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Multicultural urban spaces and the right to the city: the Italian local policies on immigration

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Abstract. The paper proposes a reflection on the issue of the 'production of localities', activities regarding the making up of an individual self. This aspect helps to determinate collective identities and memories shared by migrants and natives, as far as hybrid dynamics belonging to different cultures situated in the same urban milieu, are concerned. Central to the concept of multiculturalism is the notion of difference. All models of multicultural cities require categorization of difference at some level. In the Italian society different experiences of local multicultural welfare highlight how local policies on immigration can give effect to the recognition of cultural differences in a given territory, although they can not affect the legal issues as vital as access to citizenship or the right to vote. Local authorities play a significant role in promoting forms of social inclusion of migrants and generative welfare.

Keywords. Migration, multiculturalism, urban milieu, local policies, citizenship.

THE MULTIETHNIC URBAN SETTINGS AND REUSE PRACTICES

The immigrant presence legitimizes the idea of consolidation of a "metropolis of fourth generation", an analytical category proposed by Guido Martinotti (1993). This where foreigners live, work and consume, while in the previous three generations of the metropolis, the ideal-typical figures that reside in the city were the commuter, the city user and businessmen (and of course the inhabitant). For the immigrants, reproduction; where they spend their daily lives; work; family bonds, through reunions and mixed marriages; educating their children; feed ratios and neighbourhood all promote cultures of origin. This in turn, provides legitimate claims for new citizenship rights. In the sprawling city, many of them are now "immigrants in settling", or groups of foreign origin by a better socio-economic and family. They would leave the degraded areas of the city, areas of first settlement, and find it more convenient to settle in or peri-urban localities in the bands (Mela 2009: 41; Urbanit 2016: 74-76).

The response of Western cities, not only Italian, is to ask yourself frequently. As spaces that relegate postcolonial cultures, identities and rights of these populations in the otherness, fueling a state of suspension and insecurity (Sassen 2008: 112-122; Zanfrini 2019).

Immigrants, perhaps more than any native, "make local mind" in the sense that one's mind settles in the place of residence (La Cecla 1993: 50),

try to focus on it and look around to understand it (Bergamaschi, Piro 2018). Sociologists, lawyers, architects, politicians, and actors volunteering might argue in more detail the questions of the city that foreigners possess. They will highlight the specific nature of these questions, not neglecting to stratify this population and, therefore, to dwell on the rights that second-generation immigrants and women of foreign origin claiming the city. A reflection put in these terms could contribute to a problematization of the «Mediterranean Model» of immigration (King, Lazaridis, Tsardanidis 2000; Fonseca et alii 2002; Cebolla, Finotelli 2011; La Spina 2017). Not forgetting to consider the profound differences between Italian cities, and their individual areas, in response to the presence of migrants, as evident in recent decades of scientific debates (Gentileschi 2004; Consoli 2015).

Foreign presence is a very important element of the urban dynamics. Foreigners are carriers of new ways of living in the streets, squares and meeting places. Multiculturalism has changed the urban landscape that takes on different connotations depending on the districts. Central to the concept of multiculturalism is the notion of difference. All models of multicultural cities require a categorization of difference at some level. The demographic meaning of multiculturalism posits difference along a problematic continuum spanning from heterogeneity towards homogeneity (Marotta 2007). Problems of degradation have been compared with the revitalization of public spaces in contrast to their respective historical centers. Cities show their multiethnic profile and make those visible in places that constitute the result of the dialectic between social actors that give them a different meaning. As a result of different cultures communicating, negotiating, assigning projects, measuring their cosmopolitan spirit and occasionally conflict. We are able to witness the process of re-appropriation or re-signification of said places.

