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Conviviality and neighborhood identity: a case study in a superdiverse neighborhood in Barcelona

Convivialidad e identidad de barrio: un estudio de caso en un barrio superdiverso de Barcelona

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Abstract
Conviviality in superdiverse neighborhoods has been studied in Anglo-Saxon and Hispanic contexts; however, few researchers have analyzed the relationship between this and neighborhood identity. The latter is an element of cohesion that can facilitate conviviality. Therefore, this article focuses on investigating the connection between conviviality and neighborhood identity, in a superdiverse borough in Barcelona. A qualitative methodology was used with a case study design, in which neighbors were interviewed through semi-structured interviews, focus groups and a systematic evaluative discussion meeting with the community. A total of 79 people participated in all stages of the research. In this specific neighborhood, the results showed that the relationship between conviviality and neighborhood identity is based on the length of stay of the neighbors and the interaction in neighborhood shops as informal community spaces. But these aspects are also influenced by gender, age, and other elements of diversity. A significant obstacle was the "underground" racism of some native neighbors, which affects conviviality and makes it difficult for migrant neighbors to identify with the borough. These results are discussed based on theoretical aspects and possible practical implications.

Keywords
Conviviality, neighborhood identity, superdiversity, migration, intercultural relations, Barcelona.

Resumen
La convivialidad en barrios superdiversos ha sido estudiada en contextos anglosajones e hispanos; sin embargo, pocos investigadores han analizado la relación entre esta y la identidad de barrio. Esta última es un elemento de cohesión que puede facilitar la convivialidad. Por ello, este artículo se centra en indagar la conexión entre convivialidad e identidad de barrio, en un barrio superdiverso en Barcelona. Se utilizó una metodología cualitativa con un diseño de estudio de caso, en el que se entrevistaron a vecinos por medio de entrevistas semiestructuradas, grupos focales y una reunión de discusión sistemática evaluadora con la comunidad. En total participaron 79 personas en todas las etapas de la investigación. En este vecindario específico, los resultados mostraron que la relación entre convivialidad e identidad de barrio está fundamentada en el tiempo de estancia de los vecinos y la interacción en comercios de barrio como espacios comunitarios informales. Pero estos aspectos están influidos también por el género, edad, y otros elementos de diversidad. Un obstáculo significativo fue el racismo "soterrado" de algunos vecinos nativos, el cual afecta la convivialidad y dificulta la identificación con el barrio de los vecinos migrantes. Se discuten estos resultados en base con aspectos teóricos y posibles implicancias prácticas.

Palabras clave
Convivialidad, identidad de barrio, superdiversidad, migraciones, relaciones interculturales, Barcelona.

Introduction

Most Western societies are currently characterized by the high diversity of their members, not only in cultural origins but also in languages, religions, residence status, among others, what has been called "super diversity" (Vertovec,

2023). These characteristics join other diversities that have previously existed in societies, such as social class, age and gender, making up a mixture that challenges social coexistence (Moftizadeh *et al*., 2022; Padilla and Olmos Alcaraz, 2022).

In this context occurs what Gilroy (2004) calls "conviviality", referring to the contact between people from different cultural origins, which becomes a daily practice and bases an interaction that goes beyond ethnic, racial or cultural aspects. But this "beyond" does not ignore the existence of conflicting interactions in which predominate racism and exclusion but refers to the complexity and ambivalence of intercultural relations, where conflict and cordiality coexist in the daily-life contact (Berg and Nowicka, 2019; Valluvan, 2016). In the Spanish context, the term "conviviality" also denotes this double reference to agreements and tensions in everyday relations (Iglesias and Ares, 2021; Torres and Gómez, 2023), but we consider that the term "conviviality" accentuates the character of "living in difference" (Rzepnikowska, 2018), not only between natives and migrants, but between migrants and other differences such as those mentioned above.[1]

On the other hand, one of the preferred spaces to study conviviality has been the neighborhoods, since there are daily meetings that have an impact on intercultural relations (Verkuyten, 2018). Although in recent years there have been several investigations that focus on conviviality in multicultural neighborhoods, both in the Anglo-Saxon field (Berg and Nowicka, 2019; Neal *et al*., 2019; Wessendorf, 2014a, 2014b) and in the Spanish field (Iglesias and Ares, 2021, Padilla *et al*., 2018; Torres and Gómez, 2023), the neighborhood identity related to conviviality has been less explored (van de Vijver *et al*. 2. 15). The relevance of studying this relationship lies in the fact that conviviality allows the construction of a neighborhood identity based on diversity (Padilla *et al.,* 2018; Wessendorf, 2014a), facilitating the social integration of migrants and reducing community social conflict (Padilla *et al.,* 2018; van de Vijver *et al*., 2015).

