like churches,

mosques, and Buddhist centres, and meetings that aim to introduce to the religious diversity in the city. It is one of the largest and most important activities in the city and during these days, the churches for example are kept open for visitors until late at night. The participant observation in these activities and interviews allowed to reach more people born and raised in Barcelona, since most of the participants were native and lay people. Among the participants, three of the Catalan old and established neighbours of Gracia who are members of inter-religious community association of their neighbourhood, were very welcoming ans supportive to the main researcher (Author 1 that conducted the observations). Whenever people tend to speak Catalan, they stopped them and said 'This is Iren, she is a doctoral student, she is Turkish, she does not speak Catalan, let's speak Spanish'. Having informal conversations while walking to the following stops of the guided tour, they asked the main researcher if she were muslim and engaged in dialogs about the religious diversity in her country. Every time they arrive to a new setting, they introduced Iren with their friends from the neighbourhood praising her research and asked their friends if they would like to help her obtain further information. The activity involved lots of welcoming and supportive dialogs with the native neighbourhood residents. According to the policymakers and policy implementers that previous stages of this research indicated, (AUTHOR 1, Chapter 2 and 3) the aim with such activities was to make people realise that their cultures and religions have more commonalities than they would otherwise have thought, and for the participants it seems like it worked. On the one hand, some of the participants reported that it is a pity that believing in God is not popular nowadays, because by realising their common religious values and interreligious dialogues, churches could bring social cohesion and above-mentioned activities like that could build socially cohesive neighbourhood which involves the social inclusion of immigrants as well. On the other, a native city resident explained how different people (such as youngsters and protesters)

194

bothers her when they use public spaces in certain ways she perceives as disturbing, and this way her sense of belonging is accompanied by a feeling of discomfort:

"Sí, tengo un sentimiento de pertenencia. Nací aquí, en Lesseps. Vivo en esta casa desde que me casé, en 1965. Me siento muy identificado con el barrio, en Cataluña. Este barrio, como el resto del mundo, ha cambiado mucho, ha degenerado mucho. Las pintadas, por ejemplo, me molestan mucho. Creo que contaminan la ciudad. Algunas manifestaciones también son violentas. También me molestan mucho. Por ejemplo, hay algunas feministas que a veces tiran cosas a las paredes de las iglesias, gritan consignas sobre cosas que no me interesan, me molestan. Provocan enfrentamientos con la policía. Luego ha cambiado mucho lo de las asociaciones de vecinos, quizá siga habiendo muchos miembros, pero se ha perdido mucho... Además, para divertirse, lo que hacen es un fenómeno, veinticinco mil personas se reúnen en la calle, y consumen alcohol u otras cosas para adormecerse. Es una vergüenza. Y luego están los ladrones y los violadores...Creo que no puedo concebir la vida en otro lugar. Pero han cambiado muchas cosas. Tengo suerte de poder mantener mi vida en mi burbuja. Pero se han perdido muchas cosas"

"Yes, I feel a sense of belonging. I was born here in Lesseps [a neighbourhood in the district of Gracia]. I have been living in this house since I was married, in 1965. I feel very identified with the neighbourhood, in Catalonia. This neighbourhood, like the rest of the world, has changed a lot, it has degenerated a lot. The graffiti, for example, bothers me a lot. I think it pollutes the city. Some demonstrations are also violent. They also bother me a lot. For example, there are some feminists who sometimes throw things on the walls of the churches, shout slogans about things that don't interest me, they bother me. They provoke a confrontation with the police. Then a lot

has changed regarding the neighbourhood associations, perhaps there are still many members, but much has been lost... Also, for fun, what they do is a phenomenon, twenty-five thousand people get together in the streets, and consume alcohol or other things to numb themselves. It's a shame. And then there are thieves and rapists... I think I can't conceive of life anywhere else. But a lot has changed. I am lucky that I can keep my life in my bubble. But many things have been lost" (Catalan female participant of The Night of Religions).

When asked about their conception of convivencia, some of the native participants that the main author had the chance to engage with during and after the participant observation, inevitably touch upon topics like integration and the adaptation of 'the newcomers' to the long-established 'host society'. This conception of coexistence sometimes requires a migrant's effort to learn Catalan and behave in accordance with what one of the non-migrant, long-established residents consider as 'normal':

"Convivencia puede significar poder tener al lado vecinos de otra religión o de otro país y confiar en ellos, siempre que no te decepcionen. Porque hay veces que hacen ruido por la noche, que estropean las escaleras, o que hacen cosas que nos molestan y que dificultan la convivencia. Eso está claro. Convivencia sería que un niño pueda ir a la escuela con otro niño de otro país y de otra religión, de otra lengua. Pero sólo si estos niños quieren aprender catalán, que es la lengua de aquí. El que llega aquí debe aprender la lengua. Y esto es posible. Porque hay ejemplos donde la gente en poco tiempo habla mejor catalán que los de aquí. Yo creo que nunca hay que perder la personalidad. Pero evidentemente, si vienes aquí con tu bagaje e intentas hacer sólo una burbuja, como la tuya sin integrarte, esto se lo pondrá difícil a la persona. Aquí, en Cataluña, siempre hemos sido un país de tránsito. Y hemos aprendido a aceptar a los extranjeros, a integrarlos. Creo que es la manera de sobrevivir, tanto para los que vienen como para nosotros"

196

"Convivencia would mean being able to have neighbours next to you from another religion or another country and trusting them, as long as they do not disappoint you. Because there are times that they make noise at night, that they damage the stairs, or that they do things that bother us and that make the convivencia difficult. That is for sure. Convivencia would be that a child can go to school with another child from another country and another religion, from another language. But only if these children want to learn Catalan, which is the language here. The person who arrives here must learn the language. And this is possible. Because there are examples where people in a short time speak better Catalan than those from here. I believe that you should never lose your personality. But obviously, if you come here with your baggage and try to just make a bubble, like yours [she refers to the researcher] without integrating, this will make it difficult for the person. Here in Catalonia, we have always been a country of transit. And we have learned how to accept foreigners, to integrate them. I believe that it is the way to survive, both for those who come here and for us"(Retired Catalan female, participant in The Night of Religions).

Some immigrant city inhabitants that we were able to observe and interview with during and after the participated activities, see the non-immigrant inhabitants' conception of convivencia as a form of a conditional inclusion and racism. And in fact, as one interviewee notes, in many of the problems that hinders convivencia mentioned throughout the dataset, the minoritised populations or immigrants were always the scapegoat. That immigrant city inhabitant from a stigmatised and lower income neighbourhood, Trinidad, stated:

La realidad de Trinidad es buena convivencia de entrada, buena convivencia de los que viven en el barrio. Pero cuando rascas un poco, o bastante, ya encuentras un micro racismo. Así que sí, buena convivencia, todos iguales, todo no sé qué...Pero mientras que tú como inmigrante seas buen inmigrante. Pero mientras que tú como inmigrante seas buen inmigrante. o sea, haces lo que yo veo bueno, un buen vecino. Si no es así, ya no es bienvenido. Entonces la convivencia es eso, es tú te Adaptas a lo que hay en el barrio, y si no... [no]. Nuestro trabajo aquí es dar voces a esas personas que son minoría. Eso es un objetivo muy grande nuestro trabajo. En Trinidad el porcentaje de inmigrantes en el barrio es como El Raval. Puede llegar a 30-35% o algo así. La mayoría son marroquíes, de Pakistán, y de países latinoamericanos. En Bon Pastor, por ejemplo, existe la población gitana, o la comunidad gitana. Y también le pasa lo mismo como con los inmigrantes. Ellos viven en comunidad entre ellos, se cuidan entre ellos. Pero el resto del barrio lo ve como un gueto. Si hay problemas de tráfico, de drogas etc, pues son los gitanos"

"The reality of Trinidad [neighbourhood] involves a good convivencia from the outset, good convivencia among those who live in the neighbourhood. But when you scratch a little, you find racism. If you are an immigrant, you must be a 'good immigrant'. You need to be a 'good neighbour'. If not, you are no longer welcome. So convivencia is your duty to adapt to the things in the neighbourhood. For example, there is the Gypsy population, or the Gypsy community. The same thing happens to them as with the immigrants. They live together as a community; they take care of each other. But the rest of the neighbourhood sees it as a ghetto. When there are problems of trafficking, drugs, etc., they always blame the gypsies". (Moroccan female migrant resident in the Trinidad neighbourhood)

4.3 The limitations of the ICC Policy Framework

To solve the inherent problematizations and build social cohesion, the policymakers of the ICC policy framework in Barcelona represent the public spaces as spaces that can be managed, generated, built and transformed , through intercultural policy interventions and community policing in the neighbourhoods, and at the same time assuming that the encounters occurring in these spaces are prone to conflict if not managed, and neglect the complexity and multi-actor characteristic of the social construction and production of space (AUTHOR 1, Chapter 1, 2 and 3). However, social life per se is both conflictual and convivial, and in diverse ways structured by unequal power relations in relation to gender, age, ethnicity, class, and gender.

In fact, the observations and interviews carried out in Plaza Pastrana, for example, are indicators of the vagueness of official discourse and complex reality of daily life. It shows that according to the knowledge of neighbours that we had the chance to speak with, the only coping mechanism of the municipality for the 'convivencia conflicts' has been increased police control in public spaces, while they do not acknowledge any interventions of the intercultural policy implementers.

Similarly, the participants of the live radio podcast that were interviewed by the speakers during the podcast about public spaces and intercultural contact; often mentionedabout policing in the neighbourhoods but there were differences: According to them, conflicts in the neighbourhoods especially the ones hinder their own sense of security, was not sufficiently intervened by the poliçe and on the contrary, racial profiling of the police in the streets mostly made immigrants feel excluded.

Regarding discrimination and exclusion of migrants in public spaces as well as all areas of life in the city, the main researcher conducted a participant observation at a theatre play followed by a discussion about islamaphobia in the

Trinidad neighbourhood (Appendix A, Table 3). The play staged the discrimination and prejudices towards muslim migrants in the social life and was followed by a discussion which invites the audiance to express their ideas. The participants (that were mostly composed of muslim and immigrant neighbours of Trinidad) mentioned about the discrimination that they have been subject to in daily life.

Similarly, during the sessions of encounter group called 'Migrant Women Group' that was expected to help with intercultural contact, participation as well as the integration of migrant women in the city (according to the interviews conducted with the organisers), all of the participants with diverse origins, cried and complained about their limitations of access to the labour market (nearly all of them were unemployed), lack of financial stability despite of arriving in Barcelona many years ago, and some forms of exclusion that either they or their families were experiencing at school and in some open air public spaces.

Furthermore, in two of those session in the encounter group, two Catalan old ladies who were volunteers from some municipal centres attended as visitors, and accused us of not making enough effort to be integrated into society after they heard that we were unable to feel a sense of belonging in Barcelona and that we sometimes felt discriminated, although they seemed to empathise with us at the beginning of the conversations. An important observation was that the composition of participants of activities were mostly migrants. They shared various memories of them which reveal their intersectional identities when it comes to the disadvantages that they face. A telling example took place at the event called 'Migrant Memories' which aimed to discuss the historical memory of the Poblenou neighbourhood which normally does not include the experiences of migrant people, expecting to generate an inclusive story of that neighbourhood (Appendix A). A black woman neighbour who holds citizenship of the Netherlands shared her story about being stopped by the police officers

200

in Barcelona and the suddenly-changed positive attitude of the policemen when they heard that she was from the Netherlands. Being subject to racial profiling of the police officers in the streets of Barcelona involved quite different results and meanings for the rest of the racialised immigrant participants. A common observation that took place in all of the activities that involved migrant participants was that, within the spaces that the activities were organised, the participants were comfortably and boldly sharing their ideas of which all of them were complaints. The common point of almost all the migrant participants were labour market access problems, having low levels of income or being unemployed, dreaming for a decent job and decent life in Barcelona, complaining of not being able to find jobs despite being skilled and having language competencies. They were all sharing their vulnerabilities (such as discrimination, irregular legal status and so on) in relatively safe, inclusive and welcoming spaces that were generated during the activities. But the vulnerabilities that they express were about their daily life in Barcelona which is mostly unlike what they experience in those activities. Apparently, the activities were serving as platforms for knowledge-exchange but the long time they have spent in Barcelona seemed to be quite problematic.

During almost all the participant observations, intense moments of emotional catharsis, with trembling voices and tears, took place while migrants were sharing their vulnerabilities. It was obvious that, although those activities were platforms of self-expression (unlike many exclusive settings in the city) and that they felt heard and welcomed; it was obvious that the things that they had been through in Barcelona, which are subject to their speech, were just too much to handle.

Another important observation was that, none of the activities were held in a language other than Spanish or Catalan and for some migrants it was difficult to speak fluently. This is an important factor other than Covid-19 restrictions that

might have led to limited participation and the long-established immigrants who were fluent in language, ironically, were complaining about discrimination, limited access to the labour market and social life of Barcelona despite of spending many years as well as their competencies and skills.

