Local Community, Mobility and Belonging

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Abstract

The purpose of this article is to pose some theoretical questions to the relations between local community, mobility and belonging. In continuation the methodological implications of the theoretical debate are discussed. The article also outlines different perspectives on local neighbourhoods, recent developments in the understandings of mobility and local communities, and presents different theoretical views on local belonging. These questions highlight the necessity to discuss and investigate two overall narratives in social theory about the connection between space and social relations. Namely, 1) that social relations in the late modern society has been lifted from a local geographical context and restructured in a global context, because individuals' attachment to geographical place has been eroded. 2) We want to question the traditional assumptions connected to socio-economic segregation labelling the marginalised groups as contained in local neighbourhoods, while ascribing freedom and reflexivity exclusively to the middle and upper classes. The study of local communities in urban environments has a long tradition in the science of sociology and it is concluded that revitalizing and methodologically updating the classic Chicago school of sociology can create a productive approach to the study of local community, mobility and belonging.

Keywords
Belonging, local community, neighbourhood, mobility, place

Introduction

What are the conditions of local belonging in the contemporary Danish society? To explore this, we challenge the prevalent sociological analysis of Late Modern Societies, which implies that social relations and geographical space have been increasingly separated. Contemporary society has been diagnosed as influenced by fast changing processes of globalization creating complex interdependencies between individual and communal relations. Moreover, contemporary society is characterised by speeding technologies of mobility apparently lifting the individual from local bonds. It has become an almost indisputable fact that individuals' attachment to geographical place has been eroded. The assumption is that social relations and communities increasingly are to be found among people who live geographically separated. One might say that individuals' attachment to one specific locality is considered to be a leftover from an uncivilized past, while

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the individual of the late modern and civilized world is conceptualized as a geographically untied and unconstrained individual.

The purpose of this explorative article, then, is to raise some questions to the way the connections between local community, mobility and belonging have been understood theoretically, and following from this to argue for the need for further research into the differentiated connections between geographical space and social relations. We end the article with a short discussion on how to develop a methodological design, which makes it possible to investigate the following hypotheses. That the character of local communities varies from neighbourhood to neighbourhood and between urban and rural areas, and that some of these variations are connected to the question of residents' mobility and to their feelings of belonging to their neighbourhood. Further, that it is important to investigate *how* resident resettlement connected to family upheaval and everyday mobility in various ways influence feelings of belonging and the character of local community. Moreover, that the traditional assumptions connected to socio-economic segregation labelling marginalised groups as fixed in places, while ascribing freedom and reflexivity exclusively to the middle and upper classes can be challenged.

Why focus on local neighbourhoods?

The issue of the local has been reinvigorated in theorisations of globalisation processes, time space distanciation (Giddens 1994, Harvey 1990), neoliberal restructuring of global capitalism (Swyngedouw & Baeten 2001, Jessop 2000), and new social movements (Crow 2004). In this article we focus on the local scale. While we acknowledge the perspective on the local scale as a temporary product of socio-spatial power struggle (Brenner 2000), our starting point is people's interaction with their localities in their everyday life, everyday mobility and everyday communal interactions.
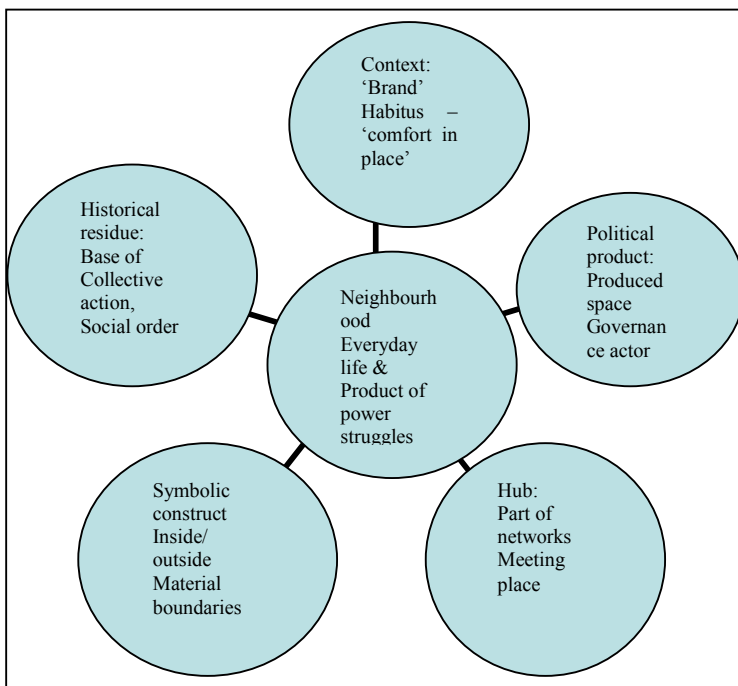
As a point of departure to discuss some of the ways in which the importance of the local neighbourhood are revoked and reinterpreted, we use Savage, Bagnall and Longhurst's (2005) outline of the local as context, historical residue, a hub in a network and as bounded construction. In the following we shortly discuss each of these perspectives on the importance of local neighbourhoods, and we have added what we see as an important point about the local as a political product (see figure 1).[1]