Neighborhood identity is understood as a sense of belonging and place identity with the residential context, which involves not only sharing a specific territory, facilities and social services, but also affective ties with neighbors built by proximity and shared socio-environmental conditions (Stevenson *et al.,* 2019; van de Vijver *et al.,* 2015). Following this definition, conviviality contributes to the identity of the neighborhood, since the daily contact between neighbors (part of conviviality), is building the sense of belonging and identity. It also influences the shared history of the specific territory, which occurs over the time (Pemberton and Phillimore, 2018). Hence, the ques-

tion is: Does the arrival of new migrant neighbors modify the identity of the neighborhood? And if it does, in what ways does it do it? Is neighborhood identity a unifying element between "different" neighbors? These questions lead us to the objective of this article, which is to investigate the relationship between conviviality and neighborhood identity, in a neighborhood with superdiversity in the city of Barcelona, Spain.[2]

To contextualize this research, we will briefly describe the context of Catalonia, the autonomous community of Barcelona. Catalonia is historically recognized as a "land of immigrants" (Clua i Fainé, 2011). However, recent migrations, including internal migrations in the second half of the 20th century, have produced some fear to lose the cultural identity by its inhabitants, which is closely related to the Catalan nationalism reemerged in recent decades (Hau, 2016). This nationalism is part of a historical struggle that Catalonia has with Spain, which has gone through different stages, including periods of repression of Catalan identity, such as that which occurred in the Franco dictatorship (Clua i Fainé, 2014). This nationalism has as one of its main expressions, the Catalan language as a sign of identity (Hau, 2016; Parella *et al.,* 2023).

For its part, Barcelona, capital of Catalonia, is a city qualified as a "global city", a mixture of cultures, languages, religions and nationalities, in which different migrations converge, both internal and international (Parella *et al.,* 2023). But, despite the great cultural diversity that characterizes it, racism and xenophobia are important social problems in this city (OND Report, Ayuntamiento de Barcelona, 2023; Parella *et al.,* 2023).

The neighborhood we chose for the research, El Carmelo, is located in the district of Horta, in the outer area of the city. Initially it was an area of country houses, but after the Spanish Civil War, these were reformed and self-constructions began to appear. Then, in the mid-1950s and until the early 1970s, migration from other areas of Spain caused the density of the neighborhood to increase with shanty towns emerging (Navarro i Arquillo, 2021). The lack of basic services, along with the increase in population, made the neighbors organize to claim their rights, which has constituted a sign of their identity (Ayuntamiento de Barcelona, 2023a). The precariousness in which its inhabitants lived together with this demanding spirit, made this neighborhood be seen as "dangerous" by the rest of the city. Today, although these conditions have been overcome, it continues to be seen as such by a part of the inhabitants of the city (Navarro i Arquillo, 2021). However, the socioeconomic level of its inhabitants remains low compared to other neighborhoods of Barcelona (Ayuntamiento de Barcelona, 2023b).

In the 1990s, international migrants started arriving in the neighborhood. Currently, 20.5% of the 32724 inhabitants are foreigners. The main existing nationalities are Hondurans, Colombians, Italians, Peruvians, Venezuelans and Pakistanis (Ayuntamiento de Barcelona, 2023c). This migration, according to our interviewees, began with South Americans, then Moroccans, Eastern Europeans, and Pakistanis. This has diversified not only the cultures, but the languages, customs and religions practiced in the neighborhood. These characteristics mean that the neighborhood can be classified as "super diverse" (Vertovec, 2023), so we chose it to conduct the study. This cultural diversity, along to the current socio-historical context of Barcelona and Catalonia, makes this neighborhood have a strong identity dispute component in relation to Catalanity (Hau, 2016; Rodon and Guinjoan, 2018), constituting a relevant case of study.

However, due to the resources and time of the investigation, we had to limit our analysis to the relationship between indigenous people and a group of Latin American immigrants, since they are the ones who constitute most of the international migrants in the neighborhood, as described above.

