



Multiethnic Rome: Toward residential segregation?

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Abstract

This research examines the presence of foreign national residents in Rome, through an examination of their distribution and localisation in different administrative districts. Since there is a close relationship between localisation and access to services, job opportunities, linguistic integration, and education, the residential patterns of migrant communities need to be explored in order to foster the process of ethnic integration. The 1998 census is used to analyze the presence of foreign nationals both in the districts and in the different urban zones of the Capital. For this reason it is possible to apply the index of segregation to 7 foreign national groups and then produce maps which detail where these groups are concentrated. The study also discusses public policy issues in order to improve the process of integration of different ethnic groups in Rome.

Introduction

Rome has always hosted a large number of foreigners who have contributed to the city's historical evolution; from the Etruscans to the peoples who founded the capital, from the Papal to the Napoleonic and Piedmontese officials and the military. Since the beginning of the 70s, however, Rome has become the home of an increasingly large foreign population. Because of its function as the capital and given the presence of the Vatican city, Rome presently hosts the greatest number of foreigners of all the Italian cities, nearly 8% of the city's population.

In the areas where ethnic minorities reside specific zoning requirements have been put into place, which in some cases have promoted new forms of segregation. The concentration of immigrants in some areas increases their visibility in certain cases and highlights the difficulties of coexistence. Yet the migrants' geographical residential distribution represents much more than their presence or absence in the urban fabric, rather it is an expression of a much wider social process. The analysis of the statistical distribution of emigrants not only aims at providing the basis for the city's sociological map, but should also initiate a more complex study of the urban reality.

Where to live depends on numerous factors, including the availability of housing, the possibility to rent a flat instead of buying it, moderate prices, the presence of a network of ethnic solidarity and the availability of jobs. Moreover, areas with a high concentration of immigrants are not only influenced by the labour market in the host society as immigrants also affect that very labour market in which they work. New forms of labour division, the creation of new 'ethnic' services (cultural intermediation), specialised jobs and peculiar needs that generate ethnically-linked

economic activities (ethnic niches) are but a small example of the strong interdependence that originates between immigration and labour. For instance, many migrant women who are willing to work as domestics look for jobs as close as possible to their home. A large labour reservoir is thus formed that could, in this case, translate itself into lower hourly rates.

The presence of migrant workers is therefore closely linked to the labour market in the host society. Moreover the choice of residence might hamper the process of economic assimilation, especially if ethnic enclaves are present. National groups living together in close proximity often influence the jobs to which immigrants apply. Job opportunities arising within the community are preferred, as for instance when language barriers are present or when jobs are linked to the country of origin (ethnic cooking, ethnic commerce). These advantages can quickly promote segregation, since they limit the interactions of the foreign nationals with the rest of the urban population (Borjas, 2000). Moreover, it has been shown that one of the most important disadvantages associated with prolonged residence in segregated areas is educational failure (Datcher, 1982), and this could influence the assimilation process.

This paper examines the housing distribution of foreigners who are registered at both the police office and the city registry in the municipality of Rome (*Anagrafe*) at the intra-urban level, in order to identify areas of spatial segregation. The overall process will be evaluated, followed by an analysis of each national group, with a further inquiry into the behaviour of 7 communities out of the largest 16 groups present in the province: China, France, Morocco, Peru, Poland, Spain and Sri Lanka. The index of segregation by group and the location quotient are calculated, and maps of

