The Intercultural City

MIGRATION, MINORITIES AND THE MANAGEMENT OF DIVERSITY

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The twofold nature of diversity and interculturalism

The starting hypothesis of this chapter postulates that the two different concepts of the diverse and the intercultural city can be interchangeably applied to describe and govern multi-ethnic urban settings, the difference being more a matter of scale rather than of nature. Diversity and interculturalism share, in fact, the same duplicity, a normative content combined with an analytic orientation. The former, however, addresses mainly the ordinary configuration of places while the latter allows the discussion of rights and political principles. Are then the diverse and the intercultural city the same? The answer is affirmative, but the condition is to clear both concepts from ideological deposits.

Interculturalism, in particular, describes the attitude of governments towards integration intended as a process of exchange and interaction between the hosting and the immigrant population. At the same time, it suggests a normative model for balancing and accepting these exchanges. Interculturalism has gained greater importance recently, and has come to be seen as a response to the failure of other consolidated integration models, in particular the assimilationist one epitomized by France and the multicultural one applied in the Netherlands (and partly also in Germany) and the UK.

Italy, on the other hand, having neither an explicit model nor a consistent body of regulation at the national level, does not fit into such broad categories. However, a hybrid attitude has been identified in its legislation, the objective of which is not one of cultural assimilation, but that of providing security and avoiding conflicts in the process of interaction among communities.

The Italian approach has been described as one of ‘reasonable integration’ (Zincone 2000 cited in Lucciarini 2007: 45) with civil and social (not political) rights granted to regular immigrants
and no recognized rights granted to those deemed illegal (a broad category sometimes stretched to accommodate Roma people). Recently, the attitude towards undocumented migrants has become even more restrictive and they are often criminalized.

However, generally speaking, this categorization of different integration regimes seems to be narrow considering that policies for immigrants are implemented at the local level, and there they are influenced by processes, actors, interests and local pressures (Caponio 2006).

At the local level, diversity, being less abstract and more reflective of realities, emerges as the narrative concerning cities and specific spaces. If the intercultural city is somewhat ‘prescriptive’ and top down in matters of policies and management of the complexity of cities, the diverse city is somewhat more ‘phenomenological’ in that it touches upon the domain of not just policies but that of practices as well. Social conflicts and political thought have concentrated upon these two dimensions, often bending the reality to serve party agenda or ideologies.

When it comes to ordinary cities, diversity appears to be embedded in the social practices that enact the processes of change and immigration. Such practices not only acknowledge the diversity among members of society but also construct each and every member’s identity. Hence, diversity is definitely a local feature of society in strong relation to both urban spaces and daily routines.

With the emergence of international immigration processes in western cities, claims about the social role of spatial arrangement have been revised. This has been an extraordinary break in the modern tradition. The ‘recognition’ of immigrants has meant a complex political and cognitive reframing of old universal values. Informality, for instance, has been included among the form of production and use of space. Such a sea change has come about first in the urban policies of developing countries and later in those of western cities too. Since then, upgrading measures and legalization of land tenure have become part of the social history of cities.

Recently another representation has emerged calling attention to ethnic neighbourhoods. The return of working class neighbourhoods has enforced market led diversity upon formerly homogenous enclaves in the context of gentrification processes started in the 1980s. This second turn illustrates the shift in attitudes between different modalities of recognition. Aside from a
positive and progressive one, there has been an implied negative undertone to this change that has led to stigmatization and control (Yiftachel, Goldhaber and Nuriel 2009). In a misleadingly less dark nuance, the ‘cultural’ gentrification of former popular neighbourhoods has led eventually to a new market driven process of social segregation (Annunziata 2011).

Finally, development policies have embraced spatial fragmentation as a way of accommodating divergent claims on public space. Prevailing attitudes in planning have supported this splintering process ignited by modernist techniques (Donzelot 2006). The resulting social zoning of cities has increased segregation and complicated the lives of international migrants. At this juncture, a new political tension has arisen from the collapse of the universal myth of the diverse, European city. In reality, current cities reproduce divisions, failing to convert temporary residents into citizens (Cremaschi 2013).

This being said, it seems useful to support the line of reasoning with a concrete case study. In particular, examples will be drawn from what are today considered the two most multi-ethnic neighbourhoods in Rome: Esquilino (also known as Piazza Vittorio from the name of the piazza at its core) and Torpignattara. The peculiarity of these two neighbourhoods is that they symbolize diversity in Rome not only because of the high percentage of foreign residents, but also because of the high visibility of diversity in these areas as demonstrated in the multi-ethnic population and related commercial activities to meet the diverse needs of its residents. The two cases effectively highlight the different nuances that the narrative of diversity can assume when applied to specific contexts.