Conviviality in superdiverse neighborhoods

The conviviality in superdiverse neighborhoods accentuates its character, since it develops in diverse spaces, with different results (Rzepnikowska, 2018; Wise and Noble, 2016). For example, Rzepnikowska (2018) says that casual street encounters can be more confrontational, however, other spaces, such as those shared by parents at school entrances are usually friendly and cordial. Wessendorf (2014a, 2014b) differentiates between public and private spaces. The author describes public spaces (streets, squares, public transport, shops) as places where people are aware of the difference. In contrast, private spaces, defined as spaces for semi-formal and informal meetings (associations, schools, sports spaces, among others), are places where people are known in their cultural backgrounds, and "sometimes they talk about it" (Wessendorf, 2014b, p. 393). Wise and Noble (2016), point out that public spaces are sometimes transformed into spaces with characteristics of private spaces by the habituality of interaction. Padilla et al. (2018), describe interactions in superdiverse neighborhoods that begin in commercial spaces, and that then evolve in the establishment of mutual knowledge relationships.

But conviviality is not the only factor that influences this situation, so does the time of residence of neighbors, as it increases the likelihood of

everyday encounters (van de Vijver *et al.,* 2015). Another element is participation in community activities, either in associations, in public spaces or in self-convened organizations (Gómez Crespo and Torres, 2020; Neal *et al*., 2019). In the Spanish context, the low participation of migrant neighbors in these activities is mentioned, which hinders their integration into the settlement society (Iglesias *et al*., 2022). However, there are some activities or spaces where intercultural encounters occur in a timely way (Gómez Crespo and Torres, 2020; Padilla *et al.,* 2018). There are other elements that produce affinity between people, such as age, gender, religion or social class (Mompó and Fioravanti, 2023; Padilla and Olmos Alcaraz, 2022).

Conviviality in Spanish neighborhoods has been described rather in terms of coexistence, of "calm, albeit distant relations" (Iglesias and Ares, 2021, p. 20), which are declined more by multiculturalism than by interculturality (Torres and Gómez, 2023). There are elements of specific intercultural coexistence, which vary according to the contextual specificities of each neighborhood (Mompó and Fioravanti, 2023), but everyone agrees that there is an underground low-intense racism behind this coexistence that negatively affects conviviality (Iglesias and Ares, 2021; Torres and Gómez, 2023). This racism mixes phenotypic aspects, such as skin color, hair and other traits, with cultural elements (Hall, 2010; Mbembe, 2016). It is based on the theory of "native advantage", in which natives position themselves in a higher hierarchy in relation to migrants, due to the belief of a "more modern or advanced social status" (Iglesias and Ares, 2021, p. 184). This idea can in turn be explained by decolonial theories (Quijano, 2020), which indicate the existence of a colonial vision that is maintained in the current ideological imaginary, which is based on the hierarchization of cultural groups (Souto García and Ambort, 2021). The "civilizational apex" would be in the cultures originally European, and then expanded to the so-called civilizations of the "Global North." People from other cultures that do not fit into this category are perceived and treated as subalterns, belonging to the "Global South" (Quijano, 2020).

Neighborhood Identity in Superdiverse Neighborhoods

Van de Vijver *et al.* (2015), in a superdiverse neighborhood of a Belgian city, describe a complex hierarchical relationship between different groups of natives and migrants, influenced by the economic status and seniority of the neighborhood. Despite this, they conclude that this environment of marked di-

versity does not necessarily provoke conflicts between the different social identities (national, ethnic, religious), emerging the neighborhood identity as relevant social identity. Pemberton and Phillimore (2018) point out the temporary permanence of the neighbors as an important element to sustain the neighborhood identity, since it allows to form an identity of place and a frequent interaction with the neighbors, dimensions that are part of the neighborhood identity.

Other studies conducted in superdiverse neighborhoods indicate that neighborhood identity connects with diversity, and in this sense, migrant neighbors feel less discriminated against and their sense of belonging increases (Moftizadeh *et al.,* 2022; Pemberton and Phillimore, 2018).

On the other hand, research in Spanish multicultural neighborhoods (Iglesias and Ares, 2021; Torres and Gómez, 2023), mentions social class as a fundamental element in the identity of these neighborhoods, i.e., the current changes that these neighborhoods have experienced have been not only due to cultural origin, but also due to a perception of "declassification" (Gómez Crespo, 2017). Thus, from the traditional "worker subject" who inhabited these neighborhoods, we move to a "precarious, fragmented and diverse" subject, constituted by international migrants and people displaced from other neighborhoods due to the gentrification and touristification of some cities (Mompó and Fioravanti, 2023), hindering community ties and affecting the identity of the neighborhood (Torres and Gómez, 2023). Moreover, international migration in Spain is not as old as compared to other countries. Therefore, in these neighborhoods, greater difficulties are observed to recognize themselves in difference and heterogeneity (Mompó and Fioravanti, 2023).