It is important to analyze how migrants take areas themselves and how they can build a town on major and give life to "urban bricolage". Researchers wish to find out if immigrants run the risk of being trapped in the areas more than natives. The dialectic concerning this material forces giving room and creates individual research capable of transforming it. It is necessary to reflect 'production of localities'. This is the making up of an individual self, which helps to determinate collective identities and memories shared by migrants and natives, belonging to different cultures situated in the same urban milieu are concerned. Ethnic characterization of urban areas is strictly in contact with a typology of cultural traits. The suggestion of these traits is due to negotiation process determined by immigrates' ability to give 'colour' to the street area where immigrates live, and the native's capacity to perceive such traits. Natives interpret them according to their cultural codes, to their tradition and positions emerging from media debate.

There are three spheres of analysis typical of immigrated presences. In order to know how structuring dynamics, concerning areas of inter-ethnic and co-living work, we must examine the needs of the towns under consideration. Specifically, we focus on labour areas, residential areas and those specific public areas mainly in historical centers. In these considerations we must also factor in how urban reuse can make foreigners physically and socially near to natives, particularly in Southern Italy. They are not separate spheres and are often superimposed, meaning their limits appear soft.

Every sphere needs to be analyzed at various levels: one being the material and structural conditions (house market, common areas access, control and regulations politics) and one being the social relationships (idea and construction of home concept, symbolic use of areas, neighbouring relationships with natives).

Anyway, the process is often concealed behind the idea places are naturally that way. They should have a unique identity immediately recognizable. On the contrary, the very presence of migrants makes the urban area hybrid unstable and contingent. Places become privileged territories where to experiment difference, meeting, change, and mediation. Meaning of places and legends about them cannot be analyzed any longer leaving out of consideration a "space in between". It inspires you to access new subjects belonging to immigration. Migrants' situation can show a paradigmatic link of identification, compared to socio-economic resources, social capital, and self-determination chances (Sciortino 2017).

Labelling a city is also ultimately an urban narrative. It involves capturing a snapshot representation of any given urban space, at any given point in time, and describing it, interpreting it, and attaching values to it. Immigrants contribute to the dynamics of labelling urban spaces and, therefore, urban narratives.

It is somewhat delicate dynamics to draw a comparison with the new phenomena of internationalization which engage in urban fabrics for certain aspects still traditional. The scenario of the multiethnic city is an Italian contemporary record. Also, a microcosm of interactions addressed informally or through the mediation of local institutions, ethnic networks and voluntary. It is crucial to analyze the role of cultural mediation in supporting a "local governance" of immigration, identifying and diffusing good practices whose aim must be to make urban areas public. Individuals with different languages, tradition, ethnic races, social status and religions must be put in the condition to meet, recognize, confront, and understand anybody is a part of the same place. They must understand they are collaborating to realize shared *urban milieu*. They must know they are subjects of the same culture and identity «amalgam» indicated by Lewis Mumford as the element capable of characterizing a town since its origin.

On a practical level, integration as a mechanism of building multicultural spaces is a very complex process. Measures must carefully address social, political, and economic needs of residents, as well as compensate for, and respond to, social-spatial and temporal urban transformations. Therefore, it will remain a project for residents of multicultural cities to keep up with social changes and to promote and encourage social diversity, inclusion, and equality.

DIFFERENT PATHS OF LOCAL MULTICULTURAL WELFARE

Before envisaging experiences of generative welfare, the Italian company will outline different paths of local multicultural welfare. This highlights how local policies on immigration (although they can not affect the legal issues as vital as access to citizenship or right to vote) can effectively make the recognition of cultural differences in a specific territory. Local governments are expected to play a significant role in shaping forms of inclusion of migrants and to promote constructive relations between foreigners and natives. The issue of the recognition of cultural rights is difficult to be implemented at the level of national regulations. You can find more evidence of receipt by the local government because it is at this level that has important decisions, such as the issuing of building permits for places of worship and the necessary permits to open schools or community centers. It should not be overlooked, however, the risk of spreading a «localism rights» following a differentiated leadership of local institutions in implementing Italian immigrant policies (Zincone 2006), calls into question the role of the central government. They would be urged to support policies of equal recognition of different cultures avoiding the formation of the territorial areas of the 'first, second or third class' in the policies of inclusion and anti-discrimination.