**The adventures of diversity**

The neighbourhood, Esquilino, in Rome epitomizes the diverse city model, at least as far as ethnicity is concerned. Since the beginning, policies have dealt with its diversity with left-leaning decision makers praising it as the next ‘Latin quarter’ of the city, and right-wing politicians criticizing the same. Both groups, however, end up ignoring other issues such as those of the weaker, impoverished, original population. Esquilino shows some common traits and strong linkages with another multi-ethnic quarter - Torpignattara. However, they also display some profound
differences, for instance, in their geographical typology. In fact, while Esquilino is a typical inner city district, Torpignattara is part of the first periphery of the city. The physical and historical characteristics of these areas have been quite influential in the social space (as is often the case in Roman neighbourhoods) and have determined, in different ways, the process of insertion of immigrants there.

Esquilino has many features in common with the narratives of immigrants’ insertion throughout Europe. The neighbourhood was built after 1870 to host the Government’s lower employees of the newly united Italian State, coming mainly from northern Italy. Furthermore, the area has traditionally been an arrival place for other internal migrants thanks to its location close to the central railway station and the wide availability of low-cost guesthouses and hotels for temporary accommodation. After the 1970s, a process of decay, corresponding with a significant drop in the number of original inhabitants, eased the insertion of foreign immigrants. The historical urban fabric characterized by valuable architectural elements and poor construction quality started to decay. On the other hand, the development of organized retailing and distribution led to the closure of traditional retail shops leading to the displacement of some major functions and hence urban voids. The area was additionally plagued by problems of traffic congestion. All these elements fuelled the process of urban blight, increasing episodes of prostitution and drug peddling. The neighbourhood became increasingly less appealing for Italians and became a haven for the arrival of the first wave of immigrants, mainly from the Maghreb region and later from Asia (China and Bangladesh in particular).

Adopting the perspective of the intercultural city, it is easy to see that Esquilino is considered ‘the’ multi-ethnic neighbourhood of Rome, both in public opinion and political discourse. Esquilino offers a high likelihood of encountering the global within the local. For this reason, it is also often analyzed in migration studies. Furthermore, those who work in the immigration sector, in public administration or in the third sector generally consider Esquilino a privileged observatory, a workshop where integration policies can be designed and implemented. To a certain extent it is the place where the challenge of building an intercultural city in Rome is faced.
This is acknowledged by the immigrant communities as well and Piazza Vittorio has come to symbolize of cultural pluralism in Rome, thus acquiring a positive stigma.²

If in the rhetoric of the intercultural city, Esquilino is seen as a successful example, the same cannot be said for Torpignattara, which is historically a working class neighbourhood that hosted many immigrants from southern Italy (employed in the local industries) during Fascism and the post-war era.

The fragmented building fabric in Torpignattara grew in a spontaneous and unregulated way through subsequent additions.³ The variety of building types, the presence of neglected industrial areas mingled with the dwellings, the functional mix which characterizes the ground floors of main streets; all these elements contribute to shape Torpignattara as a ‘mixed, porous territory’ (Lanzani 2003). This porosity, enhanced by the residential, commercial and productive emptying that took place during the 1980s and 1990s, allowed with more ease the insertion of immigrants and the transformation of meaning of the urban spaces. Poorly connected to the city centre, lacking in services and infrastructure and with poor quality of buildings, Torpignattara today has one of Rome’s lowest real estate values. For this reason, it is a convenient place for immigrants to buy houses or business premises. Thus, in contrast to Esquilino, Torpignattara is a neighbourhood where many immigrants move (often from Esquilino itself), having more long term projects of settling down with their family or starting a business.

Even if less renowned for its multi-ethnic composition, Torpignattara has recently been in the news in the national press for issues related to immigration such as racism, ethnic conflicts and segregation. It has been described as a periphery which can become a recruitment magnet; it has been mentioned in relation to racist raids perpetrated against the Bangladeshi community, and also for the primary school with the highest percentage of immigrant pupils, which has been described as a ghetto.

What often emerges, even in newspapers, is a narrative that describes the neighbourhood as an example of an emerging Italian banlieue: ‘[…] this neighbourhood is one of those more at risk. There is a banlieue risk because of a second generation of immigrants seeking its own identity.
They are youngsters suffering tyrannies, and sooner or later they will respond. It is possible to feel, to touch the *malaise*, which can become a tinderbox.’ (Meletti2010, our tr.)

The comparison with the *banlieue*, clearly does not yet apply to its historic, economic and social characteristics, which strongly differ from the Parisian peripheries. The image of the *banlieue* could recall, instead, the process of stabilization of many immigrants’ families or a process of use, appropriation and transformation of the territory, which increases their visibility. This process is still scarcely known in the Italian panorama and a clear solution to the problems linked with it is yet to be devised.