However, we must consider that social identities are dynamic processes that change according to time and context, redefining belonging and otherness according to the oscillations of power relations between groups and historical circumstances (Hall, 2010; Mompó and Fioravanti, 2023). Therefore, it is possible that different "neighborhood identities" coexist, according to cultural, generational, political orientation, among others (van de Vijver *et al.*, 2015). The above is more relevant in the study neighborhood, given the internal and external migrant origin, and the context of identity dispute in relation to the "Catalanness" mentioned in the introduction.

Materials and method

Research design, techniques used and participants

In this research we use a qualitative methodology, with a case study design, taking the neighborhood object of study as a case (Stake, 2010). We also use some elements of ethnography and participatory research, such as participant observation and the systematic discussion meeting with the community, which are considered as the most appropriate methodological tools to study cultural diversity and conviviality (Berg and Nowicka, 2019).

The techniques and instruments used were: community drift technique (Pellicer et al., 2013); participant observation (Berg and Nowicka, 2019); free and semi-structured interviews with community leaders, community service professionals and neighbors (Flick, 2007; Montero, 2006); focus groups with neighbors (Flick, 2007); and a systematic discussion meeting with the community (Montero, 2006). This diversity of techniques and instruments was due to the characteristics of the research process in a community using qualitative methodology, which requires a gradual and deep approach to this, to know the social phenomenon in its multiple dimensions (Neal *et al.,* 2019; Montero, 2006). On the other hand, this allows to investigate topics that are emerging in the research process and that relate to the objectives set (Flick, 2007). Finally, the diversity of techniques and participants allow to base the methodological integrity of the study (Mendizábal, 2006; Levitt, 2020), referred to the adequacy, foundation and usefulness of the research data.[3]

As for the participants, the different stages of the research involved: six community service professionals, four neighborhood association leaders, 25 neighbors interviewed individually, 13 neighbors in two focus groups, and 40 people in the systematic discussion meeting with the community, making a total of 88 participants. The ages of the participants ranged from 18 to 69 years.

Investigation process: stages

Familiarization: it is the first approach to the community (Montero, 2006), which consisted of different activities, such as readings of reports and statistics of the neighborhood, observations and informal conversations with neighbors in the street, contacts with professionals of the communi-

ty, development plan of the neighborhood, semi-structured interviews with leaders of neighborhood associations and professionals of socio-community services. In addition, the principal researcher participated as a volunteer in a mutual support network of the neighborhood during 2020 and 2021, as part of this process, which allowed her to be a participating observer. The latter becomes important because the researchers do not reside in the neighborhood under study.

Individual interviews with neighbors: in a second stage we contacted neighborhood residents, through the leaders and professionals interviewed in the previous stage, and then through the "snowball" strategy (Barglowski, 2018). We conducted semi-structured interviews with 22 neighbors, 11 migrants and 11 natives, ten men and 12 women, who were asked about community life in the neighborhood, intercultural neighborhood relations and possible changes in contact with neighbors from other cultures.[4]

Focus groups: In a third stage, we conducted two focus groups, one with participants from the individual interviews, and another with new participants, whose objective was to deepen on the main results of the individual interviews. In the first group, six people participated, five migrants and one native, and in the second group, seven people participated, all native, since the objective was to make a sample counterweight of the first focal group. After the focus groups, we conducted new individual interviews with three indigenous neighbors, focused on the issues of cultural identity and neighborhood identity, given that doubts about these issues still persisted.

Systematic evaluation discussion meeting: In the last stage, we convened the community to an open meeting where we discussed the results of the previous stages of the research, what Montero (2006) calls "systematic evaluation discussion." This meeting was attended by 40 people, mostly neighborhood residents, native and Latin Americans (the latter belonging to a community entity), and some professionals of the social services of the district interested in the research who were invited.

Ethical aspects and reflexivity

This study was authorized by the Bioethics Committee of the University of Barcelona [CBUB]. At each stage, participants signed an informed consent, indicating the objectives of the research, the voluntariness of parti-

cipation, confidentiality, anonymity and protection of personal information, as well as the possible risks and benefits of participating. It is also important to highlight that the organization of the first focal group with the same participants of the individual interviews and the systematic discussion with the community aimed to comply with the ethical, methodological and political guidelines that guided this research, referring to the protagonism that must have the people and communities that are part of a social investigation (Berg and Nowicka, 2019; Montero 2006).