When the main researcher made appointments to interview two migrant participant from Middle-Eastern countries who are not quite adequate in Spanish/Catalan, she offered to send an Arabic translation of the interview questions beforehand in order to make them more comfortable. This kind of language support was never encountered in any of the activities of Barcelona's ICC Program. This different treatment underlies that, in a platform generated for interaction, there might be much more to share which might have remained silenced.

This leads us to question the role of the ICC policy framework. Do the actions in the framework of Barcelona's ICC Program actually have anything to do with or contribute in solving the problems, or do they rather only contribute (in some cases) in critical discussions of the problems?

From the observations and interviews we can see that the perceptions of the different groups involved at different scales, including the policymakers and policy implementers, is that it is certainly not sufficient to simply promote the city as an "Intercultural City" on a discursive level and present its commitment to the values of interculturality. In fact, the ICC Programme cannot be thought of separately from the other social, cultural, and economic policies and actions at the different administrative levels, including the City Council. And, most importantly, the most urgent topic that emerges from the daily lives of the city inhabitants who are constantly subject to exclusion and racism, is the institutional and structural racism that is often not recognised (see for instance SOS Racismo, 2022).

On the other hand, the main problem targeted during the activities of the ICC Programme in Barcelona was prejudice. The activities were designed and expected to break down the prejudice, increase the awareness of people about the idea that we have more commonalities than we thought which would eventually lead to positive feelings, a tendency to be comfortable while sharing the public spaces with diverse people, a peaceful conviviality and social cohesion in the city (official policy documents). However, when asked if they thought that the organised activities reached their aim of creating an inclusive city with spaces that are free of racism, prejudice, and discrimination, as stated in the official documents (City Council of Barcelona 2010; Barcelona City Council and its Directorate of Immigration and Interculturality, 2014; Fernández and Lanzarote, 2016), the participants pointed at a series of factors which the policies do not tackle.

For instance, a migrant participant of the activity called Migrant Memories, (a discussion forum that aims to give voice to the racialized inhabitants of Poblenou neighbourhood) drew attention to the structural racism that makes racialized people end up living in miserable conditions. He stated that adopting a discourse that depicts a city with open arms ('City of Refuge'), has not been sufficient to prevent those people ending up in those conditions. Similarly, an undocumented female migrant (who was a participant of the encounter group called Migrant Women Group) explained that she did not feel any sense of belonging to the city nor the neighbourhood. She explained that it was impossible when being illegalised due to the lack of documents, unemployed and without any political rights. She said she was always anxious due to the racial profiling of the police and would usually avoid spending much time in public spaces, thus avoiding any potential identity check, and under certain special circumstances, such as the first months of the Covid-19 pandemic, she would not even leave home due to increased police control.

5.Concluding remarks

This article has aimed at analysing the perception that target groups of the ICC Program have of the activities carried out in relation to the interactions between people in public space.

Through an analysis of qualitative data obtained via participant observation and content analysis of the activities and interviews with participants, we see that fundamentally there is a gap between the experiences of the target groups and the aims of the policies and the activities. Although many consider the activities relevant and interesting, they simply do not target their fundamental needs.

The migrant population interviewed for this study expresses unmet urgent needs rather than interest in cultural exchange with the majority population. In fact, the complex inequalities between the city inhabitants go beyond mere cultural and ethnic differences, and are caused by structural and institutional rather than interpersonal racism. As a consequence, the desire for an intercultural convivencia in public space, as proposed in the policy conceptualisation, is found naive, misleading, and even perverse.

Therefore, not surprisingly, the most logical conclusion is that any attempt at dealing with building an open, inclusive, socially cohesive city that is free of prejudice, racism, and discrimination, which is the stated objectives of the ICC Programme, must necessarily not only consider but also address the existing inequalities in terms of gender, ethnicity, origin, age, and so on, in relation to the existing power structures and institutions. Who is promoting the change determines the ways in which the changes might potentially be implemented and if they will be successfully carried out. In this equation, the target groups are crucial. Therefore, leaving them out of the formulation of the problems as well as the solutions is fundamentally wrong.

Another important point that emerges from the analysis is the limitations of the policy framework. Indeed, the local policy programs cannot be considered independent from other local or national policies (Filomeno, 2017), nor can they tackle processes or structures that go beyond their area of action. Although, as the policymakers of Intercultural City Program suggest (AUTHOR 1, Chapter 2 and 3), the municipalities would and should train all its services, including municipal police officers, for them to have an intercultural and anti-racist lens, the reality on the ground sometimes disproves this. Despite many attempts at training street-level bureaucrats, such as the police officers in this example, this does not necessarily mean that they will adopt an open and anti-racist attitude towards racialised migrants (Caponio, 2010).

All the observations and interviews on the field indicate that to reach the objectives of the program, the main focus should not be whether there is inter-cultural or inter-religious contact among people, nor their different origins *per se*, but rather how to eradicate the power inequalities present in society at large and therefore also in public space. Social conflicts indeed become visible in public spaces, and due to what some authors have named a normalisation discourse (Dahinden, 2016), these are differentialized and culturalized, but as the reality on the ground shows, reducing the source of these conflicts to the lack of mutual acceptance of diverse cultures and/or uncivil behaviours would simply be naive, or in the worst case, an act of displacing and ignoring the inherent social inequalities.

It is undeniable that the ways in which people interact and live in public space is like any other aspect of social life in Late Capitalism strongly structured by ethnicity, race, gender, and class; the question, however, is in what ways exactly. Certainly, inequalities among inhabitants are not only about accessing resources but also about, for example, how they are treated by the authorities based on their race/ethnicity. For instance, in this article we have seen how some

migrants rendered as Others are constantly subjected to ID checks due to racial profiling, an experience which clearly has a negative impact on their dwelling and interactions in public spaces. In fact, one might even argue that certain policies favour the ability to manage and belong in the space of some residents over others (see AUTHOR 2, 2021a, 2021b, 2023, for further analyses of this). Any policy framework that aims to reduce and fight prejudice, racism, and discrimination in general, must therefore recognise the societal and structural embeddedness, and revisit any constraints or pitfalls, be that on an institutional or theoretical level, that might help veil and reproduce this.

Bibliography

Aiello, A., and Bonaiuto, M. (2017). Rhetorical approach and discursive psychology: The study of environmental discourse. In M. Bonnes, T. Lee, and M. Bonaiuto (Eds.), *Psychological Theories for Environmental Issues* (pp. 235–270). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315245720-14

Ajuntament de Barcelona. (2005). *Ordenança de mesures per fomentar i garantir la convivència ciutadana a l'espai públic de Barcelona Acord del Consell Plenari de 23-12-2005*. Ajuntament de Barcelona. https://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/dretsidiversitat/sites/default/files/Convivencia_1.pdf

Ajuntament de Barcelona. (2021). Memòria 2021 Programa BCN Interculturalitat. Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona. https://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/bcnacciointercultural/sites/default/files/documentos/memoria_progbi_2021.pdf.

Allport, G. W. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Addison-Wesley.

Bacchi, C. (2012). Why Study Problematizations? Making Politics Visible. *Open Journal of Political Science*, *02*(01), 1–8. https://doi.org/10.4236/ojps.2012.21001

Back, L., and Sinha, S. (2016). Multicultural Conviviality in the Midst of Racism's Ruins. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, *37*(5), 517–532. https://doi.org/10.1080/07256868.2016.1211625

Barcelona City Council. (2010). *Barcelona Interculturality Plan*. Barcelona City Council. (2021). *Superblock Barcelona Towards the city we want*. https://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/superilles/sites/default/files/20210202_Superblock_Barcelona_web.pdf

Barcelona City Council and its Directorate of Immigration and Interculturality. (2014). *C4i Communication for Integration Catalogue of Anti-Rumour Activities Deliverable No.8* (Issue November). Council of Europe.

Bermúdez, K., Crespo, R., Sanahuja, R., and Astudillo, C. (2018). Building Intercultural Policies and Practices in the City of Barcelona. In Bob W. Wite (Ed.), *Intercultural Cities Policy and Practice for a New Era* (pp. 103–144). Palgrave Macmillan, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-62603-1_6

Blestas, A., and Beasley, C. (2012). Engaging with Carol Bacchi Strategic Interventions and Exchanges. In A. Blestas and C. Beasley (Eds.), *Coastal Management*. University of Adelaide Press.

Cantle, T. (2012). Interculturalism: For the Era of Globalisation, Cohesion and Diversity. *Political Insight*, *3*(3). https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2041-9066.2012.00124.x

Cantle, T. (2015). "Implementing Intercultural Policies." In Interculturalism in Cities Concept, Policy and Implementation, ed. Ricard Zapata-Barrero. Cheltenham, Edward Elgar Publishing

City Council of Barcelona. (2020). *Superilla Barcelona*. City Council of Barcelona.

City Council of Barcelona. (2021). *Barcelona Interculturality Plan 2021-2030*. City Council of Barcelona. https://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/bcnacciointercultural/sites/default/files/documentos/barcelona_interculturality_plan_2021-2030_1.pdf

Council of Europe. (2008). *White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue "Living Together As Equals in Dignity"* (Issue May). Council of Europe Publishing. https://www.coe.int/t/dg4/intercultural/source/whitepaper_final_revised_en.pdf

Council of Europe. (2013). *The intercultural city step by step*. Council of Europe Publishing.

Council of Europe. (2016). *Intercultural cities - The art of mixing*. Council of Europe Publishing.

De Torres Barderi, D. (2018). *Antirumours handbook 2018*. Council of Europe.

Delgado Ruiz, M. (2007). La ciudad mentirosa. Fraude y miseria del "Modelo Barcelona". Los Libros de la Catarata.

Dixon, J. (2001). Contact and Boundaries. *Theory and Psychology*, *11*(5), 587–608. https://doi.org/10.1177/0959354301115001

Erickson, B. (2011). Utopian virtues: Muslim neighbors, ritual sociality, and the politics of "convivència" on JSTOR. *American Ethnologist*, *38*(1), 114–131.

Elamé, E. (2022). *Sustainable Intercultural Urbanism at the Service of the African City of Tomorrow* (Esoh Elamé, Ed.). John Wiley and Sons.

Elias, A., and Mansouri, F. (2020). A Systematic Review of Studies on Interculturalism and Intercultural Dialogue. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, *41*(4), 490–523. https://doi.org/10.1080/07256868.2020.1782861

Favell, A. (2022). *The Integration Nation. Immigration and Colonial Power in Liberal Democracies*. Polity.

Fernández, L.L., and Lanzarote, A.G. (2016). *Anti-Rumour Agents Anti-Rumour Agents* (D.-C. (Col·lectiu d'Analistes Socials), Ed.). Barcelona City Council.

Fernández-Suárez, B. (2017). The Design of Migrant Integration Policies in Spain: Discourses and Social Actors. *Social Inclusion*, *5*(1), 117–125. https://doi.org/10.17645/SI.V5I1.783

Florida, R. (2005). Cities and the creative class. In *Cities and the Creative Class*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203997673/CITIES-CREATIVE-CLASS-RICHARD-FLORIDA

Giddens, A. (1991). *Modernity and Self-Identity Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*. Polity Press.

Gidley, B. (2013). Landscapes of belonging, portraits of life: researching everyday multiculture in an inner city estate. *Identities*, *20*(4). https://doi.org/10.1080/1070289X.2013.822381

Gilroy, P. (2004). *Postcolonial melancholia*. Columbia University Press.

Gupta, A., and Ferguson, J. (1992). Beyond "Culture": Space, Identity, and the Politics of Difference. *Cultural Anthropology*, *7*(1), 6–23.

Gutiérrez Rodríguez, E. (2019). Creolising Conviviality: Thinking Relational Ontology and Decolonial Ethics Through Ivan Illich and Édouard Glissant. In Oscar Hemer, Maja Povrzanović Frykman, and Per-Markku Ristilammi (Eds.), *Conviviality at the Crossroads* (pp. 105–124). Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-28979-9_6

Harvey, D. (1989). From Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism: The Transformation in Urban Governance in Late Capitalism. *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography*, *71*(1), 3–17. https://doi.org/10.1080/04353684.1989.11879583

Heil. T. (2015). Conviviality (Re)negotiating minimal consensus. In Steven Vertovec (Ed.), *Routledge International Handbook of Diversity Studies*. Routledge.

Hernando-Lloréns, B. (2019). Differentiating citizenship, criminalizing diversity: Problematizing convivencia in education in Spain. *Curriculum Inquiry*, *48*(5), 521–539. https://doi.org/10.1080/03626784.2018.1546541

Illich, I. (1973). *Tools for Conviviality*. Harper and Row.

Kasper, E., McGranahan, G., Lintelo, D., Gupte, J., Tranchant, J.-P., Lakshman, R., and Nesbitt-Ahmed, Z. (2017). *Evidence Report No. 220: Inclusive Urbanisation and Cities in the 21st Century* (Issue 220). Institute of Development Studies. https://opendocs.ids.ac.uk/opendocs/handle/20.500.12413/12849

Kuper, H. (1972). The Language of Sites in the Politics of Space. *American Anthropologist*, *74*(3), 411–425.

Lefebvre, H. (1991). *The Production of Space*. Blackwell.

López, J. A. M. (2014). From social movements to social factory. The 15M movement in Poblenou, Barcelona. *Policital Studies Association (PSA) Congress*.