**A critique of diversity**

Diversity is a quality that characterizes urban life according to many authors. A strong tradition celebrated diversity in cities replicating (since Simmel, at least) a broader sociological approach that impacts the vitality of the encounters with strangers.

The embodiment of diversity is often reasserted by concerned planners and political actors (see for instance, Council of Europe 2008) with plausible guidelines focusing upon some characteristics of communal living that should be guaranteed by spatial arrangements. For example, prescriptions may range from mixed use to mixed income, racial and ethnic integration, to widely accessible public space (Fainstein 2005). In some cases, matters have been treated more cautiously heeding ethnic and cultural norms (Low, Taplin and Scheld 2005).

However, there are at least three major problems with this line of reasoning, which will be expressed and examined more thoroughly in the following section. As regards the *definition*, less unmanageable traits such as status and role are overemphasized, while cultural norms and behaviour are given less weightage. The *causal model* attaches excessive importance to the physical environment due to its origin in the US context thereby causing a subtle determinism. Finally, for the *process*, encounters in public space are often expected to trigger positive answers leading to an understanding that mirrors the historical and forceful narrative of the expansion of the *public sphere*, while all processes of mediation are consequently humbled down to the level of an automatic response.
The definition

First, as an analytical concept, urban diversity is a tricky and rather unstable one, that has not always meant the same. Historically, it can be said that all cities were created diverse, but some were more diverse than others. Cities have been the cradle of diversity for centuries, as opposed to the more traditional, homogenous and slowly evolving rural cultures. They have been sites of innovation in political space as well as the hubs of the new mercantile economy. The ‘porosity’ of traditional, ordinary cities draws upon volatility, permeability, change and life-worlds that mingle across traditional boundaries (such as public and private spaces) creating ‘new, unforeseen constellation’ (as described by Benjamin). Ancient multinational city-ports and trade places like Naples, Venice, Salonniki and Marseille had a quality in their diversity that is today lacking in modern cities.

These cities which have been conceptualized as the space of diversity reflect the historical process that led to the establishment of cities in Europe and the transformation of the imperial Roman material and social infrastructure and the Middle Age rural economy and serfdom. The German medieval saying ‘Stadtluft macht frei’ (urban air makes you free) summarizes a positive feeling towards diversity upon which the ideological foundation of the bourgeois lay. European cities erased previous medieval communities to constitute the mass of individual labourers, yet circumscribing a range of diversity (between classes, roles and statuses) compatible with the shared culture, thus supporting the process of civic integration. Those cities promoted a strong identity of a comparatively small region while playing a global role. Promoting functional and economic diversity, they were not really affected by culture or ethnicity. This came into being through a lengthy process fraught with conflicts and resistance.

Positive images of diversity (Sennet 1997; Fainstein 2005) overlap with the two foundational myths of the porous city and bourgeois city-state, somehow confusing their effects. In a globalizing world, diversity has taken up more radical aspects, and can neither be reduced to the controlled variety of local traits of medieval city-states nor to the exchange oriented mind of Levantine ports. Diversity, according to some (van Laeken 2010), has ambivalent outcomes, such as coping with
different, contrasting and even clashing cultures which necessarily produce conflicts and stress that only a reflexive and critical political process can successfully harness.

In fact, the vast debate opposing philosophers and political scientists contrasts entirely different ranges of diversity (Touraine 2000) and addresses either different contents (political status and global citizenship, social relations and equal rights, cultural identities) or different forms (caste, group, class or individuals). Thus, if we accept that in the assemblage of the contemporary world, diversity epitomizes something more contrasting than the idealized traits of city-states, one has to revert to the outcomes of multi-layered processes superimposing individualism, collective identities and forms of citizenship (Beck 1999).

Cities do truly help in disentangling traditional collective affiliations, but this is not a plain, organic process and does not lead to univocal outcomes. To appreciate diversity, cities set up an open political process that selects between ‘intersecting diversities that must be addressed including differences in wealth, status, and hybridity, that is, the range of possible identities available to any one group’ (Fincher and Iveson 2008).

The rhetoric of the intercultural city referred to Esquilino, even if contributing to the development of a positive bias about the neighbourhood, represents at the same time a trivialization of reality. In fact, it renders a sweetened and romantic picture of the cohabitation of difference that does not account for the everyday encounter with difference as experienced and represented by inhabitants and daily users. The same diversity that attracts external people who want to visit an ethnic restaurant can also be seen as a threat by residents and investors.

