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Citation

Watson, Sophie (2016). Making multiculturalism. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 40(15) pp. 2635–2652.

URL

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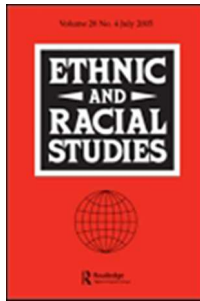
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Making Multiculturalism

Journal:	<i>Ethnic and Racial Studies</i>
Manuscript ID	RERS-2016-0325.R2
Manuscript Type:	Original Manuscript
Keywords:	Multiculturalism, Conviviality, Cosmopolitanism, City, Migrants, Public Space

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Manuscripts

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3 Making Multiculturalism.
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13 Abstract

14 Urbanists seeking to undermine or challenge pessimistic accounts
15 of prevalent racism and anti-migrant feeling in cities have
16 articulated and mobilised discourses of everyday multiculturalism,
17 cosmopolitanism, multicultural drift, rubbing along and
18 transculturalism. This paper, through a range of ethnographic
19 methods, explores these notions in a locality of Camden, North
20 London, arguing for the notion of 'making multiculturalism' as a
21 way of emphasizing how everyday multiculturalism is situated and
22 plays out in specific local socio-cultural and historical contexts. In
23 so doing it considers the extent to which the locality follows the
24 perceived trend in many globalized cities towards the acquisition of
25 habits or capacities for diverse individuals to share space with
26 relative harmony and tolerance. Second, it seeks to explore what
27 are the elements and components of everyday multiculturalism,
28 cosmopolitanism or conviviality assembled in this space. Third, it
29 asks the question - how are these multicultural settlements
30 disrupted and fractured?
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49 Keywords

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52 Multiculturalism, Conviviality, Cosmopolitanism, City, Migrants,
53 Public Space
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3 Urbanists seeking to undermine or challenge pessimistic accounts
4 of prevalent racism, dystopia, fear of strangers, dissonance,
5 hopelessness, urban anxiety, have sought to mobilise different
6 and less pessimistic accounts of co-existence of different others
7 in the city, drawing on a rich terrain of theoretical work, as well as
8 empirical studies to support their claims. In this vein discourses
9 of everyday multiculturalism (Wise and Velayutham 2009),
10 cosmopolitanism (Noble 2013; Kendall et al.2009), multicultural
11 drift (Watson, & Saha 2013), conviviality (Gilroy 2004; Amin
12 2008), rubbing along (Watson 2006), transculturalism (see Meer,
13 Modood and Zapata-Barrero 2016) have been articulated. Each
14 denotes different framings of an urban world that is not as divided
15 or segregated on racial/ethnic grounds as some politicians, the
16 media, and also theorists would have us believe. This is not
17 simply an academic endeavor or gesture, rather, for many it is
18 seen as a political strategy to reframe and refute negative
19 discourses which in part construct the very world that they aim to
20 describe. Fear breeds fear, and anxieties breed anxieties, as it
21 were, with often-disastrous effects: the unknown stranger
22 becomes the cause of all evil (Kristeva 1991). The referendum in
23 Britain on the EU, and the ways in which migration was deployed
24 by the leave campaign as a politics of fear and xenophobia is a
25 case in point.

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49 As a contributor to these debates, I was motivated by a concern
50 with how much the current swathe of Islamophobic and anti-
51 migrant expressed sentiment in the public sphere, described real
52 shifts on the ground or was having detrimental effects on the
53 micro-politics and textures of urban localities where many people
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4 across different ethnicities, including white, live and work side by
5 side. The locality selected for such an enquiry was an area that
6 had revealed growing tensions, resentments and nostalgia for an
7 idealized and romantic past of a homogenous community some
8 ten years ago, as long-term residents witnessed a rising number
9 of migrants from South Asia, parts of Africa and the Middle East
10 (Watson and Wells 2005; Wells and Watson 2005). The area,
11 often referred to as Queen's Crescent which is the market street
12 bisecting its heart, in the Gospel Oak ward of the London borough
13 of Camden, has a particular socio- spatial arrangement that is
14 unusual amongst studies of inter-cultural, trans-cultural or multi-
15 cultural mixing ((Wise and Velayutham 2009, 2014; Noble 2013;
16 Hall2015;Hall,King,and Finlay 2016). Though similarly inscribed
17 by complex local and transnational crossings and settlements, it
18 is bounded by some of the richest housing in London, recently
19 designated the super-rich by Webb and Burrows (2015).
20 Observing the changes over the last decade as a local resident,
21 with careful attentiveness to material, visual, physical signs and
22 shifts, and casual conversation on the street (see Back 2015), my
23 initial sense was of an apparent growing and 'successful'
24 everyday multiculturalism as described by the contributors to
25 Wise and Velayutham's (2009) edited collection. However, I was
26 curious to examine this impression in more depth, and excavate
27 what might lie beneath the surface, or not, of the apparent
28 harmony.
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52 There were three specific research questions that motivated the
53 research. First, to what extent did the locality follow the perceived
54 trend in many globalized cities (Khoo 2010; Radice 2009) towards
55 the acquisition of habits or a capacity for diverse individuals to
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3 share space with relative harmony and tolerance – variously
4 termed conviviality, cosmopolitanism and/or everyday
5 multiculturalism. For Gilroy (2004) convivial culture describes the
6 lively everyday interaction of ordinary people of different
7 ethnicities in parts of British cities, where the notion of conviviality
8 moves away from fixed notions of race and identity. Watson
9 (2006) grounds this concept in the everyday and often fleeting
10 encounters between different others in the interstitial spaces of
11 the city, while Wise and Velayutham (2014) put the term to work
12 empirically by asking what is its texture, consistency, content and
13 what practices, dispositions and ideas underpin it?
14 Cosmopolitanism, for Noble (2013, 167), eschewing its
15 application to a privileged elite offers a way of ‘reorienting
16 debates about the formation of dispositions that are conducive to
17 convivial intercultural relations’, but he extends this rather abstract
18 formulation to the notion of ‘cosmopolitan habits’ which he sees
19 as a ‘web’ or ‘an assemblage of feelings, attitudes and practices
20 that coalesce as a disposition’ (168). This can only be
21 understood, he suggests, (see also Kendall, Skrbis, and
22 Woodward 2009) by analyzing the situated conduct of humans.
23 Everyday multiculturalism is defined by Wise and Velayutham
24 (2009,3) as the ‘everyday practice and lived experience of
25 diversity in specific situations and spaces of encounter’. Each of
26 these terms inflects and informs the notion of making
27 multiculturalism deployed here.

