

MIGRATION AND CITIZENSHIP: the role of the metropolis in the European Union process of enlargement

a cura di
RICCARDO MORRI e
CRISTIANO PESARESI

A conference organized by the Italian Geographical Society for the European Meeting of University Professors and promoted by the Consilium Conferentiarum Episcoporum Europae (CCEE) on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the Treaties of Rome (1957-2007) in collaboration with Vicariate of Rome



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MIGRATION AND CITIZENSHIP
The Role of the Metropolis in the
European Union Process of Enlargement

edited by

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Integration and Citizenship in Italy with the «European Years» 2007 and 2008 in Mind

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What is Being European to Us?

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1. *Introduction*

A particular episode in Paul of Tarsus' life, can be very interesting to start with, it is almost a launching pad. In A.D. 50, during his second missionary journey, running away from Thessalonica, Paul, according to Acts, then came to Athens where he gave his speech in the Areopagus; in this speech, he told the Athenians that their «Unknown God» was in fact known: He was the One who had raised Jesus from the dead¹. The Athenians, supposedly familiar with philosophy, dialectic and democracy, reacted to what they heard about resurrection in three different ways: some began to scoff and banter Paul, others joined him and believed, but many more said: «We will hear thee again concerning this matter»².

Nowadays although the debate concerning recognition of European, national and social citizenship, is at the core of institutional, political and everyday life, answers, feelings and perceptions that many migrants have about such a recognition are similar to what Paul might have felt in Athens: «We will hear you again about this». At this point it is opportune to highlight that legal recognition does not necessarily

¹ ACTS, XVII, 32-34, Donay Reims version, used by the Roman Catholic Church since 1582.

² «We will hear thee concerning this yet again» is the American Standard translation, while we find *Audiemus de te hoc iterum* in the Latin vulgata, and *Akousòmetha sou perì toutou kai palin* is the Greek transliterated version of Ἀκουσόμεθά σου περὶ τούτου καὶ πάλιν. In Italian *πάλιν* and *iterum* are translated with *un'altra volta* in the authorised version.

imply an unambiguous correspondence to the multiple aspects of citizenship or, more precisely, it is a word that can take a batch of adjectives (economical, political, social, European, national, and so on).

2. Case study

Over the past two years I've carried out an operational research concerning «How the perception of citizenship, Europe and urban spaces, that new migrants have, has changed and/or is willing to change, influencing as well the *adveniente* and *ineunte* European identity, of the next decades». The sample is composed of 213 migrants (54% female, of age between 25 and 55), interviewed using an open questions' survey³.

According to 76% of the sample the citizenship migrants try to reach is the legal one. It's no accident that the idea and possibility to extend national and European citizenship to many more individuals, of extra-European origins too, is so widespread, stretching the borders of economic and perhaps political Europe as well.

On 23 March 2007, in his speech to the Italian Senate, during the commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the treaties of Rome, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing said «the European Community sees its next years engaged in stating a common identity. European citizens will have to recognize themselves in democratic, transparent and efficient institutions». He continued stating

European Community was originally based on economic criteria, but with eminent political purposes. The first 25 years of common life were dedicated to the construction of European institutions [...] the last 25 have been the ones of the Germanys' reunification and of the enlargement to eastern Europe Countries. In the coming third period European Institutions and citizens, especially young people [...], will have to sate a common identity if they want to reach the age of consent. To do so it is neces-

³ The contribution of non-European immigrants to the European heritage is interesting and highly topical in debates about multiculturalism, assimilation, and pluralism. And the present research pointed out that influences from elsewhere also shape European, regional and local territorial identities, which are grounded in the bonds between people and places, and thus shape the maps of and boundaries within Europe.

sary to ratify a Constitutional Treaty, guaranteed by large possible consent, even though due respecting national petitions and motions (*www.senato.it*).

Many say that Europe has a unique and single value system, a common heritage of democracy, tolerance, respect for human rights and commitment for peacekeeping, and that Europe must suggest, not impose, such a value system in the relations with other international partners⁴.

According to this research, root and roots, grafts and sprouts are living together in present days Europe, which is dealing with new frontiers and old borders, searching for new frontiers of cultural identity and citizenship. The proposal Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe, intended to create a new constitution for the EU; its rejection has temporarily stopped the dream of creating a political as well as an economic EU.

