



## ***Concordia Discors.***

### ***Understanding Conflict and Integration Outcomes of Inter-group Relations and Integration Policies in Selected Neighbourhoods of Five European Cities***

## **Turin Background Report**

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## **Preface**

The expression “Concordia Discors” comes from one of Latin poet Horace’s epistles and has become paradigmatic of a dynamic state of “discordant harmony”. A fundamental assumption of this project is that integration is a dynamic achievement and it is not a rigid state nor the conceptual opposite of conflict. It is thus necessary to face, thematize and analyze the inter-group tensions inevitably associated with integration processes, as a precondition to deal with such tensions proactively and constructively.

Another assumption inspires this project: for all the differences in the ways in which integration issues emerge and are framed around the EU, an undisputable common feature is the decisive importance of cities, both in symbolical and in practical terms, as concrete contexts where integration “succeeds” or “fails”. This decisive role is generally not played by cities as indistinct wholes, but rather by specific quarters within each city which constitute high-visibility testing grounds for integration.

Given these two assumptions, Concordia Discors intends to investigate intergroup relations at quarter level, with the aim of producing a deep, strongly empirically-based and directly policy-relevant understanding of integration and conflict processes in European cities’ quarters.

- Intergroup relations are viewed as the complex result of the interaction of three fundamental levels:
- Urban and social context and everyday experience of diversity in the quarter.
- Public policies displaying their effects at quarter level, including political and electoral communication strategies.
- Media information and representation flows concerning the quarter level.

The abovementioned dynamics are investigated through two levels of comparison: i) between different quarters within the same city; ii) between quarters located in different cities and countries. We define quarter as any small residential district irrespective of the degree of social integration (Dictionary of Human Geography 2000), whose identity is recognisable by city residents, whereas having an autonomous administrative relevance as such would not be an essential requisite. Within each city the two target quarters both have a relevant percentage of foreign residents, but are differentiated by different levels of apparent intergroup tension, as suggested by preliminary inquiries. By selecting target quarters in this way, we aim at investigating different modes of intergroup relations that go from conflict to cooperation including intermediate patterns of interactions, seen as developmental dynamics of integration processes.

The project involves five European cities, each of which is investigated by a research partner: Torino by FIERI, Nuremberg by efms of the University of Bamberg, Barcelona by the Migration Research Group of Autonomous University of Barcelona, London by COMPAS of the University of Oxford and Budapest by TARKI. A sixth partner, EPC, is in charge to support the dissemination and favour the networking with decision-makers and civil society organizations at EU level.

This first background report is aimed at reconstructing the urban and social context of the target quarters and at providing some general elements concerning the conflict and cooperation dynamics at work in each area. These aspects will be deepened through the ethnographic fieldwork and illustrated in the final city reports.

## 1. The broader context: the city of Turin

Turin is the regional capital of Piedmont, in the North-West of the country. It is the fourth largest Italian city with 908,568 inhabitants at the beginning of 2011 (City of Turin).

Besides being the first political capital of Italy from 1861 to 1865, it is the automotive capital of the country due to the establishment of the biggest Italian automobile factory, Fiat, which made the city a one-company town from the post- IIWW for over 40 years. During the 1990s the city underwent a difficult transition which led to a predominance of services over manufacturing.

**Tab. 1.1 Number of enterprises in Turin in 2010-2001**

	2010	2001
Manufacturing activities	10,959 - (8,1%)	11,051 - (11,1%)
Constructions	16,378 - (12,1%)	9,311 - (9,3%)
Commerce	37,263 - (27,6%)	30,543 - (30,7%)
Tourism	9,186 - (6,8%)	4,906 - (4,9%)
Other services/activities	61,150 - (45,3%)	43,757 - (43,9%)
TOTAL LOCAL ENTERPRISES	134,926 - (100%)	99,568 - (100%)

Fonte infocamere, 2010 [http://www.piemonteincifre.it/set\\_i.html](http://www.piemonteincifre.it/set_i.html)

This “shift-to-tertiary” process has taken place through still strong connections with the industrial sector and, as a matter of fact, it has been driven largely by manufacturing services<sup>1</sup>. In the meantime, although the cultural and tourism sectors have substantially been reinforced (through the development of established realities such as the world-wide known Egyptian Museum, or through the creation of new major initiatives, such as the National Museum of Cinema and its “Torino Film Festival”, the annual Book Fair and gastronomic fair “Mother Earth”), they remain niches of the local economy, however promising and expanding (Casalino and Cominu 2010)

Despite the ability to cope with the reconversion of local economy better than other automotive-centred city, like Detroit, the local economic system has anyway suffered from the economic transition (from 1998 to 2006 Turin registered the lowest increase of GDP per capita among cities in the Centre-North of Italy) and from the current economic crisis (it has the highest unemployment rate among Centre-North cities, as the still large manufacturing sector has been particularly affected) (*ibidem*).

<sup>1</sup> It is worth noting that in Turin the investment in R&D is 2.4% of GDP against the national average of 1.1% and the Ocse average of 2.2% (Casalino and Cominu 2010)

The deindustrialization process has been also a chance for promoting large urban transformations, since it has created large dismissal areas: at the beginning of the 1990s, they were around 5 million meter squares, mainly located along the railways which run from South to North (Ciampolini 2007). This urban transformation process has been further stimulated by the Winter Olympic Game of 2006: in 2003, 10% of the city surface was affected by “road works” (Comitato Giorgio Rota, circolo L’Eau Vive, 2004) under the enthusiastic city slogan “Turin always on the move”.

In this process, special attention has been given to peripheral areas. In 1997 the Special Project on Peripheral Areas was created and later became a City department on its own. Peripheral areas are not conceived in mere geographical terms by local administration, but as areas where underused human resources and social marginalisation are concentrated, services and meeting places are underdeveloped and “empty spaces” mainly produced by de-industrialisation can become resources for urban transformations. In fact, the so-defined peripheral areas are usually working class quarters developed in 1950s and 1960s without a proper urban planning as a consequence of the huge inflow of internal migrants who settled around manufactory factories.

The industrial history of the city is indeed closely connected with internal migration flows. From 1951 to 1961 the resident population increased of 41.7% becoming over 1 million (Census data). At the end of the 1960s Turin was the third Italian city in terms of residents born in Southern Italy after Naples and Palermo. The impact of internal immigration on the local society has probably been greater than the one produced nowadays by the current international immigration: the insufficiency of the housing stock fostered an explosive and disorganised urban development; discrimination against internal migrants was widespread (housing or working advertisements with explicit clauses such as “Southern Italians are not welcome” were common); welfare services were not ready to face such a rapid increase in the demand so that, for instance, shifts were introduced in some schools due to shortage of classrooms. Difficulties and disadvantages faced by internal immigrants have generated long-standing effects. Still today, residents originating from Southern Italy occupy lower working positions compared to residents originating from Piedmont, probably as consequence of the lower level of education and the weaker social capital, especially in terms of personal contacts (Negri 1982).

However, this process has produced also positive effects. It has stimulated innovation in services run by public and non profit actors. The long-term legacy of such innovation is still visible today with a well-rooted habit of cooperation between the local administration and third sector organisations and with Turin largely acknowledged as one of the most advanced Italian cities in the field of integration of foreign immigrants.

Since the 1970s internal migration has decreased and Turin has experienced international migration, which has taken place in four main waves. The first wave started in the early 1970s and included students, mainly from the Middle East, Senegal and Nigeria, and political refugees and opposition members from South America (Chile and Argentina), Eritrea and Somalia. The second wave, which also took place in the 1970s, was composed mainly of female domestic workers from the former Italian colonies of Somalia and Eritrea, and from Philippines and Cape Verde. The third wave occurred between the mid-1980s and the mid-1990s, and it was made up mainly of Moroccans and other Africans, Asians (Chinese and Filipinos) and Latin Americans (Peruvians). The last wave originated from Eastern Europe: Albanians in the 1990s and Romanians in the last decade.

According to the data of the City of Turin, at the beginning of 2011 there were 129,067 foreign residents in Turin, equal to 14,2% of residents. It is a population that comes from over 150 countries. However, half of the foreign population is made up of Romanians and Moroccans, as the table below shows.

**Tab. 1.2 Main nationalities of foreign documented citizens in Turin (31 December 2010)**

<b>COUNTRY OF ORIGIN</b>	<b>NUMBER OF FOREIGNERS</b>	<b>% ON THE TOTAL OF FOREIGN RESIDENTS</b>
Romania	52,196	40.4
Morocco	19,424	15.04
Peru	8,808	6.82
Albania	5,710	4.42
China	5,518	2.27
Other nationalities	42,929	33.26
Total foreigners	129,067	100

Source: elaboration on BDDE REGIONE PIEMONTE, <http://www.regione.piemonte.it/bdde>

Family reunification has produced an overall balanced gender ratio, although there are still some strongly unbalanced ethnic communities, such as the Peruvians and the Filipinos marked by a strong female prevalence and the Senegalese where men are largely prevalent. The age structure of foreign population is characterised by a prevalence of young people, as the table below shows. However, second generations are still regarded as a quite new phenomenon and their integration is partially hampered by the difficult access to citizenship, which can be gained only when coming of age and at certain strict conditions.

**Tab. 1.3 Foreign young residents in Turin by age (31 December 2009)**

<b>AGE GROUP</b>	<b>RESIDENT CITIZENS (ITALIANS + FOREIGNERS)</b>	<b>RESIDENT FOREIGNERS - %</b>
0-4	32,334	8,652 - (26.76%)
5-9	36,046	6,899 - (19.17%)
10-14	33,824	5,648 - (16.7%)
15-19	35,111	5,958 - (16.97%)

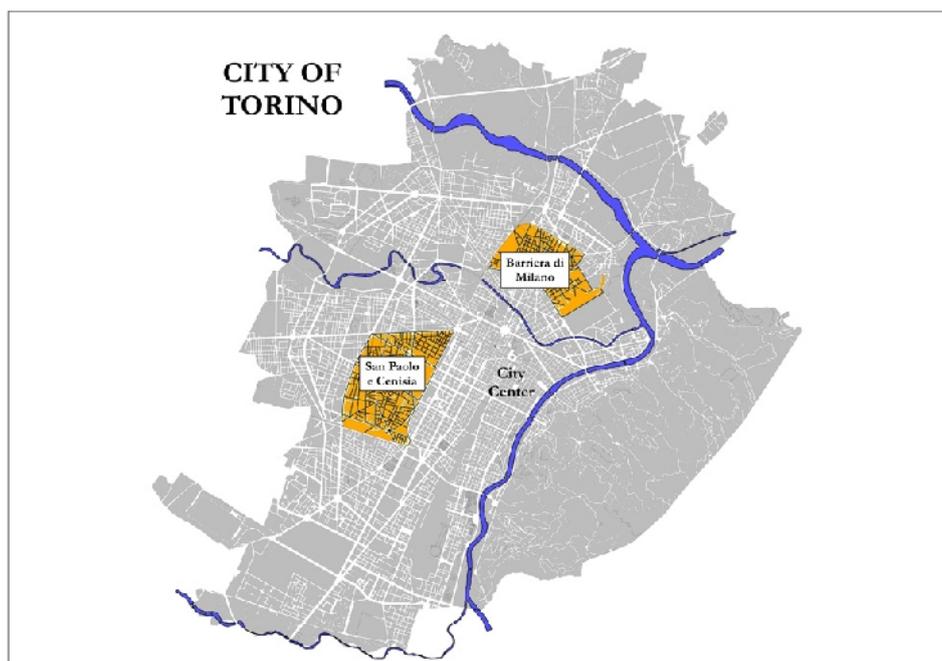
Source: elaboration on BDDE REGIONE PIEMONTE, <http://www.regione.piemonte.it/bdde>

Concerning economic integration, in the labour market of the Province of Turin, like in other Italian metropolitan areas, foreigners are mainly concentrated in the construction sector (25,6% of foreign employees) and in services (51% of foreign employees) such as cleaning services, hotels

and restaurants, health care for elderly and disabled people, domestic services; in the domestic work sector, in particular, foreigners are over half of employees (Di Monaco, 2008). Also the number of foreigner self-employed has risen dramatically: they increased ten times from 1997 and 2004, they doubled between 2004 and 2009 and kept growing in 2010 reaching a stock of 14.500 enterprises, 80% of which in the building and commercial sectors (FIERI and Chamber of Commerce 2010)

In this city context we are going to analyse more deeply the urban, social and economic dimensions of the specific sub-municipal units called *Quartieri* (quarters). In Italy, sub-municipal units were created by the national law no. 278 of 1976. When that national law was enacted, however, the Municipality of Turin had already given recognition to *Quartieri* thereby taking on board a strong demand of decentralisation and civic participation which was then coming from the civil society. Nowadays the *Quartieri* still act as important reference for the identity of residents, but they are no more significant administrative units since in 1984 the 23 *Quartieri* in which the city was divided were merged in 10 larger *Circoscrizioni* (Districts).

**Fig. 1.1 The two target quarters**



More precisely, the quarters selected for the research study are Barriera di Milano, which belongs to *Circoscrizione* 6, and San Paolo and Cenisia, which are part of *Circoscrizione* 3. San Paolo and Cenisia are considered together both due to their small dimensions and because their territory is normally perceived as a single quarter by local residents.

## 2. Barriera di Milano

### 2.1 Quarter as urban context

Barriera di Milano is a semi-central working class quarter, located in the North of Turin. It is quite isolated from the neighbouring areas by urban barriers: whereas the public transports and road networks are well developed along the North-South axis connecting the quarter both to the city centre and the Turin-Milan highway, this is not the case for the West-East axis. Also the internal mobility by walking is not ease because of an urban fabric characterised by many infrastructure obstacles (line 4 of ground metro, dismissed factories, etc.) and of a web of small and trafficked streets, on the one hand, and oversized and quite deserted roads, on the other hand.

Fig. 2.1 Map of Barriera di Milano



The presence of the railway and huge dismissed areas is due to the fact that Barriera di Milano was one of the city's main industrial areas. Now most of these big factories have been dismantled as consequence of deindustrialisation. However, the quarter is characterised also by a high

incidence of construction workplaces and small business, mainly commercial. As the table below shows, the density of enterprises is indeed higher than the city average.

**Tab. 2.1 Density of enterprises (2010)**

<b>AREA</b>	<b>Number of enterprises/Kmq</b>
Barriera di Milano	1426.78
City average	751.57

*Source: Chamber of Commerce of Turin*

Nevertheless, economic activities, including construction and commerce, are declining since 2009 as consequence of the economic crisis. Furthermore, a replacement process is occurring: part of traditional small shops and crafting activities are closing and substituted by ethnic business. In fact, despite the economic decline of the quarter, minorities of migrant origin are rapidly moving towards Barriera di Milano mainly attracted by low housing prices (Ciampolini 2007).

The housing stock and urban landscape of Barriera di Milano are extremely heterogeneous and stratified. The areas called Montebianco, on the Western side, and Monterosa, on the Southern side, represent the oldest parts of the quarter. They are made up of narrow streets and are distinguished by a high concentration of population and widespread social weakness. Small businesses and private and non profit organisations are widespread, while public services are few. The imbalance in favour of private and non profit organisations is probably related to the embeddedness of the resident population in this area and the legacy of political mobilisation processes occurred in the 1960s and 1970s; on the other hand, the old urban stock limits the availability of spaces and premises for public services which are therefore located in the newer parts of the quarter. However, progressive turn of the traditional commercial and crafting activities into housing or storage is contributing to the desertification of these areas and the rise of a widespread sense of collective insecurity. Monterosa and Montebianco are then undergoing fast changes since natives are moving towards the newly constructed areas and are replaced by immigrants who rent and often buy older houses. Within this area, the housing quality in Monterosa is actually lower and there is a lack of green spaces and sport infrastructures, while in Montebianco improvement of housing quality are taking place since dismissed industrial areas are being reconverted and new houses are being constructed where mainly families with children are moving (Ascolto Attivo and Zaltron 2010). Furthermore, in Montebianco there are relevant cultural activities, such as the music centres Spazio 2011 and Docks Dora, the youth and associations centre located in the Public Baths in Via Agliè, etc. and the biggest green area of the quarter, the Sempione Park.

**Fig. 2.2 Houses in the Monterosa area, built in the 20's**



**Fig. 2.3 Via Montanaro public garden in the Monterosa area**



Moving to the East part, we meet buildings constructed in the 1970s-1980s and in the 1940s. Here we also find a very large social housing complex, the so-called zone E8, and numerous welfare services, which are however difficult to reach for residents who live in the rest of the quarter because of the above mentioned problems of internal mobility along the West-East axis.

**Fig. 2.4 Popular blocks of flats in the eastern area of the quarter, built in the 70's**



On the contrary, shops, meeting places and green areas are few. Furthermore, on the East border the Cemetery, unauthorised vegetable gardens and small productive activities are located, as well as the railway station Vanchiglia, which is going to be renewed. Thus this Eastern part of the quarter is perceived mainly as a service and dormitory area.