As for the reflexivity of the researchers, fundamental to point out in qualitative investigations (Braun and Clarke, 2022; Levitt *et al.,* 2018; Levitt, 2020), it is necessary to note that the cultural origin of the researchers (Latin American and Spanish/Catalan) positively influenced the approach to the community, and enriched the interpretation of the data, as there are different positions of subject that allow an analysis from different points of view (Levitt *et al*., 2018; Piovani, 2018).

Data analysis

For the analysis of the data, we use the reflexive thematic analysis method (Braun and Clarke, 2022), in which the data are organized through readings and re-readings of the material, in codes, sub-themes and topics. Topics are patterns of meaning shared by participants, which are organized around a central concept. We also constantly use a reflexive process as researchers, since this guides the entire research process, including the analysis of data and results, hence this method is called "reflexive" (Braun and Clarke, 2022).

In the data analysis, we obtained a total of four topics in the key informant interviews, five topics in the individual interviews, six topics in the focus groups, two topics in the short focused interviews, and two topics in the systematic discussion with the community (see table 1). In this article we will delve into two emerging issues of these stages: conviviality (which neighbors categorized as "relationship between neighbors of different cultures") and neighborhood identity.

Table 1
Topics established at each stage of the investigation

Interviews with key informants	Individual interviews with neighbors	Focus groups	Brief individual interviews	Systematic discussion with the community the community
History and characterization of the neighborhood	Psychological and cultural changes through contact	Relationship between neighbors of different cultures	Feeling of belonging to the neighborhood and the city	Characterization and identity of the neighborhood
Community participation	Cultural Identity	Racism/ Discrimination in Neighborhood	Cultural/national identity	Strategies for intercultural coexistence
Relationship between indigenous people and migrants	Community spaces for interaction	Contact with neighbors from other cultures: attitude and change		
Acculturation process	Characteristics of the neighborhood context	Cultural identity		
	Adaptation strategies	Community spaces for relationship		
		Characteristics and identity of the neighborhood		

Results and discussion

The results are presented in two categories, "Conviviality in the neighborhood: coexistence of indifference, racism and intercultural encounter" and "Neighborhood identity: the struggling, worker and immigrant neighborhood", which constitute the analytical axes of this article, and which come from the topics "Relations between neighbors of different cultures", and "Neighborhood identity", the result of the thematic analysis of the research data.

Conviviality in the neighborhood: coexistence of indifference, racism and intercultural encounter

In relation to the elements that facilitate and hinder cohabitation, the participants describe three: indifference to the neighbor of another culture, racism and intercultural encounter. This occurs in different spaces and activities, although in some places racism, indifference and encounter may overlap, which agrees with the characteristics of the concept of conviviality (Neal *et al.,* 2019; Valluvan, 2016; Wise and Noble, 2016). Coexistence or indifference occurs mainly in spaces such as the street, building staircases and bus stops. Racism is mentioned in places such as shops, squares, schools and also at bus stops. Intercultural encounters take place in commercial places such as bars, gyms and markets, which subsequently allows for positive interaction in other spaces and activities, such as sports and leisure centers.

Coexistence can be observed:

> I greet any neighbor, but I wouldn't know their nationality, you know what I mean? I mean, they are [from another country] because I hear their music or whatever, and I greet them naturally. But I don't take this relationship any further. (EA4, Andalusian neighbor, individual interviews)

However, this type of interaction is common in neighborhoods with cultural diversity, but it is typical of contemporary individualist societies, which tend to fragment the individual and the community (Rodríguez and Montenegro, 2016), and thus hinder social cohesion (Montenegro *et al.,* 2014).

On the other hand, situations of underground racism that constitute an obstacle to cohabitation are also reported (Iglesias and Ares, 2021; Torres and Gómez, 2023). And pointed out, this happens in spaces that require coexistence or encounter, such as the bus stop:

> This girl who said this happened at the bus stops (…) That there were many ladies who were very racist. And I, you know I doubted it, 'I think this girl is exaggerating'. And one day I went to the bus stop with another girl, and it happened! (…) they look at you, and I think it depends on how you are dressed (…) Or how you go… I was looking over there, and my friend was here, and the lady was also here. And I heard that she told my friend 'shitty immigrant' (…) And I say, 'oh, it's true what the girl said!' (P3, Bolivian neighbor, Focal Group 2).

