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Changing Cities II

Spatial, Design, Landscape & Socio-economic Dimensions

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FORWARD

The 1st international conference on ‘*Changing Cities*’, which was hosted on Skiathos island, 18-22 June 2013, had started as an idea three years ago. The initial concept was to organise an academic event creative, inspiring, stimulating, and above all, *international*. There had been a belief that such an academic event may contribute in revitalizing academia and promoting tourism in Greece - hit by the economic crisis of public debt in the Eurozone. Given that during the last years, both societies and cities in Greece have been dramatically changing, shrinking in economic, spatial and demographic terms, we have chosen *Changing Cities* as the main theme of this series of conferences. Our aspiration is to provide an international forum for transaction of ideas on cities and bring together architects, urban designers, landscape designers, urban planners, urban geographers, urban economists, urban sociologists and demographers, to investigate new challenges. This goal became a reality. The 1st Changing Cities conference had gained strong interest of academics and researchers from many countries and regions around the world; Greece and the Balkans, south Europe and Mediterranean countries, northwest Europe, Middle East and Asia, Far East, North America, Latin America and Africa. A total of about 460 abstracts and 320 papers had been submitted in the conference – most of them, about 60% from abroad.

The 2nd Changing Cities conference has also attracted the attention of scholars, not only from Greece, the Balkans and Europe, but also from far-away countries like USA and Canada, Brazil, Chile, Colombia in Latin America, and China, Japan and Australia in the far-east. We have received 510 abstracts and more than 350 papers. Among the scholars participating, there are about 192 Greek academics and researchers. This indicates that despite shortage of research funds, salary cuts, and broken morale, university teachers and researchers in Greek state universities try hard to keep a high-level academic status. Besides, the number of contributions by scholars from abroad (64%) shows the international character of the conference.

The strong interest for this conference allows us to have thoughts about organising the 3rd Changing Cities conference in one or two years’ time, spatially hosted in a different Greek resort area.

I would like first to thank the Organising Committee, the keynote speakers, and the members of the international scientific board who supported enthusiastically the academic organization of this conference. I would especially like to thank those colleagues who have also pre-organized special sessions in this conference.

Finally, I would like to thank all the academic, political and scientific organisations which supported this conference: University of Thessaly; the Greek Ministry of Environment, Energy and Climate Change; the Greek Ministry of Tourism; The Regional Authority of Peloponnese; The Technical Chamber of Greece – Branch of Peloponnese; the Association of the Greek Landscape Architects; KTIRIO - Technical Publications; the Association of Greek Urban Planners and Regional Development Engineers; the Association of Greek Urban Planners; the Association of Greek Architects.

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Aegean University, Greece*

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Migratory transnational flows as analytical tool for planning in the post-metropolitan transition of Italian urban regions*

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Abstract

The increasing of international migratory flows is one of the main socio-cultural phenomena within post-modern city. According to Soja post-metropolis is the spatial result of new socio-spatial transformations of the cities that is characterized by a high and new level of socio-economic fragmentation. In relation to these phenomena, social polarization of urban space has given way to an “unstructured” and “dispersed” social geometry. The globalization processes and the deep socio-economic transformations, as well as the enlargement of the European Union, are at the heart of a complex system of interdependent factors that have changed the relationship between countries of origin and countries of destination of migratory flows. The aim of this paper is to explore the relationship between foreigners and Italian post-metropolitan areas, by studying phenomena of immigrants' spatial dispersion compared with the main cities, which are considered as catalysts of migratory flows.

Keywords: Migratory flows; analytical tool; transitional urban regions; planning.

1. THE PHENOMENON OF MIGRATION IN EUROPE AND ITALY

The aim of this paper is to explore the relationship between foreign population and Italian post-metropolitan areas, particularly, by studying phenomena of spatial concentration/dispersion of the immigrants compared with the main cities, which are traditionally considered as catalysts of migratory flows.