The positive picture of multi-ethnic Esquilino hides a long story of distrust, stigmatization and conflict as testified by a considerable number of newspaper articles which have appeared in the national press since the mid 1990s. These articles have also highlighted the pressing need for security in the area which necessitated a constant patrol of the neighbourhood by the forces of law and order.

One aspect, in particular, is perceived as the most problematic - the presence of the Chinese community. The Chinese, together with the Bangladeshis and Filipinos are the most populace of foreign communities in the neighbourhood. Yet the percentage is not as high considering that one
out of every 120 nationals in the area are of Chinese origin and the total percentage of foreigners is around 20 per cent in the district. However, the neighbourhood has often been described as an ethnic enclave and as ‘Chinatown’, carrying a negative connotation. The Chinese are particularly prominent as the area has a high concentration of a considerable number of wholesale and import-export businesses. Rather than being deemed as a problem of bad business planning by the local authority, this is perceived as a problem of ethnic concentration. This view is further fuelled by the perpetration of biases towards the business practices of the Chinese. The hostility, in fact, is not just restricted to the Chinese wholesale stores but also to all ethnic businesses, such as phone centres, perceived as ‘troublesome’ because they address a largely immigrant clientele and support multiple functions, sometimes beyond the regular commercial ones (for instance, they also serve as places for gathering, socializing and even for assistance).

This conflict among Italian residents and immigrant retailers led the municipality to promulgate strict regulations for phone centres and Chinese wholesale stores, which finally caused their displacement to the outskirts of the city. This has paradoxically resulted in a mere physical relocation of the concentration of such businesses to the peripheries as in the case of, Torpignattara itself. This necessitates an examination of the kind of diversity that is accepted as also the extent and the location of diversity accepted.

Potential situations of conflict currently exist in Torpignattara that could push it to develop along the lines of Esquilino. In the last five years, a large number of Chinese wholesale and retail shops have mushroomed around public gardens in the heart of the neighbourhood. The Almagià gardens forming a sort of small Chinese district of commerce is an example of this. The Almagià gardens, one of the only green spaces of Torpignattara and holding importance for its inhabitants, is currently plagued by lack of safety, unwanted practices (homeless and drunk presence) and a general deterioration. The local residential community association (the Torpignattara Neighbourhood Committee) has expressed concern over this and a will to rectify the same. The commercial establishments in this region may have also aroused the suspicion of its local residents owing to its physical characteristics which are more similar to warehouses than shops, lack windows and connection to the exterior.
The causal model

Diversity has been postulated by early critical urban thinkers, such as Jane Jacobs, as a necessary feature of a complete and effective approach to planning, and has remarkably influenced the US planning system. Jane Jacobs' contribution focused mainly on classical tenets of the urban sociology of Chicago isolating spatial and ecological features that would affect social behaviour. The critique of Jacobs on the US version of post-war planning described as biased by functionalism, automotive enthusiasm and social segregation - has contributed to establish the belief that cultural change can emanate from physical corrections. Thus, effective and practical suggestions tailored upon large American metropolises have influenced the way diversity is conceptualized and put to use when dealing with cities.

Though it is true that international developments stress on the modernist approach of sprawl and zoning, most cities of the world do not necessarily reflect these principles. On the contrary, in continental Europe a mix of uses with some degree of porosity prevails. However, social mix, density and spatial arrangements do not necessarily support intercultural adjustments.

The concept of diversity in planning also gave rise to the myth of mixed-neighbourhoods as an instrument of integration. This concept characterized many urban programmes and plans since the 1980s, which aimed at promoting immigrants' integration contrasting segregation processes. In fact, the creation of socially and ethnically mixed communities can be attributed to polices of control and displacement which led to the renewal of neighbourhoods and buildings, tenure diversification and establishment of maximum rate of people of certain categories per neighbourhood.

The rhetoric of mixed-neighbourhoods risks fuelling certain environmental determinisms, implying that integration automatically happens thanks to the cohabitation of diverse people in the same physical space. Furthermore, the concentration of ethnic communities in specific areas cannot be considered a negative factor per se, and desegregation measures could have possible negative effects such as isolating more vulnerable members of the community from informal social networks (Fioretti, 2010).
Neither Esquilino nor Torpignattara are ghettos or ethnic enclaves. The meaning and dimensions of the ethnic concentration and segregation in these areas are different from those of US inner cities. The rhetoric of concentration still permeates the imagery of native inhabitants and politicians, often without serious reflection upon the risks of social exclusion and marginalization. In reality, this rhetoric mainly materializes itself as a fear of the stranger and the transformation that he brings with himself. Even if there is a lack of veritable policy for the creation of mixed-neighbourhoods, there are some actions that move towards control and displacement, the Council regulations for ethnic businesses being an example.