The latter shows a direct racist attitude. It is also inferred that indigenous people differentiate migrant neighbors not only by cultural origin, but by aspects that denote social class or educational level ("depends on how you are dressed, or how you go"), at an intersection of discrimination. In this specific case, we also see that the time of permanence, as a factor that helps in conviviality, is not enough. According to what was explained by this same neighbor later in another activity in which the principal investigator participated, both she and her friend have spent a similar time in the neighborhood. She also expanded on her explanation of the event, adding: "it's also because I'm blonde and she's not, she's more brunette, she was dressed differently, and for all that they look at you differently" (informal conversation, research field newspaper, June 24, 2022). "Being blonde" and "being brunette" more clearly alludes to aspects of race and skin color, but racism also involves cultural factors, being a mixture of both (Mbembe, 2016). The decolonial perspective explains the construction of these social hierarchies, related to phenotypic and cultural aspects, in elements of colonialism that continue to this day (Quijano 2020). This can be seen in the following quote:

> t I've also heard in recent years that Latin Americans have increased, that Andalusian emigrants have allied themselves with Catalans. So 'we are Spaniards' or 'we are Catalan', but 'the neighborhood is degrading because of these people'… (P1, Catalan neighbor, Grupo Focal 1)

In the previous quote, the expression "we are Spaniards" as opposed to "these people" who degrade the neighborhood, gives an account of this coloniality. In addition, the construction of the other as inferior, putting himself/herself in the position of "native advantage" (Iglesias and Ares, 2021), allows externalizing in these "others" the difficulties of the neighborhood and placing himself/herself in a higher rank. This ethnifies social conflicts, which in fact have their roots in economic, social and political structures (Hall, 2010; Torres and Gómez, 2023).

In spite of the above, interstitial spaces of intercultural contact can be found in neighborhoods with super diversity in which a sense of community is built. And these are usually informal spaces (Neal *et al.,* 2019; Rzepnikowska, 2018). Interactions can also begin in public spaces and then continue in other spaces, which allows the extension of conviviality in other areas (Padilla *et al.,* 2018). As one interviewee comments:

> A group of people from the bar asked me, 'where are you from?' 'I am Uruguayan', 'and I am Argentinian' (…) and I say 'hey, you are good at making barbecues', 'yes, let´s meet one day, 'Sunday can be', 'come, go' (…) Yes, at the bar, there we watch soccer, I am not that fan of bars but hey, I like to watch the games (…) there I met them and I started to have a relationship (…) I have Colombian, Argentinian, Uruguayan, Ecuadorian friends, from all over the place. (EA11, Catalan neighbor, individual interviews)

The bar, in this excerpt, exemplifies a space where it is possible to meet the other in conditions that facilitate more horizontality (leisure space, more informality), with shared interests (football and barbecue in this case) and that is glimpsed as the beginning of a conviviality in superdiverse neighborhoods. This quote is also an example of how other elements, such as gender, age, religion or social class, connect with this super-diversity and may have more relevance (Mompó and Fioravanti, 2023). In the previous quote, we see that gender influenced leisure activity (football, barbecue), which allowed conviviality.

Neighborhood identity: "the struggling, working-class and immigrant neighborhood"

Regarding neighborhood identity, participants mention one dimension which is the sense of belonging. As for its characteristics, it is described as a "fighting", "working" and "immigrant" neighborhood. And some local residents also point to a sense of "loss of identity" of the neighborhood, in relation to what it once was. We will look at this in more detail below.

The dimension of sense of belonging of neighborhood identity (Stevenson *et al*., 2019) arises spontaneously in the narrative of the participating neighbors, mainly natives, but also in some migrant neighbors. An element related to this dimension is the time spent in the neighborhood, which allows to establish connections between neighbors and build a common neighborhood history (Iglesias and Ares, 2021). A Latin American neighbor who has lived in the neighborhood for more than 10 years points out: "the truth is that I feel at home, I feel in my neighborhood" (EL10, Bolivian neighbor, individual interviews). However, as pointed out above, the time of permanence as the only factor that allows a positive contact with the indigenous neighbors is not enough, since it intersects with other elements that can help or hin-

der coexistence and therefore the sense of belonging and identification with the neighborhood, such as racism and social class (Iglesias and Ares, 2021).