The increasing of international migratory flows is, in fact, one of the main socio-cultural phenomena associated to the post-Fordist restructuring, within post-modern city. Different authors recognize these phenomena as destabilizing processes (for the previous planning models) and at the same time as a new challenge for building multicultural metropolis (Sandercock, 2000). If migration is not new in the twentieth century, however the phenomenon intensifies during the years '80, due to demographic, social-economic, political and cultural reasons. With regard to the impact of globalization on urban spaces, Soja (2000), referring also to Chambers (1990), highlights the lack of conceptual and material limits of contemporaneous metropolis and the intensification of transnational flows of migrants, invoking the “turns toward cosmopolis” as resistance to the prevailing neoliberalism among other active approaches involved into the debate on post-metropolitan transition.

According to Soja, indeed, postmetropolis is the spatial - although transitory - result of new socio-spatial transformations of the cities; this is characterized by a high and new level of socio-economic fragmentation. In relation to these phenomena, social polarization of urban space, typical of the Fordist city, has given way to an “unstructured” and “dispersed” social geometry. This has called into question the traditional analytical models of the socio-spatial concentration geographies, and requires new interpretative categories.

These phenomena do not just occur in global cities, and they start to change the urban structure and scenario of even smaller (in terms of local population) urban areas.

* Although the article should be considered a result of the common work and reflections of the three authors, G. Bonafede took primary responsibility for section 1, F. Lo Piccolo took primary responsibility for sections 2 and V. Todaro took primary responsibility for section 3.

Over the last fifty years many European countries, considered areas of origin for international migratory flows in the 20th century, became places of stable hospitality (King, 2000; Ambrosini, 2000).

More recently, the globalization processes and the deep socio-economic transformations, as well as the enlargement of the European Union to the countries of Eastern Europe, are at the heart of a complex system of interdependent factors that have changed the relationship between countries of origin and countries of destination of migratory flows (King, 2000).

Considering the absolute numbers of foreign population resident in Europe (1st January 2011), the highest values recorded are in Germany (7.2 million), Spain (5.6 million), Italy (4.6 million), United Kingdom (4.5 million) and France (3.8 million). According to the Eurostat surveys (2012) the foreign resident population in these five countries constitutes the 77.3% of the total number of immigrants in Europe (EU-27), while the total population of the same countries represents 62.9% of the total European population.

During the last decade, the most relevant percentage variations are in particular recorded in Southern Europe. In reference to this context and despite the crisis, mostly Italy and Spain have increased the growth levels of foreign presences[†].

Particularly, the presence of immigrants in Italian cities represents a recent as well as very significant change.

Although simplifying a phenomenon which is certainly more complex, it could be said that what distinguishes our cities from a number of other “tales” of immigration in Europe is their recent character. More importantly, these phenomena point out a real role reversal.

We will not linger on the causes of these phenomena, which have been the object of several, at times contradictory, studies (Guarrasi, 2006).

We are simply emphasizing the specific characteristics of these cases, which are in many ways anomalous in the panorama of European immigration, and we have also to highlight the speed of this process. To this we can add the extremely heterogeneous ethnic composition of the new arrivals, with the consequent presence of differing demands and expectations, and related policies (Lo Piccolo and Leone, 2008). Moreover, the statistics regarding clandestine conditions, which are – since the first migratory flow – much more widespread in Italy than in the rest of Europe (Melotti, 1993), are significant.

In Italy, particularly, the first significant flows of migrants are recorded in the mid-'70s. During this period, the country was in fact living a historical phase of profound social and economic changes (Bonifazi, 1994). However, ISTAT surveys register a higher growth of the resident foreign population equal to 201.8% over the last inter-census decade (2001-2011)[‡]. The number of foreigners resident in Italy is in fact tripled, going from 1 million 300 thousand people in 2001 to 4.5 million in 2011[§]. Statistical data shows that, in line with the European trend, the increase of the total population of the country is due mainly to the increase in foreign population (increased to 2,694,256 units). In parallel, these values emphasize the negative performance registered by the Italian population (decreased by more than 250,000 units).

Although the most significant percentage change is registered in the South (233.8%), the territorial distribution of immigrants is characterized by significantly different values: 95.3 foreigners per thousand residents in North-Eastern area, 27.7 in Southern area and 23.4 in the islands^{**}.

[†] Cfr. Eurostat, 2012. Statistiche sulle migrazioni internazionali e sulle popolazioni di origine straniera. Available online: http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/statistics_explained/index.php/Migration_and_migrant_population_statistics/it.