Lundsteen, M. (2021). Local practices of bordering in a small Catalan town: Between urban and national belonging. In N. Ribas-Mateos and T. Dunn (Eds.), *Handbook on Human Security, Borders and Migration* (pp. 269-284). Edward Elgar Publishing. DOI: https://doi.org/10.4337/9781839108907.00025

Lundsteen, M. (2022). *Convivencia. Migration and Urban Transformation in a Small Catalan Town*. Challenging Migration Studies Series. Rowman and Littlefield.

Lundsteen, M. (2023). Migration and Urban Space in a Small Town in Catalonia: The Contested Neighbourhood. *Migration Studies, Onlinefirst* DOI: https://doi.org/10.1093/migration/mnad009

Lundsteen, M. and Fernández González, M. (2021). Zero-Tolerance in Catalonia. Engaging the Sociocultural Other in Public Space. *Critical Criminology: An International Journal, 29*(4), 837–852. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10612-020-09533-1

Lydon, M., and Garcia, A. (2015). Tactical urbanism: Short-term action for long-term change. In *Tactical Urbanism: Short-Term Action for Long-Term Change*. Island Press.

Magro Huertas, T. (2012). "The spume that beats at the gates of the city"Urban social movements in Barcelona (1964-1986). In Josep Maria Montaner, Fernando Álvarez, and Zaida Muxí (Eds.), *Critical Files The Barcelona Model 1973-2004*. Ajuntament Barcelona.

Massey, D. (2005). *For Space*. SAGE Publications Ltd.

Mata-Codesal, D. (2019). Anti-social behaviour in the square. Differentiation mechanisms among non-native groups in a peripheral neighbourhood of Barcelona. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *43*(4), 768–786. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2019.1599131

Mehaffy, M. W. (2019). New Urbanism and the New Urban agenda. In Emily Talen (Ed.), *A Research Agenda for New Urbanism* (pp. 139–152). Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd. https://doi.org/10.4337/9781788118637.00014

Montaner, J. M. (2012). Methodological introductions The evolution of the Barcelona model (1973-2004). In J. M. Montaner, F. Álvarez, and Z. Muxí (Eds.), *Critical Files The Barcelona Model 1973-2004* (pp. 11–24). City Council of Barcelona.

Padilla, B., Azevedo, J., and Olmos-Alcaraz, A. (2014). Superdiversity and conviviality: exploring frameworks for doing ethnography in Southern European intercultural cities, *38*(4), 621–635. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2015.980294

Park, J. H. (2021). Who is hardest hit by a pandemic? Racial disparities in COVID-19 hardship in the U.S. *International Journal of Urban Sciences*, *25*(2), 149–177. https://doi.org/10.1080/12265934.2021.1877566

Pettigrew, T. F., and Tropp, L. R. (2006). A meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *90*(5), 751–783. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.90.5.751

Proshansky, H. M., Fabian, A. K., and Kaminoff, R. (1983). Place-identity: Physical world socialization of the self. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, *3*(1), 57–83. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0272-4944(83)80021-8

Putnam, R. D. (2007). E Pluribus Unum: Diversity and Community in the Twenty-first Century The 2006 Johan Skytte Prize Lecture. *Scandinavian Political Studies*, *30*(2), 137–174. https://doi.org/10.1111/J.1467-9477.2007.00176.X

Saitta, D. (2020). *Intercultural Urbanism: City Planning from the Ancient World to the Modern Day.* Zed Books Bloomsbury Publishing.

Sandercock, L. (2003). *Cosmopolis II Mongrel Cities in the 21st Century.* MPG Books Ltd.

Sen, A., and Silverman, L. (2014). *Making place: space and embodiment in the city* (A. Sen and L. Silverman, Eds.). Indiana University Press.

Shore, C., Wright, S. and Però, D. (Eds.) (2011). *Policy Worlds: Anthropology and the Analysis of Contemporary Power.* Berghahn Books.

Sibley, D. (1995). *Geographies of Exclusion: Society and Difference in the West* (1st ed.). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203430545

Soja, E. W. (1989). *Postmodern geographies: the reassertion of space in critical social theory.* Verso.

S.O.S Racismo. (2022). *Informe anual sobre el racismo en el Estado español 2022.* Federación SOS Racismo. https://sosracismo.eu/wp-content/uploads/2023/01/20221230-Informe-2022-SOS-Racismo.pdf

Vanolo, A. (2014). Smartmentality: The Smart City as Disciplinary Strategy, *51*(5), 883–898. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098013494427

Venkov, N. (2019). Conviviality Vs Politics of Coexistence: Going Beyond the Global North. *CAS Sofia Working Paper Series*, *11*, 1–42.

Watson, S., and Saha, A. (2013). Suburban drifts: Mundane multiculturalism in outer London. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *36*(12). https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2012.678875

Wedel, J. R., and Feldman, G. (2005). Why an anthropology of public policy? *Anthropology Today*, *21*(1), 1–2. https://doi.org/10.1111/J.0268-540X.2005.00321.X

Wessendorf, S. (2014). "Being open, but sometimes closed". Conviviality in a super-diverse London neighbourhood. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, *17*(4), 392–405. https://doi.org/10.1177/1367549413510415

White, B. W. (2018). *Intercultural Cities: Policy and Practice for a New Era* (B. W. White, Ed.). Springer Nature. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-62603-1

Wolch, J., and Dear, M. (1989). The Power of Geography How Territory Shapes Social Life. In M. D. Jennifer Wolch (Ed.), *The Power of Geography (RLE Social and Cultural Geography)*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315819457

Wood, P., and Landry, C. (2012). The intercultural city: Planning for diversity advantage. In *The Intercultural City: Planning for Diversity Advantage*. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781849773089

Zapata-Barrero, R. (2019). Intercultural Citizenship in the Post-Multicultural Era. SAGE Publications.

CHAPTER 5: General Conclusions

1. Summary and discussion of the main findings

Drawing upon the scholarly discourse surrounding interculturalism and the social construction of urban environments, this doctoral dissertation makes a scholarly contribution to the evolving exploration of the 'politics of convivencia'. Additionally, it adds to the growing body of empirical research on interculturalism as a strategic framework for facilitating urban integration. This research intends to address a longstanding gap within the interculturalism literature. The findings of this study notably underscore the disparity among the perspectives and conceptualizations of policymakers, those tasked with implementing policies, and the communities they aim to serve, despite some limited areas of commonality.

There is also a distance between the design and implementation of the Intercultural City Program of Barcelona and the complex reality on the ground which are full of disadvantaged people (especially migrants) whom their urgent needs left unmet. The discourse of during the stage of design and conceptualisation of this policy program, dreams of 'intercultural spaces' and 'intercultural place-making', but fails to take into account the complex and multi-actor characteristics of the social construction and production of space.

Like every researcher who is about to conduct a qualitative case study and expect to arrive at conclusions in an inductive way, I came across many things that were beyond the scope of my research questions and the concepts that I have focused on during the fieldwork. While I expect to find information about the difference of people's conceptualisations about encounters in public spaces, I ended up receiving lots of information about the disagreement among actors in this policy program and decided not to waste this important information

even if it made difficult for me not to lose my main focus and keep my existing conceptual frame.

After completing my desk research and analysing the policy documents, I collected the data of all the chapters (with separate research questions) simultaneously. I used to analyse my field notes to derive interpretations according to the research questions of both the third and fourth chapters. What I saw was, contrary to the discourse in policy making (which I derived from the work plans among the policy documents and interviews with policymakers) that tries to be politically correct but sometimes reproduce the discriminative language, the content that the policymakers presents were quite different when it comes to the reality of daily life. There exists a reality which is beyond the language of a few politicians or academic scholars. Not surprisingly, the term Intercultural City had no real place in the city inhabitant's minds and had no concrete imprints in the streets. Tracing the practices of the policy on the streets, public spaces or as what Jahn Gehl calls, the "life between buildings" was quite difficult.

As if the vagueness of the policy program and the difficulty in identifying which activities are there to observe were not enough, to observe how this policy translates into daily life on the streets in order to identify its interventions regarding the convivencia in public spaces was almost impossible. As I mentioned before, when I went to the squares and neighbourhoods that were specified by policy implementers as areas of intervention and spoke to the neighbours, I found out that what they perceive as a policy practice conducted by the City Council is that the management of public spaces by increased police control. This is what intervention (to solve the problems) means to them. For the same people (target groups) when they attend the activities (discussion forums, theatre performances, inter-religious festivities and so on) although they enjoy these activities and feel included in that specific social space

(Lefebvre 1974) at that very moment, these activities do not target their needs and the atmosphere is quite different for them in their daily life when it comes to the socio-spatial dynamics.

This also shows that the fact that policymakers (in the interviews and policy documents) indicate that public spaces (as well as the city itself) need to be open, inclusive, accommodate of intercultural contact, be stigmatisation and prejudice-free and so on does not provide us an information on why it is still just the opposite and what the city government do to change it. Although this was not the question that this research focused, the questions and methods that I adopted inevitably led us to these information. Echoing Lefebvre, if space is not a passive and empty container of the social and should not be perceived of in an 'Euclidian' sense, if the inequalities and injustices that the ICC Program (as well as most of the policies) target are rooted in socio-spatial dynamics, then in order to eliminate these 'problems', 'inequalities' and so on these should be taken into consideration before having unrealistic expectations actions from above. This fact also becomes explicit in the interplay between the actors, the criticisms and differences between their perspectives. Also during the interviews with policymakers, when it comes to the inequalities in access to the labour market, all of the policymakers put the blame on 'La ley de extranjería', the Immigration Law which they think is the main reason that shapes the border control and access of the migrants to the labour market. This was an example of the city government's limitation of power according to them. And they used to say that no matter how much they would like to improve the life quality of the immigrants, the policies at the local level were limited by the national-level practices or regulations. This was an argument that was often brought up when I whether they find their strategies successful. A Latin American immigrant interviewee brought up this topic about inequalities, he told that he does not find the ICC Program designers sincere, and expressed the contradiction in the city when he referred to the black, male scrap metal collectors in the streets:

217

"Por más que vengan a decir 'Barcelona ciudad de acogida', no es real. Porque están los chicos tirando del carro todo el día."

"No matter how much they say 'Barcelona city of welcome', it's not real. Because the kids are pushing the shopping carts all day long"

To summarise the main findings, **The first article** of this thesis which is presented in **the second chapter** reveals that The Intercultural Cities Program argues that migration brought 'challenges', that migrants need to be 'integrated', detaching itself from multiculturalism, claiming that that approach was unsuccessful in integration and problematizes the presence of diversity from the very beginning by these definitions. Scholars in favour of interculturalism as a policy approach defend that in order restore the social cohesion and intercultural interaction, public spaces should be well-managed and well-conceived by the help of an "intercultural" urban planning (Wood and Landry 2008; Council of Europe 2013; Zapata-Barrero2019) and an "intercultural place-making" (Council of Europe 2013:63) as well as building an *intercultural convivencia* among the native population and the migrants.

To solve the inherent problematizations and build social cohesion, the policymakers of the ICC policy framework in Barcelona represent the public spaces as spaces that can be managed, built and transformed through actions that are thought that could be triggered from above, through intercultural policy interventions and community policing in the neighbourhoods, and at the same time assuming that the encounters occurring in these spaces are ridden of conflict and equal, and neglect the complexity and multi-actor characteristic of the social construction and production of space. However, social life per se is both conflictual and convivial, and in diverse ways structured by unequal power relations in relation to gender, age, ethnicity, class, and gender.

The responsibility and cause of the conflict is mostly presented as prejudice that occurs mainly because of the presence of diversity. And the benefit of

managing diversity and taking diversity as an "advantage" (see for instance Khovanova-Rubicondo and Pinelli 2012) is presented as an increase in productivity and social and economic development. Including immigrants into urban life, would also mean an increase in the advantages that they would bring to socio-economic development. The barrier in front of making the most of this advantage, is presented as racist and discriminative attitudes of some native citizens who are often referred to as the "host society" (Council of Europe 2013) that needs to learn to peacefully share the space that they own with the immigrants, by welcoming them, getting to know the commonalities between themselves, overcoming the fear of the unknown other, empathizing with them and the city government collaborating with civil society, is ready to remove these factors, promote and manage this intercultural relationship, towards a socially cohesive future. Also, they often emphasize exploiting the advantages of this diversity while they present the reasoning for their objectives and they see the urban conflicts that hinders the cohesion that is aimed to be built and the space to be constructed as barriers in front of the promotion of the city as "a good business climate" (Harvey 1989:11).

According to the results in **the third chapter,** while the discourse of the policy documents and policymakers suggest that in Barcelona intercultural spaces that free of prejudice, negative rumours about migrants, stigmatisation and discrimination can and should be built through Intercultural City Program, the policy implementers perceive things differently. Despite their dependence on the city government, they do not refrain from expressing that their perceptions and thoughts are often different from the policymakers, during the activities and interviews. Nearly all the policy implementers, mentioned that the ICC Program was not enough to change the city, to solve the problems, but they were still applying for the funding within this frame. The conceptualisations and artefacts that are put forward by the policymakers are found to be misleading and/or distant from the realities of daily life and the same concepts are either

perceived differently or they are not embraced by the policy implementers as much as the policymakers do. It would not be wrong to conclude that especially the participants from civil society that are funded by the City Council see a gap between the objectives of the ICC Program of Barcelona and the bitter realities that exist in this city.