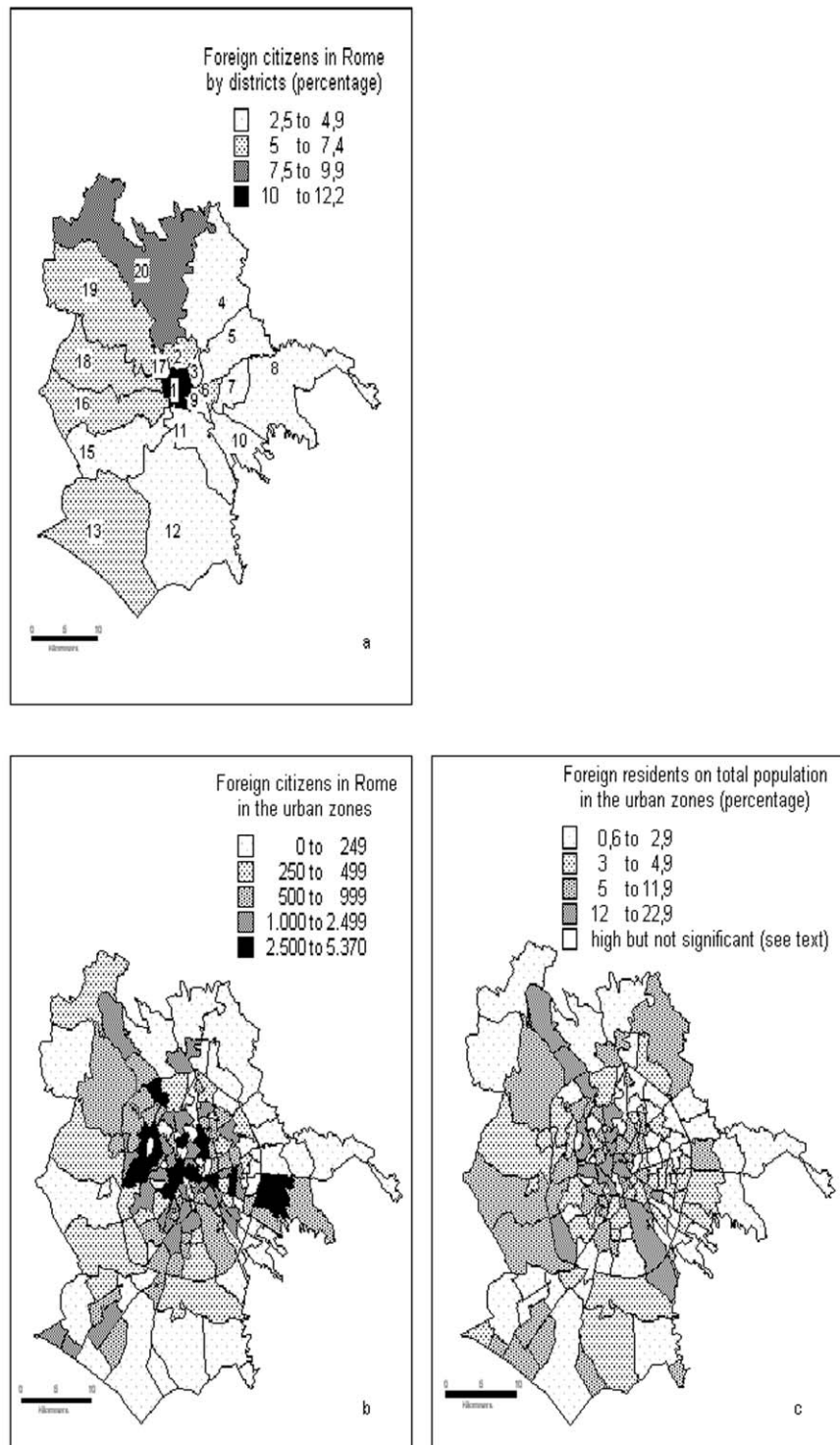


Figure 1. Foreign residents in Rome (1998); (a) percentage on total foreigners by districts; (b) total number in the urban zones; (c) percentage on population in the urban zones.

residential distribution are presented which makes it possible to draw up easily readable maps. The final part of this paper provides an overview on government policies designed to meet the housing needs of the immigrant population.

Italy: From an emigration country to an immigration country

Internationally history, literature and the cinema have created the public image of Italian migrants who, sometimes with a cardboard suitcase, left their homeland to find employment in other countries; millions of Italians have left to immigrate to other places throughout the world. After the oil

crisis of the 1970s and the economic recession that followed, employment opportunities abroad declined. More recently Italian emigration has been marked by a sharp decline in the outgoing flows while many former migrants have returned to Italy. At the same time, the country has become a destination for thousands of immigrants, mainly from developing countries. Considered as an accessible harbour because of its morphology and geographical position, Italy is regarded as a good place to live and find a job, or use as a gateway to other EU countries.