**The process**

The social process which translates diversity into social richness takes for granted that diversity leads automatically to social learning. The ideal of a beneficial and tamed diversity implies an internal 'mechanism' with burdensome assumptions. Though the public sphere – the discursive space of the public opinion - is often confounded with public space - the material space of free encounters - the distinction has to be kept in mind (Low, Taplin and Scheld 2005). Communication technology as well as contemporary urbanism led to consistently diverging paths. The cleansing of public space, the web of physically interrelated public places, through policing or privatization, is often reputed to have a shrinking effect on the public sphere. Whether this holds true or not is a matter of research. However, part of the confusion is due to the untenable conviction that private and public spaces are at opposite ends and never overlap.

On the contrary, the distinction between the two realms is much blurred. Furthermore, just a more reasonable and modest link can be expected between the space of encounters and the sphere of opinions. In the words of Amin ‘the city's public spaces are not natural servants of multicultural engagement’. In fact, social processes do not automatically grant positive outcomes and require instead norms to be enforced. For instance, Nussbaum (2000: 6) contends that a threshold level of capabilities should be granted before any social process develops (i.e., the potential to 'live as a dignified, free human being who shapes his or her own life', Nussbaum 2000: 72).
When talking about diversity in the urban space it is important to refer not merely (and in particular) to public space in the strictest sense. Many scholars studying ethnic diversity have focused their attention on public spaces because of their intrinsic freedom and openness and being by definition the places where an urban civic culture is built. However, in reality, public spaces seldom support a veritable interaction between strangers. At most, they lead to what Blockland calls public familiarity (2008). Furthermore, it seems important to differentiate between the magniloquent public spaces of the European city tradition, epitomized by ‘the square’, and more banal, ordinary public spaces (such as the street) where the majority of daily practices actually occur.

The traditional public space constituted by the gardens located in Piazza Vittorio plays a key role as the intercultural place of the neighbourhood. These gardens have been, in fact, the venue of many initiatives organized by the local administration and by some political parties and associations to promote the intercultural city (see, for example, the many editions of the *Intermundia* initiative). Furthermore, the gardens are used by different ethnic and religious communities for the celebration of public events, such as the Chinese New Year, the Bengali Boishakhi Mela, or the Ramdan Eid al-Fitr.

The public space of Piazza Vittorio’s gardens acts as a symbol and an interface of a process of openness and melange of different cultures, and is functional to the process of institutional recognition of ethnic and religious minorities. However, the gardens are also a place of spatial and functional segregation by different groups who use them for there are few veritable interethnic exchanges (in a positive or negative sense).

The street space is particularly important both in Esquilino and in Torpignattara as it is the one area that many immigrants’ businesses look into. It is the space where one can read signboards in different languages, where products are displayed, where people of various ethnic origins pass each other. The street is also the space where are written and rewritten different spatial grammars of various communities (Semi 2007), who in that way affirm their presence and negotiate their diversity.
Defending diversity

Interculturalism as an analytical approach addresses the process of construction and mutual understanding of the identities of hosting and immigrant populations. As a normative ideal, it settles the ambivalence between indifference and curiosity, offering a realistic conception of possible agreements. Interculturalism is often over burdened with idealized features, like the cosmopolitan ideals, which might be difficult to achieve.

Diversity too is overloaded with normative expectations and theory-laden assumptions. Once wiped clean of these expectations, however, its relevance starts to shine through again. There are, however, some warnings and conditions.

First, cultural differences and the ambivalence of having to deal with new, unexpected behaviour should not be underestimated. It is a matter of debate whether dealing with unfamiliar practices are a benefit or not. What is apparent, however, is that a considerable effort is required to adapt contrasting common sense and habits to cognitive and practical expectations. This is an intrinsically political process in the sense that both individual cognitions and collective feelings are involved. Left to themselves, these feelings can be exploited to incite notions of threat and fear (van Leeuwen 2010).

Second, the normative ideal of living together cannot be enforced as a spatial and universal rule or considered opportune and desirable in all situations. Only a restrictive notion of diversity could sustain such a ubiquitous rule, which presumes the existence of some degree of closeness or shared symbolic framework. Worse, the notion of diversity is blurred by romantic regrets of long lost communal living, or the examples of cities in the age of multi-ethnic empires. This is not to say that space does not have a role to play. Quite the opposite, space plays the role of supporting encounters in practical contexts and thus assumes a central role in shaping the experience of living together. This very practical experience unfolds in banal and ordinary spaces, which are at the core of everyday life (Cremaschi 2012). Taking care of these spaces is crucial, yet only a preliminary condition, to the deployment of more far reaching processes of mutual recognition and understanding.
Finally, public space should also be reassessed as the privileged locus of inter-ethnic relations. Far from that, public space, which includes an extensive set of interconnected places, serves as one among many stages where encounters take place. These places, either streets, community and welfare spaces, or places of work and worship contribute to framing the overall inventory of social opportunities. Intercultural policy should then look at the variety of these spaces instead of focusing solely on traditional public spaces such as the square or the park.