In the mean time the few opportunities that some migrants see to become an equal part of the host society and their difficulties to adapt to foreign towns and to what they represent to the native people, is probably a consequence of the previous experience they have made in their own countries.

Social citizenship is the least imminent to become real, and only 24% of the sample wishes to achieve a social citizenship in the host societies. Strong discriminations remain indeed, declared, professed, evident or not: this contributes to create, preserve or reinforce, social and cultural barriers that make social dimension to all appearances variegated and a source of major «cultural strives» and angry conflicts.

Europe is the result of a spirit evolution structured in several turning points. The first three have been the invention of city and science that goes back to the Greeks, the one of private law and humanism attributed to the Latin world and the ethic and eschatological prophecy of the Bible. How are identities and citizenships built today?

⁴ «The intricate political texture of Europe's geospace raises penetrating questions [...] Meanwhile, global geopolitical developments affect Europe's position in the world. This interplay concentrates the minds of geographers and planners on continuity and change in the external relations of Europe, specifically with North America, East and South Asia, and Europe's former colonies» (*www.eugeo2007.org/Manifesto.html*).

In Italy immigration became the subject of a public debate only at the end of the Seventies, when politics undertook the first provisional experiments of regularization, through a legislation capable to conciliate State control and immigrants' aspirations and desires with work demand coming from companies and families.

The Nineties saw a strong politicisation of the debate, with the emerging of new topics, such as the need for integration, deviance, international affairs becoming more and more complex with European Union on one side and countries of origin on the other. In the 20th century the development of technology and mass media has given life to a «global village», delineating a different (new) perception of the territory and radical changes in political thought and science (MCLUHAN, 1964).

Furthermore, the power of the new mass media makes now knowledge wider and metropolis closer for those who want to reach them and has also caused a major similarity in the previously much more different ways of life. Thanks to these easy ways of communication, big towns are not anymore the only chance to find a job. At this stage the research has already revealed various influences that migrants have in the urban spaces, how they form and modify their own mental maps and the evolution of the «Europe» and «European» concepts.

Since migration has become a relevant part of the European demographical changes (4.5% of the Italian population in 2006 according to ISTAT), it is useful to study the differences/similarities in the perception of urban spaces, old and new, and in their utilization. It is as well interesting to analyse how the system of reference values that Europe has, as far as tolerance, respect of human rights and engagement for peace are concerned, meets other cultures and identities. How can the changes of the society related to the changes and interferences of foreign languages, habits, and ways of life influence the European identity? Which elements are able to break or to change it and how do they relate to the system of European values that are historically common to all European countries?

Given the great moral and civilizing force, which the idea of citizenship has unfolded in the long history of human civilization, we should try to use it as a constituent element of our future world. We should not necessarily seek to revitalize elements, which have become

obsolete, but the legal dimension, which has remained vital in our present world, may also be promising for the future.

3. *Citizenship and citizenships*

In 508 B.C. Cleisthenes worked out and elaborated an idea of citizenship that even now seems «contemporary». However even then citizenship was a real condition only for a few, definitely not concerning Athens' population on the whole.

Its history of now more than 2.500 years encompasses a great diversity of political entities, which made it a core element of all variants of the contemporary constitutional state. Even in the modern absolutist state that emerged in the 17th century citizenship had not been entirely abolished and forgotten. Its persisting timeliness can be viewed from the fact that the EU has created the new status of European citizenship (more precisely: Union citizenship) and that, moreover, even the 18th century's idea of humankind and cosmopolitanism has now found its current equivalence in the notion of «earth citizenship» (STEWART, 1991).

The connection of citizenship with democracy is a very late development and in most European countries it was not completed earlier than in the first quarter of the 20th century. The genuine political innovation which citizenship signified for the Greek *polis* consisted in the redefinition of those who were qualified and entitled to rule. Had this redefinition entailed the rule of everybody over everybody, the delineation of a distinctive class of individuals who were designated to rule – the citizens – would not have been necessary.