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52 My second research question is what constitutes the elements of
53 these terms and to suggest the line of argument that emerged-
54 how is everyday multiculturalism, cosmopolitanism or conviviality
55 made and what are its components? Third, what is the
56 assemblage of forces fracturing these achievements in living
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3 across differences in the city that many of us want to celebrate,
4 defend and encourage?
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9 This research was based on a range of ethnographic methods
10 committed to Back's (2015, 821) notion of 'cultivating a
11 sociological sensibility (which) allows us to remark on what is
12 otherwise passed over as unremarkable'. Twenty local people
13 were selected for interview who represented key positions in the
14 community including the Chair and Secretary of the Queen's
15 Crescent Community Association (QCCA), the council officer for
16 the market redevelopment, the manager of the local library, the
17 heads and governors of the local schools, the editor of the
18 Kentish Towner, a local architect, the Chair of the community
19 garden, the police, the Chair of Gospel Oak ward, members of the
20 residential associations, the leader of the mosque. Several
21 shopkeepers and traders representing a range of businesses from
22 tailoring, grocery, halal meat, to the newsagent, off-licence and
23 fruit and vegetables were also interviewed. All interviews were
24 transcribed. In addition a focus group was held with the local
25 police group, police were accompanied on the beat, I participated
26 at several community meetings and events, and visits to the area
27 over several years, including on market days, were recorded in
28 diary notes.
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Introducing Queen's Crescent.

Queen's Crescent? It's a microcosm of society. Darian – mini cab driver.

Queen's Crescent describes the part of Gospel Oak ward, which is bounded by Prince of Wales Road on the Southern end, Mansfield Road on the Northern end, Malden Road on the West and Grafton Road on the East, dissected in the middle by the Crescent itself which contains the market and main shopping area. The ward is predominantly made up of social housing (50%), with 28% owner occupation, and 20% private rented and 2% shared/other accommodation (Census 2011) constituting the remaining half. In the 1960s row upon row of old terrace housing was torn down to make way for housing that was seen as cutting edge and ahead of its time, winning architecture prizes for its designs (Young 2016). By the 2000s much of the housing was

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3 run down and dilapidated, used by Camden council to house the
4 large number of migrants and refugees accepted into the
5 borough. These estates are bordered by terrace housing which
6 has become increasingly gentrified over the last two decades,
7 with average house prices in 2016 well over £1 million. The
8 locality itself is cut off from the rest of Kentish Town by the
9 railway, with only one road entering the area from the main high
10 street.
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21 A report by the Gospel Oak partnership (2016) points to the
22 relative deprivation of the area that contains the two most
23 deprived LSOAs (geographical areas of around 1500 people used
24 for processing data) out of a total of 133 LSOAs in Camden.
25 Nevertheless there is a great disparity between the wealthiest and
26 the poorest parts, for which the Index of Multiple Deprivation
27 indicators reveal both income and employment deprivation in the
28 Queen's Crescent part, where older people and particularly
29 children are disproportionately affected. Estimates in mid-2011
30 suggest 43% of children in Gospel Oak are living in poverty.
31 Fewer people of working age in Gospel Oak are economically
32 active compared to national figures.
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46 The Gospel population has a white majority (56.0%). Of the
47 minority ethnic groups, the largest group is Black. 10.0% of
48 residents identify themselves as being from a Black background
49 (of which most are Black African), 9.2% from an Asian
50 background (largely Bangladeshi) and 4.0% from a mixed
51 background. 3.5% describe their background as Chinese or
52 Other. Reported crime rates are low (60 per 1000 persons,
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3 compared to 399 per persons in Holborn) dramatically reduced
4 from a decade earlier through concentrated police strategies and
5 local activism, as we see shortly. Nevertheless the image of the
6 area remains highly negative, particularly in the local press. A
7 letter to the Camden New Journal from Chris Fagg, chairman of
8 Gospel Oak Safer Neighbourhoods Citizens Panel, to the local
9 newspaper described a packed *'public meeting of Gospel Oak
10 residents (which) condemned negative reporting on Gospel Oak
11 by the Camden New Journal, and supported their local police
12 team..., Kiln Place residents in particular were outraged by the
13 tone of the CNJ report which seemed to suggest that local
14 policing was invisible. They had nothing but the highest praise for
15 Gospel Oak Safer Neighbourhoods TeamFar from the CNJ's
16 preferred image of a deprived ward shivering in fear, the meeting
17 showed Gospel Oak to be a thriving community, fully able to
18 tackle its challenges with vigour and confidence'* (Camden New
19 Journal 2016).