Pursuant to the legislation, all migrants entering Italy, other than diplomats, officials of international organisations, and NATO military, should apply for a permit of stay. However, often migrants ignore this regulation, thus increasing the ranks of illegal migrants. In an attempt to carry out a migrant census and remedy the situation, the Italian government periodically passes special laws; to date four regulations have been enacted: in 1986, 1990, 1998 and 2002. This requires that migrants meet certain pre-requisites such as a job or housing to obtain a permit of stay. The permit may be issued by the Italian government on different grounds: for employment (each year the quotas of migrants who can be accepted by country of origin are established), family reunion, elective residence (only for EU citizens who have decided to live in Italy), political asylum, study, tourism and other purposes (including religious).

In 1990 there were 781,000 migrants with a permits of stay, increasing to 1 million in 1996 and to 1,362,000 in 2001. Compared with other EU countries, Italy is not a major destination: Germany, France and the United Kingdom have the highest foreign migration rates. Yet in the past few years EU Mediterranean countries are experiencing a faster increase in migration rates with respect to the traditional destination countries. Despite the increases in incoming flows, the percentage of foreigners remains quite modest, and is well below that of countries with a strong multiethnic tradition. At the beginning of 2000, only five percent of the total population were foreigners.

Italy differs from the other European countries not only because of the quantity of the incoming migrants, but also because of the ethnic composition of their migrants. As a result of the relaxing of the economic borders, the mobility of EU high-skilled workers and globalisation (which encourages companies to locate their business outside their national boundaries), the flows of European nationals within the Union have increased to the point that other EU nationals account for 28% of the population. At the same time, there has been an increase in the number of people coming from Central and Eastern Europe; this group grew from 13.3 of the population in 1991 to 28.9% in 2001.

Africa is the second continent that has been sending migrants to Italy. Although in the past few years it has sent an increasing number of migrants in absolute terms, the proportion of migrants from Africa has declined relative to Asians and people from Central and South America.

As for the migrants' distribution over the national territory, the greatest concentrations are to be found in Rome and Milan, where EU and US citizens rank well above the

national average. The presence of the Vatican plays an important role in terms of the foreigners' residential choice, since there is also a strong concentration of permits of stay granted for religious purposes; in 1996 they accounted for 21% of Rome's migrants, against the national average of 5%.

During the 1990s many migrants remained in the host country; over half of the current foreign population has lived in Italy over 5 years. Within this group, migrants from countries with advanced economies stand out, while migrants from developing countries either consider Italy as a gateway to reach other European countries or plans to return to their home country after some years. Despite these motivations, however, a greater stabilisation can be noted in the second group of migrants.

Migration is now regarded as one of the most relevant economic, social, and political trends. Migrants impinge upon both the society of origin and the hosting one, and are considered as an important factor of physical and social transformation. Since the median age of migrants in Italy is roughly 20 to 45 years of age, this has had an impact on the age structure of Italian society, which is marked by extremely low fertility rates and a greying population.

Migrants greatly impact the Italians' employment structure since they fill the gaps left open by the Italians who have moved to other types of labour. For instance, some low-skilled jobs, that were once held by the Italians are now performed by migrants. In Rome, the migrants' economic backgrounds vary widely; there are highly-skilled foreigners from industrialised countries, and migrants from developing countries with low occupational profiles. The tasks carried out by foreigners can be broken down into two large groups. At a first estimate, foreign personnel from the EU or from industrialised countries can be easily found in the advanced tertiary sector while the other workers end up in the tertiary sector or, in some cases, in the informal sector. Numerous foreign women, for instance, work as domestics, babysitters, caregivers for the elderly, and they perform jobs that are no longer considered as appealing by the Italian workforce.

The intra-urban space

Despite the rather limited presence of foreigners in Rome, in some areas of the city they are more visible due to their high concentrations. This concentration of ethnic minorities does not seem to generate tensions as seen in other capital cities. However there has been an impact on the settlement pattern of some neighbourhoods as well as the types of labour in which migrants engage.