[‡] Cfr. ISTAT, 2012. Il censimento della popolazione straniera. Available online: http://www.istat.it/it/files/2012/12/scheda_stranieri.pdf.

[§] With reference to the foreign component, the field of observation of the official census includes people who are habitually resident in Italy and who do not have Italian citizenship, including stateless persons. For non-Community foreigners, the requirement to be registered as residents, in addition to the habitual residence, is the possession of a regular title to stay in Italy (a valid residence permit or the renewal request or the first issuance of a permit or the authorisation for entry to Italy for the family reunification or for work purposes).

^{**} The values of the last two years (2012-2013) confirm the overall growth trend of the last inter-census decade. The immigrants' percentages grow more, from 6.8% in 1 January 2012 to 7.4% of 1 January 2013. Although the 86% of immigrants is resident in the Centre-North and the remaining 14% is present in the South, the most percentage increase in 2012 is in the South (+12) and in the Islands (+10.9). Cfr. ISTAT, 2013. La popolazione straniera residente in Italia - Bilancio demografico. Available online: <http://www.istat.it/it/archivio/96694>.

Amongst regions where foreign population is mainly concentrated, the Lombardy (North) registers the 25% of the total presences; the regions of Veneto and of Emilia-Romagna (North) attain the 23%, the regions of Lazio and of Toscana (Centre) reach the 18%, the Campania (South) registers only the 3.7%.

Observing the foreign presences at local scale, a particularly interesting data refers to the distribution of almost half of the immigrants within municipalities with less than 20,000 inhabitants (Caritas Migrantes, 2011).

In reference to the most represented nationalities, the data of inscription to Registry office, in 1st January of 2001, highlights the decisive prevalence of Romanian community (153,556 units), followed by the communities of Filipinos (40,141 units) and of Moroccans (28,693 units). With respect to territorial concentration for the three nationalities a significant presence is in the Centre-North, while for the Filipino community relevant values are also present in the Islands (Sicily and Sardinia).

2. MIGRATION FLOWS, IMMIGRANTS AND POST-METROPOLITAN TERRITORIES

Locally, in addition to the socio-economic conditions differences between North, Centre and South (Trigilia, 2012), the territorial distribution of foreign population is also affected by the attractiveness of large urban areas, which have traditionally been the main catalysts of migratory flows (Tosi, 2000).

Is it always like that, everywhere and every time?

Which kind of post-metropolitan profiles can be outlined? Are they homogenous, or articulated and heterogeneous? What kind of spatial concentration/dispersion phenomena can be recorded in relation to the main cities?

In order to answer these questions some preliminary analysis are needed; they concern substantially the relationship between foreign and Italian population, the stable and fluctuant presence of immigrant as well as the existence of specific areas of concentration and dispersion phenomena.

In relation to these considerations, the urban regions (Turin, Milan, Venice, Florence, Rome, Naples, Olbia, Palermo and South-Eastern Sicily) have been analysed, particularly by using the following indicators available for all the national territory^{††}:

1. Foreign population percentage on total population;
2. Foreign population percentage trends;
3. Index of Dispersion for Foreign Population.

The first indicator (base indicator), calculated in percentage terms with respect to the total population per municipality, provides indications about presences of immigrants in three temporal thresholds (1991-2001-2011).

The second indicator returns the trend (growth, stability, decrease) of presences. The third is a synthetic index, Index of Dispersion for Foreign Population (IDFP)^{‡‡}, which exemplifies the territorial dispersion phenomenon of foreign population with respect to the most populated city. This city, which varies with respect to the different urban regions, is considered as a main attractor of migratory flows. The use of this index consents to specifically explore the local dynamics, returning the territorial “image” about the territorial phenomena of concentration or dispersion for the foreign population, with regard to other main cities. Starting by the questions of research and by applying the above indicators to the urban regions, the following findings emerge.

Over the inter-census decades (1991-2001-2011), the trend of the foreign population shows a generalized growth of immigrants in all regions analysed, with differences sometimes significant

³ The three indicators are based on absolute values of foreign population per municipality, provided by the General Census of population and of dwellings (ISTAT, 1991-2001-2011).