Figure 1: Different perspectives on local neighbourhoods

The local as context

The local neighbourhood plays an important part in most people's everyday life as it consists of everyday mundane routines and mobility on a small scale in, out, and around the neighbourhood (Forrest 2004). The local context is, therefore, important for the quality of our lives and for life chances. This relates not only to the quality and type of housing available in the local context, but also to access to local services, such as banking, medical treatment, food supplies and local transport. More broadly, it relates to the physical, social and symbolic capacities of the neighbourhood; for example, the condition of housing, forms of tenants, character of local social networks, as well as the image of the neighbourhood as a symbolic resource in the development of forms of social identity (Fallov 2006). It is also as a context that the neighbourhood becomes packaged and branded, for example, in relation to insurance and estate agents as a safe, secure and family friendly neighbourhood.

The neighbourhood as a context for life chances and social identity can be related to Bourdieu's notion of habitus. Savage, Bagnall & Longhurst (2005) interpret Bourdieu's notion of habitus as embodied dispositions, which necessarily are territorially located. They relate, therefore, Bourdieu's point about feeling 'comfortable in place' to geographical locations. We think they are in danger of conflating social space and geographical space in their interpretation. There is no doubt that social space, understood as the relational positioning of different compositions of capitals in relation to the logic of various fields (Bourdieu 2005, Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992), is closely interwoven with actual relations between different geographical territories and relates to struggle over actual geographical localities. The feeling of belonging in local neighbourhoods is closely related to the correspondence between habitus and the habitus of fellow residents, thus on the possibilities of positively drawing on local resources as sources of distinction. At the same time, the struggle over stakes of distinction actively co-produces local neighbourhoods, since the search for distinction have both material sources and material output. To conflate social space and geographical space limits the horizon for the analysis of how each of the elements of material, geographical, social and symbolic space contributes to the complex practices of constructing and construing local neighbourhood (Sayer 2004). Habitus is constituted partly by the dispositions driven from habitat but cannot be directly translated to the latter. However, we concur with Savage and co-authors of the usefulness of the notion of habitus as a 'generative grammar' for understanding belonging, as it draws attention to both reflexive and non- reflexive practices embodied in place as part of such struggles.

The local as political product

The political debates and the metaphors mobilised in planning discourses are co-producers of the local neighbourhood (Vigar, Graham & Healey 2005). In its most concrete sense the neighbourhood is politically produced through the decision on administrative borders regarding local authority services, school availability, and local electorates. Likewise, the history of planning is a history of producing and transforming neighbourhoods. In the post war decades in most Western societies, the need for housing and renovation of the inner city led to the spread of urban areas with the inclusion of suburban areas. New neighbourhoods were built along ideas of what constitutes a good neighbourhood in the 'welfare city'; good quality housing with room for the nuclear family, access to green areas, and possibilities for individualisation. Therefore, local neighbourhoods are something that is produced in accordance with the dominating ideas of the

good home and the good neighbourhood in different periods. However, as Ærø (2002 and 2004) argues, residents do not always choose their homes after preferences that resonate with political ideas, people moving into the semi- attached planned local communities, for example, have not all preferences for taking any active part in their new communities. Hence, the analysis of public planning discourses cannot alone explain the interrelations of belonging and local community.