In the reality of multi-ethnic Rome there are some positive signals of veritable intercultural processes, but these are not coming from official immigrants' policies, but rather from the practices of the civil society and other non-institutional actors.

One example is that of immigrants' businesses. Both in Esquilino and in Torpignattara, there is a concentration of ethnic shops that seem to be inaccessible to Italian customers and form closed ethnic enclaves. However, this phenomenon occurs in very defined spaces (a street, a square), beyond which ethnicities mix and businesses experiment various grades of hybridization. So it is possible to find shops which even though having a strong 'ethnic' appearance, serve a diverse clientele, in some cases mainly Italian. Some of them are adopting Italian traditions, mixing styles or hiring Italian personnel. The role of these shops is important because the commercial exchange, the bargain process and building customer loyalty necessitate face to face interactions that facilitate the intermingling of cultures.

Furthermore, as already mentioned, shops have an important role with respect to the street they overlook. Appreciating this, the Torpignattara Neighbourhood Committee together with the Italian Institute of Bengalese Culture brought together Italian residents and immigrant businessmen in an initiative of collective cleaning of Maranella Street, which has the highest percentage of Bangladeshi commercial premises. This project is a particularly relevant example of collective care of the space shared by residents and retailers. The problem of urban decay, which is often associated with the presence of immigrants, is seen through another perspective.

The belief of representatives of the Torpignattara Neighbourhood Association is that the decay is caused by the poor quality of the territory, which is already ridden with the historical lack of public facilities, infrastructure and services, and poor maintenance of public spaces. Rather than
being viewed as the cause of the problem, the immigrants are seen as allies who are as interested as the residents in the upkeep of their living environment.

Concluding, as shown by the examples, policies of diversity can be political enactments for the intercultural city, the condition being the improvement of the assumptions in defining, modelling and processing diversity in an urban context (Briata 2013). Ironically, the lack of a national model either of assimilation or multiculturalism sustains, if not consistent results, at least a varied array of practical experimentations, once more stressing the relevance of a local approach in Italy.
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transformations in the contemporary world due to the new migration flows towards Europe. She has recently published ‘La città sradicata. Geografie dell’abitare contemporaneo’ (O barra O Edizioni, 2013) and ‘Geografie del primo approdo a Milano’, in Lo Piccolo (ed) ‘Nuovi abitanti e diritto alla città: un viaggio in Italia’ (Alinea, forthcoming).

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NOTES

1 www.unescochair-iuav.it

2 Reference here is made specifically to the Council of Europe and UNESCO, both of which have recently issued influential documents essentially recommending a shift from multiculturalism to interculturalism: the ‘White Paper on intercultural dialogue’ (CoE 2008) and the World Report ‘Investing in Cultural Diversity and Intercultural Dialogue’ (UNESCO 2009).

3 See as an example the CLIP Network’s report, ‘Intercultural policies in European cities’ (http://www.eurofound.europa.eu/pubdocs/2010/32/en/1/EF1032EN.pdf), focusing on the assumption that influencing and managing intergroup relationships among an increasingly diverse local population is a major challenge for cities.

4 Rather than ‘migration policies’ that are typically a responsibility taken up by the central government (Balbo 2009).


6 This paragraph largely draws upon the discussions carried out during the conference held in Venice and is intended to raise questions pertinent to striving for intercultural urban futures. Special thanks go to Ruth Fincher, Gill Valentine and Ferruccio Pastore who – invited as discussants of the draft papers making up some chapters of this book - raised most of these issues.


http://esa.un.org/MigAge/p2k0data.asp


1 See, for example, David Cameron’s Speech to the Munich Security Conference on 5 February 2011. (http://www.number10.gov.uk/news/pms-speech-at-munich-security-conference/); also Buchanan, 2010; Harrison, 2008; Munck, 2008.

2 I wish to credit Laavanya Kathiravelu for introducing me to the idea of ‘communities of convenience.’

3 This responds to calls by Skrbis et al 2004:132. See also Beck 2009.

4 Such an approach is suggested by Dikec, et al, 2009.

5 The data used here were generated through collaboration with Tufts University, University of Nairobi, and Eduardo Mondlane University in Maputo. The statistical analysis included here was either conducted by the author or draws on two, co-authored papers (see Landau and Duponchel 2011; Madhavan and Landau 2011).