International patterns show a high concentration of immigrants in the central neighbourhoods of the larger cities. In Rome, however, the central districts are not all degraded; on the contrary, some are rich in history and art so that some boroughs are almost inaccessible even for middle-high income Italians. So do immigrants follow the international pattern of concentration in the centre? Is it possible to trace a precise spatial distribution by ethnicity in the different city zones?

In 1999, 140,000 foreigners resided in the municipality of Rome, representing all nationalities of immigrants. The five largest national groups (Philippines, Egypt, Poland, Peru, and Bangladesh) make up for only 30.7% of the total, while the first ten groups make up 45.9%. This wide margin indicates the existence of a multiethnic population whereby the city of Rome must establish housing policies to meet the more diverse cultural needs of this population.

Since 1998 the Rome municipality has processed data on the number of resident immigrants by citizenship at the urban level, by districts and urban zones. The Rome municipality is divided into 19 districts having local administrative tasks (Figure 1a). The analysis of this phenomenon at the district level, however, conceals within it the immigrant's real spatial distribution. Most districts, in fact, are all not meaningful in a statistical sense because they include both 'rich' and 'poor' zones. The eastern sector of the city, however, is inhabited by middle-low income people and yet displays a greater residential and social equality. A global analysis at the district level reveals that immigrants are mainly located in the more central district and in the north sector (Figure 1a).

For this analysis, it was determined to incorporate another level of intra-urban analysis, that is the urban zone (*zona urbanistica*), a city sub area defined by the municipality of Rome for planning purposes. The 154 urban zones into which Rome is divided¹ have fairly uniform residential and social features.

The foreigners' distribution at this detailed scale displays very different patterns than those from the study of the districts. The urban zone level study shows how most immigrants reside inside the Great Ring Road (GRR: a circular thoroughfare surrounding Rome's most continuous urbanised areas which are easily visible in Figure 1b). In the GRR external area, there is low housing density and it is easy to find farmhouses or elegant villas in the countryside.

In some zones of the central area the filtering-down process occurs, with Italians moving away and immigrants moving in. Two urban zones of the 1st district, the Historical Centre and Esquilino (which includes the railway station area), host the greatest number of foreigners (with more than 5,000 immigrants each) (Figure 1b). In the former zone there is no great ethnic differentiation, since the area is rich in historical remains, and is therefore coveted by high-income foreigners. The Esquilino is characterised by low-income population and hosts a large number of Asians, the Chinese account for 7.9% and the Philippines for 8% of all the immigrants in the area.

The Jewish ghetto, which was erected by Paolo IV Carafa in 1555 is located in the Historical Centre. In 1870 the ghetto was severely reduced in size and some of the Jewish population spread throughout the city (Capuzzo, 1999). The ghetto is now a meeting place for the Jewish community, and it has become a desired place to live by the high-income foreigners.

The greatest incidence of foreigners with respect to the total population can be observed along a Northwest-Southeast alignment, including the consular Via Cassia to

the North through the centre and the initial part of the Appian Way (Figure 1c). Yet if high-income foreigners, who mainly come from industrialised countries, reside along these circular roads, in the central neighbourhoods the space is shared by a large array of communities.

The five zones displaying a presence of foreigners over 23% are anomalous areas where very few Italians and few foreigners reside. They include two villas, the archaeological area, the hippodrome, and Foro Italico with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Figure 1c).

Competition for residential areas?

Although the segregation indexes, developed by the Chicago school and then integrated into other studies (Duncan and Duncan, 1955; Grafmeyer and Joseph, 1984; Massey and Denton, 1988), may be used to compare the distribution of national groups in the intra-metropolitan area, among cities or on a diachronic scale, they have never been used extensively in the Italian geographical contexts. In Italy, for instance, they have only been applied by Petsimeris (1995, 1998) to the cities of Turin, Genoa and Milan and proposed again for the towns of Parma, Reggio Emilia (Miani-Uluhogian, 1997) and Piacenza (Miani-Uluhogian and Fedeli, 1999), while studies at a disaggregated scale for the Roman area, are lacking.