40 Making Multiculturalism.

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43 In next part of the paper I argue that everyday multiculturalism,
44 intercultural conviviality and urban cosmopolitanism, not only
45 need to be explored in specific urban contexts to tease out their
46 complexities as many writers have sought to do (for example, the
47 edited collection by Wise and Veluyatham, 2009), but also that
48 these describe situated settlements that are assembled and
49 precarious, and open to disruption and fracture. Through the
50 research in this apparently successful multicultural space, as
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3 articulated by all the respondents as the dominant narrative, I
4 hoped to explore how multiculturalism is made, and what
5 processes contribute to its fracture.
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10 *Habit*

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14 A recent special issue of *Body and Society* (2013 19(2&3))
15 explored the resurgence of interest in the subject of habit.
16 Following Noble (2013), I suggest that the notion of habit might be
17 useful in thinking through how intercultural conviviality as living
18 with differences – works in practice in particular places. There is
19 a considerable literature on habit that Bennett et al. (2013)
20 examine in their introduction to the issue, from which I draw
21 several points of relevance here. The shift from a
22 Cartesian/Kantian to the Ravaisson-Bergson-Deleuze way of
23 thinking represents a shift from seeing habit as ‘automatic,
24 unthinking repetition’ and a ‘negative counterpoint to the
25 processes of self-making’ to a conception of habit where ‘human
26 history, culture and freedom emerge out of capacities for change
27 and adaptation that humans share with other forms of life, and
28 indeed, with matter’ (Bennett, Dodsworth, and Noble 2013, 7). For
29 Grosz (2013), in the same volume, this allows a more creative
30 view of habit that is open-ended and dynamic, looking to the
31 future and its multiple possibilities rather than consolidating
32 patterns established in the past. This allows for the possibility that
33 entrenched negative responses and behaviours of already
34 existing populations to newcomers-often embedded in nostalgic
35 renditions of an idealized past (Watson and Wells, 2005, Wells
36 and Watson 2005) might be differently configured. Noble (2013)
37 usefully explores
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3 such an idea through proposing the notion of 'cosmopolitan
4 habits' which are the practices and capacities that people develop
5 for living with differences in the city – 'the routinized "civic virtues"
6 of intercultural life'. He thus argues for an observational
7 methodology that attempts to understand how these civic and
8 cosmopolitan virtues are enacted and performed in specific sites.
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17 Turning to Queen's Crescent, what new habits and practices
18 amongst the longer established mainly white residents, had
19 emerged as the area diversified, and what were the indicators of
20 openness and change in Queen's Crescent? Let us consider
21 Larry's grocery store which extends onto the street on market
22 days to a stall selling predominantly cakes and biscuits. The shop
23 was established following the Second World War by the current
24 Larry's father, and has been staffed almost exclusively by
25 different family members all of whom live locally. Larry, father and
26 son, have prided themselves on selling good low-price products
27 that are competitive with the local supermarkets. When I first
28 encountered the shop, it had a very traditional cheese and meat
29 counter (blue cheese and sliced ham were its most exotic
30 offerings), and sold an extensive range of traditional 'English'
31 goods from tins, biscuits, flours and packet juices to toiletries and
32 household goods. As Larry pointed out- it never sold newspapers
33 or fruit and vegetables, since they did not want to compete with
34 their old friends Bill the newsagent, and Jack of the fruit and
35 vegetable stall. When the area started to change with
36 gentrification at its borders, and in-migration of people from Asia,
37 Africa and the Middle East, it wasn't trendy foods catering to the
38 new middle classes that appeared on the shelves, instead an
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3 extensive range of rice, lentils, spices, sauces and pickles
4 gradually pushed the more traditional English foods from their
5 primacy of place. As a result the shop is always full of a diversity
6 of shoppers from the locality and beyond, where they encounter
7 friendly greetings from Larry and his family. As Larry (interview
8 2 February 2016 said

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11 *People want to come and live here, don't they? Have a better life.*
12 *You can't blame them really. Where a lot of them come from they*
13 *haven't got nothing...They all come in here. I mean a lot of them*
14 *have been here, their mother and fathers are here so the*
15 *daughters were coming when they were little babies some of*
16 *them, now they're grown up with kids and I know all their kids.*

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28 Larry's strategy to include more diverse foods in his shop as the
29 local population changed has contributed to a shift in the
30 dispositions of those around him. In this sense changing matter –
31 food- in this site has opened up possibilities for new intercultural
32 convivial encounters and habits across differences, which has
33 effects on the local community more widely.

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As Sharma– a local Asian born resident- said: *everyone goes*
there- they are welcome in burkhas. Everyone loves Larry.