Indeed, the Plaza Pastrana example **in the fourth chapter** was an indicator of this uncertainty and gap between the official discourse and daily life. It revealed that according to the neighbours, the only coping mechanism of the municipality for the 'convivencia conflicts' is increased police control in public spaces and they do not have knowledge about the interventions of intercultural policy implementers. This leads us to question the role of the ICC policy framework, do the actions actually contribute to the solutions? Although this was not the question of this research, this distance between the discourse of policymakers and the reality on the ground brings this question to mind.

From the observations and interviews, we can see that the perceptions of the different groups involved at different scales, including the policymakers and policy implementers, is that it is certainly not sufficient to simply promote the city as an "Intercultural City" on a discursive level and present its commitment to the values of interculturality. In fact, the ICC Programme cannot be thought of separately from the other social, cultural and economic policies and actions at the different administrative levels, including the City Council. And, most importantly, the most urgent topic that emerges from the daily lives of the city inhabitants who are constantly subject to exclusion and racism, is the institutional and structural racism that is often not recognised (see for instance SOS Racismo, 2022).

Therefore, not surprisingly, the most logic conclusion is that any attempt at dealing with building an open, inclusive, socially cohesive city that is free of prejudice, racism, and discrimination, which is the ones stated in the ICC

Programme, must necessarily consider the existing inequalities in terms of gender, ethnicity, origin, age, and so on, in relation to the existing power structures and institutions. Who is promoting the change determines the ways in which the changes might potentially be implemented and if they will be successfully carried out. In this, the target groups are crucial, and to leave them out of the formulation of the problems as well as the solutions is fundamentally wrong.

On the other hand, the main problem targeted during the activities of the ICC Programme in Barcelona was prejudice. The activities were designed and expected to break down the prejudice, increase the awareness of people about the idea that we have more commonalities than we thought which would eventually lead to positive feelings, a tendency to be comfortable while sharing the public spaces with diverse people, a peaceful conviviality and social cohesion in the city (official policy documents). However, when asked if they thought that the organised activities reached their aim of creating an inclusive city with spaces that are free of racism, prejudice, and discrimination, as stated in the official documents (City Council of Barcelona 2010; Barcelona City Council and its Directorate of Immigration and Interculturality, 2014; Fernández and Lanzarote, 2016), the participants pointed at a series of factors which the policies do not tackle.

For instance, a migrant participant of the activity called Migrant Memories drew attention to the structural racism that makes racialized people end up living in miserable conditions. He stated that adopting a discourse that depicts a city with open arms, has not been sufficient to prevent those people ending up in those conditions. Similarly an undocumented female migrant explained that she did not feel any sense of belonging to the city nor the neighbourhood. She explained that it was impossible when being illegalised due to the lack of documents, being unemployed and without any political rights. She said she was

always anxious due to the racial profiling of the police, and would usually avoid spending much time in public spaces, thus avoiding any potential identity check, and under certain special circumstances, such as the first months of the Covid-19 pandemic, she would not even leave home due to increased police control.

It is undeniable that the social conflicts are associated with people's identifications with ethnicity, race as well as class. The inequalities among city inhabitants are not only about accessing resources but also about, for example, how they are treated by authorities in accordance with their race/ethnicity. Can a (an illegalised/ criminalised) migrant that is constantly being subject to racial profiling, often stopped by the police officers for id check because of her skin colour could spend time in public spaces as comfortable as a native, white Catalan city inhabitant? This is an example of the fact that I have indicated before, that local policy programs cannot be considered independent from other local or national policies (Filomeno 2017). As the policymakers of Intercultural City Program suggest, the municipalities would and should train all its services -including municipal police officers- in order for them to have an intercultural and anti-racist lens but the reality on the ground sometimes disprove this. This reality appears in literature about the implementation of local migration policies, the street-level bureaucrats -which refer to the police officer in this example- may not necessarily adopt an open and anti-racist attitude towards racialised migrants (see, for instance Caponio 2010).

In addition to that, most implementers are aware that generating intercultural spaces, generating intercultural dialogue, decreasing the prejudice within the city population and so on cannot be the main aim when they receive funding from the city council for their activities/projects. Rather, solidarity with migrants who are in need of economic sources and who are subject to constant discrimination is found to be more important according to them. The complex inequalities between the city inhabitants, which are beyond mere cultural and

ethnic differences, are caused by the structural racism and these migrants have unmet urgent needs rather than a cultural exchange in the society. Mostly, the desired intercultural convivencia and public spaces that include a peaceful coexistence that was proposed in the policy conceptualisation (by the policymakers) is found naive, misleading and sometimes superficial by the policy implementers. All of the observations and interviews on the field indicate that in order to reach the objectives of the program, the question should not be whether there is intercultural or inter-religious contact among people with different origins but rather elimination of power inequalities should be the main focus of these policies. It is true that social conflicts become visible in public spaces but as the reality on the ground shows, reducing the source of these conflicts to the lack of mutual acceptance of diverse cultures and/or incivil behaviours would simply be naive, or at the worst case, it would be a method of ignoring the main inequalities.

As I stated before the discourse that is present in the official policy documents (which serve for understanding the policymaking and policy conceptualisation) states that, fostering social cohesion is presented in the Barcelona ICC programme as a tool for 'exploiting the potentialities of diversity' (City Council of Barcelona 2010: 4). The Barcelona ICC Programme suggests that the city government should eliminate conflicts among city inhabitants in order to utilise the *diverse population* for economic growth by "treating migrants as a resource for local economic, social and cultural development, and not only as vulnerable groups in need of support and services" (COE 2016: 1). Despite this presentation, fortunately, the policymakers that I have interviewed with, seemed much more empathetic towards the migrant population. However, here I argue that it is not surprising to find out that conceptualisations and inherent problem representations of policymakers and policy implementers about public spaces and convivencia are different from each other. The discourse in the policy documents shows us the presence of an institution that sees immigrants as

economic subjects and the observations about policy implementers (especially the ones from civil society that are funded) shows the opposite. Although the objective of this research is not to look for the reasons for these disagreements, I could conclude that this above-mentioned important difference in terms of subjectifications and inherent problem representations (Bacchi 2009), might be the reason why various actors approach the problems differently as well as an important topic for further research.

2. Review of the contributions

As mentioned earlier, this thesis is a contributes to the lack of empirical research literature on interculturalism as a city-level urban integration policy framework. It is not the first study that focused on the role of space in interculturalism and intercultural policies. About spatial aspects of promoting interculturality and intercultural place-making, there have been thorough theoretical contributions (such as Landry and Wood 2008; Wood 2009; Bloomfield and Bianchini 2004) and some important empirical research (such as, Favaro 2002; Seidlová and Chapman 2017; Barreiro and Gonzalez 2020). Unlike the majority of the related studies, especially the theoretical ones, this study did not have a normative presupposition thinking interculturality was a 'good' and desirable perspective for restoring social cohesion which waits for us to study the 'how' part by observing its implementation and examples of 'good practices'. Rather, this study critically questioned the normative aspects of intercultural policies from the very beginning (such as the necessity of intercultural contact, its definitions of social cohesion, its aspirations about an 'open' and 'inclusive' city/public space and so on.) and searched for what these concepts meant for different actors by analysing their discourse critically. Studying the inherent problem representations (Bacchi 2009) of various actors was a big part of this.

By this much-needed case study that focused on multiple activities the research also illuminated the interplay between actors from various sectors (civil society, public policy etc) which needs to be shed light upon, if we want to understand what is really happening on the ground when it comes to local migration/integration policies. This research revealed that rather than homogenising the concept of 'Intercultural City' ambitious theoretical arguments as a policy paradigm, we need more case studies to make generalisations that are driven by empirical studies.

3. Takeaway for Practice

In light of this dissertation, there are some implications for future policies that might interest local policymakers and civil society organisations:

i. As this dissertation highlighted the distance between theoretical debates, discourse of policy making, policy implementation and realities on the ground, I think the local governments should revise their work plans by increasing their contact with empirical research literature. We know that the City Council of Barcelona and its ICC Program has close relationships with research centres but the support from researchers and migration studies scholars during this knowledge exchange, should be sceptical of 'institutionalisation' of this relationship (Scholten 2018).

ii. Most of the events that are open to the public which are listed as practices of ICC Program of Barcelona are supposed to be designed for the inclusion of migrants. Although the city government argues that use of Catalan language should be increased in order to improve the access of migrants to the labour market and social life, and they organise these activities mostly in Catalan and Spanish stating that this is an opportunity for the migrants to practise the language, not all of the city inhabitants are Catalan or Spanish speakers. In order for the activities to be inclusive and accessible and reach most of their aims about participation and giving voice to the underrepresented

people, the activities should be organised in multiple languages. Although the City Hall organises free language courses for migrants to support them, it should be acknowledged that the inequalities that limit access to the language courses are much more complex. Apart from lack of financial sources, lack of time and social capital, child care, domestic work, lack of Spanish or Catalan-speaking people in their social circle, social exclusion and so on are also barriers that prevent learning or practising the language.

iii. Civil society organisations should organise activities (in multiple languages) for migrants (including the illegalised ones) that allows them to express their concerns and needs about the use and design of public spaces in order for them to feel included and safe and report this data to the authorities in order to develop policies. This would allow policymakers to identify problems, this time, by listening to the disadvantaged groups rather than the non-immigrant population. As it is mentioned in the previous chapters, the policymakers and implementers tried to understand the native population's prejudices by listening to their complaints about the immigrants (during the ARS sessions). A similar effort should be paid to understand what disadvantaged groups experience and what their concerns are about the authorities and or the rest of the population.

iv. Local civil society organisations should spend time to recognize the needs of migrant groups and to communicate these to the authorities as well as the rest of the population via any kind of mobilisation or solidarity practices, being aware that these needs are diverse and migrants are a heterogeneous group of people with intersectional disadvantages just like the rest of the society.

4. Limitations of the research

One of the main limitations of my research was obviously starting the most important part of my data collection during the Covid-19 pandemic. Most of

the activities of the policy program were cancelled and or postponed, and most of the actors that I needed to reach out were ignoring my invitations for an interview. When the restrictions were loosened a bit and the authorities allowed people to have activities in closed spaces with limited audience and masks, the ICC Program started to organise in person activities but most people did not feel safe despite the precautions. I wonder what difference would it make in my findings if I could reach more participants and people were not hesitant to attend such activities. Nevertheless, it is important to note that this was the reality that we were living in, and this pandemic revealed the inequalities once again since it had unequal and varying socioeconomic effects on people. In this sense, although the number of participants would have been higher in the absence of the pandemic, I was able to observe the power inequalities.

Another thing that I keep thinking of is that; what would happen if I conducted this fieldwork in my country of origin, speaking my mother language and/or english that I was very fluent, being in an environment that I was not seen as an outsider, that I knew how to communicate with people in order for them to accept me to the field, in a place that I was not an immigrant but an already established resident with a larger social capital full of people that could provide me access to certain areas in the field. I know the answer. Although I would try to avoid potential biases in that case, my fieldwork would take up much less time and I would be much more prepared for all kinds of problems. Although this was a limitation and distressed me most of the time in Barcelona, I cannot exactly determine whether and how it affected the final product, the thesis, of this research.

The case of Barcelona was very important to analyse, since it was presented by the CoE in the ICC Network as a model city with several good practices. I am aware that each one of the member cities have a different political atmosphere with different city governments and national governments with varying levels of independence from local and national governments. But I believe that my thesis revealed a

generalisable fact that if we are to analyse an Intercultural City, we should pay attention to the possible gaps and connections between how various policy actors and target groups conceive certain concepts and actions related to this policy program. Also, I am aware that since policy programs are always parts of a large network which contain policies on other topics, a researcher who intends to work on the government of 'an Intercultural City' and its' connection with varying perspectives about the urban encounters and conflicts in public spaces; needs to take into account the perspective of actors that design and implement policies other than this ICC Program that could potentially influence the design, construction and management of public spaces in a city in order to have a larger picture, which was one of the limitations of this research, since the main focus was the ICC Program.

5. Further lines of research

Keeping the same conceptual focus, as a further research step, whether or not intercultural policies have an impact on how the target groups perceive and act about socio-spatial dynamics in the city - which is not covered in this study- might be a good way to see the social effects of intercultural policies at large. Also, when we take into account the objectives of ICC Programs like building inclusive, open, socially cohesive cities, equality in the right to the city with public spaces that are open, inclusive and free of discrimination and racism, the research in these areas can be done with a broader perspective in the settings of Intercultural Cities by focusing the actions and results of other policy programs of the city government related with the objectives of ICC and this kind of research can include observations of other policy programs/other departments' practices. But this would probably require a broader time frame, higher resources and multiple researchers as well as a longer fieldwork. This way, the researchers might have the chance to compare and contrast the actions of this ICC policy framework and other department's actions that are related to their aims, and they can reveal the good practices and limitations (if any) of this policy programme better.