On the other hand, a particular element of the identity of El Carmelo mentioned by several participants is its "fighting" character, which is linked to the history of claims of the neighborhood. This is related to the socioeconomic origin of its former inhabitants (Navarro i Arquillo, 2021): "people used to struggle a lot, [the neighborhood] has a very powerful associative root (…) it is still a working-class neighborhood … but not as fighter as before" (IC2, socio-community service professional and neighbor, interviews with Key Informants). "At the same time we see the neighborhood [as] a struggling neighborhood" (participant community discussion).

This aspect of neighborhood identity ties in with stories of precarity and social class. Carmelo is defined as a "working class neighborhood" (participant IC2), which means that social class is an element that remains in its identity. Although the social trajectories of some of the former neighbors have changed, the new neighbors have heterogeneous trajectories, sometimes descending, which allows them to continue identifying themselves as a "working class neighborhood". And the neighbors relate this characteristic to the old social movement of the neighborhood, although currently this is not so present for them ("fighter, not so much", participant IC2). This is linked to community participation. From a long-standing broad and inclusive participation, we now move to a limited, timely and selective participation: those who participate are native neighbors from a certain age.

Another relevant aspect mentioned is the cultural diversity of the neighborhood, associated with the migrant character of its neighbors: "it is not new for us [cultural diversity], because El Carmelo has always been an immigrant neighborhood and always will be" (participant of community discussion). In this quote, an identification as "outsiders" or "foreigners" to the geographical and cultural environment ("immigrant") predominates, which is related to the history of internal migrations of the inhabitants of the neighborhood. This accounts for the otherness that occurs in this specific context, in Barcelona, Catalonia and "Catalanness". In this sense, an underlying element is the identity of "otherness" forged in internal migrations and as a consequence of Catalan nationalism (Clua i Fainé, 2011, 2014), expressed in that it is a neighborhood in which Spanish is spoken. It is a common factor with new migrants, but a common factor of "exclusion identity": "I am from El Car-

melo because I do not feel part of Barcelona". In fact, one of the interviewees comments on this feeling of feeling "second class Catalan":

> And it bothers me a lot when I'm not considered Catalan. Let's see, I mean, in quotation marks, like a second-class Catalan (...) my parents have lived here since they were 16 years old, and they are 75 years old. In other words, they have already earned the Catalan status. And that I was born here, I am Catalan, i.e., it is my land. (EA8, Catalan neighbor, individual interviews)

However, this feeling of exclusion is not seen as a common factor with international migrant neighbors, since the vision of "inferiorized otherness" of these migrants remains (Mbembe, 2016; Quijano, 2020), as we exemplified in an earlier quote.

On the other hand, the gentrification and touristification of some Spanish cities affects the identity of the neighborhood (Mompó and Fioravanti, 2023), which we could observe in some former neighbors, who are no longer recognized in their neighborhood:

> The neighborhood changes, because the people, the children, for example my brothers now live somewhere else, the children have gone to live somewhere else, and so on. So, these houses have been occupying with outsiders. So, the neighborhood is multicultural now… but before there was a sense of neighborhood (…) I mean, this identity is being built, because it is happening now. We have to build it… (P4, Catalan neighbor, Focal Group 2)

In this quote, the affectation of neighborhood ties is observed as a consequence of the gentrification process of other neighborhoods (Di Masso *et al.,* 2022), but in this case it also affects the arrival of foreign migration ("the neighborhood is multicultural now, but before there was a sense of neighborhood"). However, in this quote there is also the element of future projection, the re-construction of the neighborhood's identity, giving the possibility of re-building a new identity that includes the newcomers ("I mean that this identity is being built, because it is happening now").

Conclusions

According to the results, the relationship between conviviality and neighborhood identity in El Carmelo can be found in two elements: the time of

permanence of neighbors of different cultural origins and participation in informal community spaces, mainly neighborhood shops, which allow greater intercultural contact. Although we can outline a third element, halfway between the migrant identity and the social class, it is not something that is observed by the neighbors of the neighborhood. This is related to an obstacle of conviviality found in our research, as well as others (Iglesias and Ares, 2021; Torres and Pérez, 2023): "underground racism".

As for the time of permanence, we can see it in the neighbors, natives and migrants, who have lived longer in the neighborhood, who feel "at home". Time gives the possibility of establishing more interactions between people in different parts of the neighborhood, while at the same time reducing the fear of the unknown that neighbors of different cultural origins can produce (van de Vijver *et al.,* 2015). In other words, the "unknown becomes known", and this helps in conviviality and, in the medium and long term, in the construction of the identity with the neighborhood (Stevenson *et al.,* 2019). However, this element interconnects with others, such as social class, "race", gender, age, which can constitute aspects that consolidate a sense of belonging or perpetuate exclusion (Padilla and Olmos Alcaraz, 2022), as happened with a neighbor at the bus stop.

