

THE SOCIAL AND TERRITORIAL ROOT OF IMMIGRANT COMMUNITIES IN THE MEDITERRANEAN CITIES

Carmen Bizzarri

1. Demographic aspect of immigrants in Naples and Valencia

At this stage the Mediterranean cities represent the synthesis of the processes of territorialisation of new people who insist and live in the city. This transformation is not immediate because the long-term immigrants have some difficult "path of integration that includes the rights and duties" (speech of Pope Benedict XVI, 2012, on the occasion of the Day of Migrants) for contributing to the renewal of the urban system. It came also loosening his tie between origins and destinations - for colonial ties or geographical proximity - which in the past had characterized international migration. At the same time, the processes of globalization, marked by complex dynamics of "de-territorialisation" and "re-territorialisation", contributed to the development of a network of lines migratory more composite than in the past. (Russian Krauss D., C. Schmoll, 2006 pag.699).

In the Spanish city of Valencia, for example, the growth rate of immigrants living in the past ten years has been exponential (the percentage of non-EU foreign immigrants increased in the period 2000-2012 from 2.5% to 6, 7%) to the point of inducing the local government to plan for integration policies that mean the knowledge of the laws and the Spanish language and Valencia idiom, contributing to a greater spread of immigrants even in residential settings.

The high increase of migration flows, as was the case for Valencia, is also found in Naples. For Naples, as well as Valencia, this phenomenon is very recent, since both cities, in ages past, were places of emigration rather than immigration. The flow of migrants has registered in Naples, however, had a very strong growth rate, which was not matched by an organic intervention to achieve full integration with the urban reality, as the contrary was the case for Valencia. The different ways of integration are certainly derived from a series of difficult conditions already present in Naples unlike those of the Spanish city. In Valencia the wave of migration has taken advantage of major structural changes (City of Science and Technology and the entire park renovated River), which have permeated the city during the late 90s with great economic expansion (Scarpelli L., 2000, p. 452). This

development has, however, seen the end with the advent of the global crisis of recent years.

The role of immigrants in the urban system depends on many factors not easily attributable to well-defined categories, even if the main are: the city's history, the social status of residents, labor policy pursued both by the national government that the local purposes of inclusion in the working world.

The current phenomenon of migration starts the 80s of last century, but has grown exponentially in the last ten years, so that "have been expanded considerably the areas of origin of migrants" (Russian Krauss D., C. Schmoll, 2006 , p. 699)

In both cities, the movement of goods and people, is characterized by the "provisional" and the idea of the passage in other cities, so that the local economy is not centred on the value added by the port. The spatial separation of the port has consequently had a negative impact on the inclusion of migrants into the urban system, triggering a substantial mobility and a growing dynamism between the different areas of the city (port-centre).

In particular, Garibaldi Station of Naples has become "a laboratory for new forms of commercial circulation," a poor example of internationalization that has as its protagonists migrants (F. Amato, P. Coppola, 2009, p. 141).

The continuous flow of goods and people in both cities has given rise to a reticular pattern between port and central areas so that both can be defined as the "turntables" (C. Schmoll, 2004) in the Mediterranean area.

"Although the commercial sector accounts for many immigrants the gap more accessible" (F. Amato, P. Coppola, 2009, page 139) to the world of work, in Naples the tertiary sector absorbs more workers than other economic sectors.

The age pyramid, in summary, suggests the difficult process of integration of foreign immigrants in Naples, while in the Valencia indicates a relative easier integration into the urban system. In Naples are evident, however, the *Push and Pull* dynamics that do not allow real integration only in the residential system and increase the formation of enclaves between different ethnic groups. Ukraine community, although the most populous in Naples, was affected to own land thanks for more accessible and more near than the others, but also to the attractions of the cities more developed than Naples. The return to the Ukraine land is always a powerful reminder and for this reason Ukraine immigrants do not have much interest to integrate, since their goal is to return to the homeland. Othewise, the data evidenced that "in 2002 the top three nationalities residents are migrants Sri Lankans, Filipinos and Cape Verdeans and are not the Ukrainians" (E. De Filippo, A. Spano, 2004 pag.361)

2. The new territorialization at Naples and Valencia for immigrants

The settlement of immigrants in the two urban systems, Naples and Valencia, goes to engage with the concomitant material and symbolic transformations of the territories and "emerging structures that you can not contain rigid and fixed" (L'altrove tra noi, 2003 page 35.)