The Northern area is characterised by houses of higher quality and the population is wealthier compared to the rest of the quarter (Ciampolini 2007). Here, we find the only theatre-cinema of the quarter and various welfare services as well as some of the main green areas and meeting centres for young people, such as the youth sporting club Centrocampo and the oratory Michele Rua.

This stratification of the urban fabric and housing stock is the result of different building waves. *Barriera di Milano* started indeed to develop in the second half of the nineteenth century as unplanned built-up area out of the toll gates, i.e. passages in order to ensure the payment of the duty by those who entered the city. This is the origin of the name “*Barriera di Milano*” (Toll Gate of Milan). The quarter was included in the city in 1912, but it was regarded as a sort of village still at the end of WWII. Indeed, although the first two decades of the century represented a period of large building interventions, when WWII broke out there were still thirteen big farms and pasturages in the area. From the end of the war through the economic boom, a fast urbanisation process started at the expenses of the residual rural areas: from 1951 to 1963 more than 7,000 apartments were built, including the above mentioned social housing complex “zone E8”. However, the land use plans were approved late, when the building process was already ended. The consequence was a disorganised urban and housing growth of this area and an underdevelopment of services and public spaces, as it happened in the other working quarters of the city built in that period (Beraudo, Castrovilli, Seminara 2006).

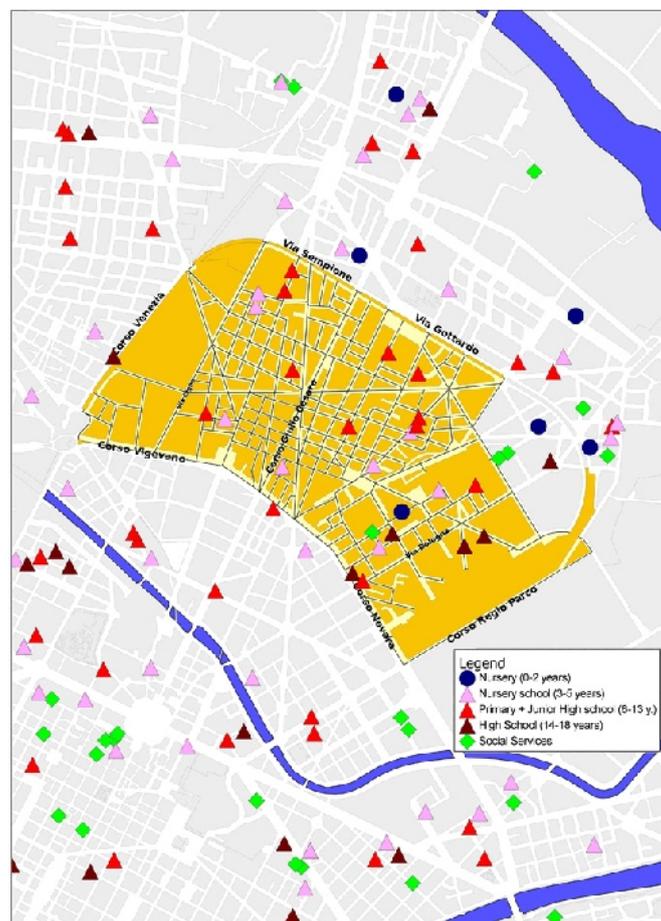
The building process started again after some major changes to the land use plan adopted in 1995 and it is still ongoing. It included also the construction of new social housing settlements in the dismissed industrial sites of INCET (around corso Vigevano) and CEAT (around via Leoncavallo). The share of social housing in the quarter has however remained lower than the city

average: the share of public housing in the city is 3.9%, in *Circoscrizione* 6 as a whole it is 9.6% while in *Barriera di Milano* is only 1.8% (Cooperativa Progest 2008).

Compared with other de-industrialised quarters in the city, in *Barriera di Milano* the urban regeneration has been limited. This was due also to the above mentioned small public housing stock and highly fragmented private home ownership which have strongly hindered the action of the local administration (Ciampolini 2007). The result is widespread urban blight, low quality housing stock and unevenly distributed welfare services.

More in general, some services seem to be insufficient. As the map below shows, social services and schools (especially nurseries) are few and underweighted if we consider that *Barriera di Milano* has a density of population and a share of poor families and young people higher than the city average (par. 2.2).

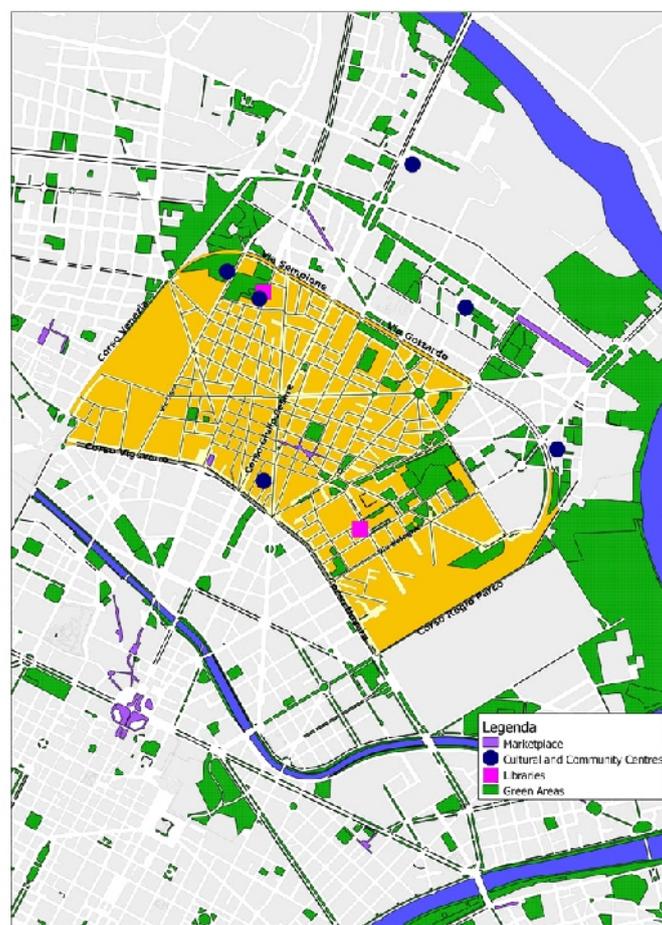
**Fig. 2.5 Map of schools and social services in *Barriera di Milano***



There is also a lack of meeting spaces and premises for non profit organisations and cultural and recreation activities, so that their location depends more on the availability of areas than on the distribution of demands and urban planning (Ascolto Attivo and Zaltron 2010). The main ones are the already mentioned city-wide known music clubs Spazio 211, Docks Dora and Le Ginestre, which organise concerts and provide room for young bands; the Public Baths of via Agliè which

host also associations and provide meeting spaces for young people; the sporting club Centrocampo which aims at preventing youth marginalisation. For elderly people, the main meeting centres are old political circles, some cafes and wine bars, the two civic libraries, Cascina Marchesa and Primo Levi, where a majority of retired people meet to read newspapers or to take part in recreational activities (gymnastics, music and dance classes). Cascina Marchesa also hosts the Elderly People Promotion Committee (*Comitato Promozione Anziani*). Finally, clubs where bowls are played, whose number in Barriera di Milano is the highest among Turin quarters (14), are important community centres.

**Fig. 2.6 Map of cultural and recreation places in Barriera di Milano**



Open-air meeting places are inadequate too. The largely unplanned urban development has severely limited the number of squares and green areas. Therefore, some open markets, such as the one in piazza Foroni, have become relevant meeting places in the quarter.

**Fig. 2.7 Foroni Square during the daily street market**

Sempione Park, in the North West part between *Circoscrizione* 5 and 6, is the largest green area while in the rest of the quarter only few small gardens are available (in the above map, the large green zone on the East side represents the sport fields of Centrocampo and green areas of private buildings, not parks). The result is that green per resident is a little more than 1.5 metre square against the over 20 metre square of the city average (Municipality of Torino). Moreover, the use of the public spaces seems to be further hampered by the sense of insecurity which arises from widespread presence of drug sellers and users (mainly in Monterosa and Montebianco, Sempione Park, Don Bosco Hospital and around via Pacini), the urban blight and the existence of broad dismissed areas.

It is crucial to add, however, that the dismissed industrial areas of the quarter are now object of the most important plan of urban transformation ever implemented in Turin (a combination of two distinct programmes, commonly known as “Urban 3” and “Variante 200”), to be realised with the purpose of expanding tertiary sector and housing stock, developing green areas, road and public transport networks (the city’s second underground line) and improving spaces for civic society activities.

**Fig. 2.8 The so-called “Trincerone”, the abandoned railway in the northern area of the quarter**

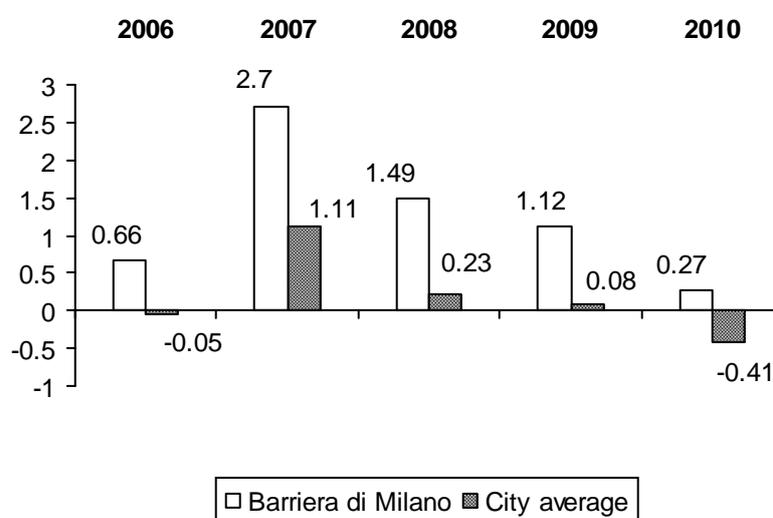


Nevertheless, the current vast urban transformation arises some risks, such as the possibility that population attracted by new housing stock grows more rapidly than welfare services. This scenario is particularly worrying since economic changes are worsening social problems and growing demands to welfare services, as we better explain in the next paragraph. Therefore, the fast transformation process seems to rise both expectations and fears among residents.

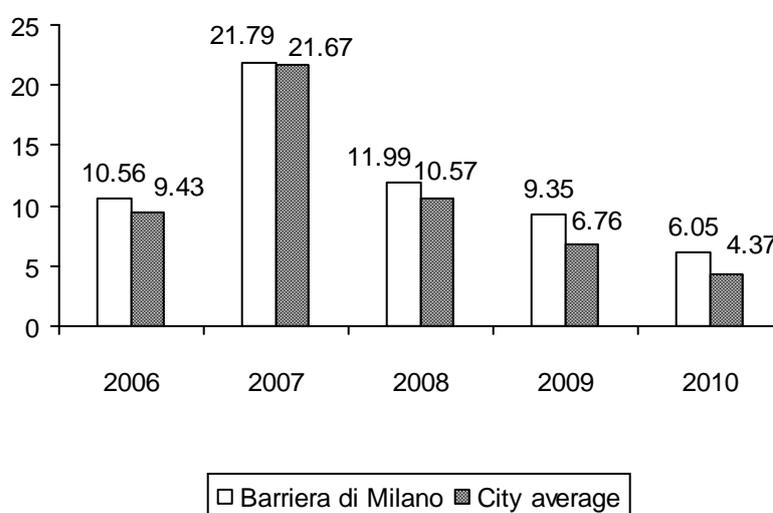
## ***2.2 Quarter as social unit***

Barriera di Milano is more densely inhabited, multi-ethnic, young and socially weaker compared to the city average.

The residents of *Circoscrizione 6* are 107,060, of which 50,990 live in Barriera di Milano. The population density in Barriera is nearly two times the city average: at the beginning of 2011 the residents per kmq were 17,348 against a city average of 6,888 (City of Turin). Furthermore, as we can see from the table below, differently from the whole city, Barriera di Milano in the last years has increased its population, although the last years this trend has slowed down.

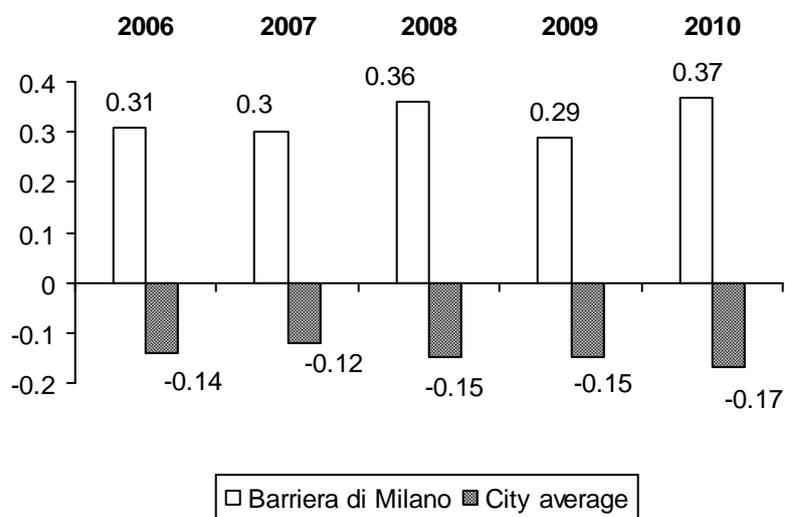
**Graph. 2.1 Demographic balance of total population (31 December 2010)**

Source: City of Turin

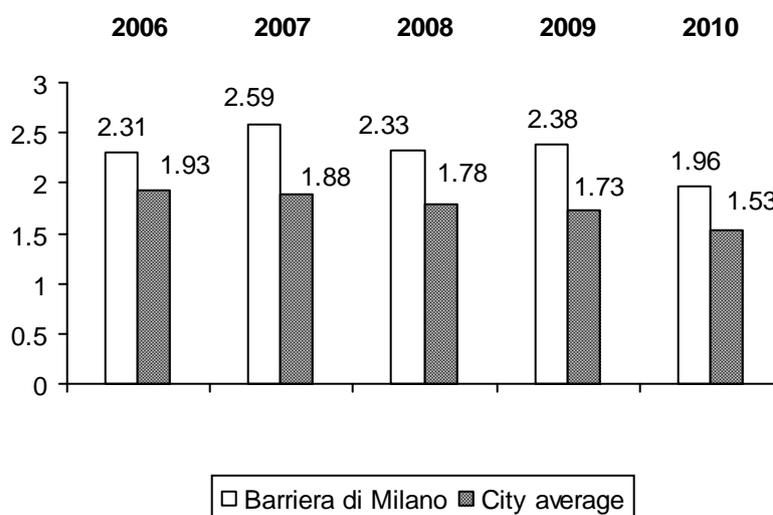
**Graph. 2.2 Demographic balance of foreign population (31 December 2010)**

Source: City Municipality of Turin

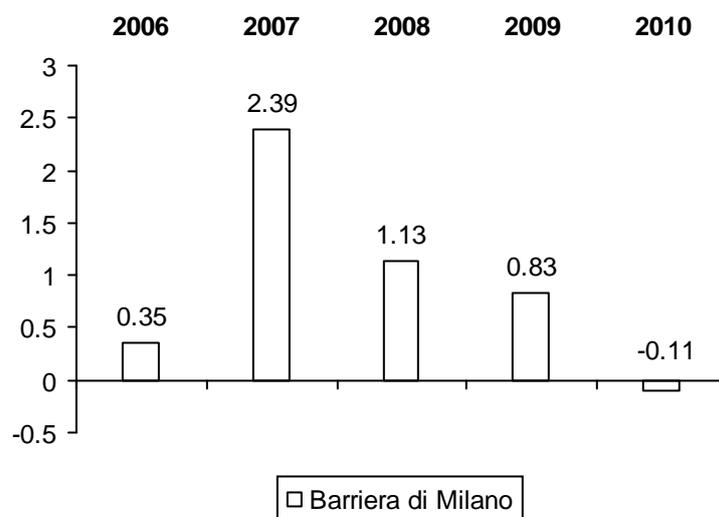
The sharp increase of population, however, is only due to foreigners whose natural balance as well as migratory balance are far higher than both for the rest of the population and for foreign population at city level. This clearly confirms what already stated concerning the strong attractiveness of this area for minorities of migrant origin, especially families, and the outflows of natives. It is worth underlining that the incredible peak of 2007 – with a trebling of the overall foreign stock - is mainly due to the acquisition of EU citizenship by Romanians who, even if irregular till then, could register to the Registry office.