The local as historical residue

The local neighbourhood is also constituted as part of a defensive reaction to contemporary fast moving and dislocating processes, which are, or conceived to be, out of the hands of local communities (Castells 1996). Collective organisations of local neighbourhoods are visible also in middle-class valuations of the local environment as part of their reflexive residential choice. An example of this is the growing NIMBYism, where organisations are formed around localised and more introvert issues, for example, around school or hospital closures, or the exportation of local drug addicts (Jørgensen & Mølholt 2007, Butler 2008). Common to these local communities is that they are based on communal identities which are localised, reproduced by local face to face meetings and supported by localised symbolic codes.

Politically there has in recent decades been a re-mobilisation of local communities as integrative mechanisms to secure social cohesion, reproduction of social norms and social control. This political remobilisation is partly originated in considerable political concern about growing inner-city poverty and social exclusion, an agenda that is often mixed with alarm over ethnic unrest and increasing segregation of social housing estates. The political answer has in many European countries been area-based approaches, legitimized through the notion of area-effects[2] (Atkinson & Kintrea 2002, Skifter Andersen 2003). These approaches emphasise joined-up local governance, local ownership and the development of local social capital (Fallov 2010, Blokland & Savage 2008). They are often combined with increasing pressures for ethnic integration (assimilation) through citizens' tests and language courses. Common to these political approaches is the interpellation of nostalgic conceptions of the close-knit neighbourhood community with high-levels of face-to-face interaction (Pløger 2002). They result in constructions of local neighbourhoods that emphasise homogeneity and cohesion, neglecting questions of the historical accuracy of such places.

The local as hub in a network

Another debate concerning local neighbourhoods is related to the 'network city'. This debate has threads to the spread of urbanisation and the undermining of the difference between urban and rural hinterland in a globalised era. Cities are here understood as polycentric, and as a set of interlocking networks stretching beyond the local to include the region. This idea is related to theories of global cities (Sassen 1991, 2000, Storper 1998) where the global scale is constituted through hierarchical networks of cities and localities, which compete with each other over more privileged positions in the network. Here local neighbourhoods are conceptualised in terms of their position in relation to global flows[3]; as hubs for these flows, as bridges between central localities in the networks, or as marginal places that global networks pass by (Castells 1997, Urry 2000). The network city is related to theories of the transformation and rescaling of governance involved in the regulation of global neoliberal capitalism (Jessop 2002, Mayer 1995, Brenner & Theodore 2002, Jones & Ward 2002). Local neighbourhood based actors have to re-orientate themselves in relation to networks of governing bodies on several scales influencing the direction

of change and development in their neighbourhoods. Moreover, they are often requested to become active in their own governance (Fallov 2010).

The local as a bounded construction

What should be clear from the above is that there are many and often competing conceptualisations of local neighbourhood depending on the theoretical perspective. This underlines that neighbourhood besides being a geographical location is a symbolic construct, and that various symbolic constructions compete to leave their material imprint on local places (Lefebvre 1991). The success of one or the other depends on the interplay of social forces overlaying local places. The importance of the local neighbourhood is dependent on the on-going boundary drawing work in relation to its constitutive outside. 'Neighbourhoods are inherently what they are because they are opposed to something else and derive from other, already produced neighbourhoods' (Appadurai 1996: 182-183). Neighbourhoods are 'porous' places (Massey 1994), they can no longer be defined in terms of its internal history, or enclosed social relations. Rather, they are 'meeting places' and 'can be imagined as articulated movements in networks of social relations and understanding...' (Massey 1997: 322). Hence, the identity of place for its residents depends on constructions of what the place is not or which groups of residents belong. Such imaginary boundaries draw on, and map on to, other boundary drawing work relating to class, gender and ethnicity, and are also used by policy makers and governors in their constructions of the neighbourhood as governable objects. Not only social divisions are involved in these symbolic constructions, but also historical events, and geographical fix points which demarcate 'natural' centres, such as community centres and churches, or boundaries, such as roads, rivers and train lines.