"The immigrant presence, however, helps to characterize and redevelop certain areas of reproduction and adaptation in settlement sites of the practices of their countries of origin, with the material transformation of some neighbourhoods". (L'altrove tra noi, 2003, p. 56). To interpret the rooting process of foreign immigrants in Naples and in Valencia, it is useful to identify three different phases of territorialisation, or three different forms that modify the urban system determined by the reification and the organizational model space of the city.

1 - Concentration: During this initial phase immigrant communities recognize the privileged place in the centre to accommodate the new arrivals and to start businesses, especially of goods and services from their countries. This phase, surpassed by Valencia but still present in Naples, is characterized by a kind of "siege" of the old town as urban areas are becoming privileged meeting between the communities. The main train station in Naples is a clear example of how the public space is not the same for everyone, as well as would like the utopia of "agora", and how his territorialisation is present as a highly dynamic process, often temporary and linked to the practice of mobility, so the idea of a "weak territorialisation" of urban spaces is particularly effective tool for understanding these phenomena: "weak" because they often temporary and fluid, why not institutionalized (Russo Krauss D., C. Schmoll, 2006 p. 715). This type of urban space becomes a place not only intentionally multi-ethnic but also multi-functional, giving rise to a complex system of ethnic economies, although marginal, very often the residents of Naples.

In conclusion, the concentration of the station area is quite natural in the first phase of the migration process. "This chain of settlements often cause a certain degradation of the neighbourhoods" (Turco: in *L'altrove tra noi*, 2003,p. 35) of the second and fourth municipality of Naples as Montecalvario, Pendino, Porto, San Lorenzo and Poggioreale.

The station area can, however, find shops, phone centres, centres for sending money and restaurants run by Africans, Pakistanis, North Africans themselves to the needs of foreigners.

The existence of trade vendors and ethnic markets in the centre are the result of a process of grounding and stabilization of some communities established within the metropolitan area migrants who work and can then buy goods from their

countries of origin and consider the centre as a meeting place, each in his own ethnic group.

In addition to businesses, meeting places for foreign immigrants are also the areas intended for the religious sphere: the geographical literature is very rich in contributions aimed to highlight the role of the religious centres as spatial aggregation point not only social, but also as a potential scale of change in the urban landscape. The latter characteristic is most noticeable for those religions where buildings, such as the mosque or the Christian churches, which are structurally very different from Catholic, then become symbols of change of the urban landscape. In Naples, as well as Mosques (Via Corso Lucci), many Muslims Centres (P.za Nuova, P.za Largo Mercato) and the Greek-orthodox Church (Via Tommaso D'Aquino), or the Christian Churches (Via dei Cimbri and Via Vaccaro) or Buddhist Centres (Corso Vittorio Emanuele) communicate not only the strong presence of various religious entities, but emphasize the articulated structural change that the city lives daily. These centres have, however, also a great attraction for immigrants, that by practicing these religions are induced in meeting in these areas while residing throughout the metropolitan area and provincial level.

2 - Phase Diffusion: As anticipated the first phase of territorialisation derived from multiculturalism in the central area, does not exclude, nor does it affect the formation of a new phase, which among other things can be considered a continuation of that before.

These different ways of articulating the urban system, determined by the process of "de-structuring of the rural economy" (Fuschi M., 2008, p.60), is derived from the complex relationship between the city and migrations that transforms the urban organization in time and space. However re- symbolization and re-use of these spaces occur in everyday life, especially when the identity of individuals is mixed with that of the city. This is the second phase in which we can place Valencia, as the entire metropolitan area is pervaded by the presence of massive stable and migrants.

The settlement of migrants in Valencia is very heterogeneous among other things, as there are mono-ethnic neighborhoods and there was a very strong and dynamic migration - as demonstrated by the data of the municipality of Valencia - year to year there is a shift very strong among the same suburbs.