**Graph. 2.3 Natural balance of total population (31 December 2010)**

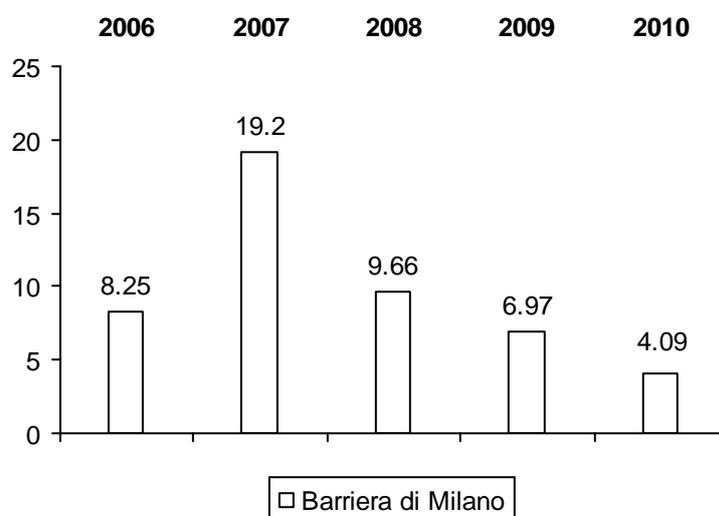
Source: City of Turin

**Graph. 2.4 Natural balance of foreign population (31 December 2010)**

Source: City of Turin

**Graph. 2.5 Migratory balance of total population (31 December 2010)**

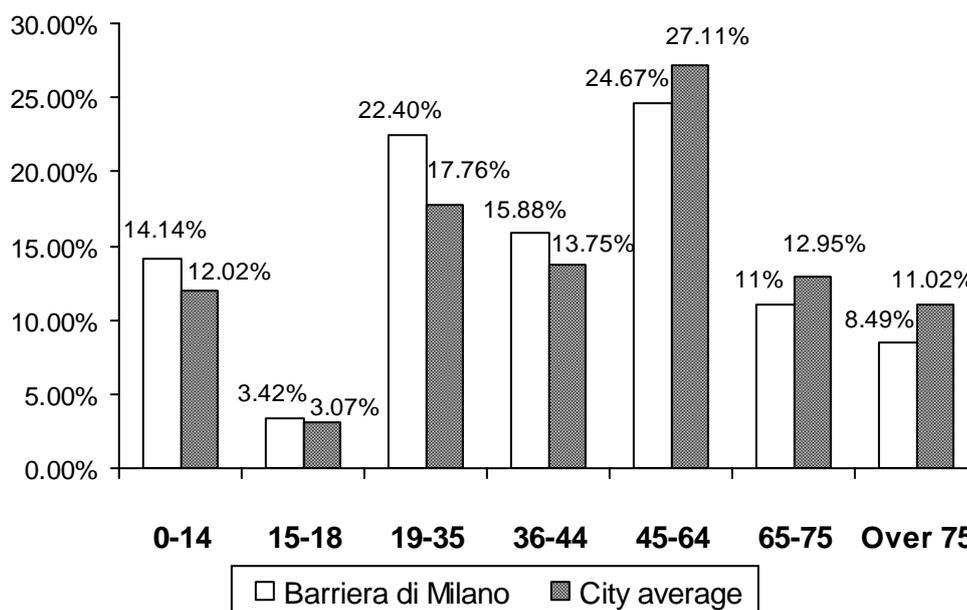
Source: City of Turin

**Graph. 2.6 Migratory balance of foreign population (31 December 2010)**

Source: City of Turin

Let us now turn to the composition of population of the quarter. Large families prevail: while families with 1-2 members are fewer in Barriera di Milano than at city level, those with 3 or more members are more numerous (Cooperativa Progest 2008).

At the beginning of 2010, both minors and elderly people over 65 years old are nearly one fifth of the population. As the table below shows, while the latter are lower than the city average, the first are higher, mainly due to stronger immigration trends.

**Graph. 2.7 Distribution of population by age-groups (31 December 2010)**

Source: City of Turin

The different age-categories are not evenly distributed in the quarter. Younger cohorts are comparatively more numerous especially in the older zones (Montebianco and Monterosa), while elderly population is concentrated in the neighbouring zones, where buildings were constructed later and immigrants of Southern Italy, now ageing, settled during the economic boom (Ascolto Attivo and Zaltron 2010; Cooperativa Progest 2008).

According to the last available census (2001), Barriera di Milano is among the city quarters which show the worse social profile and cope with multiple social weakness. The situation has got even worse over the last decades, as this once strongly industrial area has suffered greatly from the transition from fordist to post-fordist economy in 1990s (Conforti and Mela 2006).

The quarter is indeed characterised by higher-than-city-average rates of low educated people, school drop-outs, low-skilled workers, unemployed young people seeking for the first employment, especially in the Eastern area where social housing complexes are located, and in the older area of Monterosa and Montebianco (Ascolto Attivo and Zaltron 2010, Conforti e Mela 2006).

As of 30 June 2007, residents with a secondary high school degree were 17% in the quarter against 22% in Turin and the ones with a university degree were 3% against a city average of 8%. Foreigners, who are rapidly increasing in the quarter, have higher levels of education than natives, but harsh discrimination in the labour market hinders the achievement of good working positions (Cooperativa Progest 2008).

This picture is confirmed by the weak social and professional profiles of the residents who use the services provided by the local *Centri per l'impiego* (Employment Centres): these are mainly persons over 45 years old, with low levels of education, who have lost their jobs or have precarious employments, often belonging to single income families. Nevertheless, although there is a persistent industrial demand for specialised workers, Italian youth still tend to refuse these

jobs which are often taken by immigrants. A share of Italian women seek temporary jobs in the homecare sector, especially in these years of crisis in order to cope with the temporary decrease of family income. Foreign women, although often competing on the same sectorial labour market, have higher educational levels and, differently from Italians, adopt long-period working strategies (Ciampolini 2007).

In Barriera di Milano the share of poor families is higher than the city average (Conforti and Mela 2006). The share of resident families dependent on social services in *Circoscrizione* 6 were 11.7% in 2007 against 7.7% of *Circoscrizione* 3 in 2008. Furthermore, the demands to social services in Barriera are increasing more rapidly than in the rest of the city. They concern mainly elderly people who need home care, adults who ask for economic and housing help, minors condemned by Tribunal. Social services are facing difficulties in responding effectively to these demands due, on the one hand, to the increasing weakness of the population, and on the other hand to welfare cuts and ever more severe criteria for granting benefits. Therefore, the gap between demands and people who are actually admitted to social service provisions is widening: in 2007, only 36 demands out of 407 for public economic assistance were accepted (*Circoscrizione* 6 2009; *Circoscrizione* 3 2010).

Finally, the social situation is worsened by higher than city-average crime rates. In particular, the areas of Montebianco (1.232 crimes in 2007) and Monterosa (2.221 crime in 2007) are the statistical zones in Turin with the highest frequency of predatory crimes (Municipality of Turin).

A crucial resource to cope with this situation is the social capital of Barriera di Milano. In the past, the factory was a key producer of social capital which was mainly bonding, since it was based on the common belonging of residents to the working class and it was strengthened by the closeness of productive sites and housing settlements, i.e. the strong connection of working and living places. This has produced a strong quarter identity and intense civic participation such as the well known struggles fought by trades unions, left-wing parties and residents' organisations in 1960s and 1970s. That social capital played also a bridging function since it fostered the integration of internal migrant from other Italian regions into the quarter social texture.

Barrier di Milano has mantaned its identity of working quarter, but nowadays the social capital seems weaker and its capacity of bonding and bridging is much more limited than in the past since the factory is no more the heart of quarter life and it has not been replaced by as much powerful socialising institutions. And in these last years it is further challenged by the economic transition and social changes (Ciampolini 2007). Furthermore, the abovementioned fast and huge inflows of people may hamper the build of social relations since residents change rapidly. Finally, the maintenance and building of social capital is hindered by the lack of meeting spaces, green areas, locations for recreational activities. So residents have few chances to get in contact and, especially young people, are even forced to look for entertainment activities out of the quarter.

### 2.3 Quarter as migrants' destination

The first immigrants came in Barriera di Milano from the province of Turin and from the rest of the Region at the end of the XIXth century as consequence of the agriculture crisis and the settling of the first factories in the quarter.

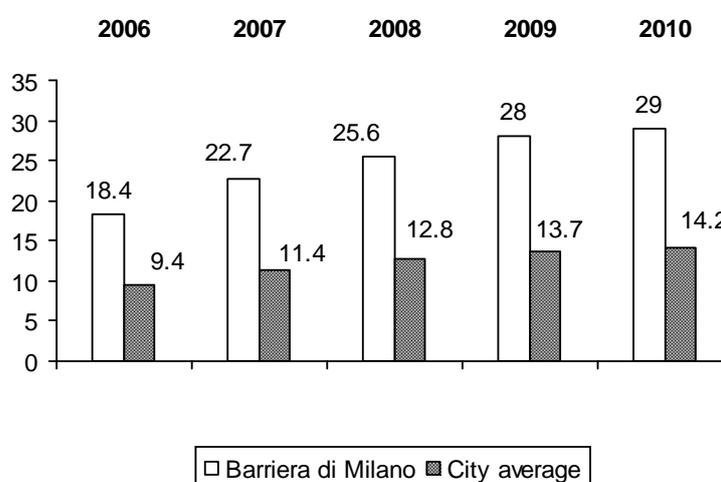
The first big increase in immigration took however place during the economic boom of the late 1950s and 1960s, with large inflows from Southern Italy and substantial transfers from other city areas induced by the increasing demand of labour force and the fast housing expansion. The growing rate of the resident population was 39.98% in the decade 1951-1961 and 25.75% in the decade 1961-1971 (Beraudo, Castrovilli, Seminara 2006).

These immigration flows were far larger than the current international immigration and they did produce structural and long-lasting effects. For instance, children born in the South or with at least one parent from there represented the majority of pupils of the oldest elementary school of the quarter, the Pestalozzi, until the school year 2003-2004. The sign of internal migration are still visible also in urban landscape, where streets have names of villages of Southern Italy and open markets and shops show goods from those regions, like in the area of piazza Foroni, where a large community from Apulia is settled.

From 1979 the resident population started to decrease as a consequence of the demographic and economic decline, reaching the lowest value in 2000 with 46,720 residents (Municipality of Turin, [www.comune.torino.it/statisca/dati/](http://www.comune.torino.it/statisca/dati/)).

From 2001 the population began growing again due to international immigration. At the beginning of 2011, the foreign population in *Circoscrizione* 6 is made up of about 21,500 units which represent 20% of residents against a city average of 14.2%. This is the highest rate after that of *Circoscrizione* 7 where the percentage of foreign residents is 21.23% (City of Turin). In Barriera di Milano only, the share of foreigners is even higher, with 29% of the total population (14,790). It is important to point out that this quarter borders the area of Porta Palazzo (located in *Circoscrizione* 7), a traditional receiving area for immigrants, from where foreigners often move to Barriera di Milano, especially after family reunion and in correspondence with the first house purchase.

**Graph. 2.8 Share of foreign population in Barriera di Milano (31 December)**



Source: City of Turin

Therefore, a substitution process is taking place. As we explained in the previous paragraph, foreigners are settling in the quarter while Italians are moving away. The share of foreign families is higher in Monterosa and Montebianco, the older areas of the quarter where houses are of lower quality and cheaper (Ciampolini 2007). Here, the migrants' share overtakes the threshold of 30% in 2009 (Municipality of Turin), thereby witnessing sharply increasing ethnic segregation trends. In more details, single migrants co-housing and buildings completely inhabited by foreigners coming from the same geographical area are more frequent in Monterosa than in Montebianco. But in this latter area Chinese migrants are more concentrated, especially in the so-called area of Spina 4<sup>2</sup>, where they represent 40% of foreign residents' population (Ascolto Attivo and Zaltron 2010).

Nationalities in the quarter are more than 130: a third of them Romanians, nearly one fourth Moroccan and one fifth Chinese.

**Tab. 2.2 Share of main nationalities on foreign residents in Barriera di Milano (31 December 2010)**

CITIZENSHIP	SHARE ON FOREIGN POPULATION
Romanian	33.2 %
Moroccan	24.3 %
Albanian	3.8 %
Chinese	7.1 %
Egyptian	3.7 %
Other nationalities	27,9 %
Total	100 %

Source: City of Turin

If compared to the city average, Moroccans, Chinese, Nigerians and Senegalese seem particularly concentrated in Barriera di Milano since the share on residents is three or four times the city average, as the table below shows.

<sup>2</sup> The so-called *Spine* (literally "thorns"; the term derived from the elongated shape of these urban areas) are four and are referred to the railway's tracks that are now being undergrounded in order to connect parts of the city separated from decades.

**Tab. 2.3 Share of foreigners on the resident population in Barriera di Milano by main nationalities (31 December)**

<b>NATIONALITY</b>	<b>2006</b>	<b>2007</b>	<b>2008</b>	<b>2009</b>	<b>2010</b>	<b>City average 2010</b>
<b>Romanian</b>	4.72	7.60	8.79	9.30	9.46	5.75
<b>Moroccan</b>	5.15	5.50	6.17	6.82	7.2	2.10
<b>Peruvian</b>	0.97	1.13	1.25	1.49	1.56	0.97
<b>Chinese</b>	1.48	1.67	1.77	1.98	2.08	0.60
<b>Nigerian</b>	0.81	0.99	1.17	1.32	1.6	0.36
<b>Albanian</b>	1.03	1.04	1.09	1.07	1.04	0.63
<b>Egyptian</b>	0.61	0.78	0.89	1.03	1.14	0.44
<b>Senegalese</b>	0.51	0.49	0.50	0.53	0.59	0.15
<b>Filipino</b>	0.25	0.98	0.35	0.40	0.49	0.35
<b>Tunisian</b>	0.28	0.34	0.35	0.39	0.37	0.18
<b>Other nationalities</b>	2.59	2.18	3.17	3.57	5.50	2.67
<b>Italians</b>	81.6	77.3	74.5	72.1	71	85.8
<b>Totals</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: City of Turin

According to the ethnographic fieldwork, the weight of the different national groups does not coincide with the actual visibility which is higher in the case of Sub-Saharan Africans since they more intensely use public spaces and some of them are involved in drug selling, as we will explain in the next paragraph.

#### **2.4 Quarter as arena of intergroup relations**

In Barriera di Milano both cooperative and conflicting dynamics have been singled out.

Here the centre-right party Northern League, which traditionally holds anti-immigrant stances, established its first premise in the city, with a clear aim of building upon the perception of the difficulties generated by rapid increases in foreign population. From this perspective, a diachronical analysis of electoral results gives very interesting outcomes. If we look at voting shares for parties with openly anti-immigration stances such as Northern League and Fiamma Tricolore<sup>3</sup> in Barriera

<sup>3</sup> It is a splinter of the former Movimento Sociale Italiano, the party which was created in the post-war period as a heir to the – now constitutionally banned - Fascist party.

di Milano, from 2001 up to now, they have not increased in the elections for the Municipal Council, whereas they doubled in the national election, as the Figure below shows.

**Tab. 2.4 Elections results**

<b>SENATE 2008</b>					
<b>AREA</b>	<b>LEGA NORD (no. of votes)</b>	<b>FIAMMA TRICOLORE (no. of votes)</b>	<b>TOTAL VOTERS</b>	<b>% LEGA NORD</b>	<b>% FIAMMA TRICOLORE</b>
Barriera di Milano	1,429	779	22,506	6.35	3.465
CITY	31,962	14,984	497,785	6.425	3.015

<b>CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES 2008</b>					
<b>AREA</b>	<b>LEGA NORD (no. of votes)</b>	<b>FIAMMA TRICOLORE (no. of votes)</b>	<b>TOTAL VOTERS</b>	<b>% LEGA NORD</b>	<b>% FIAMMA TRICOLORE</b>
Barriera di Milano	1,523	996	24,168	6.305	4.125
CITY	34,648	19,142	530,799	6.53	3.61

<b>SENATE 2006</b>					
<b>AREA</b>	<b>LEGA NORD (no. of votes)</b>	<b>FIAMMA TRICOLORE + ALTERNATIVA SOCIALE CON A. MUSSOLINI (no. of votes)</b>	<b>TOTAL VOTERS</b>	<b>% LEGA NORD</b>	<b>% FIAMMA TRICOLORE + ALTERNATIVA SOCIALE CON A. MUSSOLINI</b>
Barriera di Milano	850	334	25,352	3.35	1.32
CITY	17,929	5,969	543,684	3.30	1.10

<b>CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES 2006</b>					
<b>AREA</b>	<b>LEGA NORD (no. of votes)</b>	<b>FIAMMA TRICOLORE + ALTERNATIVA SOCIALE CON A. MUSSOLINI (no. of votes)</b>	<b>TOTAL VOTERS</b>	<b>% LEGA NORD</b>	<b>% FIAMMA TRICOLORE + ALTERNATIVA SOCIALE CON A. MUSSOLINI</b>
Barriera di Milano	872	372	27,252	3.20	1.36
CITY	18,462	6,505	581,219	3.18	1.12

<b>LOCAL ELECTIONS 2011 FOR THE MUNICIPAL COUNCIL</b>							
<b>AREA</b>	<b>LEGA NORD</b> (no. of votes)	<b>LEGA PADANA PIEMONTE</b> (no. of votes)	<b>DESTRA DI STORACE</b> (no. of votes)	<b>TOTAL VOTERS</b>	<b>% LEGA NORD</b>	<b>% LEGA PADANA PIEMONTE</b>	<b>% DESTRA DI STORACE</b>
Barriera di Milano	1679	64	109	23289	7.2	0.27	0.46
CITY	27451	1482	2396	470,946	5.31	0.31	0.50

<b>LOCAL ELECTIONS 2006 FOR THE MUNICIPAL COUNCIL</b>							
<b>AREA</b>	<b>LEGA NORD</b> (no. of votes)	<b>FIAMMA TRICOLORE</b> (no. of votes)	<b>IMMIGRATI BASTA</b> (no. of votes)	<b>TOTAL VOTERS</b>	<b>% LEGA NORD</b>	<b>% FIAMMA TRICOLORE</b>	<b>% IMMIGRATI BASTA</b>
Barriera di Milano	437	74	101	22,170	1.97	0.33	0.45
CITY	9,549	1,326	1,025	477,038	2.00	0.28	0.21

<b>LOCAL ELECTIONS 2001 FOR THE MUNICIPAL COUNCIL</b>					
<b>AREA</b>	<b>LEGA NORD</b> (no. of votes)	<b>FIAMMA TRICOLORE</b> (no. of votes)	<b>TOTAL VOTES</b>	<b>% LEGA NORD</b>	<b>% FIAMMA TRICOLORE</b>
Barriera di Milano	446	146	23,902	1.86	0.61
CITY	11,196	2,464	477,405	2.34	0.52

Source: Electoral Office of the Municipality of Turin

Those data suggest that political rhetoric matters the most when policies matter the least or when their impact is less visible. As an hypothesis, we can argue that, at local level, it is easier to evaluate the policies actually implemented by the Municipality, which in Turin has since long been ruled by centre-left parties and have implemented pro-immigrant and integration policies. On the contrary, a direct assessment of policies adopted by the National Parliament is more difficult, which leaves more room for ideologization. We should however consider that the share of votes taken by these parties in Barriera di Milano is really similar to the city average. Therefore, on the one hand, these electoral results do not tell us so much about quarters specificities; on the other hand, since in Barriera di Milano the leftist parties are well rooted, the fact that here the growth rate of right parties with anti-immigrant stances is the same as the whole city suggests that the centre-left risks to lose its hegemony.