It has been said again and again that the world has become a «global village», which does not mean, though, that we have become neighbours in cultural terms. We live in a village as strangers who do not understand each other and, out of mutual suspicion and fear, very frequently use violence against each other. It is neither possible nor desirable to aspire to metamorphose all the alien villagers to friends or neighbours who share the same worldview. But it is desirable to connect them in a way that allows them to trust each other and to engage in mutual economic, social and cultural intercourse.

Hence, the development of international law into a legal bond, which not only binds states and international organizations but also extends more and more the benefits of the law on individuals, would be a desirable path to cope with the difficult problems of the «village of strangers». The ultimate vision is to bestow on each and every «villager» the status of a legal citizen, a kind of *Constitutio Antoniniana* for the whole world, which means: for preserving and developing civilization on a global level.

Ethic judgment is up to political philosophy, but political and geopolitical geographers shall take note of political doctrine's new tendencies since they can flow into collective behaviours that determine States' evolutions.

Normally we would think that a concept with such a broad scope of possible meanings in so many different contexts is scientifically useless because all distinctions are blurred in one word. On the other hand, if the same notion is used for the characterization of a great variety of human orders this may indicate that the concept is indispensable for the construction and the understanding of basic elements of political and legal orders. If the very same concept has been summoned as a conceptual tool for the analysis of so many and so different political entities, over the centuries the idea of citizenship has offered an attractive and non-trivial, though fragile, element for the construction of political communities.

First we must point out that whenever the issue of citizenship came up this had to do with the reshaping of the «we» of a polity in a particular manner, resulting in something like a *civic* we as distinct from forms of *pre-civic* or *pre-political* we.

Different dimensions of citizenship, which at different times and to different degrees have shaped this concept, gave birth to a combination of these dimensions that is characteristic of the modern democratic nation-state in which, therefore, citizenship has reached its perfect meaning and at the same time the beginning of its demise. In particular, the weakening of the political and the cultural role of the nation-state has rendered most of the dimensions of citizenship obsolete or less significant.

I suggest that citizenship, as a legal status may be a promising concept for the eventual rise of a global order, which is able to cope

with cultural otherness in a civilized manner. Such order or individual approach could be called trans-cultural since there's no democracy without individual liberty which is threatened either from the assigning of human beings to a nature considered as a destiny or from its imprisonment in a culture meant as nature (AUGÉ, 2007).

Therefore future does not belong to multi-cultural approaches, that is a lazy coexistence of worlds closed to each other binding their own members, or to intercultural ones (neither does it belong to the utopian intercultural), but to the transculturalism, to the natural crossing of cultures as a consequence of freedom and education (*idem*). This could really be the actual challenge for geographers.

The same actions and features classified as «cultural» by definition are shared by a group even if a cultural phenomenon might not necessarily belong to the totality of the population, nation or people; there is always, in fact, a certain individual variability. The individuals belonging to a certain culture often do not feel their own behaviour as guided by those rules that decide what is allowed or not. Anthropology defines the totality of these social norms (generally called ideal norms) as ideal cultural models.

There are two visions concerning the way relationships between social and economic spheres should be interrelated. One considers the enterprise as an asocial dimension, in which the task to create richness is the care of the ethically neutral ground of the market. The other defines the enterprise as antisocial and the market as the wild place of exploitation and overwhelming of the weaker. But «other» values, different from profit and mere instrumental exchange can find place just within economic activity and the market, outlining a different configuration of non profit sector, an example of *civil welfare* institution in which the market is a place of civil and civilized meetings (BRUNI, ZAMAGNI, 2004).

According to Philippe Nemo, the mark that has deeply characterized the Old Continent is the gradual achievement of a principle: to allow the expression of the largest possible number of ideas, values, and visions of the world, that could fit together. Such process has been going on for centuries, anything but linearly and painlessly: it's good to remember that only sixty years ago in the «heart» of Europe, where today European institutions are ruling and in which European

peoples together decide their destinies, Europeans exterminated other Europeans whose only fault was to have other ideas⁵.

That spontaneous order called West (NEMO, 2005) and the Europeans' identity are the result of the meeting up of Greek and Christian traditions. From ancient Greece, the West inherited antidogmatism, critical reason, knowledge as continuous research, critical and public discussion as an instrument to solve problems, political and economic pluralism, and openness to what is different. On the other hand, from Christianity we inherited the revolutionary idea that it is necessary «to give the Devil his due», meaning that the king is not God, that in the human business world there's no place for exclusive viewpoints, universal values, revealed truths therefore needing privileged interpreters – in the name of God or Reason – of human history.