The presence of the mixing of ethnic groups in the city centre and suburbs have become entrepreneurs and managers of stores dedicated not only to immigrants but also to residents Valencian. You can find immigrants who sell fruits, vegetables, household products, small craftsmen.

The melting of cultures and ethnicities is very present and spread throughout the urban area and there are areas "reserved" to particular ethnic groups, although the marginal part of the port *el barrio Cabayal* remains the prerogative of the

Romanians. In Valencia the mixing of the foreigners in residential neighbourhoods have allowed thanks for the involvement of residents of integration policies, helping immigrants to integrate into Valencia civil society.

One of the signs that highlights the inclusion of foreign immigrants in the social structure of Valencia is the presence of the entire urban area of diverse places of worship. In the city of Valencia in 2011 there were, according to the Observatory of religious pluralism, in addition to the different parishes of the Roman Catholic Church: 262 Protestant Churches, 164 Islamic Centres, 81 Evangelical Churches, 15 Orthodox churches, 15 Buddhist centres, 14 Adventist Church Centres and a large amount of places to pray other minority religions.

The great religious diversity implies, however, the gradual adaptation and tolerance of Valencian to the various communities in the area impacting very positively on their integration. It should be noted that the history of our city of Valencia is characterized by a blending of different cultures and different cultures that have made the Valencian over time a people very open to cultural diversity. (Scarpelli, L., 2000, pag.434)

3 - Phase Dispersion: The third form of territorialization for integration, it is named "dispersion phase". It starts when immigrants already have some knowledge of the land and settle in areas far from the center where not only the rents are lower, but where it is easier to find the work, especially the unskilled labor in agriculture and industry. This occurred both in Naples and in Valencia, in the areas around airports and in those areas where there is intensive agriculture or the small and medium industry. It's the case of Marcianise, Marano di Napoli, Giugliano in Naples and Castel Volturno, while in Valencia in West and northwest as *el barrio de la Luz, La Font Santa and La Coma*, marginal areas compared to the urban and areas in which, having been abandoned by residents for lack of work, are becoming hospitable to all those immigrants who fail to pay little with very low rents for the degradation of existing homes. In Naples, in particular, there was such a phenomenon in the crown north - north-west where reside the increase of the population is on average higher than in the last thirty years at 50% (Amato p. 161).

In these areas, immigrants are as the residents and start individual businesses by themselves. These shops are in most cases of low rank, such as green groceres or hairdresser and are functional to all citizens regardless of gender or ethnicity. In these peri-urban areas of the integration process is not as simple as if on the one hand form of enclave within these areas isolated from the centres, the other the continuous contact with the local poor people can become ruling of a conflict between poor or otherwise of a full share of what little there is for everyone.

Phenomena of conflict, in the past, have been recorded with regard to both Naples Castel Volturno in Marcianise that, with regard to Valencia, in the harbour district and in other districts that are located in the surrounding peri-urban area,

such as de la Luz. For some years these phenomena are less present on the one hand thanks to the natural acceptance by the residents of the presence of these people and the other to the will of foreigners to integrate. Some Chinese families, for example, as well as some Africans have become in the outskirts of Valencia managers of restaurants and bars, but also artisans and small traders. The selection of products and foods, contrary to what happened in the past, where the Chinese restaurants had only typical menu of their countries, have added the typical Valencian food. This kind of respect is very significant as we see the efforts of foreigners to abide by and to appropriate the Spanish culture without putting in any way that of their country of origin. In addition, to maintain the dishes, foreign managers have had to learn both the language that the traditional Valencian and Spanish, as well as stock up on the same premises.

In this stage, "the transformation of the district (or part of them) is visible through the testimony which expresses the complexity of relations with the society, which ranks as the expression of a renewed relationship between local and global (Russo D. Krauss, C. Schmoll, 2006, pp.. 701).

3. Conclusions

Human mobility in the Mediterranean and has had no apparent effect on the organization of urban spaces, helping to make the dynamic range of goods and services and creating socio-spatial relations entirely new, originally non-existent. These changes have, therefore, initiated new territorialization processes both in Naples and in Valencia. In particular, as has been pointed out, the central station of Naples is not only the central place of the historic part of the city, but also the centre of a commercial system of the entire metropolitan area.