The process of inclusion of immigrants has a multidimensional nature. In this regard it is possible to identify at least four areas of action policies that promote the inclusion of foreigners in the local communities of residence: a) the socio-economic development, with reference to measures relating to the inclusion in the labor market, services education and training and social services; b) the political sphere, with particular attention in taking action to facilitate the representation of aliens; c) the cultural-religious, in policy for the support of cultural and religious diversity, as well as interventions in favor of public awareness of such diversity; d) the space sector, with reference to housing policies and the granting of urban areas for the construction of buildings for purposes of a religious and cultural. To understand the importance assumed by the governance in local policies for immigrants (Alexander 2003), we must consider new challenges that these areas pose to the welfare systems. The progressive increase of the foreign presence puts the municipalities in comparison with a new audience and a new demand for services. In this regard, it is possible to identify at least two aspects that make up a complex for local systems of social protection (Campomori 2006).

Firstly, there is the problem of identification of the new user that policies for immigrants contribute to structure the very concept of the word 'foreign', by introducing a significant distinction between those who are considered the successors of the measures put in place and those who are not. The cognitive framing of migration on the part of local decision-makers is therefore, of paramount importance. One possible type of cognitive frame is adopted from three different visions of the foreigner who corresponds to three different settings of local immigration policies. Firstly, the vision of immigrants as 'potentially misleading' is a result of a security-oriented policy vision to the protection of society and characterized by greater participation of law enforcement. Secondly, labelling the immigrant as 'poor' follows a type of policy which displays care and paternalistic, not free from the risk of segregation of foreigners. Lastly, classifying immigrants as 'regular' because they entered the labour market with appropriate contracting and residence. This corresponds to the tendency to develop promotional policies, oriented to the emancipation of the recipients and which is in turn associated with a meaning inclusion understood as universal access to services for the community.

Secondly, there is the problem of management models of ethnic and cultural diversity from local authorities. The social protection system can direct their interventions following a method based on providing standardized performance for all users. Conversely, if adopting the model of the multicultural type, the local welfare tends to deal with the user by activating the linguistic and cultural mediation in health and social services as well as education. Thus, building different routes to inclusion, which is also based on specific characteristics related to the national origin. Another aspect concerns the complexity and versatility of skills related to different institutions. The issue of immigration implies the need to operate in a network perspective of services and institutions, as well as between public, private and social informal networks of immigrants. Globally it presents the phenomenon, therefore, requires integrated policies rather than sectoral and fragmented. A significant factor is made also by the characteristics of the migratory phenomenon. If it were an 'emergency', the institutions should respond with extraordinary measures. However, there is a risk that local governments are limited to a pure welfare in later stages of that emergency.

THE ACTORS OF LOCAL GOVERNANCE OF IMMIGRATION

At the local level, it is detected, as well as anticipated, as an attempt to promote welfare for the government of the ethnic and cultural differences that seem tied to the gradual emergence of a horizontal governance. The principle of subsidiarity is reflected substantially in recognition of the crucial role assumed by the actors closest to the problems raised daily by the immigration issue. Local governance of immigration calls into question many public and private actors. The existing law provides for two main instruments of coordination between these different actors the one-stop shops and territorial councils for immigration. In the first case, different agencies are called to work together to speed up the processing of authorization issued: a) recruitment for employment, temporary or permanent and seasonal non-EU foreign nationals living abroad, according to the quotas provided for in 'Decree-flows'; b) recruitment for work in special cases (Art. 27, 27a, 27b and 27c of Legislative Decree 286 of 1998, the Consolidated Immigration); c) the entry of foreign nationals to family reunification; d) the conversion of residence permits for study or training and for seasonal work in a dependent work permit. In the second case, however, the territorial councils should form organizations of needs analysis and promotion of measures to be implemented locally. However, the absence of a specific budget to which the council may territorially input, to help implement specific initiatives, have made these organizations have little influence in terms of concrete policy decisions. It follows «the need to recognize more directly the actual importance of local governments in immigration policies, not an actor among others, but center ring of a system of integrated governance, which can aggregate other public and private stakeholders on concrete projects, not only in an advisory capacity, which seems to be essentially the case of the territorial councils» (Caponio 2004: 9). The configuration assumed by the local government changes significantly depending on local contexts examined. Although it is possible to identify a set of actors who are involved albeit with different intensity and mode as appropriate. Among them are the commissioners, operators of services for foreigners, the subjects of the third sector and the representative bodies of foreigners.