Summing up the above discussion we can say that in order to understand how local neighbourhoods influence everyday life and the possibility of local communities we have to examine the multiple and complex ways that material and symbolic dimensions of neighbourhoods interact. One of the avenues of doing this is by researching how locality and local relations are shaped by mobility.

Mobility and local communities

Mobility was already in the Chicago School an important aspect in understanding the urban context and Park and Burgess (1925) pointed at two interrelated mobility dimensions: Firstly, mobility was seen in relation to the individual, depending on gender, age and the individual's disattachment from close relations such as family, kin, local community and religious communities. Secondly, mobility was seen in relation to the amount and character of the contacts and stimuli attached to the individual's surroundings, which is particularly related to the patterns of mobility in everyday life and the development of networks of contacts. Also, Simmel regarded modern city life as providing a sensory overload and that this acceleration of stimuli resulted in anxiety (Simmel in Cresswell 2006). Park & Burgess (1925) saw the mobility of the urban population as a double-edged sword. On the one hand mobility was the foundation of growth and modernisation (anabolic processes), but on the other hand a phenomenon, which, was it to accelerate too much, could cause social disorganisation and social dissolution (katabolic processes). Simmel and the Chicago School evoke mobility to refer to the change between traditional or premodern to modern (urban) life. Such perspectives on mobility as threatening the

moral fabric and the importance given here to local places for social order rest uneasy with the more nuanced and complex perspective on place outlined in the previous section.

In the last decade, the social sciences have been increasingly interested in the impact of mobility on our understanding of contemporary social life, particularly how we are to understand social life in place. Predominantly, John Urry (2000, 2007) has asserted the need for a mobility paradigm. The velocity, speed, amount and character of contemporary mobility necessitates a new way of understanding social life, which entails a break with the dominant a-mobile concepts of society and place that characterise social sciences. We need a more movement-oriented sociology, Urry argues, which recognises the importance of movement and mobility for social life, and therefore, moves away from a social science oriented around face-to-face relations. However, the perspective of mobility represented here is not one of free agency. Mobility has to be viewed in relation to immobile systems, which make mobility possible, such as systems of transport, of behavioural regulation, safety systems and information systems (Urry 2007, Adey 2006). Moreover, mobility is dependent on platforms of 'anchorings' and 'moorings' and these spaces are forming the materiality of particular neighbourhoods and condition our social relations within and between them.

The main argument that we adopt from mobility studies is that mobility has to be understood as more than the question of access to mobility or moving from A to B. Cresswell (2006) argues for a nuanced view on mobility as both centre and margin, as creating freedom and anxiety, as well as possibilities and restrictions. Lately mobility theorists have pointed to the importance of how mobility works as stratifying principle and pointed to how the mobility of some groups rest on the immobility of other groups (Bauman 2002, Skeggs 2004). Larsen, Urry & Axhausen (2006) argue for adding the concept of 'network capital' to Bourdieu's conceptualisation of stratification, referring to the capacity to engage in and sustain social relations at a distance and to the combination of access to mobility and the networks that people can tap in to. Thus, it is a way to conceptualize access to social capital across distances. Mobility has to be understood as a co-producer of identity, reflexive identity work, and of culture and norms in the every day life (Jensen 2006).