Such conduct relates to another way in which situated
multiculturalism is made. Hall and Smith (2015) have evoked the
notions of urban care and repair (following Thrift 2005) and,
drawing on Plummer's (2013) exhortation to sociologists to look
for utopia in small daily acts of empathy and justice, to suggest
that a politics of hope can be grounded in small everyday
practices of everyday kindness and repair in the city. Using the

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3 example of street cleaners and outreach workers for the
4 homeless (Hall and Smith 2015) point to the importance of not
5 only acts of physical repair but acts of social repair also, which
6 have the potential to open up possibilities for a renewed politics of
7 hope. Larry's small acts of modifying his stock to reflect the
8 diversity of consumers, signaling an acceptance of difference,
9 could perhaps be seen in this light. So also might the initiatives in
10 the library (Pete interview 25.02.2016)) where the children's
11 library is given over to a homework club, through the
12 rearrangements of the space and computers, for the poorer and
13 more excluded (often Somali) mothers and children. Another such
14 space is the Dome that was built specifically as a sporting centre
15 for young people. These acts of urban repair, care and kindness
16 are, nevertheless, inscribed and enacted in relations of power,
17 where some people can choose to perform them, while others
18 cannot.
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36 The research in Queen's Crescent revealed a third dimension of
37 how multiculturalism as situated everyday practice is assembled-
38 and that is the role of state institutions and their representatives.
39 Crucial in this environment were the police and the schools. First,
40 the police. In the mid-2000s, Queen's Crescent had an infamous
41 reputation as a site of violence, drugs and crime, born out by the
42 police reported crime statistics, and promulgated through the
43 press. An Observer article (2000) detailing a killing in the locality
44 described the extreme effects of the replacement of the traditional
45 economy with a drug economy on '*Queen's Crescent market,*
46 *which is almost landlocked by railway lines and road-blocks..Ron..*
47 *told me about an old neighbour and schoolmate of ours who was*
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3 *jailed a couple of years ago for the murder of another local in*
4 *what was described as a disagreement over drugs. Before the*
5 *case came to trial, the main witness, who refused police*
6 *protection, was also shot dead. Jesus, I thought, that's the kind of*
7 *thing that happens in The Sopranos, not Kentish*
8 *Town...."Queen's Crescent has become a no-go area,' said*
9 *another former resident".*

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17 This image of the area as dangerous, violent and drug fueled
18 persisted through the first decade of the century, constituting a
19 perception that inward migration had contributed to its decline. In
20 a letter to the Camden Journal Celine, secretary of the
21 Haverstock Ward Safer Neighbourhood Citizen Panel referred to
22 the alarm amongst local residents at the growing number of
23 serious attacks on shopkeepers and residents and the 'totally
24 unacceptable anti-social' behaviour, except amongst the police
25 themselves (CNJ 2006). Sharma, a local resident and
26 campaigner around many local issues including 'local safer
27 neighbourhoods' (interview 21.03.2016), described the
28 atmosphere:
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41 *I can pinpoint the time when things were going really, really bad.*
42 *That was in 2004/2005. I noticed ... I'm half-Indian and I was*
43 *always very brown in the sun.... I remember coming out of my*
44 *house and just feeling very ... certain white elements would look*
45 *at you and.... I just felt like they were more antagonistic towards*
46 *people who weren't white.*

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54 From 2008 a series of new strategies were initiated involving the
55 appointment of new police to the area to work with key
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3 individuals, of whom Sharma was one. One initiative was to
4 increase police presence locally as a route to getting to know the
5 community and to becoming involved in local activities, such as
6 bike workshops for teenagers. As a result reported crime figures
7 fell. Sharma:
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14 *I could tell the sergeant, I could talk and then I could make a*
15 *complaint. I had an argument with an inspector on the phone, he*
16 *wouldn't have it any other way and I said no this is wrong. 'All I*
17 *can do is apologise.'*
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22 Jim (interview 30.01.2016) is the main constable for the area. He
23 described the different strategies for local policing from Safer
24 Neighbourhoods to the more proactive neighbourhood policing
25 team. From this interview, a focus group with three other police, a
26 walk through the neighbourhood and a day shadowing, it was clear
27 that the strategy to be involved on the ground, had produced both
28 detailed local knowledge, and strong connections between the
29 police and different members of the community, which had
30 contributed to the reduction in recorded crime over several years
31 (which reflect some shift, even if reported crime statistics should
32 be subject to some scrutiny). Jim:
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45 *Two-and-a-half years ago.... the youths that were 16 then were*
46 *hanging on the streets, up Weedington Road, and were a visible*
47 *pain in the bum. Two years later they've moved on, they've*
48 *moved on very fast. Our process is about nipping those guys in*
49 *the bud and not letting them get control of little areas and streets*
50 *because they really do think they control it once they get hold of*
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3 *it, and it's very hard to let them go. For me on team it was through*
4 *the power of the law.*
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8 Of relevance to the argument here, was Jim's insistence on the
9 lack of racially based abuse and crime in the locality, the
10 misplaced use of the notion of Islamphobia, and the difficulty of
11 changing the entrenched image of the area as unsafe and riven
12 with division. Jim:
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18 *Right, well the demographics haven't changed. They're exactly*
19 *the same. There's more migrants actually. It makes me laugh that*
20 *... it's just individuals getting on with their bloody daily lives out*
21 *there... Well the perception doesn't seem to have changed. I*
22 *find it quite irritating to be honest. I can't nail it down. ... if they got*
23 *a handle on the market and it was better, it would break that*
24 *barrier that people from there (across the notional borders) might*
25 *come here instead of bugging off up Highgate to some farmers'*
26 *market, but there's the invisible barrier to walk past from their red-*
27 *brick Victorian places into grey, austere, sixties shitty rat-*
28 *runs.....I'll bring in the hate crime stats – we haven't bloody got*
29 *any. Why? We haven't got any!*
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43 *And finally: I really dislike this Islamophobia. I don't see any*
44 *problem going on. Other problems, and it's across all cultures with*
45 *all age groups. There's no ripping off of burkas and I'll tell you*
46 *what, if there's a ripping off of burka in here... if someone makes*
47 *an allegation of a crime...I'll go and get a crime report. If it's a*
48 *hate crime, no matter what type, I have to immediately inform the*
49 *Chief Inspector.*
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3 The significance of statutory institutions was not restricted to the
4 police alone. The two primary schools, Carlton and Rhyl, played a
5 different, but equally important role. According to the head
6 teachers (interviews 4.05.2016) tolerance of cultural difference
7 was core to the curriculum, and any talk or actions considered
8 racist by students, was squashed immediately. Saura- a school
9 governor at Rhyl drew attention to the positive impact of these
10 practices imparted from the children at school back to their home
11 environments. Non- government organisations in Queens'
12 Crescent played an equally important role in making everyday
13 multiculturalism. Here the Queen's Crescent Community
14 Association, an independent charity founded in 2002, was
15 particularly important, running youth programmes, language
16 classes, lunch clubs for older people (mainly white), sports
17 activities and employment services, which according to Mehmet
18 (interview 16.03.2016), its director, were accessed by a diversity
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37 *We got funding from everywhere to make sure that young people*
38 *were having a safe space and engaged in positive activities. The*
39 *problems the young people had and the reason why they were*
40 *out on the street is because they had nothing to do. Out on the*
41 *street they were exposed to different groups of young people,*
42 *they were exposed to different things - be part of a gang or get*
43 *into dealing drugs or get into crime, that was the only things to do*
44 *on the street. If they weren't, they would be a victim... I think what*
45 *we did was create an environment where they actually didn't have*
46 *to be part of that and so they were exposed to different kind of*
47 *positive workshops around guns, around crime.. raising*
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3 *awareness around what their rights were, because sometimes*
4 *black young people particularly were victimised by the police and*
5 *we started telling them what their rights were and I think that*
6 *helped them a lot.*
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11 Of equal importance also have been the many voluntary
12 organisations associated with particular ethnic groups, such as
13 the Somali women's association, which are increasingly at risk of
14 closure as the impact of the cuts to local authority expenditure
15 take effect.
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22 *Materiality, Infrastructure and design*