From this history arises what Strabone already called «a nation with a hundred faces», the ethic relativism and the idea of knowledge's fallibility that are the base of Europe's moral and material richness.

This observation gives rise to the more general question of whether citizenship, once invented in ancient Greek democracy, has come to an end under the conditions of modern nation-state democracy. Can we say that its function to create special patterns of mutuality and loyalties on the basis of a status of equality has largely been accomplished in modern democratic welfare states (where they exist)? Before trying to answer this question I outlined the different meanings of citizenship which we have encountered in the interviews. Citizenship has always been a crucial element of the construction of a politically relevant «we» that always had a polemical thrust.

4. *The actual dimension of citizenships*

The question, which we'll answer through few brief remarks, is whether those six dimensions of citizenship have preserved their

⁵ The universal marks of the Western civilization permit to identify its specificities and differences compared to other civilizations, since much of Europe cultural diversity is a legacy, the contemporary use of Europe's rich and diverse past.

TABLE 1
Dimensions of citizenship and their respective polemical thrust

<i>individual's attachment</i>	This is the dimension of subjecthood to a particular ruler or political power. It draws boundaries to other states and preserves the exclusivity of the attachment to this and no other state. Its polemical meaning is directed against multiple loyalties of the individual.
<i>legal status</i>	According to which the relevant individuals are both empowered and protected by equal rights. This is the legal dimension of citizenship. Its polemical meaning is directed against privileges, status hierarchies and against the dominance of local customs as the expression of domination of local lords.
<i>active participation</i>	Citizenship embodies the right (the duty, the virtue) of <i>active participation</i> in the political process, i.e. the capacity to rule. This is the political dimension of citizenship. It is polemically directed against any kind of dependency, of being subject to the willpower of another ruler.
<i>individual's belonging</i>	To a particular community, which carries a sense of sharing a distinct collective identity with one's likes. This is the identity dimension of citizenship. It is directed against «others» who do not share the values, traditions and cultural habits of one's own polity.
<i>bundle of rights</i>	Which are bestowed upon the individual in the framework of the welfare state. This is the dimension of social integration. Its polemical spearhead is directed against «others» who do not contribute to the national social product and hence cannot be the beneficiaries of solidarity.
<i>form of life</i>	Which is dedicated to the world of ideas, of art and sciences, which is closely tied to the urban sphere of a city. This is the dimension of cultural distinction. It draws boundaries to the class of uneducated and uncivilized individuals who are unable or unwilling to share the cultural capital of the polity.

polemical thrust under the present-day conditions of the democratic state. The states' endeavours to avoid multiple citizenship, more precisely: multiple nationalities is still there, although the urgency of this aim has considerably subsided in a world in which at least democratic states do no longer wage wars against each other, are open to cross-

national marriages and family relations and frequently eager to attract foreign work force and other kinds of joint enterprises all of which entail multiple loyalties.

The polemical thrust of the legal status of citizenship has of course lost its feudal and absolutist enemy; but it is not by accident that the principle of legal equality has been codified in all modern constitutions. The danger that social, economic or cultural power and inequality can be transformed into political power and privileges looms large in all human societies. Thus the idea of legal equality as the basic thrust of citizenship is still valid and of great and persisting political significance.

Whether the same can be said of the political dimension of citizenship is less clear. Of course all democratic systems provide ample possibilities, including constitutional and statutory rights, for active participation of the citizens in the political process; frequently they are encouraged and even admonished to use these rights lest democracy may not be damaged.

The identity dimension of citizenship is perhaps the one that has most suffered from the much-debated fact that the nation-state is no longer a closed political entity with exclusive control over its territory and its inhabitants. Furthermore, open borders for the unimpeded influx of ideas, images and cultural symbols from all over the world have undermined the traditional cultural homogeneity among the native populations, and what has been called the «individualization of lifestyles» has also contributed to the fact that the citizens of the European nation-states no longer define their identity exclusively through the belonging to this (and no other) polity. It seems, rather, that the democratic character of the modern nation-state and its sweeping inclusiveness may have caused the need for more exclusive kinds of belonging to the effect, that, while national citizenship is by no means denied or deprecated, it has largely obtained the status of being just one among a plurality of identities.