At the same time, this involves a change in our gaze on place and locality. Taking the significance of mobility seriously involves a change from focusing on place specifics, or how mobility characteristics change places, to focus on mobility as practice, as ideology, and as symbolic work. Neighbourhoods as localities must be seen in relation to the networks of mobility that pass through them and link them to other localities, and the meaning and identity work involved in the acts of moving in, through and between localities. Thus, the connection between social relations and locality is partly determined by their links to mobility. To understand what characterises people's rootedness in places we have to take into account their routes to and within places and the meanings and practices involved in both.

To adopt this perspective on the interconnectedness of mobility and belonging means that researching local belonging entails more than counting access points to mobility infrastructure, or aggregate information on the network capital of local residents. This perspective points to a design that allows for gaining access to *how* people attach different meanings to local neighbourhoods in and through engaging in different ways of performing mobility. Concomitantly

with a design that includes the reverse perspective, namely how local neighbourhoods are shaping residents' potential for moving both materially and symbolically.

Local communities in late modernity

Recently, many theorists, not only in urban sociology but also in social theory in general, have made considerable efforts to introduce the term 'space' discarding the 'city' concept. Within certain circles the new term has enjoyed wide currency stressing that social relations are separated from geographical space. Apparently, this new view divides theorists at the macro and micro level. In the following we give an account of the social-geographical conceptualization of the relation between space and social relations given by theorists of the late modernity. They can, as table 1 show, be divided into two main groups: (1) those who present an optimistic diagnosis and (2) those who promulgate a pessimistic view; the latter involving a sub division into critical pessimists and moral pessimists.

Theoretical Perspective	Visions for local communities in late modernity
Optimists: Anthony Giddens, Barry Wellman, Claude Fischer	Inside and outside the city social relations are separated from space including local spaces; Social integration takes place in all directions across geographically boundaries, locally, nationally and internationally; As a whole social integration has not decreased. However, it takes different form and travels longer distances.
Critical pessimists: Manuel Castells, Saskia Sassen, Zygmunt Bauman, Richard Sennett	Social segregation, disintegration and inequality are consequences of globalization and internationalization (spaces of flows and spaces of places in the network society of the information age, the glamour zone vs. the war zone, the exterritorial's flight from community, the flexible labour market undermining various form of community and loyalty).
Moral pessimists: Amitai Etzioni	Social disintegration and subversion of community on all levels. Revitalization of these communities by way of: diminishing the pursuit of prosperity and prestige, weighing of career aspirations and community relations, designing physical spaces that support local community and long term and persistent engagement in voluntary work.

Table 1: Theoretical perspective of contemporary sociologists, Jørgensen (2008).

Giddens (1994), Fischer (1982) and Wellmann (1979) present optimistic views regarding the possibilities for local communities in late modern societies. However, they acknowledge that local communities experience some difficulties in contemporary society as they are replaced by new forms of community. Thus, social integration has not lessened it has been restructured and found completely new forms. For Giddens the restructuring or 're-embedding' of social relations promotes social relations without direct face-to-face interactions. Symbolic signs and expert system facilitate communication among people who are geographically separated. Thus, not only the relations of immediate visibility structure a given locality.

We have assigned 'critical pessimists' as a label to the view represented by Castells (1996, 1997 and 1998), Sassen (2000), Baumann (2002) and Sennett (1999). The first three mentioned, all

direct attention to differences and inequalities concerning social integration in late modern society. Further, they construe the conditions and possibilities for local communities as changed substantively since the globalized elites have turned their back on both local and larger communities, i.e. the welfare state, because of the constraints and limitations that such communities impose on freedom and possibilities. While the well-educated and globalized classes turn their back on societal communities, others are forced to stay and join each other in an unhappy marriage with various negative consequences.

The view of Sennett (1999) is somewhat different. According to Sennett, the labour market's demand for flexibility and mobility is responsible for the difficulties for social integration, because it forces people to move from place to place. This tendency in contemporary society, he argues, erodes feelings of loyalty towards people, and between workplaces and people, with the consequence that people unite in communities based on superficial insufficient bases of consensus and mutual agreement.