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26 Strategies to promote and enhance interaction in public spaces
27 are not new. Sennett's (2010) call for flexible boundaries as
28 opposed to borders spaces designed to translate Jacobs' (1961)
29 notion of eyes on the street to create safe spaces, or lower tech,
30 banal designs, rather than over specified high tech designs
31 (Lownsborough and Beundermann 2007) have long been
32 proposed to encourage community cohesion and inter-ethnic
33 interaction (ibid, 13). Sharma (interview 16.03.2016) recognized
34 this:
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43 *They wanna reduce the area, they wanna make less walkways*
44 *but they don't understand in their idiotic, simplistic minds the more*
45 *you build up and enclose, the less people are gonna keep an eye*
46 *on what's going on down on the ground, right? This is what*
47 *happens and it's been proven.*
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55 Fortier (2010, 18) takes this further in questioning the ways in
56 which the 'community cohesion agenda relies on strategies of
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3 governance that seek to design particular kinds of behaviours
4 such as mixing, which are imagined to be neatly dispatched if the
5 design conditions are right. In this research, the materiality of the
6 space also mattered; several respondents emphasized the
7 problems associated with segregated spaces of the 1960s urban
8 designs the one hand, or the potentialities of certain more open
9 public spaces of convivial inter-mixing such as the market on the
10 other. The police were particularly attentive to the negative
11 aspects of particular spaces:
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22 Police focus group (22.02.2016)

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24 *Wending itself is OK but the way it was designed in these*
25 *fantastic sixties designs is not good for us, the way it links on. It's*
26 *a pain in the arse, the architecture round here. It's such rat runs...*
27 *we can't get police cars in there.*
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34 Bob (journalist Kentish Towner interview (29.01.2016) explained
35 the persistence of the (negative) image of the area in terms of its
36 impermeable boundaries- the railway track on one side and the
37 two main roads on the North and South ends of the locality.
38 Negative affect, distrust, fear and antagonism, expressed in a
39 study of the area over 10 years ago (Watson and Wells, 2005,
40 Wells and Watson 2005) was articulated through the trope of
41 feeling trapped and cut off- as mirrored in the lay out of the
42 streets- but these feelings appeared to have dissipated by 2016.
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52 Finally, the infrastructure of the Queen's Crescent shopping street
53 bears many resemblances to the transactional economies which
54 assemble local/transnational network occurring in marginalized
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city streets (Hall,King,and Finlay 2016). In her study of the
migrant infrastructures streets in Birmingham and Leicester Hall,
King, and Finlay (2016 2) found a richness of urban livelihoods
which emerged from the 'complex interplay of constraints and
circumventions', that translated into a dynamic and changing city
space, constituted in relations of subordination and resistance.
Hall,King,and Finlay (2016) identifies the textured ways in which
the translocation of dispositions and spaces from different parts of
the globe recombine in new sites to form diverse economics and
new urban migrant infrastructures which meet diverse needs of
the local populations. In these processes, she suggests, the
economic, social and spatial processes involved cannot be
separated but are mutually implicated and enacted in daily
transactions. What is offered is 'a partial promise to the
newcomer, a space of relative autonomy and invisibility, to obtain
a foothold in the city' (15).