Bibliography

Amin, A., and Thrift, N. (2002). *Cities : Reimagining the Urban*. Oxford: Polity.

Bacchi, C. (2009). *Analysing Policy*. Pearson Australia Pty Ltd.

Barcelona City Council. (2010). *Barcelona Interculturality Plan*. Barcelona City Council.

Barcelona City Council and its Directorate of Immigration and Interculturality. (2014). *C4i Communication for Integration Catalogue of Anti-Rumour Activities Deliverable No.8* (Issue November). Council of Europe.

Bloomfield, J., and Bianchini, F. (2004). Planning for the Intercultural City. Stroud: Comedia.

Caponio, T. (2010). Conclusion. Making Sense of Local Migration Policy Arenas. In T. Caponio and M. Borkert (Eds.), The Local Dimension of Migration Policymaking (pp. 161–196). Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, IMISCOE Report Series.

Council of Europe. (2013). *The intercultural city step by step*. Council of Europe Publishing.

Council of Europe. (2016). *Intercultural cities - The art of mixing*. Council of Europe Publishing.

Harvey, D. (1989). *The Condition of Postmodernity*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Dixon, J. (2001). Contact and Boundaries. *Theory and Psychology*, *11*(5), 587–608. https://doi.org/10.1177/0959354301115001

Favaro, G. (2002). *I centri interculturali: luoghi di mediazione e di scambio fra culture*. In Didattica interculturale Nuovi sguardi, competenze, percorsi, ed. D. Demetrio and G. Favaro. Milano: Angeli.

Fernández, L.L., and Lanzarote, A.G. (2016). *Anti-Rumour Agents Anti-Rumour Agents* (D.-C. (Col·lectiu d'Analistes Socials), Ed.). Barcelona City Council.

Filomeno, F. A. (2017). Theories of Local Immigration Policy: Politics of Citizenship and Migration. Baltimore: Palgrave Macmillan.

Foucault, M. (1980). Two lectures. In C. Gordon (Ed.), Michel Foucault power/ knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings 1972–1977 by Michel Foucault. Gordon, C., Marshall, L., Mepham, J. and Soper, K. (trans.). New York: Pantheon Books.

Khovanova-Rubicondo, K. and Pinelli, D. (2012). Evidence of the Economic and Social Advantages of Intercultural Cities Approach. Meta-analytic assessment for the Council of Europe.

Landry, C., and Wood, P. (2008a). The intercultural city, Planning for the diversity advantage. London: Earthscan.

Lefebvre, H. (1991). "The Production of Space." *The production of space.*

Scholten, P. (2018). Policy relations and migration studies. *Qualitative Research in European Migration Studies*, 287-302.

Seidlová, M., and Chapman, P. (2017). Combating unequal inclusion of immigrants into the host society: comparing policy responses in London and Paris. In Inequalities in the UK, ed. D. Fée and A. Kober-Smith, 285–303. London: Emerald Publishing Limited.

Shore, C. and Wright, S. (1997) .Anthropology of public policy: Critical perspectives on governance and power. London: Routledge.

S.O.S Racismo. (2022). *Informe anual sobre el racismo en el Estado español 2022*. Federación SOS Racismo. https://sosracismo.eu/wp-content/uploads/2023/01/20221230-Informe-2022-SOS-Racismo.pdf

Wedel, J. R., and Feldman, G. (2005). Why an anthropology of public policy? *Anthropology Today*, *21*(1), 1–2. https://doi.org/10.1111/J.0268-540X.2005.00321.X

Wood, P. (ed.). (2009). Intercultural Cities Towards a model for intercultural integration. Report from Intercultural cities, joint action of the Council of Europe and the European Commission. Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing.

Wood, P., and Landry, C. (2012). The intercultural city: Planning for diversity advantage. In *The Intercultural City: Planning for Diversity Advantage*. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781849773089

Barreiro, W., Gonzalez, F. B. O. (2020) The production of intercultural urban landscapes, a multi-scalar approach: the case of Ballarò, Palermo. Urban Des Int 25, 250–265. https://doi.org/10.1057/s41289-020-00126-6

Zapata-Barrero, R. (2019). Intercultural Citizenship in the Post-Multicultural Era. SAGE Publications.

APPENDIX A

This appendix gives details about the categories and the number of activities of Barcelona Interculturality Plan that are (mostly) open to public during the course of my fieldwork. It also lists the categories and the number of activities that I have attended to conduct participant and non-participant observations . The following tables are created to inform the reader about the justifications on why I have excluded certain activities from the observation list, how did I categorised the activities that I have attended during the data analysis and to explain whether and how those activities were representative for the focus of this research as well as another table (3) that includes name, explanation, date, place, duration, number and composition of participants, method used to retreive and analyse the data about the activities.

Table 1. Data presented in annual report regarding the programmed activities (City Council of Barcelona 2021)

Line of action defined by the program	Number of activities
Promotion of Interculturality (Impulsem la interculturalitat)	50
Anti-Rumor Strategy (Estratègia BCN Antirumors)	81 activities in 2021 + 56 unannounced and non-specified activities from 2020 which are rescheduled in 2021. The rescheduled activities were not announced publicly.
Intercultural Training (Formació intercultural)	26 of which most of them are repeated
Espai Avinyó	33
Intercultural Communication (Comunicació intercultural)	20 not well specified activities
Other (Altres)	8 not specified activities

Although in the annual reports present the actions of ICC Program under the five categories (which they call 'lines of actions'), the analysis of all the official policy documents and interviews shows that the the mentioned working groups under these categories are not the only workers/actors that implement the ICC Program. That is the reason why some of the actions and activities of the program cannot be listed under these categories. An example for that is the projects of civil society organisations that are funded by the program and their teams that appear as main implementers (that even are close collaboration with people who draft the work plans) of the ICC Program of Barcelona. Another example for that is the inter-religious activities (like 'The Night of Religions') that are implemented with the support of Religious Affairs Office of Barcelona,

which is presented in the policy documents as one of the most important actors of Intercultural City Program of Barcelona. These are examples that explain why some of the activities that I observed (Table 3 in Annex A) are not always listed under these 'lines of work' (Chapter 2) in the official policy documents such as work plans or annual reports. This is why the following table (Table 2) includes only the activities in the categories ('lines of work') that are listed in the annual report documents of this policy program.

Table 2. Number of activities observed during fieldwork *(only the ones that are presented under these categories, excluding the ones beyond these categorisation)*

Line of action defined by the program	Number of activities observed	Explanation
Promotion of Interculturality	0	
Anti-Rumor Strategy	1	
Intercultural Training	0	Most of these were not announced, not available for participation, limited in terms of access, conceptual irrelevance, and some categories were omitted by the main researcher.
Espai Avinyó	7	
Intercultural Communication	0	
Other activities not specified and reported by the City Council in these categories	11	

Table 3: Details about the ICC Program activities that were analysed: This table includes name, date, place, organiser, duration, number of participants, and type of the activities that were analysed. Except for the 4 live radio podcasts that were downloaded and made subject to content analysis, the main researcher attended all of the activities as a participant and an observer. This table includes online activities like live video broadcasts, Zoom meetings that the participant information was not shared, and crowded activities (like a forum theatre performance, guided city tours etc.) in which the number of participants were impossible to know. The number of participants in these activities will appear as 'unknown' in the following table. Also, some activities like live radio podcasts were treated as auditions on which content analysis is applied as a method.

Analysed Activity (19 in total)	Description and Duration	Organisers	Date	Neighbourhood	Type	Method used	Nb of Participants	Composition of Participants
Conversatori sobre Kuduro	Duration: 2 hours. An online activity organised by Espai Avinyó, accompanied by the dance collective Ku'dancin Afrobeatz ,carried out vis a Zoom meeting, included 4 speakers that present the topic and discuss its implications. The aim was to introduce one of the African urban dances and its' connection with resistance ans social transformation, discuss the visibility of immigrants and racialised groups in public space. The discussions included the meaning of this dance for African diaspora and how this urban dance that takes place in the streets has been interpreted in Barcelona.	Espai Avinyó	11-Dec-2020	-	Online meeting	observation	unknown	unknown
Taula 12 Creació Jove JISER	Duration: 1 hour. Introducing a Romani music library (Ludoteca) and an intersectional feminist theater group Les Fora, it was a live radio podcast and it is a session that belongs to the project called Creació Joven that was created by Espai Avinyó that intends to support the visibility of youngsters in Barcelona and groups that are engaged with intercultural and artistic activities which aim to generate spaces for self-representation of youngsters in Barcelona.	Espai Avinyó, Xarxa de Radios Comunitarias de Barcelona (XRCB)	15-Dec-2020	-	online live radio podcast (audition)	content analysis	unknown	unknown
Commemoración del Día del Migrantes	Duration: 1 hour 10 min. Organized by the city hall, included speeches given mostly by migrants and the City Council presented awards to some immigrant NGO's. The city hall also introduced a manifesto stating that Barcelona is an anti-racist city.	City Council of Barcelona	18-Dec-2020	-	live video broadcast in Youtube	observation	unknown	migrants
VISITA AL CENTRE BUDISTA KAGYU SAMYE DZONG Diversitats de culte a Horta-Guinardó: Budisme Zen	Duration: approximately 1,5 hours. Organized by Servicio de Interculturalidad de Horta Guinardó, which is responsible of territorialization of ICC Program through neighborhood-based projects of certain services. It was a guided tour visiting the first Budist center of Barcelona, followed by a guided meditation, an informative speech and discussion. The topics included religious diversity in Barcelona, the history of the Buddhist centre, lack of diverse sanctuary spaces in Barcelona and so on.	Cente Civic Casa Groga, Servicio de Interculturalidad de Horta Guinardó	2-Mar-2021	El Guinardó	guided tour, participative interactive activity	participant observation	6	immigrant and non-immigrant, women city inhabitants
Monthly meeting of "Taula de Cures, Xarxa D'interculturalidad i Acogida" of Pla de Desenvolupament Comunitari Sagrada Família x 2 sessions	Duration: approx. 2 hours PDC Sagrada Família and the network they have created to run intercultural projects as well as migrant reception (acogida) projects composed of various civil society organisations in the city including SOAPI, Fronteres Invisibles and many more. They run this monthly private meeting to track and discuss their actions and work plans, including the subsidised project that I have participated as a migrant woman (the encounter sessions of Grupo de Mujeres Migrantes). The meeting represents the descision-making and implementation of ICC projects and projects realted to migrant integration that are mostly subsidised by the City Council.	PDC Sagrada Família	May and Septe mber 2021	Sagrada Família	private group meeting in person	participant observation	12	immigrant and non-immigrant civil society representatives and volunteers, mostly women
PDC Sagrada Família Ateneu el Poblet Taller Grupo de Mujeres x 5 Sessions	Duration: 2.5 hours, once a week. This is a project run by PDC Sagrada Família subsidised by the City Council under ICC Program. The PDC S.F. is an key policy actor in the commissions of Anti-Rumour Network as well. I was invited to participate as a migrant woman and researcher after I interviewed with the coordinator and asked for activity examples to observe. The group was fixed and composed of 8 migrant women and another contracted migrant woman that runs the sessions. It is an encounter group that people exchange their life experiences, problems and difficulties in Barcelona, accompanied by sesions with different topic including informative sessions about , games, workshops and so on. The sessions were intense experiences fueled with emotional catharsis and solidarity.	PDC Sagrada Família	Once a week from May to July 2021	Sagrada Família	participative encounter group meeting activity	participant observation	8-10	immigrant women (except for 2 sessions with 2 additional Catalan women) from Latin American and Middle-Eastern countries of which some are in irregular status
Espacio Público	(Radio)grafías de barrio	Duration: 38 min. As a continuation of Creació Joven project of Espai Avinyó in collaboration with XRCB, this live radio podcast includes discussions and interviews with young people from El Raval neighbourhood close to the city centre which accommodates high numbers of migrant, stigmatised and criminalised identities and the level of income of the neighbourhood is one of the lowest in the city. The discussed topics included sense of safety in public spaces, policing in the neighbourhoos, diverse uses of open air public spaces (like skating in the square in fron of the MACBA museum), the stigmatised streets of El Raval and the visibility of diverse identities in those public spaces.	Espai Avinyó, Red de Radios Comunitarias de Barcelona (XRCB, Network of Barcelona Community Radios), Radio Rambias	21-Jul-2021	about El Raval	online radio podcast (audition)	content analysis	6	mostly racialised migrant city inhabitants