Despite the attention given to Barriera di Milano by some anti-immigrant parties, no great conflicts have occurred until now in the quarter. Nevertheless, residents seem to perceive latent tensions ready to burst.

The ethnographic fieldwork shows that the minority group regarded as the most problematic is the one of Sub-Saharan Africans. As already said, the habit to intensely use public spaces and to meet out of African shops is perceived as disturbing and improper use of the quarter by other residents. Furthermore, a small but visible minority of Sub-Saharans is involved in street drug-selling, especially in Montebianco and Monterosa, whereas in Parco Sempione Italian pushers still seem to prevail.

In general, there is a widespread perception of insecurity that, according to a survey carried out in 2004-2005, is mainly due to the urban blight related to abandoned areas, dirty roads and rapid social changes connected to “white flee” and immigration inflows (Amapola 2005).

This sense of insecurity has led to the creation of a “Committee for the order and security of *Circoscrizione 6*” (*Commissione per l’Ordine e la Sicurezza della Circoscrizione 6*) and the establishment of the Conflict House (*Casa dei Conflitti*). The first is the result of an agreement between the Municipality and the Police; its meetings take place every two months and half of them are open to associations, quarter committees and shopkeepers’ organisations. The Conflict House, which has been created also in other city quarters, is a centre to prevent and manage conflicts, often linked to cultural differences (Ciampolini 2007). It is worth mentioning also the On the Road project on integrated security in Barriera di Milano, which involved the City of Turin and the administration of *Circoscrizione 6*.

Furthermore, also spontaneous – and peaceful – initiatives have been undertaken, such as the Voluntary Committee of Citizens and Traders of Barriera di Milano. It is an informal grouping of citizens which has an official statute since 2009 and is made up mainly of elderly and retired people, who every night, exasperated by extensive drug selling on the streets, organise group walks aimed at controlling pushers’ movements and creating disturbance actions, like talking aloud or threatening to call the police. Starting from walks around the quarter, the Committee of Barriera di Milano has extended its activity to public campaigns, like the collection of signatures against the building of a mosque in the area.

Also supportive initiatives are numerous. The Catholic Church is quite active on integration issues: oratories are intensely attended by children of immigrant families and the Pastorale dei Migranti, the main Caritas city branch working on immigration, is located in Barriera di Milano.

More in general, one fourth of associations registered in the proper municipal book<sup>4</sup> and with registered offices placed in *Circoscrizione 6*, work on immigration and integration issues (i.e. 21 out of 85)<sup>5</sup>; 60% of them have registered in the last five years, reflecting the growth and stable settlement of immigrant population.

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<sup>4</sup> Actually, only a small part of associations are formally registered since registration is compulsory only for gaining access to certain public funds. Furthermore, the location of the registered office does not necessarily coincide with head offices of the association.

<sup>5</sup> They include also organisations run by foreign immigrants.

**Tab. 2.5 Sectors of intervention of associations in Circoscrizione 6 (2011)**

<b>SECTORS OF INTERVENTION</b>	<b>%</b>
IMMIGRATION /EMIGRATION	24.71
RELIGIOUS	7.06
SOCIAL CARE	49.41
HUMANITARIAN	18.82
<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>100</i>

*Source: Register of associations of the City of Turin*

All these forms of institutional and civic activism – even when not pro-immigrants – are probably the legacy of mobilisations of 1960s and 1970s and of the experience done by public and religious service providers which were active in the period of mass internal immigration. Such experiences seem to have generated a persistent and still substantial capacity of quarter actors to provide organised and innovative responses to new demands issuing from newcomers.

To sum up, we can affirm that until now the tensions created by immigration have been managed and channelled into organised solutions and devices promoted by local institutions or citizens. However, as we said, the rapid increase of residents and the growing social weakness and problems, related to urban, social and economic changes might soon challenge the peaceful solutions adopted till now.

### **3. San Paolo and Cenisia**

#### **3.1 Quarter as urban context**

San Paolo is a relatively recent quarter in Turin, located in the Western part of the city. Until the end of the 19th century, the area was only formed by houses located randomly, mostly of rural appearance or even farmhouses. These houses were located out of the city's duty boundary, then still walled in a medieval structure. The city duty boundary was removed in the 1920s, but the railway did still isolate the area, which remained socially, culturally, and politically detached from the city, making San Paolo a sort of microcosm. This closure tendency of the population remained such until after the Second World War by holding a strong sense of belonging to the quarter, even though the population was by then integrated in the urban community both economically and socially (Donna 2010). Until today its residents, be they second generation Southern immigrants, Turin native or new immigrants, all share a peculiar sense of collective belonging, strongly rooted in the territory.

This identity has been strongly linked to the industrial nature of the quarter, that has always been called the "red quarter" for the well rooted left-wing parties and the fights carried out for obtaining better working conditions. The residents were also very committed into the Resistance against Fascism and, in that fight, often workers and owners of big factories located in the quarter were allied, as it happened in the automotive factory Lancia (Calosso and Ordazzo 2009). Similarly, both clerical and anti-clerical groups in the local society have generally shared what Jalla (1978) defined as "utopistic communism", a sort of cultural unit of the quarter which allowed it to be compact in the fight against Fascism.

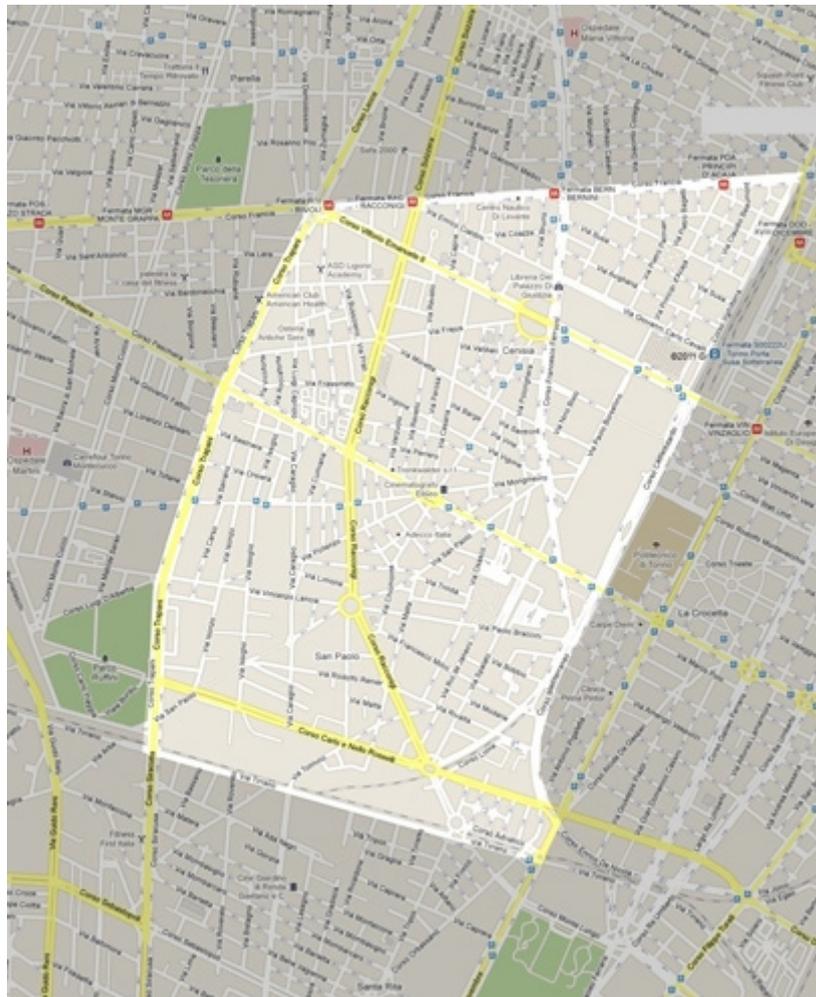
In 1901 the first urban development plan was approved and many changes were made, largely inspired – although with less elegance and frills – to Haussmann's renovation in Napoleon III's Paris. The actual building development of San Paolo took however place after 1910 and was led by a high number of small, medium and large industrial settlements in the area, mostly in the metallurgic, steel and automotive sectors. At the beginning of the 1920s, the population's density grew exponentially, reaching at the end of the 1920s 45,000 residents (Donna 2010). With the heavy flow of internal (mostly rural) immigrants, San Paolo increased in every direction in a spider web manner and in the North it merged with Cenisia, with which it got to form a single urban area with high industrial and labour density. The border between the two quarters runs along corso Peschiera, but the two areas cannot be distinguished from a urban perspective and for residents' identity. People who live in Cenisia usually say that they actually live in San Paolo and the latter is a much more widely known toponym in Turin as whole.

During the economic boom that accompanied and followed reconstruction after the IIWW, San Paolo-Cenisia kept growing in demographics and urban developments, whilst still preserving the "worker" identity. As a symbol of this productivity, the Lancia skyscraper in Via Lancia was built between 1951 and 1956. Lancia was one of the main references for the life of the quarter, not only for the factory, but since it developed many social activities, such as housing and recreational activities for employees, sporting infrastructures, summer camps for children, etc. (Calosso and Ordazzo 2009).

Between the end of the 1970s and in the 1980s, the industrial settlements in the area slowly but unavoidably came to an end. In the 1990s, the abandoned industrial buildings started to be torn down, and replaced by housing, commercial and service complexes.

Therefore, the housing stock and urban landscape is stratified. The older heart of San Paolo-Cenisia is located around the square Piazza Sabotino which is the centre of the quarter both by a geographic and economic point of view. It is also the point of departure of the quarter's main streets. This part of the quarter is formed by buildings constructed between the 1920s and 1950s and facing narrow streets, loud and rich in commercial activities. In this area lower-middle income residents and minorities of migrant origin are particularly concentrated. A clear trend exists by which Italian families issued from historical internal migration are progressively moving out of the older houses to newer buildings in recovered areas at the extremities of the quarter, so that older and cheaper buildings are rented or bought by newer immigrants, mostly of Moroccan origin (Donna 2010).

**Fig. 3.1 Map of San Paolo-Cenisia**



In Cenisia, located in the North part of the quarter, we find the two main social housing settlements in our target area. In this regard, it is worth noting that in *Circoscrizione 3*, where San Paolo-Cenisia is located, there are 2,000 public housing units out of 18,000 public housing units of the whole city – i.e. 11% - and out of 80,000 housing units in this area – i.e. 2.5% (*Circoscrizione 3 2010*).

**Fig. 3.2 Internal view of social housing complex**

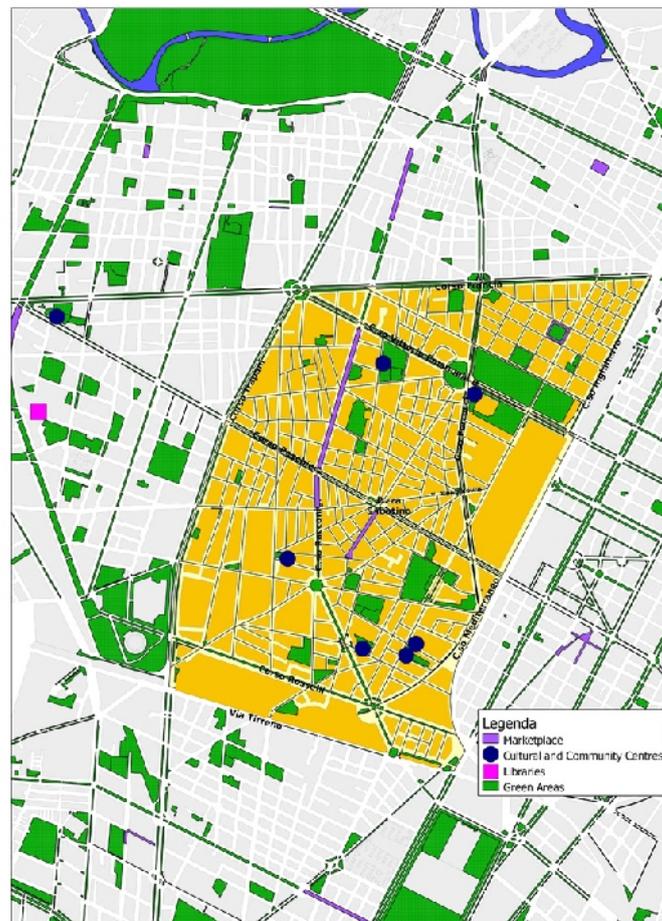


The Southern area has a lower density, residents with a higher income and less foreign population compared to the historical centre of the quarter. Here, we can easily find good quality buildings facing large alleys that were constructed in the 1960s and or even later. In fact, from 1980 many factories were torn down and new houses were built, towards which new residents and former internal migrants settled in San Paolo-Cenisia during the industrial development are moving. The two main areas concerned by this transformation are the so-called “North Pole” (*“Polo Nord”*) and *rione Lancia* which were reconverted to residential units, commercial outfits (shopping mall) and public offices and services, such as the Health Unit, Social Services and the Giardino SPA, which has many services for children, teenagers and elderly people (playgrounds, basketball courts, football fields, places for playing balls and Meeting Centre for Elderly People, well known and popular among the residents of the area). In this area we can find also a former tire plant which is now the well known Fondazione Sandretto Re Rebaudengo for the contemporary art, created in 1995, and the Urban Ecomuseum which replaced the former automotive components factory Fergat. Finally, Ruffini Park, the biggest green areas in *Circoscrizione 3* hosting a sport complex and outdoor fields, is located outside San Paolo-Cenisia but just opposite the *rione Lancia*.

**Fig. 3.3 Giardino SPA****Fig. 3.4 Fondazione Sandretto Re Rebaudengo**

Nevertheless, differently from Barriera di Milano, in San Paolo-Cenisia services, meeting places and green areas are more evenly distributed since they are located not only in the newly constructed areas but also in the older heart of the quarter.