⁴ IDFP = (FPSM X 100)/FPPM. Where: FPSM = Foreign population Percentage in Specific Municipality, FPPM = Foreign population Percentage in the most Populated Municipality. Values over 100 describe municipal territories in which the concentration of foreign population is in percentage terms higher than that in the most populated town.

among geographical areas. If values homogeneously grow in Milan, Venice, Rome and Olbia, uneven values (growing and decreasing), which tend to define irregular territorial profiles, are recorded in Turin, Naples and Palermo, where in some cases (Turin and Palermo) the values even decrease. Florence and South-Eastern Sicily are the only areas where population of immigrants constantly grows in all municipalities.

With regard to stability/mobility of population territories with different characteristics can be outlined. When the growth throughout the temporal thresholds (1991-2001-2011) is constant, the territorial profile of population tends to be stable. When the growth is concentrated in a determined temporal threshold, instead the territorial profiles are affected by specific migratory flows.

In this sense, a stable profile is recorded in Palermo, Olbia and Naples, although in the first case (Palermo) the concentration percentages reach only the value of 2.99%, in the second case they reach the value of 8.62% (Palau) and in the third they reach the value of 13.01% (Castel Volturno). A stable profile accompanied, however, by migratory flows "concentrated" spatially and temporally (2011) has been recorded almost everywhere, in Milan, Turin, Florence, Rome, South-East Sicily; while in the case of Venice the presence of a significant migratory flow in 2001 remains constant in terms of growth in 2011, giving stability to the phenomenon.

3. PRELIMINARY INTERPRETATIVE READING

With regard of the territorial concentration/dispersion of foreign population in relation to the main cities, the urban regions show significantly different profiles.

A generally homogeneous profile is recorded in Milan, Turin and Palermo; in the first two cases, in particular, some polarization phenomena are present, in Turin already in 1991 and in Milan most evidently in 2011.

A more complex distribution is present in Rome and Naples; in the first case, however, the spatial distribution is structured in a concentric manner compared to the city of Rome; while in the second case, there is a greater level of heterogeneity in spatial distribution of foreign presences.

According to Bonifazi (1994) the urban regions, which are characterized by a mono-nuclear metropolitan structure, mainly show a concentration of foreign population within great cities or around them.

On the contrary, within the traditionally poli-nuclear urban regions, foreign population tends to spatially distribute on the territory. In these cases, polarization phenomena of immigrants, which are not related to the main cities, can be recorded in areas with high labour specialization.

In this perspective, polarization phenomena are present in Florence and Olbia; in the first case they are historical phenomena already existed in 1991 and further intensified in 2011; in the second case, the most intense polarization is in 2001, while in 2011 this lose intensity in favour of greater territorial spread of presences.

In addition, phenomena of historical polarization are decisively present in South-Eastern Sicily and Venice; in the first case, the phenomenon affects especially the Western area of municipalities of Ragusa and intensifies significantly in 2011; in the second case it is a macro-polarization which in 1991 and in 2001 extends throughout the Central-Western quadrant and Centre-North of the urban area, but loses intensity in 2011.

In relation to the spatial distribution of the foreign population and to more populous cities, in Turin, Milan, Florence, Naples and Palermo, some discontinuity phenomena are more visible. While in Venice, Olbia and in South-Eastern Sicily greater space continuity is recorded. In the case of Rome, the foreign population is distributed in municipalities around the city, maintaining intensely spatial relationship with hit last.

Spatial images and its interpretations have been developed at national level through the use of statistical data available on immigrant population, returning a "partial" reading of the phenomenon.

They, in fact, propose succinctly and only the territorial distribution of the foreign population in relation to the total population, in terms of spatial relationship in the considered municipalities. This vision requires therefore additional information on territorial impact that can be investigated by using other qualitative-quantitative analysis in greater detail. These insights will be developed in the course of research through the case study.

However, during this phase some considerations on the explored phenomenon can be inferred. With regard to the territorial images described, the issue of the new inhabitants not only affects the great urban centres, traditionally considered as catalysts of immigrant flows. Metropolitan areas, and within them the great urban nuclei, have traditionally represented a chance to find jobs (Sassen, 2010) and constitute a “restructured social mosaic” (Soja, 2000) that is at the same time, compared to a global scale, the result of the phenomena of de-territorialisation and re-territorialisation of capital, labor and culture.