Analysed Activity (19 in total)	Description and Duration	Organisers	Date	Neighbourhood	Type	Method used	Nb of Participants	Composition of Participants
La Nit De Les Religions 3 activities about protestan christian community (guided route including Sant Joan Baptista, Església Evangèlica de Gràcia and Ronda Barcelona which is a Korean community)	Duration: 30 min, 40 min, 1.5 hours. This is an annual activity that usually lasts 2 or 3 days organised by OAR and AUDIR that aims to promote interreligious dialogue, spaces for knowledge-exchange and dialogue between divese communities. The sanctuary spaces especially the churches are kept open at night during these days for the city residents to visit. The activities are composed about guided tours to sanctuary spaces, concerts, workshops, discussions and so on. The activity is considered as an important ICC Program action as well, according to policy documents and interviewees. I have attended 3 activities organised by AUDIR and inter-religious group of Gracia neighbourhood. 2 guided tours to 2 (evangelical and catholic) churches in Gracia neighbourhood which included speeches by the organisators and exhibitions about the history of christianity in Barcelona and Catalonia. And a Korean community centre, a talk about Hak Ja Han followed by a video and dance show from the Korean community called "Federació de famílies per la pau i la unificació del món' (Federation of families for worl preace).	The Religious Affairs Office (OAR), AUDIR (UNESCO Association for Interreligious Dialogue)	18-Sep -2021	Gracia and la Dreta de l'Eixample	guided tour, participative meeting	participant observation	more than 20 (unknown)	non-immigrant and immigrant city inhabitants, activities in churches were mostly composed of non-immigrant Catalan inhabitants
'Museus (Im)possibles'	L'Ecomuseu Urbà Gitano de Barcelona Podcast	Duration: 50 min. A radio podcast which belong to the project called Impossible Museums run by Espai Avinyó which questions the possibility (as well as the lack of) of culturally diverse and anti-colonial museums that represent the oppressed cultural groups in the national history in Barcelona. This podcast introduced The Urban Gitano EcoMuseu (EMUGBA) which is about the Roman population of Barcelona and a socio-community project promoted by the Carabutsi Association since 2018.	Espai Avinyó, Xarxa Ràdios Comunitàries Barcelona, Associació Carabutsi, Associació Inter- Acció	21-Sep -2021	-	online radio podcast (audition)	content analysis	unknown	-
Museus (Im)possibles	Razas, pueblos, culturas	Duration: 3 hours. Organised by Espai Avinyó and Anyely Marín, the activity took place in the Museo Etnológico y de Culturas del Mundo (MUEC / Ethnological World Cultures Museum) in La Ribera neighbourhood, the activity included an opening speech, a tour in the museum which is followed by another speech and discussion. After the tour the participants were invited to another room, to form groups around 6 different tables and report what we came up with these discussions to the activity organiser Anyely Marin. Activity included reflections on what we understand and what we put (or not) under the categories "race", "pueoples", "cultures"- and how this can influence the story that accompanies a museum space. The under representation of diverse cultures in the city's intercultural public spaces such as museums and its cultural manadement by the city wsa discussed by the presenter.	Espai Avinyò, Anyely Marín Cisneros	24-Nov -2021	El Born and La Ribera	guided tour, participative discussion, workshop, conference	participant observation	approximately 34	non-immigrant and immigrant residents (mostly from Latin America)

Analysed Activity (19 in total)	Description and Duration	Organisers	Date	Neighbourhood	Type	Method used	Nb of Participants	Composition of Participants
(Ràdio)grafies de barri	El Carmel	Duration: 50 min. A radio podcast that belong to the Creació Joven project of Espai Avinyó. These radio podcasts (edition) are especially related to the use of public spaces (especially the open air public spaces) in neighbourhoods. The podcasts included discussions and interviews about El Carmel neighbourhood which is one of the stigmatised areas of Barcelona. The interviews with young people were about how they define and understand public space and convivencia, what they understand from using public spaces, their struggles for a decent life, the presence of Roman people in Plaza Pastrana, challenges about creating and experiencing intercultural relationships in public spaces of El Carmel neighbourhood.	Servei d'interculturalitat Horta Guinardó, Boca Ràdio FM, Espai Avinyó, Red de Radios Comunitarias de Barcelona (XRCB, Network of Barcelona Community Radios), Catàrsia ("Artistic-political collective of Asian descent")	9-Dec-2021	about El Carmel	online radio podcast (audition)	content analysis	6 (speakers+inter viewees)	mostly immigrant inhabitants
Obra de teatre: "La insuportable banalitat del tema"	Duration: 3 hours. The activity was a theater play and a forum about Islamophobia in the District of Sant Andreu. Within the framework of the international day against Islamophobia, the Interculturality Service of the Sant Andreu district organized the forum play "The unbearable banality of the subject" aiming to reflect on the discrimination that this neighbourhood with a high level of muslim residents suffer. A play by "Fom de teatre Patothom" was staged and the speaker frequently stopped the play and asked questions to the audience. The audience that included muslim neighbours were provided a microphone and they expressed the discrimination and socio-economic exclusion that they ahve been facing with.	Servei d'interculturalitat de Sant Andreu, SAFI (Stop Islamophobic Phenomena Association), Fom de teatre Pa tothom (EnEntity and theater school for 'the theater of the oppressed")	13-Dec-2021	Trinitat Vella	tearte play, forum discussion	participant observation	approximately 45	non-immigrant (Catalan) inhabitants, immigrant inhabitants (mostly racialised and discriminated over being muslim)
Memòries Migrants 3.1!	Duration: 2.5 hours. This was a forum accompanied by watching a video documentary. The activity belongs to the series called 'Memòries of Migrants' that was organised by the Anti-Rumour Network of Poblenou. We formed a circle and two speakers from Apropem-Nos Poblenou spoke about the ICC Program, the discrimination and racism that migrants in Poblenou neighborhood (and in Barcelona) has been facing with and the need to re-construct the history of the neighbourhood by exchanging the stories lived by migrant neighbours as well as questioning the sense of belonging of migrant neighbours. After watching a video that includes interviews with migrant neighbours, the participants were invited to discuss the issues that were raised in those videos.	The Anti-Rumour Network of Poblenou	14-Dec-2021	Poblenou	forum discussion	participant observation	20	except for 2 non-immigrant inhabitant, mostly composed of racialised immigrant inhabitants mainly from African countries
Radio podcast 'Ressonàncies de Sants sos de l'espai public de la ciutat, en clau intercultural'	Duration: 50 min. As a continuation of the radio podcast series of the project of Espai Avinyó, this activity was about the Sants neighbourhood and the practices about claiming and appropriating public spaces in the neighbourhood. The podcast included talks and interviews about intercultural agenda of the area as well as the cooperatives of the Sants. The interviews included introduction of some cooperatives, discussions about cooperativism, gentrification processes as well as introduction of cultural and artistic events in the neighbourhood such as the 'Afro-centric artistic projects'.	Espai Avinyó with Mercedes Sayà, Oyidiya Oji Palino i Marta Huanling Pascual López (Catàrsia), ZumZeig Xarxa de Ràdios Comunitàries de Barcelona (XRCB)	9-Feb-2022	about Sants	online radio podcast (audition)	content analysis	5	non-immigrant and immigrant inhabitants
L'Espai Avinyó us convida a l'activitat 'Músiques amb accents'	Duration: 3 hours. An activity that is organised on 23th but prepared to honour International Mother Language Day (which is on 21st of February) It was defined as a musical forum' which included performance and speeches that took Place in La Deskomunal, which is the space built by the gastronomic coop. for multiple purposes such as dining, concerts and discussions. The performances included songs, lullabies, verses, chants in the mother language of the migrants accompanied by presentations about their cultural origins.	Espai Avinyó and La Deskomunal (a gastronomic coop and cultural centre of Sants neighbourhood)	23-Feb-2022	Sants	concert, forum discussion	participant observation	approx. 40	immigrant inhabitants (except for 3 native inhabitant) mostly from African countries

Table 4. Researcher's analytical categorisations about the activities attended for observation during the fieldwork.

Name of the Activity (19 in total)	Thematic Categorization	Categorization in relation to the literature
Conversatori sobre Kuduro	giving voice to racialized groups, cultural representation	representation
Taula 12 Creació Jove JISER	giving voice to racialized groups, promotion of the spaces that racialized groups build, Visibility of cultural and ethnic diversity	representation, discourse
Conmemoración del Día del Migrantes	spreading anti-racist discourse	discourse
VISITA AL CENTRE BUDISTA KAGYU SAMYE DZONG Diversitats de culte a Horta-Guinardó: Budisme Zen	promotion of the spaces that racialized groups have built, Visibility of cultural and ethnic diversity, Promotion of inter-religious dialogue, promotion of intercultural contact, Cultural representation	contact, representation, interculturalism
Monthly meeting of "Taula de Cures, Xarxa D'interculturalidad i Acogida" of the Pla de Desenvolupament Comunitari Sagrada Família x 2 sessions	Solidarity activities (with racialized people, irregular migrants etc),	solidarity
PDC Sagrada Família Ateneu el Poblet Taller Grupo de Mujeres x 5 sessions	Solidarity activities (with racialized people, irregular migrants etc)	solidarity, contact

Espacio Público | (Radio)grafías de barrio Podcast	public space, neighbourhood relations, territorial stigmatisation	convivencia, sense of belonging, public space. territorial stigmatisation
La Nit De Les Religions 2 activities about protestan christian community (guided route including Sant Joan Baptista, Església Evangèlica de Gràcia and Ronda Barcelona which is a Korean community) 1 activity about Budhist community	Promotion of inter-religious dialogue, Visibility of religious diversity, Promotion of the spaces that racialized groups have built, spreading anti-racist discourse	interculturalism, representation, contact
'Museus (Im)possibles' | L'Ecomuseu Urbà Gitano de Barcelona Podcast	Cultural representation, Visibility of cultural and ethnic diversity, Promotion of the spaces that racialized groups have built	representation, discourse
Museus (Im)possibles | Razas, pueblos, culturas	Cultural representation, Visibility of cultural and ethnic diversity, anti-racist discourse	representation, discourse
(Ràdio)grafies de barri | El Carmel	Cultural representation, Visibility of cultural and ethnic diversity, Spreading anti-racist discourse	convivencia, sense of belonging, public space. territorial stigmatisation
Obra de teatre: "La insuportable banalitat del tema"	Fighting with stigmatization and prejudices	representation, discourse, contact
Memòries Migrants 3.1!	Fighting with stigmatization and prejudices,	discourse, representation, contact,interculturalism
L'Espai Avinyó us convida a l'activitat 'Músiques amb accents'	Visibility of cultural and ethnic diversity, Visibility of religious diversity, Spreading anti-racist discourse	discourse, representation, contact,interculturalism

Table 5. Categorization of all the activities including the ones that we have not participated/observed. The highlighted ones are the categories of the activities that the main researcher has observed during fieldwork.

Thematic Categorization	Meta-categories in relation to the literature
Cultural representation	representation
Promotion of intercultural contact	interculturalism
Promotion of inter-religious dialogue	contact
Visibility of cultural and ethnic diversity	representation
Visibility of religious diversity	representation
Solidarity activities (with racialized people, irregular migrants etc)	solidarity
Spreading anti-racist discourse	discourse
Promotion of the spaces that racialized groups have built	discourse, representation, convivencia
Fighting with stigmatization and prejudices	discourse

Table 6. Identification of activities for the fieldwork *(only the ones that are presented under these categories)*

Line of action defined by the program	Number of different activities	Explanation
Promotion of Interculturality	unknown for the researcher	Activities that are nearly entirely closed to the people except the policy implementers, composed of technical and sometimes financial support and pedagogical activities among the workers. They were not announced to the public, but they are specified in the annual report documents at the end of each year.
Anti-Rumor Strategy	25	This is the total number of different activities of 2021 excluding the multiple repetitions. The designed are announced in a catalogue in official website and nearly all of them requires prior request from entities (like schools and so on) to be performed. That is why, nearly all announcements of activities are made after they took place, as a news report. The main researcher had not been informed about the activities beforehand.
Intercultural Training	17	This number is reached after excluding the repeated activities. Mostly unannounced activities. Participation requires enrolment. Most of them are requested by entities for their workers. Nearly all of them are irrelevant to the conceptual focus of my policy analysis.
Espai Avinyó	33	Same nb of activities as suggested in the annual report. Mostly considered irrelevant with the conceptual focus of the research, yet still several activities representative in terms of data analysis was observed.

Intercultural Communication	unknown for the researcher	These actions are omitted from the observation list of the fieldwork, but most of the visible disseminative actions were treated as a guide to identify the activities to be observed by checking the announcements of activities.
Other	unknown for the researcher	This category was omitted since information on which activities could be included was unknown. Besides, most of the activities attended during the fieldwork, do not belong to any of the categories mentioned by the City Council in the annual report.
Total number of potentially observable activities	125 activities that were potentially applicable for observant participation of which most of them was impossible to attend because they were not announced beforehand.	Most of the activities were unannounced and irrelevant with the conceptual focus of the research.

APPENDIX B

This appendix gives further details of the methodological framework that this doctoral thesis adopted called 'What is the problem represented to be?' which is developed by Carol Bacchi as an approach to policy analysis.

While social constructivist approach in policy analysis draws our attention to how policy-makers and participants "make sense of the world" (Colebatch 2006, p.9), Bacchi (2014, p 33) goes forward and argues that the governments have a more advantaged role within this construction process because their understandings 'stick', becomes real and constitutes the way we are governed. The idea of problem representation refers to 'the understanding of the "problem" implied in any policy or rule' (Bacchi 2012: 298). Foucault describes 'problematization' in two different ways. One refers to thinking problematically, which he presents as a method of analysis, and the second refers to 'how and why certain things (behaviour, phenomena, processes) become a problem' (Foucault 1985: 115, cited in Bacchi 2012: 1). While my methodological framework adopts both and aims to examine the problematisations (Bacchi 2012), my theoretical framework focuses more on the second meaning.