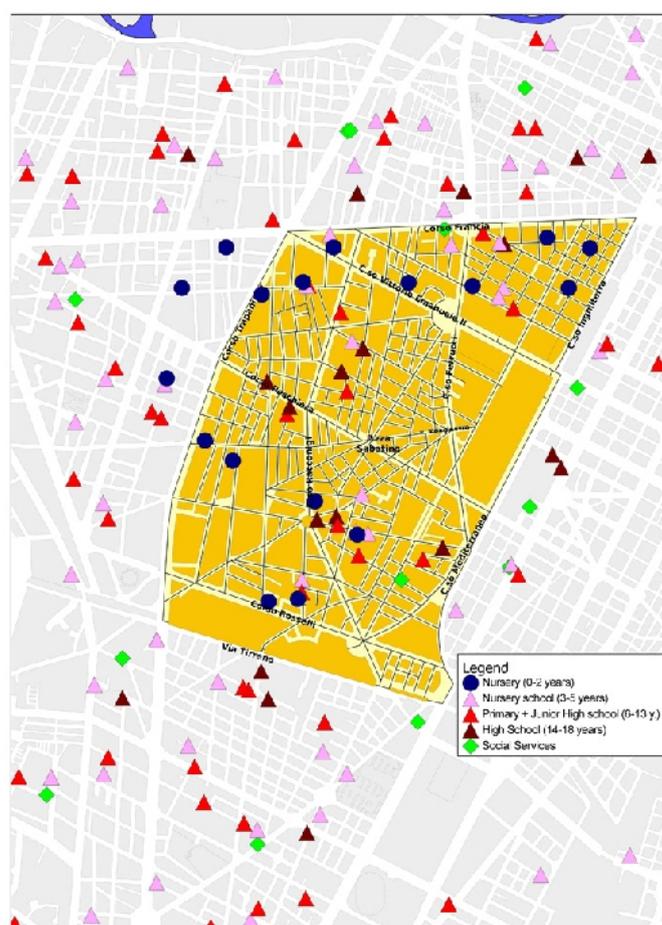
**Fig. 3.5 Map of recreational and cultural places**



In fact, also in the North part (Cenisia), we find some of the most popular youth meeting points of the quarter. The Salesian oratory San Paolo, built in 1918, hosts an average of around 2000 people every week, many of them from Morocco, Albania, Romania, South America and Pakistan. It is a meeting point for the youth of the area because of the large spaces for sports, and educational and formative courses it offers (Calosso and Ordazzo 2009). The Territorial Permanent Centre Ex-Drovetti for adult education offers several courses to gain school licenses, as well as brief courses on specific subjects (foreign languages, computer), job guidance, courses to enter high school and high school diploma. A majority of the users of this centre are foreigners, with a high share of women migrants. The well known squatted Social Centre “Gabrio” represents a meeting point for Italian and foreign youth (especially from Morocco) and provides a free health centre, a legal office, a gym, a music room, a bar and even a cinema.

As far as schools are concerned, the map below shows that nurseries, although underweighted at *Circoscrizione* level, are particularly concentrated in San Paolo-Cenisia, while nursery, primary and middle schools are more numerous in the areas around these quarters.

Fig. 3.6 Map of schools and social service in san Paolo-Cenisia



Commercial services, which are in general very numerous in this quarter compared to the whole city (see the table), are on the contrary concentrated in the central area of the quarter around piazza Sabotino.

Tab. 3.1 Density of enterprises (2010)

AREA	Number of enterprises/Kmq
San Paolo - Cenisia	1,934.84
CITY AVERAGE	751.51

Source: Chamber of Commerce of Turin

Via Frejus (in the Northern part, Cenisia) is probably the strongest commercial area located outside the city centre of Turin, with its branded stores, the historical shops and entrepreneurial activities run by minorities of migrant origin and developed especially during the last five years. Besides from the commercial streets, we can find three open-air markets. The market of Corso

Racconigi, which crosses the quarter from South to North, is the most important and most popular in the area. With its two kilometres in length and 370 stands, it is the second biggest in Turin after the one in Porta Palazzo and the longest one in Europe. Next to this market, in Corso Racconigi 51, there is another market, smaller in size (around 50 stands), underground, and specialized in high quality groceries. The third market is definitely the smallest one in the district with around 20 stands and it is located in the pedestrian area of Via di Nanni, the heart of the historical centre of San Paolo. This market is commercially not too vivid, however it plays a crucial social role since elderly people meet there avoiding isolation and solitude.

**Fig. 3.7 Pedestrian area in Via Di Nanni**



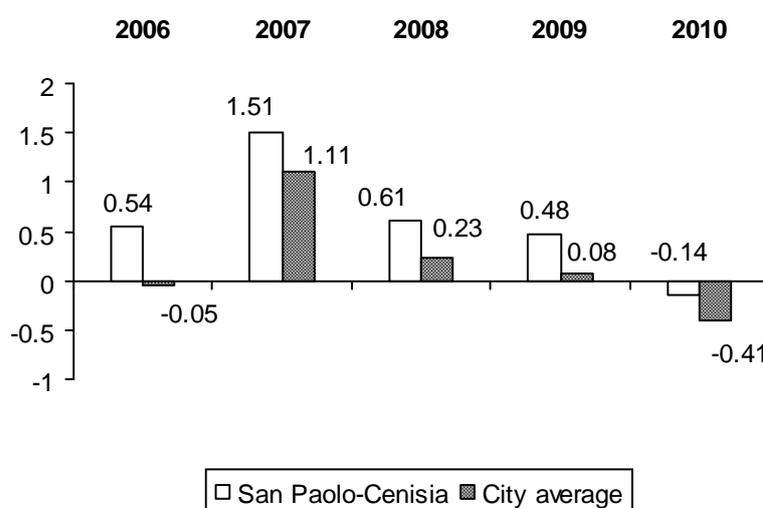
To conclude, San Paolo-Cenisia can be described as a quiet area, well linked to the rest of the city, with a good functional mix, rich in welfare services, meeting places and green spaces, showing thus very different features from Barriera di Milano.

### 3.2 Quarter as social unit

The socio-economic features of San Paolo-Cenisia are similar to the city average values, except for the density of the population. Like Barriera di Milano, San Paolo and Cenisia are more densely populated than the rest of the city: at the beginning of 2011 the population per km is 16,211 in San Paolo - Cenisia against a city average value of 6,888<sup>6</sup> (City of Turin).

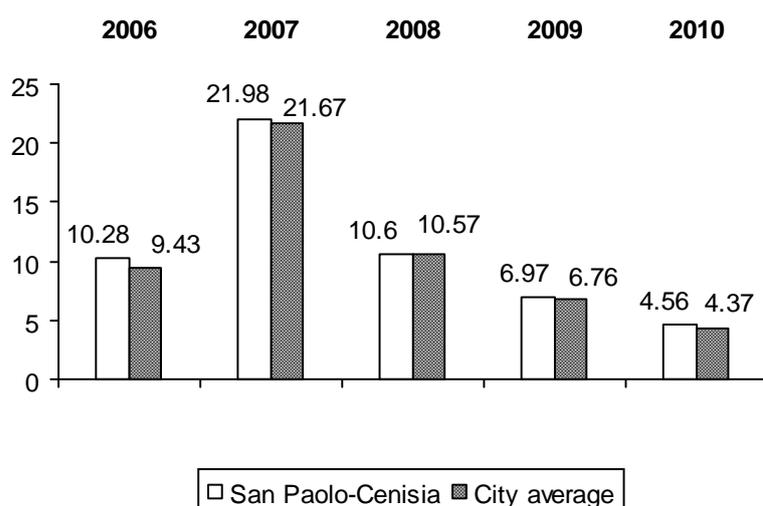
At the beginning of 2011, residents of *Circoscrizione* 3 are 131,112 of which 76,096 live in San Paolo-Cenisia (City of Turin). As we can see from the tables below, San Paolo-Cenisia increased their population until 2010, when they registered a slight decrease.

**Graph. 3.1 Demographic balance of total population (31 December 2010)**



Source: City of Turin

**Graph. 3.2 Demographic balance of foreign population (31 December 2010)**

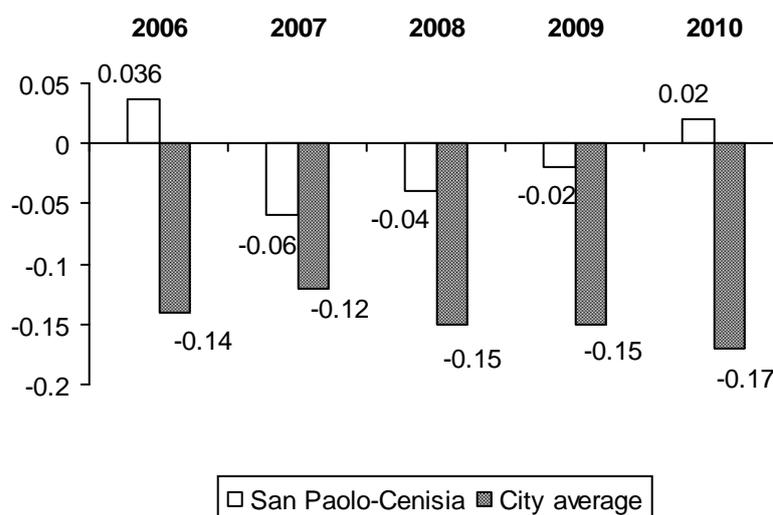


Source: City of Turin

<sup>6</sup> We must however considering that the city average density is strongly influenced by the presence of a vast hill area in the East part of the city with a very low density.

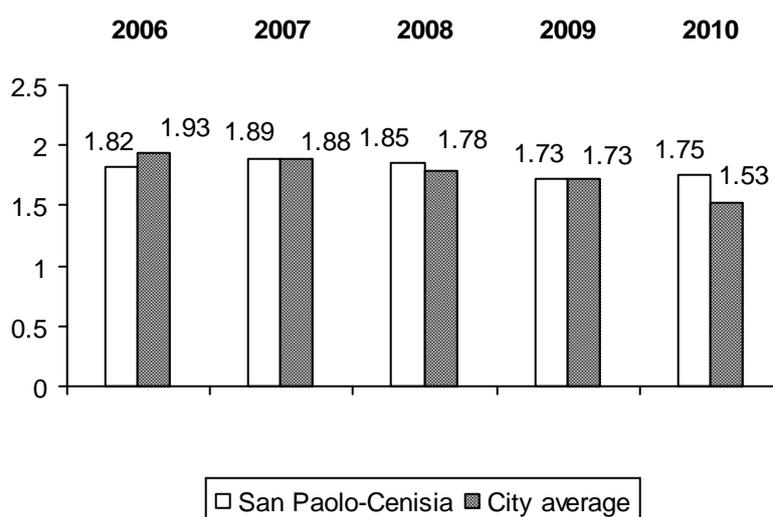
Like in Barriera di Milano, this positive trend is mainly due to the foreign population which, unlike the Italian one, shows high natural and migratory balances. Of course, this trend concerns the whole city but it is more marked in both our target quarters.

**Graph. 3.3 Natural balance of total population (31 December 2010)**

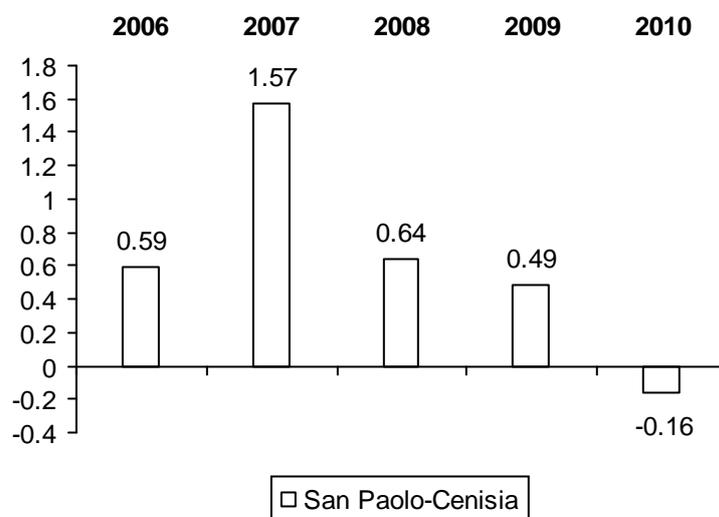


Source: City of Turin

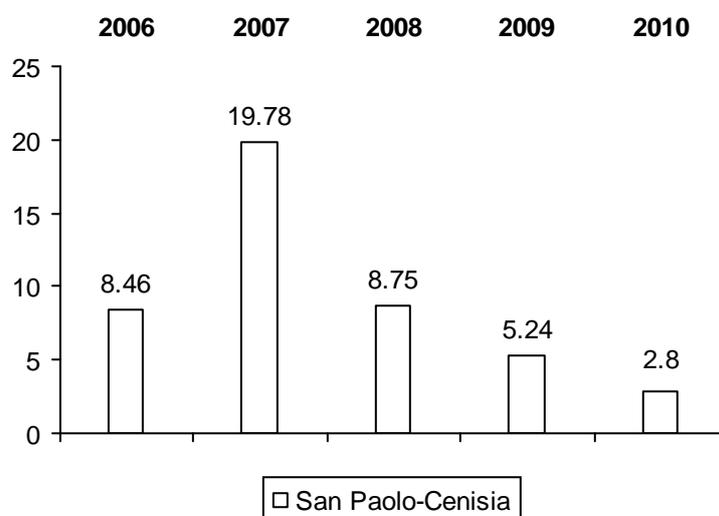
**Graph. 3.4 Natural balance of foreign population (31 December 2010)**



Source: City of Turin

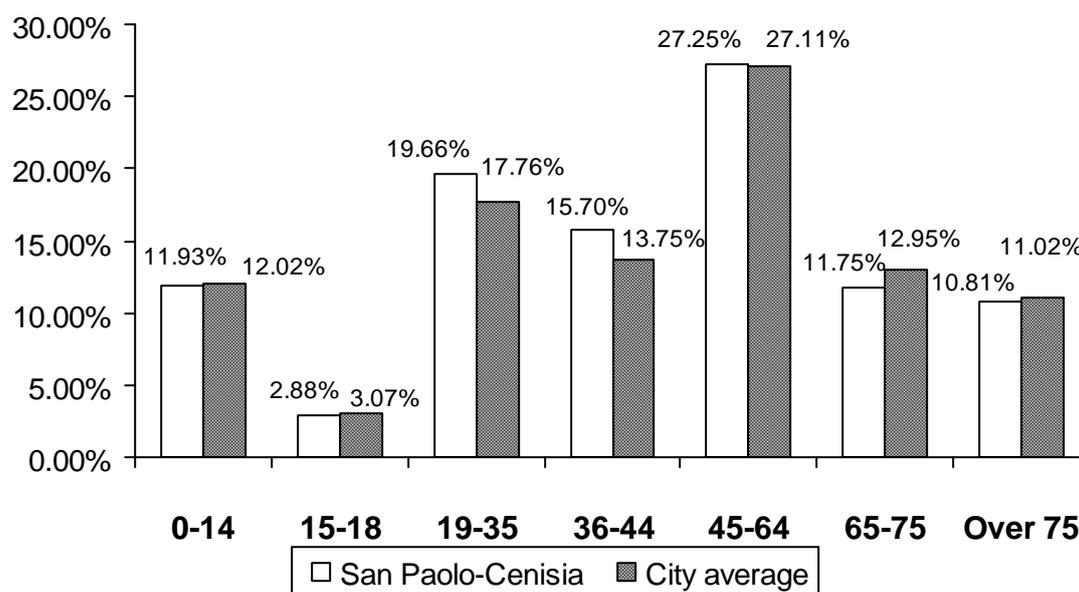
**Graph. 3.5 Migratory balance of total population (31 December 2010)**

Source: City of Turin

**Graph. 3.6 Migratory balance of foreign population (31 December 2010)**

Source: City of Turin

As far as the age structure is concerned, while Barriera di Milano is strongly younger than the city average, this is not the case for San Paolo-Cenisia. At the beginning of 2010, in San Paolo and Cenisia elderly people over 65 stand for over one fifth of the population (22-23%), while minors represent one sixth (14-15%) (City of Turin).

**Graph. 3.7 Distribution of resident population by age (31 December 2010)**

Source: City of Turin

Probably, this difference from Barriera di Milano is due to the fact that here immigrant residents, who are younger than natives, are fewer than the city average (par. 3.3).

This age structure produces also different family structures: while in Barriera large families prevail, in *Circoscrizione* 3, to which San Paolo-Cenisia belongs to, 42.4% of families are made up of only one person, often old women, against the city average of 41.7% (*Circoscrizione* 3 2010).

The socio-economic profile of San Paolo-Cenisia is not particularly worrying and, for some respects, it looks even better than the city average.

The educational level is slightly higher than the city average: according to the Census of 2001, in *Circoscrizione* 3 residents with a secondary high school degree were 32% against 31% in Turin, and the ones with a university degree were 12% against a city average of 11% (*Circoscrizione* 3 2010; Istat).

However, according to the 2001 Census San Paolo-Cenisia shows a higher concentration of problems concerning employment (higher share of unemployed, young people seeking for the first job, low qualified workers) compared to the city average. This is probably because it has suffered more from the economic transition from manufacturing to services, being a traditionally industrial area, like Barriera di Milano. The most critical areas within the quarter are the ones where social housing settlement is located. Anyway, the Census data show also that the socio-demographic situation is far better than in Barriera di Milano (Conforti and Mela 2006).

In 2008 the share of resident families dependent on social services in *Circoscrizione* 3 were 7.7% against 11.7% of *Circoscrizione* 6 in 2007, and in the same years elderly people with individualized care projects (*progetti assistenziali individualizzati*) in *Circoscrizione* 3 were half of the ones registered in *Circoscrizione* 6 (*Circoscrizione* 6 2009; *Circoscrizione* 3 2010).

The share of residents in *Circoscrizione* 3 who receive public economic assistance at the beginning of 2009 is 1.9‰, like the city average. But this share is lower in San Paolo (0.35‰) and higher in Cenisia (2.02‰). This gap is probably due to the fact that social housing complexes are concentrated in Cenisia, while the reconverted areas, where housing prices are higher and resident wealthier, are mostly located in San Paolo.