Such presences claim new rights of citizenship, often unrecognized by the institutions and official policies (Schierup, Hansen and Castles, 2006; Lo Piccolo and Leone, 2008). In order to face the issue on integration/exclusion phenomena of immigrants, urban studies have traditionally focused attention on processes of stabilization for substantial number of foreigners within cities and on difficulties caused by their concentration in central areas that are often recognized as “ethnically connoted neighbourhoods”. From this point of view, the debate generally focuses on the presences in geographic areas as well as on integration, on ethnic characterizing of urban areas and related reuse and transformation policies, on production of public spaces and finally on the housing conditions (Sandercock, 2000).

However, the presence of immigrants is not only an urban issue. Above all, in relation to territorial contexts commonly considered as marginal, the issue increasingly became suburban.

Specifically, in Italy the urban centres of medium-small size and the rural areas (Caritas Migrantes, 2011) remain in fact far from being excluded from the phenomenon of immigration (Giampino, Picone and Todaro, 2014). These areas are traditionally affected by development models contrasting to those typically considered as urban/metropolitan, posing social-economic and spatial problems of different nature compared to the latter.

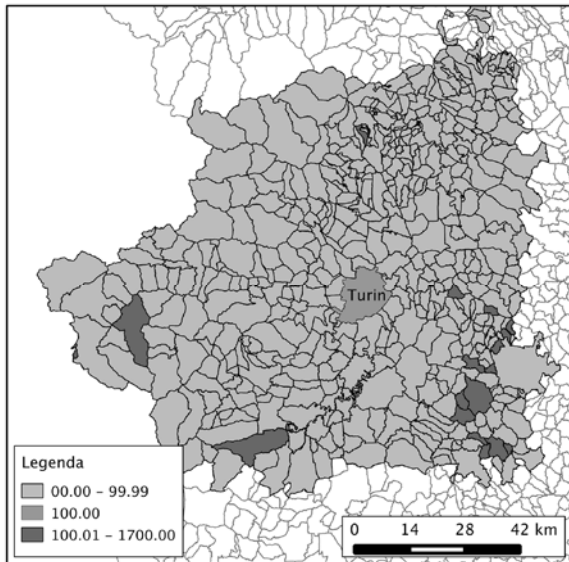
Therefore, the migratory flows are directed where labour market supply (often not qualified) is mostly concentrated and, at the same time, where stable social networks as well as context conditions (services, health care, education) facilitate forms of hospitality. However, how such presences (albeit partly irregular and temporary) live the transition from urban to post-metropolitan dimension, and what kind of problems they pose to the planning tools, have to be yet clarified.

According to the idea of dispersion, the socio-spatial distribution of foreign population in different areas of Italy shows a plural phenomenon:

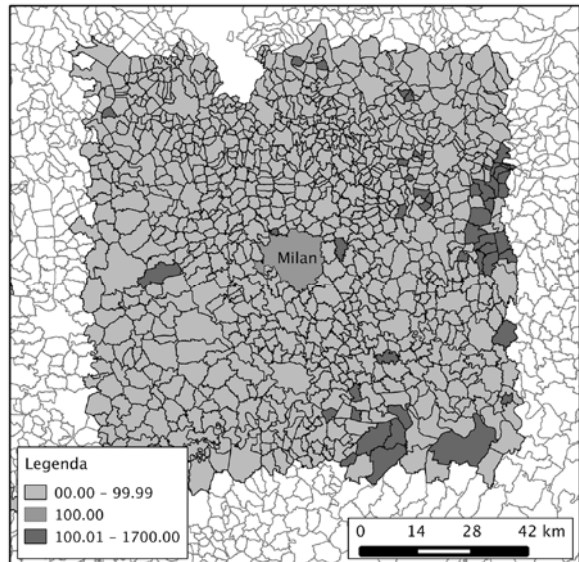
- mono-nuclear (Turin, Milan, Palermo);
- heterogeneous (Rome, Naples);
- poli-nuclear (Florence, Olbia, Venice, South-Eastern Sicily).

This reflects a variety of post-metropolitan reality, which are, in some cases, poli-nuclear, as it is mainly in the cases of Venice, Florence and South-Eastern Sicily. Although the latter are not comparable each other in terms of absolute numbers, some of the most “dispersed” presences testify a potential trend of some poli-nuclear contexts (analysed in the *tessera* of the research) to be post-metropolitan as much as (or at least as well as) others, that are, at least under this respect, more “mono-nuclear”.