The last category is the 'moral pessimistic' represented by Etzioni (1995) whose analysis of contemporary local communities involves an explicit moralistic dimension. The disruption of the local communities, he states, will cause a kind of breakdown of morality in society manifesting itself in brutalization, high levels of criminality, individualism and greed. However, Etzioni takes an action oriented stance and advocates a kind of moral rearmament encouraging people to establish communities and community spirit on various levels and in many societal spheres including, of course, the local sphere. This wish to revitalize neighbourhood communities resonates with recent political programmes for neighbourhood regeneration, mentioned above.

Belonging and local communities

It is likely that tight and loose social bonds in local areas express variant ways of belonging to residential places on the micro level. The question is how we can conceptualize senses of belonging in a way that allows us to grasp both the question of local community and the question of belonging? What is, then, the connection between the quality of local social bonds and the sense of belonging?

Based on the sociological literature concerning the concept of belonging, we can distinguish between two tendencies: contributions arguing that people *seek* local community and those who are not interested in local community *(not seeking)* in the neighbourhood where they live or potentially are going to live, see Table 2. In some analyses, people are further described as having preferences towards local community as a result of conscious, reflexive and calculated considerations (e.g., Savage, Bagnall & Longhurst 2005). Whereas other people due to low income are forced to live in neighbourhoods with affordable flats (Bauman 2002) or they live in a particular place without any reflexive consciousness of having alternatives (Park & Burgess, 1925). We can, therefore, add two more dimensions to belonging relating to reflexive and non-reflexive belonging.

Table 2 illustrates characteristics of the specific types of belonging resulting from combinations of the two dimensions: reflexive/not-reflexive, and seeking/not-seeking local community – and name examples of authors representing the various combinations.

Table 2: Types of belonging to local neighbourhood (Jørgensen 2010)	Reflexive	Non-reflexive
Seeking local community	The Sub-cultural sense of belonging: This sense of belonging is defined in opposition to the surrounding society. Community and locality are united. Often associated with so-called marginalised areas (Foucault, 1986, Young and Willmott 1957, Jørgensen	The natural way of belonging (human ecology): Subconsciously, unnoticed, individuals will settle in places where they can contribute to the community and protect themselves from competition without realising why (Park and
	and Mølholt, 2007, Sernhede, 2007, Mazanti 2004). Moral belonging. Recreation of local community formed around strong local social bonds necessary for securing the moral fabric of society (Etzioni 1995). Politics of belonging: People use localities as a formative base for sub-cultural communities along lines of ethnicity, religion, political affinities (Yuval-Davis 2006).	Burgess, 1925). The established way of belonging: Community and geography are united and implicit (Elias and Scotson, 1965).
Not seeking local community	The sacred sense of belonging: Particular places evoke divine feelings of belonging because they remind us of places (in our childhood) where we long to be. Belonging is a transcendental experience between now and the past (Game, 2001). Created belonging: People in late modern society suffer from being disconnected from place, the seasons and rhythms of nature and from inter-temporal connections between generations. Belonging can be restored if new buildings and renovation overcome this disconnection (Beatley, 2004). Elective belonging: A middleclass way of choosing where to live. A lot of wishes and needs have to fulfilled in order to create the narrative suitably for their life biography (Savage, Bagnall and Longhurst, 2005).	The ex-territorial elites – the absent way of belonging: Globalization increasingly makes it possible for the highly educated to work and socialise across geographical distances. These ex-territorial elites feel liberated from geography and from community, both local and national (Bauman, 2002). "Human waste" – forced to stay in "human dumping sites" or to be "on the run" These are the people who have no choice concerning housing. They have to live where they can afford to live. As a result of economic and social problems, these groups are often forced to move (Bauman, 2002).

Conclusion - Lines of inquiry into local community, mobility and belonging

Until now we have discussed a number of theoretical viewpoints on the relations between mobility, local neighbourhood and types of belonging. We have been discussing these to highlight the necessity of investigating the two overall narratives in sociological literature about the connection between space and social relations. Namely 1) that social relations in the late modern society has been lifted from a local geographical context and restructured in a global context because individuals' attachment to geographical place has been eroded. 2) We want to question the traditional assumptions connected to socio-economic segregation labelling the marginalised groups as contained in local neighbourhoods, while ascribing freedom and reflexivity exclusively to the middle and upper classes.