WPR approach draws upon four intellectual traditions which are social construction theory, poststructuralism, feminist body theory and governmentality studies (Bacchi 2012: 264). Bacchi's WPR provides six interrelated questions to analyse the policy that allows the researcher to investigate the perceptions and assumptions of policy-makers and how they get involved in the production and representation of the problems and the solutions, the implied problem representations and the conceptual logics that underlie the problem representations. I have adopted a few questions from her list as a general framework which helped me form my interview questions as well as the analysis of all the material that was collected.

The above-mentioned six questions provided by Bacchi (2012) to apply her framework are:

"1. What's the 'problem' (e.g. of 'problem gamblers', 'drug use/abuse', domestic violence, global warming, health inequalities, terrorism, etc.) represented to be in a specific policy?

2. What presuppositions or assumptions underlie this representation of the 'problem'?

3. How has this representation of the 'problem' come about?

4. What is left unproblematic in this problem representation? Where are the silences? Can the 'problem' be thought about differently?

5. What effects are produced by this representation of the 'problem'?

6. How/where has this representation of the 'problem' been produced, disseminated and defended? How could it be questioned, disrupted and replaced?" (Bacchi 2012: 4).

APPENDIX C

This appendix gives details about the content analysis that was conducted which also informs the later stages of data collection such as the interviews, observations and so on. The policy documents here are also part of the data source that was subject to the content analysis for first article (Chapter 2) of this doctoral thesis. Below I list the 24 policy documents that were used in the content analysis. Following this list, the reader can see the selection criteria that were applied in the formation of this document list followed by explanations and examples about how I conducted the content analysis:

Institutional policy documents that were used in content analysis

---

Ajuntament de Barcelona. (2005). Ordenança de mesures per fomentar i garantir la convivència ciutadana a l'espai públic de Barcelona Acord del Consell Plenari de 23-12-2005. Ajuntament de Barcelona.
https://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/dretsidiversitat/sites/default /files/Convivencia_1.pdf

---

Ajuntament de Barcelona. (2017). Programa Bcn Interculturalitat Memòria 2017. Barcelona: City Council of Barcelona
https://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/bcnacciointercultural/sites/default/files/documentos/memoria_progbi_2017_def.pdf

---

Ajuntament de Barcelona. (2018). Pla de Ciutadania i Immigració de la ciutat de Barcelona 2018-2021. Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona.

Ajuntament de Barcelona. (2019). Programa Bcn Interculturalitat Memòria 2019. Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona
https://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/bcnacciointercultural/sites/default/files/documentos/memoria_progbi_2019.pdf

---

Ajuntament de Barcelona. (2020). Programa Bcn Interculturalitat Memòria 2020. Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona
https://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/bcnacciointercultural/sites/default/files/documentos/memoria_2020.pdf

---

Ajuntament de Barcelona. 2021. Memòria 2021 Programa BCN Interculturalitat. Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona. https://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/bcnacciointercultural/sites/default/files/documentos/memoria_progbi_2021.pdf.

Baglai, C., De Torres Barderi, D., Ó Siochrú, S., and Khovanova-Rubicondo, K. (2015). "CITIES FREE OF RUMOURS: How to Build an Anti- Rumour Strategy in My City." Council of Europe

Barcelona City Council and its Directorate of Immigration and Interculturality. (2014). C4i Communication for Integration Catalogue of Anti-Rumour Activities Deliverable No.8 (Issue November). Council of Europe.

Barcelona City Council. (2010). Barcelona Interculturality Plan. City Council of Barcelona: Barcelona.

City Council of Barcelona, and Directorate of Immigration and Interculturality Services. (2014). A Practical Guide for Anti Rumour Agents How to Fight Rumours and Stereotypes about Cultural Diversity in Your City. Barcelona: Council of Europe. https://pjp-eu.coe.int/c4i/images/doc6 c4i bcn a practical guide for ar agents.pdf.

City Council of Barcelona. (2012). Immigration Plan 2012-2015 Barcelona. Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona

City Council of Barcelona. (2021). Barcelona Interculturality Plan 2021- 2030. City Council of Barcelona. https://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/bcnacciointercultural/sites/default/files/documentos/barcelona_interculturality_plan_20 21-2030_1.pdf

Council of Europe. (2008). White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue "Living Together As Equals in Dignity" (Issue May). Council of Europe Publishing. https://www.coe.int/t/dg4/intercultural/source/whitepaper_f inal_revised_en.pdf

Council of Europe. (2013). The intercultural city step by step. Council of Europe Publishing.

Council of Europe. (2016). Intercultural cities - The art of mixing. Council of Europe Publishing.

Crespo, R., Sanahuja, R., Bermúdez, K., Directorate of Immigration and Interculturality, Barcelona City Council Directorate of Immigration and Interculturality (2004). Building Intercultural Policies and Practices in the City of Barcelona A Case Study. Barcelona: Barcelona City Council

D-CAS. Pautas Metodológicas Para La Detección de Rumores. (n.d.) Barcelona: D-CAS. http://www.antirumores.com/resources/pautas_metogologicas_deteccion_rumores.pdf.

De Torres Barderi, D. (2018). Antirumours handbook 2018. Council of Europe.

Direcció de Serveis d'Immigraci, o i Interculturalitat Ajuntament de Barcelona. (n.d.) Estrategia BCN Antirumores. Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona. http://www.antirumores.com/resources/estrategia_bcn_antirumores.pdf.

Direcció de Serveis d'Immigració i Interculturalitat – Barcelona City Council. (2014). Identifying Rumours and Collection Anti-Rumours Data The Case of The Barcelona Anti-Rumour Strategy. Council of Europe.

Direcció de Serveis d'Immigració i Interculturalitat Ajuntament de Barcelona, Sanahuja,R. (2014). Detecció de rumors i recollida de dades antirumors L'experiència de l'Estratègia BCN Antirumors Abril 2014. Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona

Fernández, L.L., and Lanzarote, A.G. (2016). A Practical Guide for Anti-Rumour Agents How to Fight Rumours and Stereotypes about Cultural Diversity in Barcelona. ed. D-CAS (Col•lectiu d'Analistes Socials). Barcelona: Barcelona City Council. https://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/bcnacciointercultural/sites/default/files/documentos/guia_antirumors_barcelona_2016_eng_0.pdf.

Hernández Carr, A. (n.d.). Avaluació de l'Estratègia Barcelona Antirumors Informe Final. Barcelona:Fundació ACSAR and Ajuntament de Barcelona https://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/bcnacciointercultural/sites/default/files/documentos/evaluacio_eba-cat1.pdf

Xarxa BCN Antirumores. (2016). Pla d'acció Xarxa BCN Antirumors 2016-2020. Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona. https://media-edg.barcelona.cat/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/PAX-2016_2020.pdf

The table below shows the selection criteria applied for choosing the above-mentioned policy documents. The following criterias are not limited to the scope of Chapter 2 but in fact they were formed to gather information about what to do next for the rest of the data collection period (such as interviews, participant observation):

Selection criteria for the policy documents

1	Whether or not the document exemplifies the history of Barcelona Intercultural City Program
2	The frequency of reference to the documents during my pilot interviews and other interviews with policymakers
3	Avoiding dublicate content and/or repetition of information with similar forms of documents that were published in different years
4	Frequency of being refered to in other policy documents
5	Whether the content has changed in accordance with the municipal elections of 2011 and 2015 since the ICC Program of Barcelona was launched in 2008 and was officially became part of the ICC Network in 2010.
6	Including content that was mentioned and referred by my interviewees
7	Including details on the methodology of policy implementation
8	Including details on the Anti-Rumour Strategy which was the signature initiative of Barcelona ICC Program
9	Including content that was presented as best practices by the Council of Europe in their documents about ICC Network
10	Including documents that marks the launching of the Intercultural Cities Program of the Council of Europe, to which Barcelona acts accordingly

11	Whether or not the document includes the motivations, reasons, objectives and problems that led to implement such a policy program
12	Whether or not the documents include methods of evaluation or success indicator in order to understand the expectations and the mindset of the policymakers/implementers
13	Including details on actions and activities of the program
14	Including details on the actors that design and implement this policy program
15	Including details on actors and civil society organisations that I can identify as potential interviewee
16	Territorial information about the actions and interventions conducted by the ICC Program of Barcelona
17	Reaching financial information such as budget, subvencions, projects that were subsidised etc. to detect actors and activities for the further stages of data collection period.

To critically analyse the discourse of the key actors and explore their "problematisations", I used some guiding questions such as (Bacchi and Bonham 2016) "Which norms do the "things said" invoke? • Which "subjects" are produced? • Which "objects" do they create? • Which "places" are produced as legitimate?" Because, things that are said or written (in policy documents and/or interviews) have functions in producing, constituting certain norms, subject positions, subjects, objects and places. Below are some examples that shows how I coded the policy documents (with screenshots taken from MAXQDA) and one of my code maps.

The design of public spaces can also lead to segregation: we need to work on prioritising people and improving environments to make them safer and more accessible. One of the groups that need to be most considered in this city model is the one made up of women and girls[xvii].

As to the various uses of the public space and the incidents of discrimination that take place in them, there is a clear need for more mediation services and resources with an intercultural perspective to better manage these realities[xviii].

Regarding participation, voting and standing for public office, the structural inequality embodied in the legal framework restricts participation by certain groups of people. However, the number of people registered in the electoral census is considerably lower than the legal maximum[xix].

Formal and informal spaces for municipal participation (sectoral and neighbourhood councils) do not consider the intercultural perspective or reflect the diversity of origins and sociocultural backgrounds. We must evaluate the resources available to councils to develop the desired level and quality of participation.

Government

> Government measure to foster the participation of people of diverse cultural backgrounds and origins in participation channels (2016)
> Urban planning and gender: exploratory walks of everyday life (2019)

In the area of sport, which is a key tool for fostering positive interaction, it has been found that not all sports organisations reflect the sociocultural diversity of their neighbourhoods, that we need more intercultural training in the area of sport and that foreigners have problems joining sport associations. Some municipal initiatives such as the Open Playgrounds initiative are excellent settings for the incorporation of the territory's cultural and sports organisations.

Governance

Last, let us take a look at the organisational challenges. First, **the City Council's staff and service providers do not reflect the city's sociocultural diversity.** Furthermore, they do not have specific non-discrimination protocols.

And, second, the **internal management, monitoring and evaluation mechanisms need to be strengthened.** This means consolidating the coordination mechanisms with all the municipal areas and the various levels of governance to ensure that mainstreaming reaches more areas, while also strengthening links with the city's districts. However, the fact that there is no monitoring and evaluation system for the Plan is associated with the **lack of information, data and indicators on diversity and interculturality, and of data broken down by sex.**

XVII. Government measure on "Urban planning with a gender perspective" 2017.

XVIII. The City Council has the following services: Service for the Management of Social Disputes in Urban Spaces; Mediation Resource (disputes between neighbours); Intercultural Mediation and Translation Service; Mediation and Alternative Dispute Resolution Service (Office for Non-Discrimination (OND), Office of Religious Affairs (OAR)); Urban Planning and Safety working group (2016).

XIX. The project "My City – My Vote" was a campaign aimed at increasing the number of people registered in the electoral census for the 2019 local government elections. It resulted in a 50% increase in the number of EU nationals registered between 2015 and 2019, with a total of 25.6% of EU national residents registered (which is nonetheless still a low level). The percentage is even lower for non-EU nationals (1.646%), a very low representation.

...Territorial segregation
...designing inclusive public spaces
..safe and accessible pu
Problematizations
..safe and accessible design of public spaces
..conflict management team
..diagnosing problems
..identifying discriminations
..Manage the use of public space
..different uses of public space
...use of public space
...Problems about space
..Prevent disturbing uses of public space
..Rules and regulations of using public space
...Problem representations
..conflicts due to racism should be managed
..Educating civil servants and conflict managi
...Structural racism
..lack of equal participation
..autocritique
..autocritique
..identifying discriminations
..lack of equal participation
Problematizations
..autocritique
..diagnosing problems
..identifying discriminations
POLICY IMPLEMENTATION
..autocritique

The design of public spaces can also lead to segregation: we need to work on prioritising people and improving environments to make them safer and more accessible. One of the groups that need ...de up of women and girls[xvii].

...nts of discrimination that take place in them, ...esources with an intercultural perspective

...c office, the structural inequality embodied ...groups of people. However, the number of ...ly lower than the legal maximum[xix].

...on (sectoral and neighbourhood councils) ...t the diversity of origins and sociocultural ...ble to councils to develop the desired level

...ure to foster the participation of people ...backgrounds and origins in participation

...d gender: exploratory walks of everyday

...ive interaction, it has been found that not all ...rsity of their neighbourhoods, that we need more

---

Memo 153

1. Segregation should be avoided
2. Design of public spaces should prioritise "people"
3. "City model" (as well as Intercultural City model) should prioritise women and girls
4. Public spaces should be safe and accessible
5. Safety of women and girls (in public spaces)
6. Lack of safety and accessibility might lead to spatial segregation
7. The "appropriate" / "desirable" design of public spaces is key to Intercultural City model
8. Equal access of women (to public spaces) is important

Silenced parts in policy discourse (Bacchi 2009) : Are problems about safety and accessibility of public spaces the only sources for spatial segregation? What else drives it?