In Italy, the responsibility of local political actors tends to worsen because of national policy choices. Since 2002, the financial resources provided by the central government for inclusion has decreased. Alternatively, the funding measures to combat illegal immigration has increased which has contributed to an increasing liability. As part of the National Conference on Immigration organized by the Ministry of Interior and ANCI, in Florence 2007. Local authorities denounced - perhaps for the first time with some determination - the need for a greater commitment from the central government in the management of migration. They assumed that the phenomenon in question is global, but the effects resulted in the social flock impacting the local environment in a much faster way, where it is more evident the link between citizenship and political representation. We have already talked about the public perception of migration on the part of policymakers and the importance that the issue of classification cognitive takes in politics. Beyond the characteristics that have been taken by the foreign presence on territories. It is of interest to investigate the processes of 'naming' and 'framing' which consist in defining the issues arising from the migration processes to identify the political intervention to be implemented (Campomori 2005; Ambrosini 2020). The interpretive schemes that are found in political discourse, although they contribute to structure the public perception of migration, do not have a necessary impact on policy actions. They involved many elements of context, not by breaking the availability of resources and the policy choices made previously. It seems appropriate to assess, therefore, the divergence between stated policies and policies in use. «It may be that certain political pronouncements do not follow congruent choices, or that changes in government majority of the city, despite the statements do not correspond profound changes in policies for immigrant populations, since the size and organizational dependence on intervention models wellestablished binding policies in use» (Ambrosini 2006a: 41). The immigration issue arises, therefore, as transverse to many policy areas and reducing the scope of social policies, they do not realize the complexity of the interventions. In this sense, it is relevant that the ability of the various departments to integrate each other's competence to give rise to a set of policies characterized by a common orientation. It is important to underline the awareness of the transversal nature of this issue. Some local governments have resulted in the creation of 'thematic groups' immigration intended to establish coordination from both inside the different sectors of the local authority and that among these subjects active in the territory.

Only 2005, the scientific debate has highlighted the role played by workers employed in services for the immigrant population. For the first time, this aspect was the subject of research conducted as part of the regional integration and the multi-ethnicity of the Lombardy Region (Ambrosini 2006b). According to which, these contributed significantly to the configuration of the inclusion processes that take place at local level. Among the noteworthy aspects, it is worth noting that often the operators are having to mediate between those who have the institutional arrangements and the needs of the immigrant population. In many cases, the need to have to specific situations result in an interpretative function of the rules, in the search of 'spaces of derogation' to be able to provide users with the service requested. The interpretative discretion of bureaucracy's street level, and in other situations has a restrictive impact and pejorative of laws through the use of discretionary powers for classifying cases, application choices of general and abstract than the concrete situations and individual, here it tends to take on the meaning of an effort of opening and widening of the opportunities for inclusion (Ambrosini 2006a: 46). It is primarily active in ATM (information, guidance, and counselling, etc.) where the use of that discretion can be revealed beneficial for users counselling and generates likewise innovative practices. The service provider as a policy-maker. It should be noted that the proximity between the public and third sector acquires importance in the services of immigrants. Frequently services that cater to the foreign population are outsourced by local governments with a broad appeal to workers coming from the private capital. Rarely it comes to employees of the administration itself. The continuity between voluntary, third sector and public operators who deal with immigrants is confirmed also by the high number of operators who also voluntarily participate in the field of immigration or who have performed in the past. In a context of strong politicization of the immigration issue, operators of services for immigrants are among the most significant representatives. They can provide a realistic representation of the phenomenon in question, so much so that when these figures take on a character of relative stability, they are a valuable source of information for the policy makers themselves.