The consequences of this amplification of commercial space on the basis of informal relationships can form the basis on which a profound effect on the integration of immigrants and foreign residents.

Valencia, as has been shown, thanks to the full consciousness of the new informal and formal ways of entire urban area, has shown a greater degree of integration than that of Naples. The attention to the new demands of civil society and social change is also derived from the implementation of the reform at the local level in the Fourth Section of Organic Law 4/2000, on the rights and freedoms of foreigners in Spain and their integration social. In this reform, in fact, states that "the public authorities" will promote the full integration of foreigners in the Spanish company" promoting the learning of the official languages Castilian and ensuring, through training, knowledge and respect for constitutional values of Spain and European Union and human rights, civil liberties, democracy, tolerance

and equality between men and women. (Felip the Sardà JM, 2011)

To conclude the integration Valencian model is valid and can be replicable to entire Europe, as this policy is based on the bidirectional respect of all persons, of the local law, of local language skill and above all on the commitment by the host host society.

References

- AMATO F., COPPOLA P. 2009. *Da Migranti ad abitanti - Gli spazi insediativi degli stranieri nell'area metropolitana di Napoli*. Napoli; Guida editore.
- AA.VV. 2007. *L'altrove tra noi, Scenari italiani*, Rapporto Annuale della Società Geografica Italiana.
- AA.VV. 2012. Immigrazione e processi di interazione culturale. In *Geotema, Rivista dell'AGEI*, N. 43-44-45, Anno XV-XVI, 2011-2012, Patron Editore.
- CRISTALDI F. 2012. Immigrazione e territorio: la segregazione residenziale delle aree metropolitane. In AA.VV. 2012. Immigrazione e processi di interazione culturale, *Geotema, Rivista ufficiale dell'AGEI*, N. 43-44-45, Anno XV-XVI, 2011-2012, pp. 17-28, Patron Editore
- DE FILIPPO E., SPANÒ A. 2010. La presenza straniera a Napoli e il processo di re-golarizzazione dei lavoratori immigrati. In ZUCCHETTI E. *La regolazione degli stranieri nel mercato del lavoro italiano*, pp.347- 410. Milano: Franco Angeli.
- FELIP I SARDÀ J.M. 2011. *Gestión y balance del modelo valenciano de integración de personas inmigrantes y extranjerias (2007-2011)*, V Simposio Internazionale sull'Immigrazione, Valencia, 6 maggio 2011, www.funciva.org
- FUSCHI M. 2008. *Il Mediterraneo, Geografia della Complessità*, Franco Angeli
- RUSSO KRAUSS D., SCHMOLL C. 2006. Spazi insediativi e pratiche socio-spaziali dei migranti nella città sud-europea: il caso di Napoli. In *Studi Emigrazione*, anno XLIII, n. 163, 2006, pp. 699-719.
- RUSSO KRAUSS D. 2009. Immigrants in Naples: settlement and urban transformations. In *Geografia*, anno XXXII, n. 3-4, pp. 40-45.
- SCARPELLI L. 2000. L'industria della Comunidad Valenciana. In Strangio D., *Scritti in onore di Ciro Manca*, pp. 425-452, Padova: CEDAM
- SCHMOLL C. 2004. *Une place marchande cosmopolite. Dynamiques migratoires et circulations commerciales à Naples*, Tesi di Dottorato in Geografia, Université Paris X-Nanterre, p.550.
- TRANI G. 2013. Campania: i profili del disagio e dell'esclusione sociale tra i migranti. In AA.VV. *Dossier Regionale sulle povertà 2012*, Delegazione Regionale Caritas della Campania, pp. 117 - 123.

SUMMARY

The paper focuses on the human mobility in Mediterranean cities. This stream of immigrants change to the space of urban life for the historical, geographical and cultural factors led to themselves. The paper will analyse two cities, Naples and Valencia, because both are very interested of this phenomenon, that changing the articulation of metropolitan areas.

The methodology used to compare the different way of new territorialization based on some indicators: density for districts, the distribution of non EU immigrants in districts, the population pyramid of the non Eu immigrants living in that cities and the place of worship. Starting of this comparison it is possible to understand which is the city, between Naples or Valencia, highlights more integration and new form of territorialization than the other.