The current economic crisis has of course worsened the situation: adults followed by social services in *Circoscrizione* 3 increased of 55% from the end of 2005 to the end of 2008 and from January to September 2009 residents who received public economic assistance doubled, rising from 253 to 545. Adults mainly ask for economic aid, but also for housing and working support (*Circoscrizione* 3 2010). During a public meeting on poverty, held on April 2011, welfare workers of *Circoscrizione* 3 highlighted that new poor are very heterogeneous and include retired persons, unemployed individuals in their 40s-60s, workers with temporary jobs, divorced people. Many of them seem to avoid to address social services for preventing stigmatization and prefer to ask for help to non profit and religious organizations. Therefore, a large part of the marginalization process is difficult to register.

Despite these dynamics, the economic transition and the current crisis apparently have eroded the strong social cohesion and identity of the quarter to a lesser extent than in *Barriera di Milano*. Like in *Barriera di Milano*, in the past the productive texture has generated strong social capital both bonding (based on common belonging to the working class) and bridging (integrating internal migrants). Its maintenance and reproduction, although facing difficulties, seems to be fostered by smaller inflows and turnover of residents compared to *Barriera di Milano* and a greater availability of meeting places and recreational activities organised by local associations. Therefore, the quarter provides opportunities to get in contact and build relations among residents.

Finally, also the crime situation seems different from *Barriera di Milano*. In 2003, in *Circoscrizione* 3 the rate of predatory crimes against properties (burglaries in houses or robberies in commercial activities) were higher than the city average, but violent crimes and drug-related offences, which probably contribute more to the perception of insecurity, were among the lowest in Turin (*ibidem*).

The quite positive socio-economic features of the quarter, together with the strong social capital mentioned above, probably contribute to the development of peaceful relations between majority and minorities, as we will better explain in the next paragraph.

### **3.3 Quarter as migrants' destination**

During the first decade of the 20th century, when Turin underwent a large social and urban transformation, the areas outside the duty zone were the ones which registered the largest population increase. San Paolo then became a village and in 1911 it was the most populated outside the city: in 1911 it had 189 factories, and workers were 3,253 out of an overall population of 20,980. San Paolo was in fact peculiar in social terms because its population was mostly composed by workers and immigrants (Musso 1981).

In 1921 the population of San Paolo was 21,941, in 1931 it was 32,780 while in 1936 it reached 37,100 individuals (Jalla 1978). In the 1920s and 1930s, migrants arrived from Southern Italy – mainly single men coming from Apulia – as well as from Tuscany and the countryside of Piedmont. The actual Piazza Sabotino at that time was in fact called Piazza San Nicola, as a token of devotion to the Saint of Bari (regional capital of Apulia).

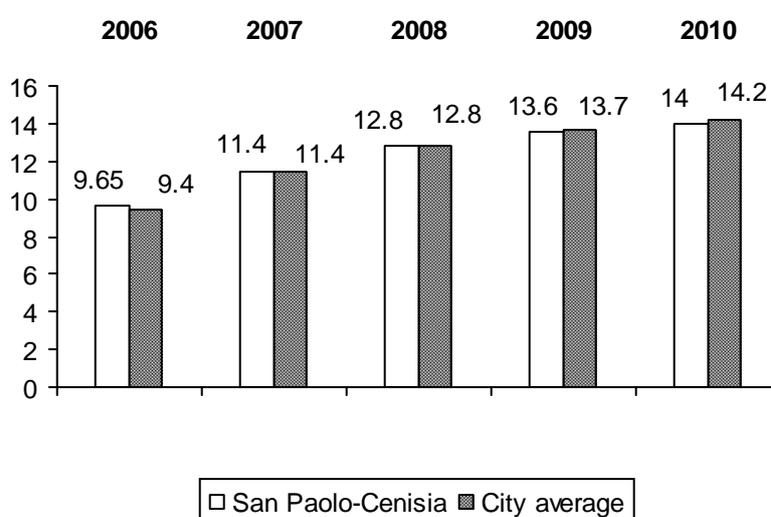
Given the rapid increase in population during the war, only one fourth of the residents in San Paolo during the period 1919-1921 was born in Torino. The others were immigrants coming from rural zones of Piedmont. Afterwards, individuals born in Turin rose to a third of residents, the groups from Northern Italy (especially Veneto) and the South (especially from Apulia) grew to become a fourth of the population of the quarter, while the ones from Piedmont decreased progressively (Jalla 1978).

During the economic boom, flows from Southern Italy and the Centre-North countryside further increased. In the 1960s, in San Paolo the population doubled as it was at city level (Ramella 2009). Immigrants who settled in the quarter were mainly families and not single individuals as in previous decades. This contributed to the creation of a community and “village-like” spirit. These people decided to move to the area because of the presence of not only factories, but also of schools, markets, churches and cinemas, and since housing prices were low. Anyway, like in the other expanding quarters of Turin, in that period, houses were built before infrastructures (streets, lighting, sewer) and services (nurseries and schools).

From mid-1960s inflows decreased. In the 70s, two parallel phenomena occurred: the deindustrialization and the stop of internal migration, and the beginning of international migration.

At the beginning of 2011, in the quarter of San Paolo- Cenisia the share of foreign population is around 14.0%, similar to the city average, as the table below shows.

**Graph. 3.8 Incidence of foreign population on the total of residents (31 December 2010)**



Source: City of Turin

Nevertheless, the increase has been significant in the last few years. As we can see in the table below, in 2007-2008 the growth of foreign population in San Paolo-Cenisia was similar to Barriera di Milano, while in other years it was lower but nonetheless substantial. Like Barriera, San Paolo-Cenisia is in fact an area towards which immigrants are moving as a result of family reunifications, after the first phase of settlement characterized by a concentration of the foreign population in the central quarters of the city.

The five main foreign nationalities in Turin (Romanian, Moroccan, Peruvian, Chinese, Albanian) represent almost the whole of the foreign residents also in San Paolo-Cenisia, as shown by the table below.

**Tab. 3.2 Share of main nationalities on total residents in San Paolo and Cenisia (31 December 2010)**

AREA	NATIONALITY	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	City average 2010
San Paolo-Cenisia	ROMANIAN	3.13	4.79	5.61	5.94	5.94	5.75
San Paolo-Cenisia	PERUVIAN	1.44	1.46	1.68	1.90	1.98	0.97
San Paolo-Cenisia	MOROCCAN	1.32	1.34	1.45	1.5	1.49	2.14
San Paolo-Cenisia	ALBANIAN	0.45	0.50	0.51	0.52	0.56	0.63
San Paolo-Cenisia	MOLDAVIAN	0.26	0.28	0.33	0.41	0.47	0.45
San Paolo-Cenisia	FILIPINO	0.57	0.30	0.33	0.37	0.39	0.35
San Paolo-Cenisia	CHINESE	0.37	0.35	0.33	0.30	0.32	0.60
San Paolo-Cenisia	EGYPTIAN	0.20	0.21	0.23	0.24	0.28	0.44
San Paolo-Cenisia	NIGERIAN	0.19	0.20	0.18	0.21	0.23	0.35
San Paolo-Cenisia	<i>Other nationalities</i>	1.92	1.36	2.07	1.09	2.5	1.92
San Paolo-Cenisia	ITALIANS	90.4	88.5	87.2	86.4	86	85.8
San Paolo-Cenisia	TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: City of Turin

A peculiarity of this area is instead the presence of a large Peruvian community, the most numerous in the city: in *Circoscrizione 3* they are 1,986, i.e. 23% of the Peruvians residents in Turin (City of Turin). The reasons behind this concentration are many: the presence of catholic

accommodation centres which may represent logistic supports for immigration flows from Catholic countries, the elevated number of elderly people and construction enterprises which both offer opportunities of employment, the presence of the Consulate of Peru (Via Prali 18) and the association of the Cultural Association of Peru (Mi Peru – Via Cumiana 2). On the other hand, the concentration of Latin Americans seems to have favoured the creation of associations and places of aggregation where to preserve the cultural identity of their countries of origin.

It must be underlined that people who come from Latin America (Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia, Brazil, Argentina, Colombia) have been traditionally represented by women, employed in the domestic work or care work, and well integrated. On the contrary, their children have difficulties in this regard, which however seem to be related mainly to identity challenges second generations must cope with, and sometime are expressed through the participation to young gangs. This phenomenon is quite felt at quarter level, but it is not widespread and has not become a city issue, unlike other Italian cities like Genoa.

**Tab. 3.3 Share of main nationalities on foreign residents in San Paolo and Cenisia (31 December 2009)**

AREA	NATIONALITY	%
San Paolo-Cenisia	ROMANIAN	43.52
San Paolo-Cenisia	PERUVIAN	13.9
San Paolo-Cenisia	MOROCCAN	11.02
San Paolo-Cenisia	ALBANIAN	3.86
San Paolo-Cenisia	MOLDAVIAN	3.01
San Paolo-Cenisia	Other nationalities	24.64
San Paolo-Cenisia	Total	100

*Source: City of Turin*

Over the last twenty years, San Paolo-Cenisia has then become multi-ethnic and multi-cultural. The level of social integration of newcomers is good and the people interviewed during the ethnographic fieldwork, both Italians and foreigners, usually describe the quarter as a good example of coexistence between various nationalities.

### **3.4 Quarter as arena of intergroup relations**

San Paolo has always been a stronghold of left-wing parties like *Barriera di Milano* and like most working class quarters in the city until not long ago. Elections results of the last ten years, at both local and national level, partly confirmed this tradition with the parties with open anti-immigrant stances doubling only at the elections for the national Parliament (a trend which perfectly reflects the broader city trends). Like in *Barriera di Milano*, it might be a sign of weakening of the left-wing

parties in a city area in which they have traditionally been strongly rooted. Nevertheless, it does not seem a hint of peculiar tensions between the majority and minorities in this quarter.

**Tab. 3.4 Elections results**

<b>SENATE 2008</b>					
<b>AREA</b>	<b>LEGA NORD (no. of votes)</b>	<b>FIAMMA TRICOLOERE (no. of votes)</b>	<b>TOTAL VOTERS</b>	<b>% LEGA NORD</b>	<b>% FIAMMA TRICOLORE</b>
San Paolo- Cenisia	2,383	1,066	36,977	6.46	2.87
CITY	31,962	14,984	497,785	6.42	3.01

<b>CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES 2008</b>					
<b>AREA</b>	<b>LEGA NORD (no. of votes)</b>	<b>FIAMMA TRICOLOERE (no. of votes)</b>	<b>TOTAL VOTERS</b>	<b>% LEGA NORD</b>	<b>% FIAMMA TRICOLORE</b>
San Paolo- Cenisia	1,313	1,368	39,329	6.63	3.47
CITY	34,648	19,142	530,799	6.53	3.61

<b>SENATE 2006</b>					
<b>AREA</b>	<b>LEGA NORD (no. of votes)</b>	<b>FIAMMA TRICOLORE + ALTERNATIVA SOCIALE CON A. MUSSOLINI (no. of votes)</b>	<b>TOTAL VOTERS</b>	<b>% LEGA NORD</b>	<b>% FIAMMA TRICOLORE + ALTERNATIVA SOCIALE CON A. MUSSOLINI</b>
San Paolo- Cenisia	1,288	414	40,228	3.22	1.02
CITY	17,929	5,969	543,684	3.30	1.10

<b>CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES 2006</b>					
<b>AREA</b>	<b>LEGA NORD (no. of votes)</b>	<b>FIAMMA TRICOLORE + ALTERNATIVA SOCIALE CON A. MUSSOLINI (no. of votes)</b>	<b>TOTAL VOTERS</b>	<b>% LEGA NORD</b>	<b>% FIAMMA TRICOLORE + ALTERNATIVA SOCIALE CON A. MUSSOLINI</b>
San Paolo- Cenisia	1,303	465	42,866	3.05	1.08
CITY	18,462	6,505	581,219	3.18	1.12

LOCAL ELECTIONS 2011 FOR THE MUNICIPAL COUNCIL							
AREA	LEGA NORD (no. of votes)	LEGA PADANA PIEMONTE (no. of votes)	DESTRA DI STORACE (no. of votes)	TOTAL VOTERS	% LEGA NORD	% LEGA PADANA PIEMONTE	% DESTRA DI STORACE
San Paolo-Cenisia	2,693	124	168	36,284	5.33	0.32	0.44
CITY	27451	1482	2396	470,946	5.31	0.31	0.50

LOCAL ELECTIONS 2006 FOR THE MUNICIPAL COUNCIL							
AREA	LEGA NORD (no. of votes)	FIAMMA TRICOLORE (no. of votes)	IMMIGRATI BASTA (no. of votes)	TOTAL VOTERS	% LEGA NORD	% FIAMMA TRICOLORE	% IMMIGRATI BASTA
San Paolo-Cenisia	728	92	71	34,953	2.07	0.26	0.20
CITY	9,549	1,326	1,025	477,038	2.00	0.28	0.21

LOCAL ELECTIONS 2001 FOR THE MUNICIPAL COUNCIL					
AREA	LEGA NORD (no. of votes)	FIAMMA TRICOLORE (no. of votes)	TOTAL VOTES 2001	% LEGA NORD	% FIAMMA TRICOLORE
San Paolo-Cenisia	734	147	33,197	2.2	0.45
CITY	11,196	2,464	477,405	2.34	0.52

Source: Electoral Office of the Municipality of Turin

In fact, despite the rapid increase in the foreign population, in San Paolo-Cenisia immigration is not a hot issue and the matters which rose debate have been few.

One of this issue concerns the Identification and Deportation Centre of Turin - *Centro di Identificazione ed Espulsione* (where irregular foreigners are waiting to be expelled) which is located inside this quarter. However, conflicts concerning the Centre have been expressed by demonstrations organized by the extreme left wing, and not through tensions between majority and minorities. Furthermore, the Centre is ruled by national laws rather than by local actors.

Among the events which marked the foreign presence in the quarter, it is also worth mentioning the squatting of San Paolo Clinic in November 2009 by recognised refugees coming from Somalia, Ethiopia and Eritrea to whom neither the central government nor the local administration had provided any kind of accommodation. At the beginning, the squatters were all men, then

women and children joined. Initially, residents of the quarter were supportive and open to these people: many persons, especially elderly retired residents, brought basic goods such as food, dress, furniture, and the commercial association of via Monginevro tried to inform quarter residents and raise awareness about the situation of these refugees. But the peaceful and collaborative situation was challenged by the rapid rise in the number of refugees squatting the Clinic, from 100 to 600 in a few months and then up to 800, thereby generating hygienic problems and urban blight. The refugees were then moved out peacefully in September 2010 and occupiers accommodated in other structures. Although this event engaged residents more than Identification and Deportation Centre, its impact on the quarter life was anyway circumscribed and did not affect the general social dynamics.

Until now, the only “integration issue” which has apparently produced some anxiety and debates is probably related to the behaviours of some young immigrants from Latin America. These are usually reunited with their families – or often their mothers alone – when they are already teenagers and thus face difficulties in learning Italian language and in schooling integration and should cope with the disappointment for the social status of their families that they imagined higher. These difficult situations sometimes generate problematic behaviours such as school dropping out, alcohol abuse and creation of youth gangs. In order to cope with this issue, a specific coordination group which involves public local institutions, police force, religious institutions and Peruvian associations was established in 2009 and the results seem good so far.

In San Paolo-Cenisia several Latin American, especially Peruvian, associations are indeed located. They aim mainly at promoting the culture of the country of origin and providing support to co-nationals giving information on work, housing and bureaucratic procedures for resident permits<sup>7</sup>.

Also native associations are active on immigration issues. A reference point for local non profit organisations is Laboratorio Territoriale (Territorial Laboratory) that provides a free internet point and hosts around ten Italian and immigrants’ associations which develop local projects. Whereas, the squatted Social Centre Gabrio, mentioned in previous paragraphs, is particularly engaged in fights for immigrants’ rights and strongly supported the refugees of San Paolo Clinic.

The collaboration and activism concerning immigrants’ integration are confirmed by the high share of associations that work on that issue and have their registered offices in *Circoscrizione 3*: they are 22% of all the associations of *Circoscrizione 3* registered at the municipal book<sup>8</sup> (i.e. 20 out of 92). The relative and absolute values are similar to the ones registered in Barriera di Milano, but we should take into consideration that both the total and foreign population of San Paolo-Cenisia is far less numerous. Therefore, the relevance of these organisations is relatively greater.

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<sup>7</sup> The main associations are Centroper (from 2005), Cultural Association *As y es mi tierra* (from 2008), Cultural association *Korikancha* (from 2004), Cultural association *Hatun Wasi* (from 2005), Association Latin America (from 2000).

<sup>8</sup> As we already explained, only a small part of associations are formally registered since registration is compulsory only for gaining access to certain public funds. Furthermore, the location of registered office does not necessarily coincide with the range of activity of the associations.