In general terms, it cannot be ignored that by detecting the significant contribution played by associations of the third sector in Italy and the subject, of voluntary religious and secular beliefs, in bridging an institutional intervention late and incomplete in terms of reception and inclusion of foreigners. It is particularly in those areas of intervention that is left uncovered by the public institutions that the ethnic networks that have developed voluntary initiatives promoted by local social actors. At an early stage, the development of interventions for immigrants took place by the contribution of civil society and, specifically through a strong mobilization of solidarity. This aspect distinguishes the Italian experience, especially in the local communities of South Italy, and there are other national cases where such intervention has acquired a character so popular.

The change from models of governance centred on the leadership of the public meant that the 'immigration issue' constituted a field of tensions and a testbed for experimenting with new relationships between local and expressions solidarity organized. The subjects of the third sector, similarly to what has been shown about the operators of services for foreigners, became useful interlocutors for local policy makers, due to the experiences accumulated in the field of interventions in favour of the immigrant population. The relationships between entities of private, social and local administration are variable and have varying degrees of formalization. Frequently, the boundaries between the public and the private sector have social characters anything but final. There may be different ways of approaching these relations that are established between governments and stakeholders of the third sector. These reports can be analyzed based on the networking capabilities of the parties involved and in relation to the action taken. There is a tendency according to which approaches, and varying degrees of public intervention would produce different effects regarding the features and lines of development of associations. We can deduce, therefore, that the part of action in favour of foreigners is not necessarily to be a coordination center that regulates the relationship between public and private social services. In the absence of a real dialogue between the different actors, it tends to be the case of overlapping and duplication of effort; as well as the widespread tendency of local public actors to agree with the private social issues harshest immigration at the time of landing, the issue of housing, work and health care. The direct management is maintained in relation to themes less confrontational and problematic as, for example, the school insertion of minors. However, it is to be highlighted that reliance on those associations and the management of policy areas in which the status of the migrant is still uncertain or that cater mainly to foreigners without documents, can take advantage of room for discretion higher than they would be permitted under a direct management by the territorial administration. This generates 'cracks' that favor the fit of organized crime that controls parts of voluntary associations and institutions equipment diverted to make money on taking charge of the immigrant (Martone 2017). In relation to the 'organized solidarity', it is to be noted that the associations formed by only organizationally immigrants are still quite weak and little inserted in the networking processes following a certain volatility than that of a poor visibility. This substantially limits the recognition of a partnership role in these associations by the local institutions which tend to favour relations with associations for immigrants more solid in terms of institutionalization of their presence on the ground and consist mainly or exclusively by natives.

The question of the need for forms of political representation of foreign long-residents is the focus of much debate in society and in Italian politics. Briefly, among the reasons contrary to the offer of such an opportunity, they find themselves as "arguments of ethnic character" as well as «arguments of democratic republican mold» (Zincone 2005: 4-7). The first would be associated with the model of the 'guest worker', with a commitment to the preservation of language and cultural practices of the country of origin with a view to a subsequent return. In this sense, the foreign component is not recognized as an integral part of the population and, therefore, refuses the idea of granting the right to vote and be elected at the local level. In the second case, the arguments of the mould Republican refer to the need for the adaptation of foreigners to the rules of the host country and make the acquisition of voting rights that citizenship upholds as an act of loyalty to the nation. In favour of voting rights are, however, reasons that support the need to adapt the political system to the company and its transformations. It should be noted that, as observed generally to forms of social inclusion, the forms of political integration of foreigners often find their declination more effective locally.