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These same processes are evident in Queen's Crescent. As an
indicator of diversity- 44 languages are spoken at the local school,
Rhyl, (head teacher interview). Though impossible to evidence in
this research, the diversity of languages heard on the street is
remarkable. In the last decade, the number of white English
owned shops has declined dramatically, as halal butchers,
vegetable and fruit shops and cafes take their place. A particular
infrastructure, where shops rent out the pavement space for the
erection of makeshift tables for the display of goods, constitutes a
further informality of the sector, where migrants with minimal
capital can construct a new business. These are spaces where
the commerce and trade enacted is constituted by, and
constitutive of, intermingling on an hour-by-hour basis. On every

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3 street visit, the shops were full of customers, and shoppers and
4 traders were engaged in chat, banter and laughter. A description
5 of this as a cosmopolitan and convivial space would be hard to
6 dispute. One Afghan fruit seller (interview 02.02.2016) when
7 asked his view of the street said:
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14 *Nice, good place. Friendly people. I like it here. Friendly*
15 *people, no argument too much. ... Different nationalities,*
16 *Bengalis, most of them is Bengalis and Somalis. The*
17 *white people are most friendly...They have good manners.*
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23 A similar socio-demographic shift has occurred at the Thursday
24 and Saturday markets where the traders have shifted from a white
25 majority to a very diverse group of Bangladeshi, African, and
26 Middle Eastern people. This street market has thrived and
27 declined in succession over the last decade, following strategies
28 of investment or neglect. The most recent initiative to run the
29 market and to build it up from a bedraggled row of stalls, was
30 undertaken by the Queen's Crescent Community Association in
31 2014, who offered free pitches for 3-6 months for startups,
32 training support, and the provision of infrastructures- tables,
33 electric points. For two years, the market flourished under their
34 management, with an impressive mix of stalls selling organic
35 bread and fish, to Indian take away food and cheap household
36 goods. But a decision by the council not to renew the contract led
37 to its immediate deterioration once again in late 2015- a decision
38 which arguably diminishes the opportunities for inter-cultural
39 conviviality.
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57 Unmaking multiculturalism- Fracturing conviviality.
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5 Inter-cultural conviviality is a precarious settlement that can be
6 fractured with frightening speed when conditions change. As
7 witnessed repeatedly in recent years, a terrorist attack carried out
8 by an individual or group identified as Muslim, can destabilize an
9 urban environment formerly characterized by easy 'rubbing along'
10 or everyday multiculturalism, and be deployed by forces of
11 conservatism to shore up racist views and strategies. I have
12 argued so far that once it is 'held' in place, everyday
13 multiculturalism requires active maintenance, attention and
14 engagement, a reconstitution of entrenched habits and a politics
15 of urban kindness (Hall and Smith 2015), which will be different in
16 each and every context. This calls on urban researchers and
17 activists to attend to the potentialities for rupture, for fractures, for
18 disruptions to what may seem unremarkable - the ebbs and flows
19 in the textures of daily urban life. These may be specific to a
20 locality, and most often are, or suggest wider socio-cultural trends
21 that can undermine what seems to be settled in place.
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40 Though the research here revealed that an everyday
41 multiculturalism had been constituted and held in place through
42 different actors in Queen's Crescent, which would have been
43 unimaginable just a decade earlier, it also revealed emerging or
44 hidden vulnerabilities beneath the surface. This research
45 identified three rather different ways in which the apparent
46 multicultural harmony might be threatened. First is the question of
47 culture, and how this concept is understood and mobilized with
48 particular effects. In her book '*Multiculturalism without Culture*',
49 (2007) Phillips discusses the homogenous and reified versions of
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3 culture that are deployed by dominant groups to describe different
4 ethnicities, and thereby to hold them in place as 'other'. Ang
5 (2014, 1188) develops this idea to argue, in the context of
6 Chinese identity, that we need to analyse how 'changing historical
7 circumstances, geopolitical relationships and social and political
8 locations' shape the variables associated with such identities.
9 Though racist comments of the kind made in earlier studies of this
10 area were absent (Watson and Wells, 2005, Wells and Watson
11 2005) nevertheless, unwittingly respondents make particular
12 associations between people of one ethnicity and their imagined
13 culture, which is both drawn from their experience, but also
14 sometimes assumed on the basis of hearsay. Talking about the
15 community garden in Bassett Street, whose committee he chairs,
16 Roberto- a Spanish resident who defines himself as one of the
17 white middle classes, had distinct notions about the 'culture' of
18 the older Bengali women who did not see the value of the garden
19 in terms of collective ownership or community building (a point
20 reinforced in an interview with Saura). This was his account:

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It was built by local residents and people who walked passed, saw that it was happening and wanted to join in but by the time that it was nearly finished people started appearing that wanted growing spaces even though they hadn't done any work. They all happened to be Bengali. It caused tension on one day because basically what happened is that all the wooden frames had been already allocated, all were filling in growing bags with soil and they would do it themselves to claim. They would take a bag, put it there, put a bag of soil there and put names like, 'This is mine.'... It's the older generation of the Bengali community. Our

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3 *generation, like my generation, younger, they want to live*
4 *according to British values but older generations that don't even*
5 *speak the language,... Well the main problem is stealing. There's*
6 *this issue with private property understanding, and cheating.*
7 *There is one plot per household. They will try to get as many as*
8 *possible.*

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16 *Last time we had a collective action day ... I knew that they*
17 *wouldn't show up unless I said something so for example I wrote,*
18 *'We're going to receive soil... We are gonna do it on the action*
19 *collective day. If you're not there you're not gonna get soil for your*
20 *box.' I wrote that because I knew there would be no volunteers*
21 *unless they thought it was something for them to gain. So they*
22 *showed up.*

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30 Clearly Roberto is describing events that took place. My point
31 however, following Phillips (2007), is that once observed and
32 articulated, there is a danger that notions of culture become fixed
33 and hard to shift.