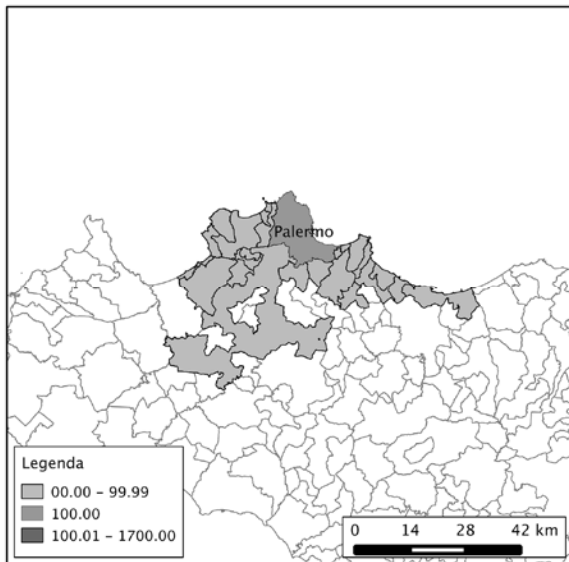
Figures 1-3. Index of Dispersion for Foreign Population: Mono-nuclear socio-spatial concentration (2011)



Tessera of Turin

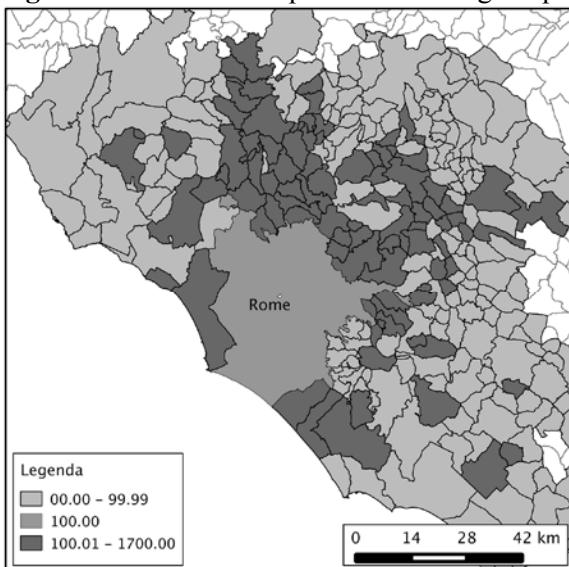


Tessera of Milan

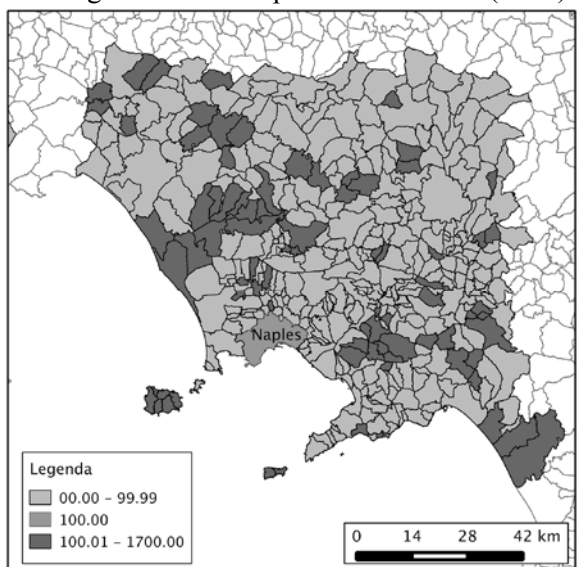


Tessera of Palermo

Figures 4-5. Index of Dispersion for Foreign Population: Heterogeneous socio-spatial distribution (2011)