Likewise the dimension of social integration has considerably been weakened in the last two decades. Due to the global mobility of production the national labour force, the main source of the revenues of the systems of social security, is under enormous strain of international competition and, given the proportion of unemployment, ever

less able to feed the social security system. Hence, everywhere in Europe governments have undertaken a shift from the paradigm of social solidarity to that of self-reliance and self-responsibility. The polemical drive against «others» who do not contribute to the national social product has lost its integrative force in view of the fact that the demise of welfare state's basic institutions is the result of the anonymous forces of what we call globalization. Occasional campaigns of the mass press against so-called «social parasites» – people who «undeservedly» extract benefits from the welfare system – must be seen as a familiar attempt to find scapegoats for a structural problem which lies beyond the control of the government.

To strike the balance, there is only one dimension of citizenship, which has survived the predicament of the nation-state without major damages: the legal dimension. The recognition of the individual as a legal person and the protection of the law is the essential legacy of the Roman Empire, which endows individuals with a basic status of security with respect to their societal environment. The law connects people who are strangers – and who therefore are inclined to treat each others as enemies who defy peaceful social intercourse – in that it creates the minimum of trust, which allows them to engage in mutual commitments and in both long-term and long-distance transactions. This is the precondition for their confidence in the future and in the constancy of its societal parameters that in turn encourages them to develop their capacities and their knowledge and to transmit it to the next and to future generations. Moreover, certainty through the law is an important incentive for people to invest their capabilities in hazardous ventures. As we know, all this is of crucial importance for what we call civilization; it is not by accident that citizenship and civilization share the same etymological roots.

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Riassunto

Le percezioni che i migranti hanno della cittadinanza influenzano l'identità europea? Le scarse opportunità di divenire una parte uguale e integrata della società che alcuni immigrati vedono e le loro difficoltà di adattarsi alle città straniere e a ciò che esse rappresentano per gli autoctoni sono una conseguenza delle loro esperienze precedenti. Dal momento che l'immigrazione è divenuta una parte rilevante dei cambiamenti demografici dell'UE, è opportuno analizzare come il sistema di valori di riferimento si rapporta con altre culture e identità.

Résumé

Les perceptions de citoyenneté qui sont ressenties par les immigrés influencent-elles l'identité européenne? Les faibles opportunités dont une part des immigrés dispose pour devenir partie intégrante de la société ainsi que leurs difficultés à s'adapter aux villes étrangères et à ce qu'elles représentent pour les autochtones, sont la conséquence d'expériences précédentes. Depuis que l'immigration a acquis un rôle majeur dans les changements démographiques de l'UE, il est utile d'analyser comment le système des valeurs de référence rencontre les autres cultures et les autres identités.

On occasion of the 50th anniversary of the Treaties of Rome (1957-2007), in collaboration with the Vicariate of Rome, the Italian Geographical Society organized the conference "Migration and Citizenship. The Role of the Metropolis in the European Union Process of Enlargement". The conference and the proceedings took place in two sessions: "National, European and Social Citizenship" and "The Transformations of the Urban Space and the Processes of Migration".

The sessions had the following objectives:

- to provide elements permitting comparisons between various contexts;*
- to show the significant impact of mobility on the human and economic geography of different countries;*
- to re-examine, from a modern and dynamical view point, the historical phases of emigration from some Italian regions, in order to better understand the recent immigration phenomena and to promote intercultural dialogues;*
- to recognize the concentration areas and the main activities run by foreigners in some Italian and European municipalities;*
- to analyse the located strategies of Eastern European and Asiatic communities in the Italian contexts and the recent policies;*
- to re-examine the urban planning and the necessities due to the immigration flows, on the basis of different experiences, both Italian and of other countries.*

The hope was to provide some interesting input for the demographic, economic and cultural approach, showing the difficulties but above all the opportunities connected with immigration, in order to remember that these flows will represent a richness for the future if they are adequately integrated in the regions of arrival.

La Società Geografica Italiana, fondata a Firenze il 12 maggio 1867 e trasferita a Roma nel 1871, è il più antico sodalizio italiano operante nel campo degli studi geografici.



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