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39 This ossification and homogenized version of culture as applied to
40 specific ethnicities, connects with my second point which draws
41 on Philippopoulos-Mihalopoulos (2015) contention that justice is
42 always spatialised. This is helpful for thinking through the notions
43 of everyday multiculturalism, conviviality and cosmopolitanism
44 also. According to this conception of spatial justice, the fact that
45 people can't cohabit in exactly the same space, means conflict
46 arises between bodies that are moved by a desire to occupy the
47 same space at the same time. This is ultimately also a question of
48 power. In their efforts to counter discourses of racism, everyday
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3 multiculturalism, conviviality and cosmopolitanism are terms
4 which can sometimes appear as evacuated by power. Yet as
5 anyone involved in the debate is all too aware, people do not rub
6 along as equals, since they come into the public sphere with
7 greater or lesser capacities to act, capacities which are articulated
8 in relations of inequality and difference, which may be marked by
9 gender, class, race, age, disability and other such divisions
10 (Watson, 2006; Iveson, 2007).

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18 What emerged in this research, I suggest, is a different kind of
19 spatial justice, not one about bodies wanting to occupy the same
20 space at the same time, rather, what might be called a discursive
21 justice, where some voices feel entitled to be heard- have 'air
22 space' to coin a phrase- while others do not. I am not referring
23 here to the act of speaking on behalf of one's community to
24 represent their interests –sometimes in ways that are distinctly
25 gendered (Phillips 2007). Rather I am referring to the sense of
26 entitlement to speak about others, to make judgments or
27 observations, which only some members of the community feel
28 authorised to do. This sense of entitlement is imbricated in
29 relations of power. In this research my concern was to explore
30 who could mobilise negative and excluding discourses about
31 others? For 'true' conviviality no one representative of a group
32 would be more able to speak in negative terms about another- or
33 at the very least, there would be some reciprocity – each would
34 feel empowered to do so. It is difficult to disentangle the effects of
35 being a researcher from a majority social group, which
36 undoubtedly would have its effects. Nevertheless, the
37 interviewees who were long term residents, usually white, felt able
38 to comment on other people's cultures and habits, in ways that
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3 were not found in reverse. What was striking was that not one of
4 the Muslim people interviewed, including the secretary to the local
5 mosque, shopkeepers and traders, or active community members
6 like Mehmet of the QCCA or Saura the school governor, made
7 negative comments about white people, or about the way they
8 were treated by others in the locality (with the exception of Saura
9 referring to the mid-2000s). Whereas, as alluded to earlier, the
10 'white' respondents both made comments which defined other
11 people's cultures, and were more able to articulate local,
12 contradictions or ambiguities. This is a question of power, both in
13 the sense that some people from the Muslim community feel
14 disempowered from speaking or raising their concerns to
15 strangers, on the one hand, and because white people are often
16 seen as individuals, while minorities are imagined as
17 homogenous 'groups' whose 'cultures' are 'fixed' (Bonnett, 2008),
18 and where 'complex stories and individuals [are reduced] to single
19 narratives and an undifferentiated group (Garner, 2012,460)

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38 Jim's comments are illustrative:

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42 *'You can see the Muslim mainly Somalian who keep themselves*
43 *very much to themselves, it's quite hard to break into that. I've*
44 *actually got a tasking off the Chief Inspector to integrate them a*
45 *bit more. It's difficult. Just down to the culture. They want to talk*
46 *between themselves. There's obviously a massive language*
47 *barrier amongst lots of them especially the women. I have my*
48 *own thoughts on it. I don't believe in a lot of that women sit this*
49 *side, men sit that side, ... we seem to think it's perfectly alright ...*
50 *it's not.*
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Back to Queen's Crescent.. the Islamic community, they don't bloody talk to each other! The old Bengali guys don't talk to the old Somali guys and never the twain shall meet from what I've been hearing. Absolutely different cultures and we just go and stick a big Islam thing and say that is Islam community, and this is where the sneaky ones come in the middle and go, 'I speak for the Islamic community.' What you on about?

They're not anti-police ..a lot of them are just ... decent people, but it's that obviously cultural barrier is just big. We can have as many training sites as you want ... you're still a bloke in a uniform and a bloke in a uniform in their country generally hits them on the head for not queuing in a straight line, or shoot them.

The third threat to intercultural conviviality (far easier to evidence) is the regeneration of the area. Between November 2015 and January 2016, Camden council enacted a public consultation on the regeneration of the Gospel Oak ward, the results of which included more open space, improved street environments and housing quality, safety, expansion of the mosque, extended youth services and support for the library. Despite the initiative, private public partnerships and development are rapidly making incursions on the commercial and housing space of the locality. As Robin of the QCCA explained, despite agreements for a certain proportion of social housing, in the majority of the developments, such as in Vicars Road, the bulk of the units are private selling at over £1 million- 'there's no concept of what they are doing to the community'.