**Tab. 3.5 Sectors of intervention of associations in Circoscrizione 3 (2011)**

<b>SECTORS OF INTERVENTION</b>	<b>%</b>
IMMIGRATION /EMIGRATION	21.74
RELIGIOUS	7.61
SOCIAL CARE	48.91
HUMANITARIAN	21.74
<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>100</i>

*Source: Register of associations of the City of Turin*

These associations, like in Barriera, have particularly increased or, at least, have been recently institutionalised, since 60% of those organisations have registered in the last five years.

Actually, San Paolo-Cenisia has always been characterised by a strong network of social and cultural associations, mutual aid and working societies (Calosso and Ordazzo 2009; Musso 1981). And, like in Barriera di Milano, this past of political and social mobilisation seems to foster the development of activism by local institutions and civil society.

Besides that legacy, however, the urban and socio-economic context described in the previous paragraphs has probably contributed to the development of peaceful and cooperative intergroup relations: in San Paolo the urban blight is far more limited than in Barriera di Milano, the quarter is rich of meeting places, the social profile of its population is similar to the city average and, to some extent, even better, and the consequences of the economic transition and the recent crisis have not been so severe.

## **Conclusions**

The two selected areas have both common and different features. They both developed out of the city's duty boundaries since the XIXth century as consequence of the industrialisation process. In both quarters, the presence of big factories and of housing opportunities was a specific pull factor for large immigration inflows coming from other Italian regions during the economic boom of the late 1950s and 1960s.

In both areas, the social composition of resident population, mostly made up by workers and immigrants, fostered the development of a common cultural and social background, promoting a strong sense of belonging to the quarter. These common features encouraged mobilisations for obtaining better working and living conditions and raised intense civic participation and associationism. In the meantime, they stimulated public and religious service providers to develop innovative responses leaving a legacy that is still visible today.

Since the 1970s both quarters underwent deindustrialisation processes and the factories located there were closed or moved out of the city, whereas the importance of the service sector has increased. This process has generated both challenges and opportunities. San Paolo-Cenisia has showed a greater capacity of catching the opportunities associated with the post-fordist transition.

Barriera di Milano is indeed socially weaker: share of poor families, individuals dependent on social services and with employment difficulties are higher than in San Paolo-Cenisia and the average education level is lower. Furthermore, services are underweighted and unevenly distributed within the quarter. From the urban perspective, most dismissed areas are still there representing obstacles to mobility within the quarter and contributing to increase urban blight and sense of insecurity among residents. Sociability is also hampered by the lack of spaces: meeting places and green areas are insufficient and the demand for room for cultural, recreational and social activities cannot be satisfied. On the contrary, most of dismissed areas in San Paolo-Cenisia have been reconverted in service, office, commercial and residential units contributing to improve the endowment of welfare services, meeting places and cultural supply of the quarter. And economic transition has not generated so severe consequences, probably also thanks to the stronger cultural and social capital of the resident population.

It is thus evident that international immigration in the two quarters has interacted with two different contexts and has therefore produced different effects on intergroup relations. Urban blight, being more marked in Barriera di Milano, attracts more immigrants who look for cheap apartments, thus de facto favouring segregation processes. However, the very presence of foreign residents is often regarded as the cause of urban blight rather than the other way round. The economic decline of Barriera di Milano has speeded a replacement process and traditional small shops and crafting activities are rapidly substituted by ethnic business, contributing to the diffusion of a 'sense of invasion'. The shortage of welfare services and meeting places seems to reinforce competition with immigrants, which is made harsher by the social weakness of natives who tend to compete for the same jobs, services and spaces the immigrants ask for.

Despite these differences, both the quarters seem to take advantage from the strong identity and social cohesion developed during the industrial development, so that conflictual intergroup relations have so far been channelled into organised solutions and devices promoted by local institutions or citizens. Nevertheless, the room of manoeuvre to manage antagonistic dynamics

through formal and informal mediation seems to be decreasing due to economic transition, the current crisis and social changes.

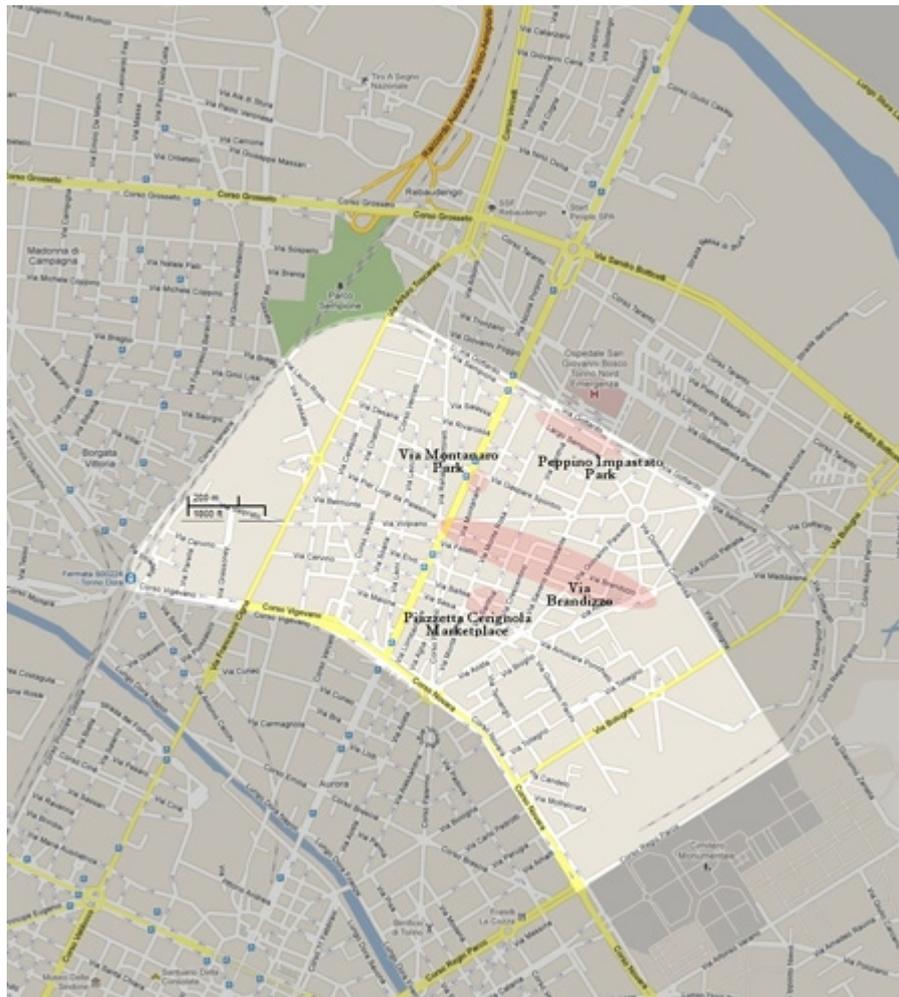
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## ***Annex I – The sites of interactions for the ethnographic fieldwork***

### **Barriera di Milano**

The subzones of the quarter selected for the ethnographic observation are placed in areas with different social and urban features. Two of them are in the Monterosa area, the oldest part of the quarter, where the number of foreigners is higher. The other two are respectively in the east and north areas of Barriera di Milano.



A) Foroni square. It is a small square where one of the most lively and popular markets in the quarter takes place every day. The market numbers about 170 stalls, 85 of them selling foodstuff and 68 selling other sorts of stuff. Most of them are run by natives, although the number of foreign pedlars is increasing. This square and the adjoining streets are considered the heart of the old quarter. This was also one of the most important destinations of the southern Italy immigration occurred during the 50s and 60s. During the 80s the name of the square was changed from Foroni into Cerignola, just to pay homage to the southern Italy city from which most of the

immigrants of this area come from. Also, every year a procession in honour of Our Lady of Cerignola takes place in this square.

The square, besides having this strong symbolic value, represents a meeting point especially during the market hours and particularly for the Italian elderly living in the area. In the houses overlooking the square and in the adjoining streets the number of foreign residents is very high. They go to the market, mainly on Saturday, and especially young people use the square as a meeting venue during night hours. From 2012 the square will be the object of a project of regeneration which will include the building of a pedestrian area, of toilet facilities and the renewal of street lighting. Around the square the traders' association is the most lively, with a strong interest in investing on social and intercultural exchange activities.

B) Via Montanaro and Peppino Impastato public gardens. Via Montanaro public garden is a small area with a children's playground, placed along the busy Giulio Cesare high street, which crosses the quarter from south to north. This small garden represents one of the few recreational public areas available in this part of the quarter and that's why there are many people there in late afternoon and evening hours. These people are mainly mothers with little children, mostly foreigners, and Italian elderly people. This garden is crossed by many people, as it is the easiest access point to the clinic placed behind. The main problems claimed by residents concern dirtiness, the lack of toilet facilities and drug pushing during night hours. There is an association, called *Arcobaleno*, which, since 2004, is in charge of cleaning the park and providing entertainment services for children.

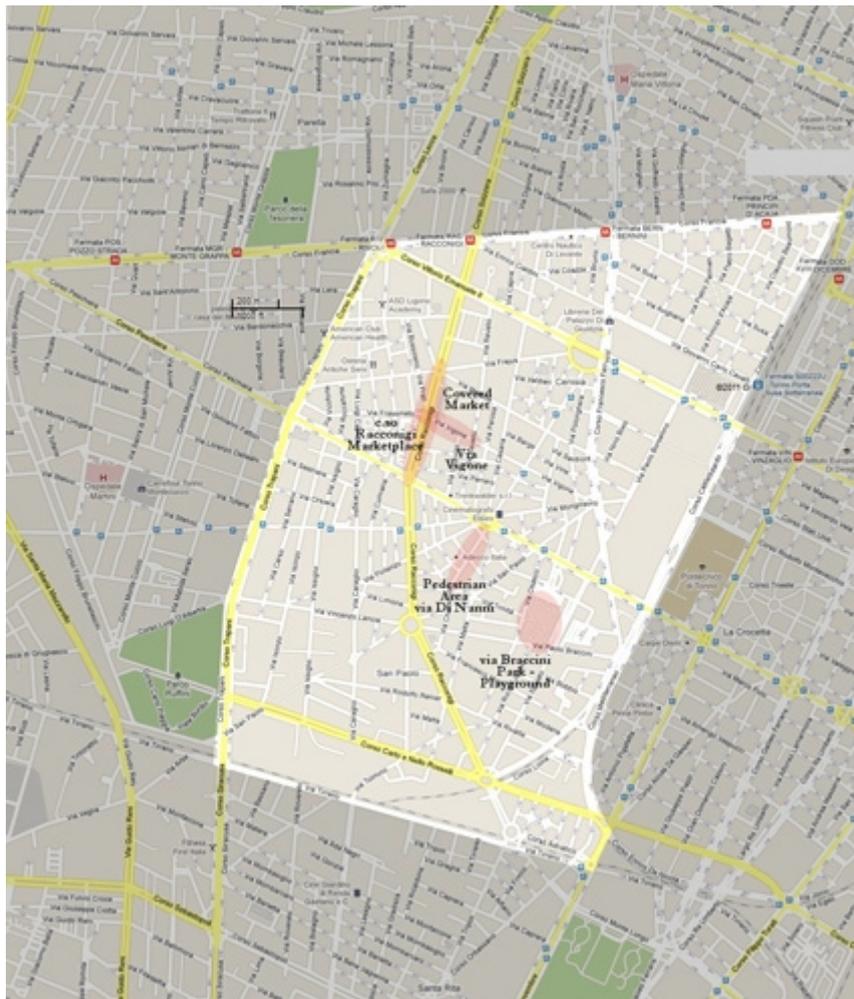
We have compared this reality with another public garden, not far from the previous one, called the Peppino Impastato garden. It is placed in the northern area of the quarter, it attracts people of a higher social level and is featured by a lower presence of foreign residents. These gardens are broad, with benches, an amphitheatre with a fountain, amusement rides, a children's playground, a basket court, a skateboard ramp. Besides elderly people and children with parents, they also attract many teenagers, both Italian and foreigner. Every group has its own area of the garden to go and doesn't mix with the other groups, so that the various groups are easily identifiable. An association, two afternoons a week, is in charge of organizing recreational activities for young people and provides psychological assistance besides help to those who are in search of a job. In comparison with the garden of Via Montanaro, in the Peppino Impastato garden we observe a less competitive management of spaces.

C) Brandizzo Street crosses the quarter from west to east. His inhabitants and key informants mention it as a "typical" street of the area, for its urban and social features. It is a narrow, one way street, without sidewalks or parking spaces. There is no greenery to embellish the urban environment and the fronts of houses often appear as crumbling. Many Italian residents state that they want to leave this area, many have already sold their house and moved to other city quarters or to other areas surrounding the city. Italian people try to go away, because they feel besieged by foreigners. A replacement process can be observed also in commercial activities. The majority of businesses run by Italian people (barber shops, groceries, carpentries) have closed and been replaced by phone-centres run by Africans and a Chinese bazaar. During the 60s and 70s this street was known for the high number of cafes and meeting points of the quarter inhabitants.

Nowadays, these cafes have closed or have lost their social aggregation function because the customers have grown old and the new inhabitants of the quarter don't go to these cafes any longer. Young foreigners, especially of African origin, prefer to meet in front of groceries or phone-centres. Interactions between Italian and foreign people mainly occur inside apartment buildings and are less visible on the street.

### San Paolo-Cenisia

The sites of interactions selected for the ethnographic observation are placed in three areas of the quarter which are different both from an urban and social point of view. The first area, corresponding to the stretch of corso Racconigi and Vigone street, is situated in Cenisia quarter, while the other two areas, respectively the stretch of Di Nanni street and the "Spa" public garden, are in San Paolo quarter. We have selected these sites of interactions because, even if in different ways and times, they have experienced interventions of both social and urban regeneration. Through the comparison of these three areas it's interesting to note the different effects of regeneration interventions occurred from the 80s until today.



- A) Racconigi Avenue and Vigone Street. This subzone is considered the heart of San Paolo-Cenisia both economically and socially. It is one of the most populated areas of the quarter. In the morning it's the market place while during the afternoon and in the evening it is the meeting venue for many young people. This area has been the destination not only of the 50s and 60s southern Italy migrations but also of the migrations coming from abroad happened over the last twenty years. In this area there are apartment buildings which date back to the 20s and 30s and there is also one of the two council housing complexes of the quarter (at the corner between corso Peschiera and corso Racconigi).

The stretch of corso Racconigi, from corso Peschiera to via Frejus, hosts part of the big market of corso Racconigi. This market, regenerated in 2000, numbers 302 stalls from Monday to Friday and 377 stalls on Saturday. It is the second biggest market in Turin and, with its 2kms of length, it is the longest market in Italy. 41% of stalls are run by or have employees coming from Morocco, China and Romania. On the right side of the market, at street no. 51, there is the covered market of Racconigi Avenue, hosting around 60 stalls selling foodstuff. If we compare the two markets we can see that they differ both from the point of view of the products that are sold and the customers they attract. The first one mainly attracts middle-low class customers and the products on sale are not high quality ones. On the other side, the covered market attracts customers of a higher profile and the products on sale are top-level (slow food). For these reasons the two markets are complementary and offer a balance in the social texture of the quarter. At right angles to corso Racconigi we find Vigone Street. In the surveyed stretch of this street, the one starting from corso Racconigi up to Revello Street, we find the *Laboratorio Territoriale*: a lab belonging to the City of Turin which hosts the only free Internet point of the quarter and around ten associations, both of Italians and foreigners, carrying out and implementing projects on this area. In front of the *Laboratorio Territoriale* there is the *CTP Drovetti* dealing with adult education, the real point of reference for the immigrants residing in the quarter.

- B) Di Nanni Street. The pedestrian area of Di Nanni Street is considered the historical centre of the quarter. It is the oldest area with narrow streets which crisscross and form a web (a peculiar feature of San Paolo-Cenisia city planning). Since 2000, this area has underwent important urban and social regeneration interventions like, for example, the building of the pedestrian area. In this subzone we find a small market which, in comparison with the one of corso Racconigi, attracts very few customers. The market has a social role rather than an economic one, being a meeting venue for the elderly living in the adjoining streets. This area is perceived by its inhabitants as the most problematic in the quarter because of the high presence of elderly and immigrant people.
- C) "Spa" public garden. The garden is placed south-east of San Paolo, in the area called the North Pole, between Braccini Street and Osasco Street. Together with the *rione* Lancia, it is the area which, from the 80s, has underwent the most important interventions of urban and social regeneration in the quarter. The garden is not so broad but spaces are well renovated: there are basket and five-a-side football courts, benches and tables where to play cards, a children's playground and an area for dogs. The garden attracts all the inhabitants of the quarter, both natives and immigrants. It is interesting to note how each

part of the garden is populated by a different group of people. Elderly people, children, Italian and foreign young people never interact with each other or mix. Beside the garden there is the counselling centre for the elderly (*Centro D'Ascolto per anziani*), placed in Osasco Street, which attracts a lot of people. The houses overlooking the garden date back from the 60s.