In relation to participation in community activities and spaces, although there is little participation of the migrant neighbors, when this happens positive results occur. As Wessendorf (2014b) refers, in these activities people are "known in their differences", but also in their common aspects. What happens in this neighborhood is that most of this participation happens in spaces such as the bar or the market, instead of associations or other formal spaces. And unlike other neighborhoods in the city, the squares or doors of schools are not spaces that promote interculturality, according to what was pointed out by some *participants.* Therefore, conviviality occurs in these commercial spaces, producing a relationship (Padilla *et al.,* 2018). This allows to feel identified with the neighborhood: "as in my house", in terms of a Latin American neighbor. Due to the low formal community participation, these spaces can be thought of as places that project a neighborhood identity.

We highlight the equality of conditions between natives and migrants ("clients") that allows being in a similar status, favoring intercultural contact, as explained by Allport (1954/1971). There are also spaces in which contact develops more naturally, less "patterned" than the activities of the associations, and there are spaces where neighbors, natives and migrants go during

their free time, or in usual activities such as buying products at the market or in greengrocers. For this reason, neighborhood shops become relevant, not only as commercial spaces, but as community and identity spaces, so they must be supported by public and local administrations, in a link between economic and social policies for superdiverse neighborhoods.

As for the possible third element, the common factor we observe is the migration stories, linked to social class and resilience. This apparent heterogeneity can have a meeting point in the migratory histories of the old and new neighbors, and in the "fighting character" mentioned by them, symbol of individual and community resilience. However, this is not visualized in this way by the native neighbors, who tend to place themselves in cultural difference and indifference to the other.

This could be explained, in part, by an aspect that crossed all the stages of the investigation, which is "underground racism" (Iglesias and Ares, 2021; Torres and Pérez, 2023). As seen, attitudes of native advantage are maintained based on coloniality (Quijano, 2020; Souto García and Ambort, 2021). This can be contested through intercultural meetings in informal spaces, or through community activities with diverse participation, based on specific needs and interests (Montenegro *et al*., 2014). However, these articulations are not limited to cultural origin, being important other elements such as gender, age, sexual diversity, among others (Padilla and Olmos Alcaraz, 2022; Vertovec, 2023). We observe this in the example of the participant who, through meetings in the bar, formed bonds with migrant neighbors in other activities and spaces later, gender being an important factor in this case.

The latter also leads us to discuss the existence of "a" neighborhood identity. If there are "multiple diversities," there could be "multiple neighborhood identities." This is because identities are fluid and situated processes, according to the context (Mompó and Fioravanti, 2023). In this neighborhood there could be, for example, the identity around migration and cultural diversity, as we have argued in this article, but also a neighborhood identity could be formed in which the central thing is the generational, or the recognition of sexual diversity, as it already happens with the annual activity called "FOK del Carmel" (Ayuntamiento de Barcelona, 2023d), which contributes to this neighborhood identity.

However, we recognize as a limitation of our study, not addressing diversity more broadly, for example, with migrants from other cultural backgrounds, or delving into aspects such as religion or age, which is part of the definition

of super-diversity. Therefore, our recommendation for future research is to consider the intersection of these aspects, incorporating the intersectional approach as part of the methodology of diversity study (Padilla and Olmos Alcaraz, 2022; Vertovec, 2023). Finally, we also recommend continuing to investigate the possibilities of the identity transformations of the superdiverse neighborhoods, as suggested by a native neighbor, which could allow a greater inclusion of the diversities and contribute to intercultural conviviality.

Notes

1 Another reason relates to the fact that the translation of the term "coexistence" into English does not denote the interactive and dialogical intention that exists in the concept "conviviality" (see Wessendorf, 2014a and Rzepnikowska, 2018). Therefore, conviviality allows us to share a common language with researchers from the Anglo-Saxon field.

2 This article is part of the doctoral thesis of the first author, whose objective was to investigate the acculturation process between indigenous people and Latin American migrants in a neighborhood with super diversity in Barcelona.

3 The diversity of techniques and instruments also relates to the fact that what is presented in this article is part of the first author's doctoral thesis. Therefore, several topics were investigated, including those presented here, which required this methodological diversity and allowed a greater deepening.

4 Since it is part of a broader research on acculturation, this was one of the main topics investigated. Acculturation refers to changes that occur when being in contact with people from other cultures.

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