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3 Robin (interview 24.05.2016): *I think there's an element of class*
4 *cleansing. Gospel Oak is ... if you look at the health inequality*
5 *between those across Mansfield Road and those on this side of*
6 *the ward.. People here die 12 years earlier than those who die*
7 *across the road, and I think you're going to see a massive change*
8 *in that. It's an NW5 postcode, it's close to Hampstead Heath, so*
9 *even if you compare the house prices between the two it's about*
10 *£300-400,000 difference between them, so once you've*
11 *redeveloped it and you put those fancy homes, it's going to bring*
12 *it around to what the rest of the area is. So for the developers this*
13 *is a perfect cash cow.. it's a goldmine*

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26 And Sharma *What regeneration? That's not regeneration. The*
27 *council want a carte blanche now, they want a clean way through*
28 *to putting as much public land and property into private hands.*

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33 David (interview 22.3.2016), a local architect, pointed to another
34 trend in development following central government changes in
35 permitted development which he suggested 'means development
36 which doesn't require planning consent'. For him the most
37 detrimental London- wide shift has been from commercial space to
38 residential space:
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46 *'The Enders Lane workshops.. these are all classic 19th century*
47 *blocks that should be different kinds of commercial use, providing*
48 *a very high density of jobs because that arrangement pulls in lots*
49 *of different businesses and kinds of workers, which then supports*
50 *retail economy - places like Queen's Crescent.. so that's going or*
51 *has gone from this area..the community investment programme is*
52 *a slippery eel..its meant to be about the backlog of*
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3 *maintenance..the crudest part is it involves a lot of sell offs..they've*
4 *done a show of reasonable governance so you've identified a*
5 *whole set of properties that are surplus to requirements.. and then*
6 *you sell them into an overprices property market and some of the*
7 *sites are workspace'.*

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14 At the micro end of the scale, but also detrimental, are Larry's
15 negotiations to sell his shop to Tesco to gain himself ' time to go
16 fishing' after a working life that began at 6 in the morning and
17 ended at 7pm at night. As Phillip of the QQCA (01.06.2016) put it:
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25 *Tesco's is moving in and the area's gonna change now because*
26 *once Tesco's moves in you're gonna then see other chain stores*
27 *or cafes, Costa and ... they will move in because the estate is*
28 *changing. You can see there's a lot of regeneration going on. The*
29 *percentage in terms of affordable housing is low and the council's,*
30 *according to their staff they've promised 50% but it's looking less*
31 *than 5% of social housing within those new developments and the*
32 *rents in the council housing have increased as well!*

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41 What these comments support is my argument that the physical
42 and social infrastructures underpinning the everyday
43 multiculturalism that has been constituted over many years are in
44 the process of being dismantled, through a drive for profit in the
45 capital's residential sector.
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51 52 53 Conclusion 54 55 56 57 58 59 60

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3 In conclusion, I have sought to argue that multiculturalism as a
4 category for sociological inquiry has to be interrogated in its
5 specificity and context. Multiculturalism is made not given, and its
6 emergence and continuity is precarious, unpredictable, partial and
7 contingent. The locality selected for the study was Gospel Oak, a
8 traditional white working class area in Camden, North London,
9 where a diversity of people have recently assembled from
10 different parts of the world and are embedded in complex
11 transnational and cultural networks. The concern was to explore
12 how differences were being negotiated at a moment when
13 discourses of anti-migrant sentiment were widely circulating in the
14 public sphere. It sought to unpack how what appeared to be the
15 'successful' enactment of multicultural and intercultural practices
16 was made, and held in place in this locality, on the one hand, and
17 how such conviviality might be fractured. For me this is an
18 important political question, as anti migrant sentiment fuels
19 populist parties across Europe and beyond, and measures to
20 restrict the movement of refugees and migrants at borders are
21 increasingly restrictive and inhumane.

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40 Through an exploration of everyday life, this article explored how
41 'successful' everyday multiculturalism, intercultural conviviality,
42 and cosmopolitanism unfolds and settles in the day to day
43 textures of learned habits and their disruptions, sometimes
44 unremarkable acts of urban and social repair, in the policies and
45 practices of institutions, and in the particular material and design
46 infrastructures of place. The research confirmed the initial
47 impressions of the area as a 'successful' multicultural space,
48 where multiple populations rubbed along in apparent harmony.
49 Respondents drawn across diverse ethnicities, including white,
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3 reported few racist incidents or practices in the locality, neither did
4 they make racist comments themselves (in contrast to studies of
5 this area over a decade ago (Watson and Wells, 2005, Wells and
6 Watson 2005). However, the article also revealed that this
7 multicultural settlement was vulnerable to fracture, through
8 entrenched notions of culture where notions of ethnicity and
9 associated cultural practices were homogenized, through
10 relations of power, and through policies of urban regeneration and
11 development which were transforming the area in the interests of
12 private profit.
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23 In conclusion, this article has argued that urbanists concerned with
24 everyday multiculturalism might usefully adopt the notion of
25 making multiculturalism as a route to exploring and unpacking
26 what processes and practices hold a multicultural settlement in
27 place (or not) in specific socio-cultural contexts, thus drawing
28 attention to the active way in which multicultural spaces are
29 constituted, maintained and negotiated. It has done so in the spirit
30 of what Lancione (2016) refers to as a 'micro-political effort, a
31 minor theory' which is crafted to push our understanding of
32 received categories further. As such it has also contributed to a
33 now well-established and important set of literatures within
34 sociology, geography, cultural studies and other disciplines, which
35 extend and expand our understandings of multiculturalism,
36 intercultural conviviality and cosmopolitanism. In a world where
37 these are under severe threat from right-wing currents and politics
38 across the globe, it is increasingly important that academics take
39 such endeavours seriously.
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