**Annex II – Synoptic tables**

QUARTERS AS URBAN CONTEXT								
				Quar. 1 Barriera di Milano	Quar. 2 San Paolo+Cenisia	District 1 (when Quar. n/a)	District 2 (when Quar. n/a)	City Turin
<i>Quantitative items</i>	<i>Definitions and notes</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Source of data</i>					
Sectors, types, distribution of local businesses	Number of enterprises/Kmq	2010	Chamber of Commerce of Turin	1426.78	1934.84			751.57
Real estate prices				n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

				Quar. 1 Barriera di Milano	Quar. 2 San Paolo+Cenisia	District 1 (when Quar. n/a)	District 2 (when Quar. n/a)	City Turin
<i>Qualitative items</i>	<i>Definitions and notes</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Source of data</i>					
Location of the quarter in the city (central, peripheral, etc.)				Semi-central quarter	Semi-peripheral quarter			
Prevailing urban and economic functions of the quarter (tourist area, industrial declining areas, "dormitory" quarter, leisure area, etc.)				Former industrial area; residential areas; commercial area (small shops)	Former industrial area; good functional mix: welfare services, meeting places and green spaces, residential settlements and commercial area (small shops and open markets)			

				Quar. 1 Barriera di Milano	Quar. 2 San Paolo+Cenisia	District 1 (when Quar. n/a)	District 2 (when Quar. n/a)	City Turin
<i>Qualitative items</i>	<i>Definitions and notes</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Source of data</i>					
Texture of urban fabric, road and transport connections with the outside				The quarter hearth is made up of narrow streets where commercial activities are concentrated, while large alleys prevail in the East area, characterised by residential settlements and welfare services. Whereas the public transports and road networks are well developed along the North-South axis connecting the quarter to the city centre, it is quite isolated from the neighbouring areas by urban barriers. Also the internal mobility by walking is not ease because of an urban fabric characterised by many infrastructure obstacles and of a web of small and trafficked streets, on the one hand, and oversized and quite deserted roads, on the other hand.	San Paolo is well connected with the city centre by road web and public transports; the heart of the quarter is characterised by narrow streets and high density of commercial activities; in the ring around the quarter hearth many factories were torn down and new houses, public services, cultural sites and offices facing large alleys were built			

				Quar. 1 Barriera di Milano	Quar. 2 San Paolo+Cenisia	District 1 (when Quar. n/a)	District 2 (when Quar. n/a)	City Turin
<i>Qualitative items</i>	<i>Definitions and notes</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Source of data</i>					
Quality of housing stock, housing regimes, extension of urban blight and requalification processes				The dismissed former industrial areas have been only partially converted, therefore urban blight is quite widespread. The housing stock is extremely heterogeneous. In the quarter hearth the housing quality is low. In the East part, there are buildings constructed in the 1970s-1980s and a quite large social housing complex. In the West part, dismissed industrial areas are being reconverted and new houses are being constructed. The Northern area is characterised by houses of higher quality	The heart of the quarter is mainly made up of old and cheaper houses; the ring around the quarter hearth is made up of newer and good quality buildings; the two public housing settlements of the quarter are quite small and located in Cenisia			
Availability of meeting spaces including entertainment places (cinemas/theatres, libraries, etc.)				There is a lack of meeting spaces and premises for non profit organisations and cultural and recreation activities. Also open-air meeting places are inadequate (green per resident is a little more than 1.5 metre square against the over 20 metre square of the city average. Moreover, the use of the public spaces seems to be further hampered by the sense of insecurity which arises from widespread presence of drug sellers and users.	Meeting places are evenly distributed since they are located both in the newly constructed areas (where meeting centres and cultural sites have been built) and in the older heart of the quarter			

				Quar. 1 Barriera di Milano	Quar. 2 San Paolo+Cenisia	District 1 (when Quar. n/a)	District 2 (when Quar. n/a)	City Turin
<i>Qualitative items</i>	<i>Definitions and notes</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Source of data</i>					
Availability of welfare services (education, social action, security)				Social services and schools (especially nurseries) are few and underweighted if we consider that Barriera di Milano has a very density of population and a share of poor families and young people higher than the city average. Furthermore, welfare services are unevenly distributed and mainly located in the East part, which is not easy to reach because of problems of internal mobility.	Nurseries and high schools are particularly concentrated in San Paolo-Cenisia, while primary and middle schools are more numerous in the areas around the quarter. Also health units and social services seem to be adequate.			
Trade (shops, malls, open markets, etc.)				Barriera di Milano is characterised by an high incidence of construction workplaces and small business, mainly commercial. Nevertheless, economic activities are declining since 2009 as consequence of the economic crisis and part of traditional small shops and crafting activities are closing and substituted by ethnic business.	San Paolo is rich in small shops and open markets			

QUARTERS AS SOCIAL UNIT								
				Quar. 1 Barriera di Milano	Quar. 2 San Paolo +Cenisia	District 1 (when Quar. n/a)	District 2 (when Quar. n/a)	City Turin
<i>Quantitative items+A16</i>	<i>Definitions and notes</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Source of data</i>					
Total population	Residents	2010	City of Turin	50990	76096			908568
Population composition by age:	Residents by age	2010	City of Turin					
0-14				14.14%	11.90%			12.02%
15-17				3.42%	2.90%			3.07%
18-64				62.95%	64.11%			58.62%
65 years old or over				19.49%	22.56%			23.97%
Population composition by sex	Residents by sex	2010	City of Turin					
M				49.56%	47.13%			47.73%
F				50.44%	52.87%			52.27%
Population composition by year of arrival in the city and in the neighbourhood (0-5 years; 6-10 years; 11 years and over)				n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Annual variation of the population	[(population t1-population t0)/population t0]*100	2009-2010	City of Turin	0.27%	-0.14%			-0.41%
Population/km2	Residents /km2	2010	City of Turin	17348	16211			6888
Natural balance rate	[(birth-death)/total population]*100	2010	City of Turin	0.37%	0.025%			-0.17%

				Quar. 1 Barriera di Milano	Quar. 2 San Paolo+ Cenisia	District 1 (when Quar. n/a)	District 2 (when Quar. n/a)	City Turin
<i>Quantitative items+A16</i>	<i>Definitions and notes</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Source of data</i>					
Immigration rate	(foreign immigrants / total population ) *100	2010	City of Turin	29.00%	14.00%			14.20%
Demographic balance rate	[(population t1-population t0)/population t0 ]*100	2009-2010	City of Turin	0.27%	-0.14%			-0.41%
Average income or wage of nationals and foreigners				n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Employment rates of nationals and foreigners				n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Unemployment rates of nationals and foreigners				n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Percentage of nationals and foreigners employed in highly qualified occupations				n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Percentage of residents enrolled in higher education (senior high school, college, university)				n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Percentage of resident families dependent on social services		2008	City of Turin	n/a	n/a	11.70%	7.70%	n/a
Reporting of anti-social behaviour and crime rate with special attention to violent crimes				n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

				Quar. 1 Barriera di Milano	Quar. 2 San Paolo+Cenisia	District 1 (when Quar. n/a)	District 2 (when Quar. n/a)	City Turin
<i>Qualitative items</i>	<i>Definitions and notes</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Source of data</i>					
Class composition				Barriera di Milano is mainly a working class neighbourhood. It is more densely inhabited, multi-ethnic, young and socially weaker compared to the city average: it is characterised by higher-than-city-average rates of low educated people, school drop-outs, low-skilled workers, unemployed young people seeking for the first employment and families characterised by multiple social weakness.	San Paolo is a working class neighbourhood. Its socio-economic profile is not particularly worrying and, for some respects, it looks even better than the city average (e.g. the educational level is slightly higher than the city average).			
Types of social capital (bonding, bridging, social links)				Barriera di Milano has kept its own identity and intense civic participation coming from struggles fought by trades unions, left-wing parties and residents' organisations in 1960s and 1970s. Therefore, bonding social capital seems to prevail. However, this social capital is increasingly challenged by the economic transition from fordism to post-fordism, the current crisis and social changes.	Until today its residents, be they second generation Southern immigrants, Turin native or new immigrants, all share a peculiar sense of collective belonging, strongly rooted in the territory. This identity is strongly linked to the industrial history of the quarter that has always been called the "red quarter" for the well rooted left-wing parties and the fights carried out for obtaining better working conditions. Although this seems to be bonding social capital, it is playing a bridging function towards newcomers.			

				Quar. 1 Barriera di Milano	Quar. 2 San Paolo+Cenisia	District 1 (when Quar. n/a)	District 2 (when Quar. n/a)	City Turin
<i>Qualitative items</i>	<i>Definitions and notes</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Source of data</i>					
Strength and closure/openness of social institutions (associations, unions, housing organisations, etc.)				The experience done by public and religious service providers in the period of mass internal immigration (1950s-60s) seems to have generated a persistent capacity of these actors to provide responses to new demands issuing from newcomers and to challenge tensions created by immigration into organised solutions and devices. However, most of these institutions are managed by natives rather than by immigrants casting doubts of their actual openness.	San Paolo-Cenisia has always been characterised by a strong network of social and cultural associations, mutual aid and working societies, a large part of which work on immigrants' integration. However, mixed organisations are still few.			
Presence and types of inflows of outsiders (migrants, tourists, night life users, gentrifiers, etc.)				Barriera di Milano is characterised by very high inflows of immigrants compared to the city average, while it does not attract tourists and quarter users because of the lack of meeting and recreational places. For this same reason, its residents, mainly young people, often spend their free time outside the quarter.	Inflows of immigrants are similar to the city average. New residents, mainly native, are moving towards the South-east area, where good quality buildings have been constructed. San Paolo-Cenisia does not attract huge inflows of quarter users, except for some leisure and cultural sites such as cinemas and contemporary art centres.			
Neighbourhood identity				Barriera di Milano is a working class quarter but this identity is strongly challenged by the transition from fordist to post-fordist economy in 1990s	San Paolo is a working class quarter, which has kept this identity till now.			

QUARTERS AS MIGRANTS' DESTINATION								
				Quar. 1 Barriera di Milano	Quar. 2 San Paolo + Cenisia	District 1 (when Quar. n/a)	District 2 (when Quar. n/a)	City Turin
<i>Quantitative items</i>	<i>Definitions and notes</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Source of data</i>					
Migratory balance rate	[(immigrants - emigrants) / total population] *100	2010	City of Turin	-0.11%	-0.16%			-0.22%
Immigration rate	(foreign immigrants / total population) *100	2010	City of Turin	29.00%	14.00%			14.20%
Proportion of people with foreign citizenship in total population	(foreign immigrants / total population) *100	2010	City of Turin	29.00%	14.00%			14.20%
Proportion of born in foreign countries in total population				n/a		n/a	n/a	n/a
Proportion of people with an ethnic background in total populations				n/a		n/a	n/a	n/a
Population composition by nationality (first five nationalities and proportion of each of them in the total foreign population)	first five nationalities and proportion of each of them in the total foreign population)	2010	City of Turin					
				Romanian 33.2%	Romanian 43.52%			Romanian 40.2%
				Moroccan 24.3%	Peruvian 13.94%			Moroccan 15.04%

				Quar. 1 Barriera di Milano	Quar. 2 San Paolo + Cenisia	District 1 (when Quar. n/a)	District 2 (when Quar. n/a)	City Turin
<i>Quantitative items</i>	<i>Definitions and notes</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Source of data</i>					
				Chinese 7.1%	Moroccan 11.02%			Peruvian 6.82%
				Albanian 3.8%	Albanian 3.86%			Albanian 4.42%
				Egyptian 3.7%	Moldavian 3.01%			Chinese 2.27%
Population composition by country of birth (first five countries of birth and proportion of each of them in the total population born abroad)				n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Population composition by minority ethnic background (first five minority ethnic groups and proportion of each of them on the total population with a minority ethnic background)				n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Population composition by religion				n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Proportion of migrants arrived < 5-10 years (recent migrants)				n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

				Quar. 1 Barriera di Milano	Quar. 2 San Paolo + Cenisia	District 1 (when Quar. n/a)	District 2 (when Quar. n/a)	City Turin
<i>Qualitative items</i>	<i>Definitions and notes</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Source of data</i>					
Earlier immigration history				The first immigrants came to Barriera di Milano from the province of Turin and from the rest of the Region at the end of the XIXth century. The first big increase in immigration took however place during the economic boom of the late 1950s and 1960s, with large inflows from Southern Italy and substantial transfers from other city areas induced by the increasing demand of labour force in factories and the fast housing expansion. From 1979 the resident population started to decrease as a consequence of the demographic and economic decline. From 2001 the population began growing again due to international immigration.	At the beginning of the century people arrived from Southern Italy and rural zones of the Region. During the economic boom of 1950s-60s, flows from Southern Italy and the Centre-North countryside increased rapidly. In the 70s, two parallel phenomena occurred: the deindustrialization and the stop of internal migration, and the beginning of international migration.			

				Quar. 1 Barriera di Milano	Quar. 2 San Paolo + Cenisia	District 1 (when Quar. n/a)	District 2 (when Quar. n/a)	City Turin
<i>Qualitative items</i>	<i>Definitions and notes</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Source of data</i>					
Immigrants' profile (blue collars, traders and shop keepers, families, single men/women, etc.)				Foreign immigrant families move to Barriera di Milano especially after family reunion and in correspondence with the first house purchase due to low housing prices in this area. Single migrants co-housing and buildings completely inhabited by foreigners coming from the same geographical area are concentrated in the oldest part of the quarter. The quarter is also attracting foreigners who run small businesses.	Immigrants move to San Paolo-Cenisia mainly as a result of family reunifications. Also the presence of Latin American single women employed in the domestic work or care work and well integrated, has always been significant. They are now reuniting their children who have on the contrary integration difficulties			
Visibility of immigrants				The weight of the different national groups does not coincide with the actual visibility which is higher in the case of Sub-Saharan Africans since they more intensely use public spaces and some of them are involved in drug selling	Immigrant population is not very visible, since it is mainly made up of families.			

				Quar. 1 Barriera di Milano	Quar. 2 San Paolo + Cenisia	District 1 (when Quar. n/a)	District 2 (when Quar. n/a)	City Turin
<i>Qualitative items</i>	<i>Definitions and notes</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Source of data</i>					
Main markers of intergroup boundaries (nationality, area of origin, skin colour, religion, length of residence in the quarter, etc.)				Intergroup boundaries are linked to the place of origin: east-European migrants (especially Romanian) tend to create a separate group and often show discriminatory attitudes towards other immigrant groups. Sub-Saharan migrants are stigmatized and often accused of being involved in drug pushing. The sharpest conflicts come out between Italian elderly and young immigrants, when they live in the same block of flats. In fact, beyond place of origin, another reason for the building of boundaries is the generation belonging: differences are not only between the Italian elderly and young immigrants, but also between elderly people and young Italian people. Also the length of stay in the quarter is fundamental. The first arrivals of immigrants, who have been in Italy for twenty years, especially Moroccans, are welcome and contrast with the latest arrivals, considered as having less possibilities of being integrated and accused of living in separate worlds	Intergroup boundaries are based on countries of origin rather than on religion, skin colour and so forth. On this basis, Peruvians and the Chinese are regarded as the most “exclusive” and not willing to integrate with the host society, while Moroccans and Romanians are considered more integrated. The length of residence does not seem to be a crucial marker.			

QUARTERS AS ARENA OF CONFLICT AND COOPERATION								
				Quar. 1 Barriera di Milano	Quar. 2 San Paolo + Cenisia	District circonscrizione 6 (when Quar. n/a)	District 2 circonscrizione3 (when Quar. n/a)	City Turin
<i>Quantitative items</i>	<i>Definitions and notes</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Source of data</i>					
(Police) Reporting of racist and xenophobic acts				n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Votes for political parties with anti-immigrant stances in the EU/national/regional/municipal/district election in target neighbourhoods in the last 10 years	local elections 2006 FOR THE MUNICIPAL COUNCIL (no.of votes lega nord+ lega padana piemonte+ destra di Storace	2011	Electoral Office of the Municipality of Turin	7.93%	6.09%			6.12%
Number and /or proportion of non profit organisations working around immigration issues	associations registered in the proper municipal book	2011	Register of associations of the City of Turin	n/a	n/a	24,71%	21,74%	24,74%

				Quar. 1 Barriera di Milano	Quar. 2 San Paolo + Cenisia	District circoscrizione 6 (when Quar. n/a)	District 2 circoscrizione3 (when Quar. n/a)	City Turin
<b>Qualitative items</b>								
Main issues of cooperation and conflicts (small business, use of public or semipublic spaces, access to welfare services, public safety, lifestyles, etc.)				In Barriera di Milano the main reasons for conflict are the access and use of public spaces and public services (public gardens, clinics, means of transport). Another problem is also represented by grocery shops run by immigrants who go around there at night and make noise. Another element of conflict is drug pushing, in the historical area of the neighbourhoods. Conflicts also take place in private spaces when, for example, there are flats overcrowded by immigrants or because of the lack of respect of cleanliness rules in common spaces. Intergroup relations are cooperative when there are people who play the role of intermediaries.	In San Paolo there are not serious problems of interethnic or intercultural conflict. As a matter of fact, there have never been serious incidents of violence or intolerance between different groups. A certain competition is present between Italian and foreign small businesses.			