These considerations are the background for a study we are conducting in Aalborg[4], in which we explore the relations between characteristics of the neighbourhoods, as regards to demography and mobility patterns, and the types of belonging experienced by residents. Aalborg is the third largest city of Denmark, but small in a global context. We have chosen it as a significant case, since it is rebranding itself from its industrial past to become an entrepreneurial post-industrial knowledge based city. It is a strategic case in the sense of encompassing both old working class neighbourhoods and neighbourhoods of the new knowledge based middle classes. Moreover, it encompasses both rural and urban areas and therefore facilitates analyses of a range of different forms of belonging to different forms of localities and social groups.

The empirical study consists of a combination of register-based investigations concerning the mobility patterns of the inhabitants of the municipality of Aalborg. This leads us to produce mobility-maps, which create an overview of mobility patterns at different locations within the municipality of Aalborg. We use these insights as an underlying basis for the recruitment of informants to the qualitative ethnographic study. In this way our empirical work are inspired by the classical Chicago-school of sociology and especially the human ecology as it was formulated by Robert E. Park, Ernest W. Burgess and Roderick McKenzie (Park & Burgess 1925). The huge social and cultural pluralisation that occurred in the largest cities in America as a result of immigration from Europe made it difficult to grasp and to analyse social life on the basis of the existing social and sociological theories. Therefore, they proposed the use of mapping techniques in order both to display where different types of immigrants where located, and in order to use these social maps to observe new links and correlations which then could inform social theory and concepts. Maps are in this sense used as an analytical tool that – from an empirical approach – can help us grapple with phase where social life change in ways that we are not able to grasp and analyse with existing theories. In contemporary society globalisation, communication technology and possibilities for transport intensify and this has an enormous impact on social relations from the large global scale to the local neighbourhood which most of the traditional sociological theory has difficulties to capture.

Therefore we suggest a revitalisation and an updated methodological revision of the Chicago school mapping techniques where we incorporate the advanced Geographical Information System, instead of handmade maps, and register based investigations instead of working with the limited amount of data that was the conditions for the Chicago sociologists. The ethnographical and qualitative field research should continue as a model for contemporary study, albeit now

including an increased attention to the way mobility shape meaning attached to local neighbourhoods and the everyday life performed within and around them.

The theoretical discussions in this article have shown that investigations of everyday local life have to take account of both symbolic and material dimensions of local neighbourhood, mobility and local community, as well as the interplay between them. Moreover, that the politics of place and the power struggles producing and played out in localities are important for the understanding of local communities and feelings of belonging. Interesting avenues to follow in future research are how voluntary and more or less forced change of place of living is related to both reflexive and non-reflexive considerations of belonging. Additionally, we find it worth identifying and analysing the differences in the ways mobility and belonging intersect along urban and rural divisions. Furthermore, we want to explore how everyday mobility in the form of commuting, as well as in and around the neighbourhood, may influence the feeling of belonging to local community. Hopefully these investigations will illuminate different ways of being connected to place, different kinds of local communities, and how these vary with different mobility parameters. This, we think, will contribute to a more differentiated understanding of the relation between geographical space and social relations.

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[1] Savage and co-authors' outline is focused on the interplay between global processes and distinct local milieux, and have, therefore, a further point about the local as „particular" in opposition to the global „universal". We will not dig deeper into this, as we have already treated some of these perspectives in the above.

[2] This is, broadly speaking, the idea that social exclusion is caused by the interaction of social, economic and physical changes and that excluded or deprived neighbourhoods constitute an element in this interaction and, therefore, that neighbourhoods themselves contribute to exclusion (Skifter Andersen 2003).

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[3] Globalisation processes are in these perspectives understood in terms of globally organized flows of money, goods, people and communication (Urry 2000, Bauman 2000).

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