CONCLUSIONS

In the European context, the Maastricht Treaty, ratified in February 1992, establishing the local political participation of citizens belonging to the member states. Many European countries, primarily those that have oriented their policies for inclusion according to the paradigm of multiculturalism, have regulated access of third-country nationals' electoral rights. In the Italian context the question of granting voting rights to immigrants has acquired interest in the political debate since the late nineties and with the parliamentary confrontation that led to the approval of Law 40/1998, also known as Turco-Napolitano. To realize the extent of this debate simply highlight that during the XIV legislature there were eight projects of constitutional law aimed at introducing the right to vote for foreigners presented. In almost all cases it was required to grant the right to vote in local elections. At present, however, there is still no law regulating political participation of foreigners. In this context, many local governments have provided for the preparation of new forms of political integration clashing, in the case of more ambitious initiatives, with the constitutional law. According to the rulings of the Constitutional Court, the granting of voting rights on the part of local authorities is currently considered as an unlawful decision. However, there is increasingly the spread of organizations representing immigrants on the part of local governments, counting among these experiences and the Consultative Councils set up at regional, provincial and municipal levels. There are also cases in which local governments will have the figure of foreign councillor added. Although these are instrumental in the political will of local authorities to facilitate the political participation of foreigners and the forms of representation of interests, it cannot be ignored in highlighting the limits of these new bodies scope. The powers provided in these institutions are purely consultative and the lack of adequate financial support has inevitable repercussions on the margins of action of those organizations and the scope of the commitment required of those who participate. As part of the collective bodies (Committees and Councils), local governments can set up different criteria in relation to the mechanisms that regulate elections. Providing, for example, ethnic and national ties to the nomination and for the exercise of voting or introducing corrective for gender representation. In most local contexts, however, the variety of the origins of the immigrant population, the issue of representativeness of these organizations often appears highly controversial. Ethnic, cultural and linguistic minorities tend to overlap with those relating to the nationality of origin, making it difficult to identify than the plurality of parties representing the interests of immigrants in the territory. Councils have certainly a strong symbolic value because they enshrine the recognition of the legitimacy of the communities of foreigners living permanently as citizens who can participate actively in public life.

In the absence of policy instruments incisors, however, there is the risk of adopting a paternalistic approach towards the subjects' immigrants, from the consideration of the position of weakness and marginalization that they play in the socio-political local. As part of the scientific debate, the social science evidence, «in a situation where the possibility of a real impact on the decisions of local institutions are almost non-existent is very likely to redefine the strategies of action in an attempt to use the consult as a tool rather than as personalistic an institutional representation» (Borghi 2007: 99). The establishment of such bodies by the local government and the actual function would require that they play, probably, of empirical tests, as they seem to be rather the expression of the rhetoric of welcome (Amendola 2016).

Considering the above date, it becomes central to analyze and promote the role they may have in the experiences of generative welfare to respond to requests for recognition of the rights of citizenship by migrants and at the same time to promote inclusive processes considered even by the locals. We need to imagine that the scenario of generative welfare provides a meeting between rights and duties. The existing forms of protection are 'in collecting individual': the person, compared to a situation of need, benefits from social benefits that attenuate, but without entailing positive effects beyond the individual benefit. It is legitimate to ask whether it was possible in the face of such individual rights to match, in the hands of the same beneficiaries, the duties of solidarity. If so individual rights would become social rights in return. What the person receives for help and to enable it to help others. This will get a positive impact for the beneficiary and for the community. It is asking the natives and immigrants, especially if residents were active in the labour market, to take responsibility, enhancing their skills and avoiding dependence on welfare. This way you could overcome an ethnicization of personal services would have incentives solidarity and social responsibility, with a view to setting up a pact of citizenship as the basis for a multicultural civil society. Of course, a well thought process needs the activity of cultural mediation in support among the beneficiaries. The primacy of the value generated from the value consumed has always inspired the redistributive welfare and support local governance of immigration. Thus, identifying and disseminating those 'good practices' that suggest the goal of making truly 'public' spaces of the city.

It is a welfare conceptualization that in addition to 'collect and redistribute', regenerated resources, making them make by accountability related to a new way of understanding social rights and duties (Fondazione Zancan 2014). Through *generative welfare* people can differ in language, tradition, ethnicity, social status, religion, but they can come together to, recognize, confront, and understand that each is part of the same place and that together they can contribute to the realization of the problems shared in a urban society.

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