6 For more on Diepsloot’s history, see Harber, 2011 and Bearak, 2011.

The discussion of Ongata Rongai draws heavily from Otieno, 2011.

For the purposes of this study, the terms ‘migrants’ is generally used to denote populations perceived as foreigners, above all people coming from so-called developing nations, whether or not they are official residents in possession of a legal permit of stay.

Municipal Statistical Yearbook 2012 (http://www.padovanet.it/dettaglio.jsp?id=9840#.UsqDmNL3Png).

Caritas-Migrantes 2012.


The notion of imageability is defined as ‘that quality in a physical object which gives it a high probability of evoking a strong image in any given observer. It is that shape, colour, or arrangement which facilitates the making of vividly identified, powerfully structured, highly useful mental image of the environment’ (Lynch 1960: 9).

http://www.obarrao.com/video-la-citta-sradicata.html

Spaces of insurgent citizenship’ are called, by James Holston, ‘the spaces delivered from the planned and modern dominion of the city; the land of homeless, migrant networks, gay’s neighborhoods, self-made suburbs (...). Holston considered insurgent those spaces where practices take place that disturb the consolidated narratives of the contemporary city’ (Holston 1995: 35-52). In an article entitled Insurgent City. Topography of another Florence, Paba traces the interpretations, from Sandercock to Geddes to Mumford, of the word insurgent, to explain the research in which ‘the object of representation must be exactly the boiling world of the insurgent city (...). The materials to represent were then made not by objects, but by weaving of human relationships, new intersubjective relationships and their difficult and controversial interaction with the morphological and organizational structure of the city’ (Paba 2004: 26-29).

As the linguistic and cultural mediator at the Help Centre explains, the migrant that occurs at the Centre is given a sheet of paper with the address and telephone number of the service he is looking for, but often, as the migrant doesn’t speak Italian, these indications become an obstacle to overcome seeking further help.

In fact, the reconversion of housing and development policies since the Second World War has been correctly understood as a ‘revolution’(Tosi, 1994).
This is evident in different environments: the music scene (the famous multi-ethnic band Orchestra di Piazza Vittorio); literature (the popular novel by Lakhous Amara, recently made into a movie: Clash of Civilization Over an Elevator in Piazza Vittorio); cultural events (the Chinese new year takes often place in Piazza Vittorio); religious practices (in this area there are several churches of different Christian denominations, a Buddhist temple, a mosque, and a Chinese Evangelist church); ethnic cuisine (the Sonia restaurant, renown as the best Chinese restaurant in Italy, has been located there for decades, as well as many other ethnic restaurants along with a popular food market selling ethnic products); sports (the Piazza Vittorio Cricket Club, Rome having not been famous for cricket before).

*Borgate* were traditional self-built neighbourhoods that grew in the periphery of Rome in the first half of the Twentieth century soon to be followed by the working-class of the post-war period, then by the post-war speculative developments, and finally by recent infill. The lack of a master-plan is mirrored also in the poor quality and general lack of public space. The building environment shows signs of decay, evident in unkempt open spaces.

Several councils’ directives have forbidden certain kinds of retail and wholesale shops since 2003.

The Torpignattara Neighbourhood Committee is a very active community association formed by long term residents, mainly Italians, engaged in the promotion of the urban quality of the neighbourhood through a number of initiatives.

Jane Jacobs’ famous book “The life and death of American cities” advocated a mix of activities to sustain a vibrant street life at different times of the day; short blocks allowing pedestrians to permeate urban space; the preservation of buildings of various ages, states of repair and quality to prevent social segregation through market mechanisms; and social and demographic density to foster variety and creativity. Most of these requirements only make sense in a US context. However, even those adapted to other situations, rely heavily on physical features.

These mostly one-hour interviews were digitally recorded, then transcribed, and analysed manually. The focus-group discussion lasted one hour and it was also digitally recorded, then transcribed, and analysed manually. The Ethics Committee of York University (decision: 2011-124) approved my research, and all the research participants read and signed written consent forms. The nineteen research participants were given the option of anonymity (though none of them chose to remain anonymous); all the young adult participants in the focus-group are anonymous. At the conclusion of my postdoctoral research in 2013, I will submit the transcripts of the interviews and the focus-group discussion to the Finnish Social Science Data Archive of Tampere University.

Jane and Finch is one of Toronto’s thirteen priority areas in need of special attention as identified by the City of Toronto (City of Toronto 2006a).