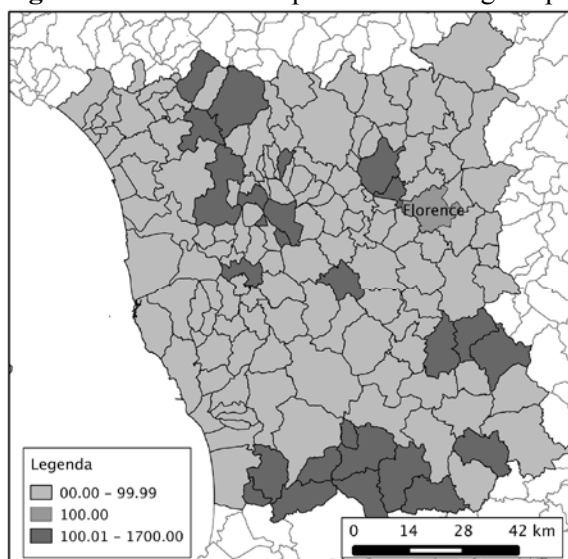


Tessera of Rome

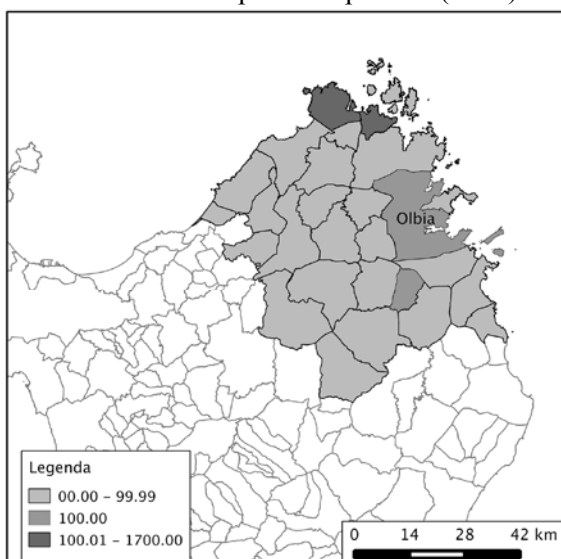


Tessera of Naples

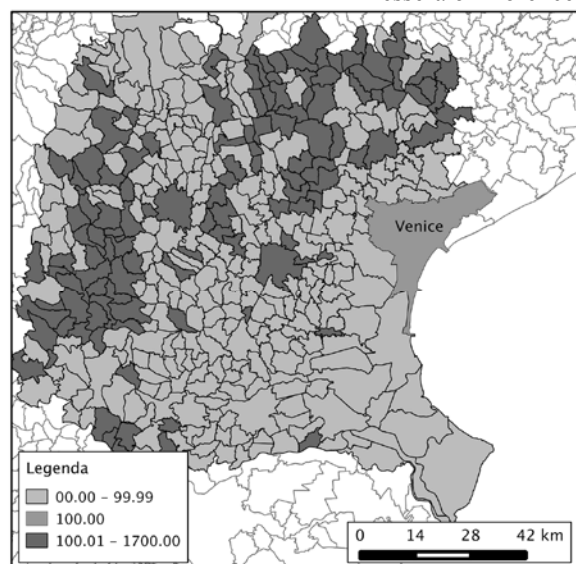
Figures 6-9. Index of Dispersion for Foreign Population: Poli-nuclear socio-spatial dispersion (2011)



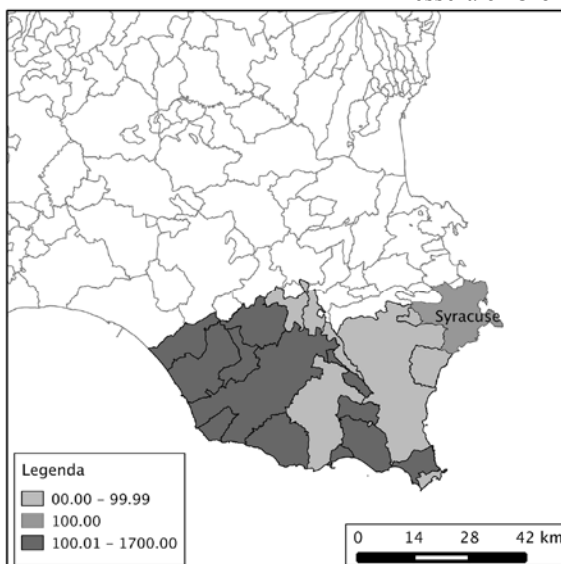
Tessera of Florence



Tessera of Olbia



Tessera of Venice



Tessera of South-Eastern Sicily (Syracuse)

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