Subjects

illegal / irregular migrants

Problematizations

lack of equal participation

Language barrier

Structural racism

Problems about space

More interaction and conflict due to density

Narrow spaces

High density

grouping among migrants

Housing policies

Non-migrants are rich

Inequalities become visible in public space

precarity prevents migrants from learning and integrating

precarious conditions of migrants

poverty and exclusion

housing is not accessible

Territorial segregation

newly arrived migrants are poor

fight or flight

Islamaphobia

extreme right parties

Prejudice hinders convivencia in the neighborhoods

lower class neighborhoods

racism

use of public space

Covid restrictions destroyed conflict in public space

convivencia = public order and safety

prejudice of the natives is a threat for migrants' access

different uses of public space

uncivil behaviours

APPENDIX D

The data source for all of the tables below are policy documents, interviews and some of the observations.

Table 1:

Policy Actor	Definition	Role According to Action
Developers and designers	People who craft the policy in accordance with the 'inherent problem representations' (Bacchi), who design and revise the program as well as the ones who have the capability to pass and launch the policy program which can be enforced through legal and organisational frameworks. Generally the examples for this group include politicians, legislative staff that are involved in drafting and management of the policy, people that are authorised for communicating between developers and implementers about the tasks of the policy package and so on. For this policy analysis, the developers also include individuals that are involved in preparation and dissemination of guidelines with varying power of influence in the decision making (especially in the case of Barcelona's ICC Program).	Policymaker
Implementer	People that are responsible for decisions during implementation planning (in our case an example is the people that coordinate projects in neigbourhood-based municipal services that are mentioned), active implementation, or policy sustainment. This list of actors might overlap with the policy developers. In our case, these also refers to the subsidised organisations and individuals, the contracted trainers, the organisers and implementers of activity schedule, the front-line workers which include street-level beurocrats (Lipsky 1980), the municipal civil servants from various departments that are expected to act in accordance with the principles of this policy program.	Policy implementer

OPERATIONAL TABLE OF KEY ACTORS OF BARCELONA'S INTERCULTURAL CITY PROGRAM

Actors According to the Working Group of the Intercultural Plan	Type of action	Type of actor
The actors of Espai Avinyó branch	design, implement	policy implementer
The members of Promotion of Interculturality (Impulsem la interculturalitat) branch	design, implement	policy implementer
The actors of Intercultural Training (Formació intercultural) branch (mostly composed of contracted people) branch	implement	policy implementer
The members of The Intercultural Communication branch	design, implement	policymaker, policy implementer
The members of Anti-Rumour Network initiative according to their working groups (see the following table for all members): 1.Communication Group of the Anti-Rumour Network 2.Training Group of the Anti-Rumour Network 3.Territorial Dynamisation Group (or neighbourhood Action Group in some documents) of the Anti-Rumour Network 5.Strategy Committee of the Anti-Rumour Network	design, implement	policymaker, policy implementer

Key Actors connected to the City Hall of Barcelona **(names might differ due to administrative changes)**		
Commissioner for Intercultural Dialogue and Religious Pluralism	design	
Coordinator of the Barcelona Interculturality Team ('Equip Barcelona Interculturalitat')	design, implement	policymaker, policy implementer
Head of the Department of Interculturality and Religious Pluralism (Cap de Departament d'Interculturalitat i Pluralisme Religiós)	design	policymaker
Techician(s) of the Department of Interculturality and Religious Pluralism	design	policymaker
Manager of the Area of Culture, Education, Science and Community	design	policymaker
Director of Immigration and Refugee Services (Director/a de Serveis d'Immigració i Refugi)	design	policymaker
Director of RECI (Intercultural Cities Network of Spain / Red de Ciudades Interculturales) (Do not directly work as a municipal worker)	design	policymaker
Former policymakers and policy experts of the ICC Program of barcelona (anonymised)	design	policymaker
Staff of the Office for Non-Discrimination (Oficina per la No Discriminació)	design,implementt	policymaker, policy implementer
Councilor for Citizenship Rights and Participation	design, implement	policymaker, policy implementer
Coordinator and staff of the Intercultural Service of Sant Andreu neighbourhood (Servei d'intercultural Sant Andreu)	design, implement	policymaker, policy implementer
Coordinator and the staff of the Intercultural Service of Horta-Guinardó neighbourhood (Servei d'Interculturalitat d'Horta-Guinardó)	design, implement	policymaker, policy implementer
Director and staff members of Care Service for Immigrants, Emigrants and Refugees (SAIER)	design	policymaker

Director of Immigrant Assistance and Shelter Services	design	policymaker
Manager of the Area of Social Rights, Global Justice, Feminism and LGTBI (Gerent de L'Àrea de Drets Socials, Justícia Global, Feminismes i LGTBI)	design	policymaker
Technical Secretary of the Municipal Immigration Council (Secretaria Consell Municipal d'inmigració)	design, implement	policymaker, policy implementer
Members of Municipal Immigration Council (CMIB)	design	policymaker
Representatives of Directorate of Prevention Services (Direcció de Serveis de Prevenció)	design, implement	policymaker, policy implementer
Coordinators and technicians from the Prevention and Coexistence Services SIEP (Servei de Prevenció i Convivència)	implement	policy implementer
The Convivencia Offices (Oficina de Convivència)	implement	policy implementer
The Intervention Service for Coexistence in Public Spaces (SIEP/ Servei d'intervenció per la convivència en l'espai públic barcelona)	implement	policy implementer
The Orientation and Accompanying Service for Immigrants (SOAPI/ Servei d'Orientació i Acompanyament per a Persones Immigrades)	implement	policy implementer
Coordinator of the Religious Affairs Office (OAR/ Oficina d'Afers Religiosos)	design, implement	policymaker, policy implementer
QSL Cultural Services (QSL Serveis Culturals) (Funded by the City Council)	design, implement	policymaker, policy implementer
The Anti-Rumour Network*	design, implement	policymaker, policy implementer

Table 2: Anti-Rumour Network Actors

Members of The Barcelona Anti-Rumour Network According to the Working Groups

Actors (that design and implement the policy program) from the Anti Rumour Network which is a network of actors of the ICC Program of Barcelona (includes actors that had recently been changed, please note that the data collection and analysis period of this research had ended in 2022)

The strategic (and dynamization) commission	The strategic commission
ACATHI - Migració, Refugi i Diversitat LGTBI+	Associació La Xixa Teatre
Associació La Xixa Teatre	Forn de teatre Pa'tothom
CEPAIM	Càritas Barcelona
Forn de teatre Pa'tothom	Universitat Pompeu Fabra (Càtedra Regeneration)
Fundació Àmbit Prevenció	Centre d'Estudis Africans i Intercultural (CEAi)
Fundació Catalunya Voluntària	Universitat de Barcelona
Institut Diversitas	Servei d'Interculturalitat d'Horta-Guinardó
The training group	Servei d'Interculturalitat de Sant Andreu
Kira Bermúdez (titol individual)	Servei de Dinamització Juvenil
Celia Premat (individual)	Servei d'Intervenció a l'Espai Públic
Associació Antropologies	Fundació Secretariado Gitano
Associació Unesco per al Dialeg interreligiós (AUDIR)	AUDIR

Asociació La Tregua Arte y transformació social	**The training group**
Fundació Surt	Kira Bermúdez (títol individual)
Centre d'estudis Africans i interculturals	Celia Premat (Universitat de Barcelona)
The communication group	Associació La Tregua. Arte y transformación social
ACATHI - Migració, Refugi i Diversitat LGTBI+	Centre d'Estudis Africans i Interculturals
Associació Llatins per Catalunya	SOS Racisme Catalunya
Casa Àsia	Fundació Secretariado Gitano
Grup de Periodisme Solidari	Nus cooperativa
Fundació Privada Tinijove	SAFI (Stop als Fenòmens Islamòfobs)
Servei de Convivéncia i d'interculturalitat d'Horta-Guinardo	Centre de Recursos en Drets Humans (Ajuntament de Barcelona)
SOS Racisme Catalunya	**The communication group**
The territorial action group	ACATHI - Migració, Refugi i Diversitat LGBTI+
Fundació Pere Tarres	Llatins per Catalunya
Fundació Tot Raval	Càritas Barcelona
Pla de desenvolupament comunitari Sagrada Familia (Community Development Plans of neighbourhoods which are civil society organisations)	Ràdio Trinijove
Pla de desenvolupament comunitari La Marina (Community Development Plans of neighbourhoods which are civil society organisations)	Servei de Convivència i d'Interculturalitat d'Horta-Guinardó

Pla de desenvolupament comunitari Apropem-nos ('Community Development Plans' of neighbourhoods which are civil society organisations supported by Barcelona City Council)	Reds. Solidaridad para la transformación social
Pla de desenvolupament comunitari Zona Nord ('Community Development Plans' of neighbourhoods which are civil society organisations supported by Barcelona City Council	Mujeres Migrantes Diversas
Institut Diversitas	Bayt al Thaqafa
Fundación CEPAIM	RUIDO Photo
Pla de desenvolupament comunitari Poble-sec (Community Development Plans of neighbourhoods which are civil society organisations)	Save the Children
Pla de desenvolupament communitarian Zona Nord (Community Development Plans of neighbourhoods which are civil society organisations)	INTERED
Servei d'interculturalitat de Sant Andreu (Municipal Service)	**The territorial dynamisation group**
Servei de Convivéncia i d'interculturalitat d'Horta-Guinardó (Municipal Service)	Pla de desenvolupament comunitari Poble Nou
PIMEC (micro, small and medium-sized companies and the self-employed in Catalonia)	Pla de desenvolupament comunitari de La Marina / Zona franca
	Pla de desenvolupament comunitari Sagrada Família
	Apropem-nos
	Servei d'Interculturalitat de Sant Andreu

Servei d'Interculturalitat d'Horta-Guinardó
Servei d'intervenció per la convivència en l'espai públic al Congrés-Indians i Baró de Viver (SIEP)
Servei d'intervenció per la convivència en l'espai públic del Besòs - Maresme (SIEP)
Servei de dinamització juvenil de la Franja Besòs
Institut Diversitas
PIMEC
Casa Orlandai
Fundació Pere Tarrés
Fundació Tot Raval
Fundació CEPAIM

APPENDIX E

Table 1: Participants of interviews (The order of participants is provided according to the date of the interviews.)

	Interviewees and their roles	
1	Policymaker from the City Council	
2	Former policymaker (still active in policymaking) at the City Council	
3	Policymaker from ICC Network of Spain and policy expert from CoE	
4	Policymaker from ICC Network of Spain and former worker of the City Council	
5	Policymaker from the City Council	
6	Policymaker from the City Council and civil society organisation representative	
7	Policymaker and implementer works at a municipal service	Policymaking and conceptualization
8	Policymaker from the City Council	
9	Policymakers from the City Council	
10	Policymaker from the City Council	
11	Policymaker from the City Council	
12	Policymaker from the City Council	
13	Policymaker from the City Council	
14	Policymaker from the City Council	
1	Policymaker and implementer works at a municipal service	
2	Policy implementer and civil society organisation representative	
3	Policy implementer and civil society organisation representative	Policy implementation
4	Policy implementer of the Anti-Rumour Network (ARN) and subsidised neighbourhood-based civil society organisation representative	
5	Policy implementer works at municipal service	
6	Policymaker and implementer works at a municipal service	

7	Policy implementer of the Anti-Rumour Network (ARN) and subsidised civil society organisation representative	
8	Policy implementer works at municipal service, implementer from the ARN and subsidised civil society organisation representative	
9	Policy implementer and subsidised civil society organisation representative	
10	Policy implementer and subsidised civil society organisation representative	
11	Policy implementer and subsidised civil society organisation representative	
12	Policy implementer of the Anti-Rumour Network (ARN) and subsidised civil society organisation representative	
13	Subsidised policy implementer and civil society organisation representative	
1	Participant of the Migrant Women Encounter Group of PDC Sagrada Família (Grupo de Mujeres Migrantes)	
2	Participant of the Night of Religions (La Nit de les Religions)	
3	Participant of the Migrant Women Encounter Group of PDC Sagrada Família (Grupo de Mujeres Migrantes)	
4	Participant of the Museus (Im)possibles | Razas, pueblos, cultures	
5	Immigrant Interviewee from Plaza de Pastrana, El Carmel neighbourhood resident (informal interview)	
6	Immigrant Interviewee from Plaza de Pastrana, El Carmel neighbourhood resident (informal interview)	Perceptions and Experiences of the target groups
7	Immigrant Interviewee from Plaza de Pastrana, El Carmel neighbourhood resident (informal interview)	
8	Participant of 'Memorias Migrantes en el Poblenou' , resident of Poblenou neighbourhood	
9	Non-immigrant immigrant Interviewee and resident from Horta neighbourhood (informal interview)	
10	Second-generation immigrant Interviewee and resident from Horta neighbourhood (informal interview)	
11	Immigrant Interviewee and resident from Horta neighbourhood (informal interview)	