The focus-group participants were mostly Black from a range ethnic and social backgrounds. *Racialisation* here refers to the socio-spatial marginalisation inflicted on visible minorities. Galabuzi (2006: 251) defines racialisation as a ‘Process by which racial categories are constructed as different and unequal in ways that have social, economic, and political consequences.’ One of the premises of this paper is that racialisation as a discriminatory process has spatial consequences (Galanakis 2008).
The stakeholders who were interviewed for this research are purposefully referred to as ‘research participants’ because they were instrumental to reorienting the principle researcher’s approach.

The fact that most attendants are white Anglos (on many occasions, research participants used the term ‘Anglo’.

Though it is often a derogatory term, there did not seem to be any intention to offend) has been cause for criticism (Mason 2011; Stuart 2011). Mason (2011) argues: ‘… okay, so they [immigrants] don’t come to Friday night supper, but they make their own picnics’.


A paper copy of the report was mailed to me in October 2013 shortly before this article was sent for printing. The report is online publicly accessible material written by Jutta Mason and illustrated by Jane LowBeer for CELOS (celos.ca). The title of the report is: ‘Cooking with Fire in Public Parks – 1993-2013 at Dufferine Grove Park – What happens in a neighbourhood when you light a fire’.


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1Quoted and translated into English from the following German original paper: Medvedev, Alexei; Şengül-Loof, Ayfer (2013). ‘Vom Elterncafé zur Elternmoderation – zwischen Modell und Alltag’ in Hartung, Regine et al. (ed), Interkulturelles Lernen. Ein Praxisbuch (Schwalbach/Ts, Debus Pädagogik Verlag), pp. 146-154.

1 Heartlanders, conventionally speakers ‘Singlish’ (an English based Creole language) rather than English, are seen as more parochial and inward looking than cosmopolitans but also as the guardians of Singapore’s core values.

2 As recently as 1998, in an article in the Asian edition of the Wall Street Journal, the former Indonesian President B. J. Habibie called Singapore a little red dot, referring to its overwhelmingly Chinese origin population and their alleged sympathies toward their ancestral home who could not be trusted by the over 200 million Muslims in Indonesia (Borsuk and Chua 1998).

3 A rojak salad is a mix of fruits and vegetables topped with a thick sweet and spicy sauce. The sauce gets everywhere, but the flavor of the original fruits or vegetables remains. In Malaysia and Singapore, rojak is a colloquial expression for an eclectic mix, referring to the multi-ethnic character of Malaysian and Singaporean society in which all groups stay discrete but come together under the rubric of the nation.

4 These debates speak to questions about whether creativity can flourish in a society with limited freedoms, where the government, to varying degrees, still regulates what citizens do and say. How much the government actually controls artistic production is a key piece of the answer, which is hard to come by. The state increasingly turns a blind eye to political challenges. Censorship regulations have softened, film classifications have broadened, and using art as a platform for political commentary is more common. These changes, writes Chong (2010), began in the 1990s, under Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong, who wanted to create a ‘kinder, gentler society’ that differed from the iron hand of
Lee Kuan Yew. Yet, we should not, he warns, forget about the deep ideological role culture still has to play in addition to its economic role. All too often, critics charge, talk of creativity is equated with talk about ‘industrializing creativity. The government talks this talk to prove to mobile business talent that Singapore is a good place to live. But real creativity and new ideas can only flourish where people are allowed to challenge conventional ideas and perspectives. A place that still fears for its survival, that depends on the government to provide, and that defines achievement only in economic terms is not particularly fertile creative ground (Chong 2010; Ooi 2011).

In March 2013, several important figures in the art community offered ‘A Manifesto for the Arts to the Public’, which declared that ‘Art is fundamental; Art is about possibilities; Art unifies and divides; Art can be challenged but not censored; Art is political.’ Art, its writers asserted, cannot be separated from politics. The authorities should not play the role of critic. It must be Singaporeans who decide what they want to watch.

1 Research conducted between 2011 and 2012 in the city of Padua (Italy), funded by the European Integration Fund. It was part of the Project ‘Mediare.com. Percorsi di comunità attraverso la mediazione’, conducted in collaboration with the Padua and Venice Municipalities.

2 Cremaschi and Fioretti use the term diversity instead of difference in this volume in order to stress the (spatial) outcome of the notion.

3 According to Pezzoni ‘transitory populations’ describes all individuals who have not yet found a stable living arrangement.

4 According to the Bossi-Fini law, (TestoUnicoImmigrazione) non-EU immigrants are allowed entry into Italy only if they have a ‘residence contract’ (contratto di soggiorno) – i.e. an employment contract signed by the employer (a firm or a family) and the immigrant worker. The contract must provide for accommodation and the payment of travel expenses for the workers to return to their country of origin. Italian embassies and consulates will issue entry visas only on these improbable conditions. When the contract expires, immigrant workers must return to their country of origin.