In the first stage of the analysis, the isolation index was selected from a number of possible indices of segregation (Massey and Denton, 1988), it is calculated as follows: $IS = 0.5 * \sum |xi/X - yi/Y| * 100$, where: xi is the number of residents of a national group in the urban zone i ; X is the number of residents of the same national group in the city of Rome; yi is the total population of the urban zone i ; Y is the number of Rome's inhabitants.

This index may range from 0 to 100, which represents respectively the highest dispersion and the highest concentration. The isolation index measures the extent to which a member of a national group is likely to be in contact with members of the same group.

The index calculated for all immigrants in Rome and for the 7 national groups (Table 1) indicates that smaller national groups are more segregated, especially if they come from a EU country. Peruvian and Polish residents, with the lowest index, are spread over the area. The greatest values are achieved by the groups belonging to the European Union (Spain and France) and by the Sri Lankan community. Rome appears to be more segregated than the medium size cities of Emilia-Romagna (Miani Uluhogian, 1997; Miani and Fedeli, 1999) and the cities of the industrial triangle of Milan, Genoa and Turin (Petsimeris, 1998).

The isolation index, being a synthetic index, gives only a first picture of the concentration, whereas the complexity and the multi-dimensional nature of the notion of segregation requires the use of several indexes, each corresponding to a different aspect of the spatial variation (Massey and Denton, 1988²; Plewe and Bagchi-Sen, 2001).

Segregation indices typically are used with aggregated data to calculate a single number that represents the average

Table 1. City of Rome 1998: number of residents for group and segregation index

Country of citizenship	Number of residents*	Segregation index
Total immigrants	139,710	48
Spain	3,360	49
France	3,378	44
Sri Lanka	3,794	44
China	3,766	41
Morocco	2,635	40
Peru	5,361	28
Poland	5,768	28

Source: Rome Municipality, 1998.

*The number includes only those residents who can be actually localised on the territory, since many migrants, although resident, have not declared their home address.

level of segregation for the group over the entire area. The intensity and the 'quality' of segregation, however, may be masked (Gabriel and Painter, 2001). For instance two different national groups may be strongly concentrated in a single urban tract, presenting the same isolation index, but one may occupy a central location and the other a peripheral area of the town. Their location could mean more or less accessibility to job opportunities, to services, and to transports. The two tracts could be characterised by a different typology of buildings and could be inhabited by a high or low-income population. The central neighbourhoods could be degraded or they may have been upgraded through a filtering-up process (gentrification).

To address this issue, the location quotient is applied, which facilitates the analyses of residential segregation in the different neighbourhoods of Rome, thereby allowing me to reproduce the spatial distribution of Rome's migrant population into a geographical map. The quotient expresses the ratio between the group proportion in the spatial unit and the group proportion in the entire city.

The location quotient used is the following: $QL = (x_i/y_i)/(X/Y)$, where: x_i is the number of residents of a national group in the urban zone i ; y_i is the total *foreign* population of the urban zone i ; X is the population of the same national group in the city of Rome; Y is the total *foreign* population of Rome. Generally segregation indices are based on the ratio between a national group and the entire population (Borjas, 2000) while in this study the index has been calculated by comparing the national group living in an urban tract to the total of foreign residents in the same area. If $QL = 1$, the group distribution in the urban zone corresponds to that of the entire city, if < 1 it is less present than in the rest of the city and if > 1 there is relative over-representation of a national group in a zone.

High index values, then, indicate the strong presence of a national group in an area inhabited by other communities while a low index would indicate the coexistence of more national groups without concentrations of a single one. Figures 2–3 represent the QL calculated in Rome's urban zones for the 7 national groups.

While there are strong differences between national groups, there is also differentiation within them as described in the following paragraphs.

Although Poles and Peruvians have the same Isolation Score (28), the two communities show a different location in space: the former are located in the more peripheral areas of the city (Figure 2a) while the Peruvians are mainly concentrated inside the Great Ring Road (Figure 2d). The Poles, however, occupy a different segment of the capital's productive system. Men are mainly employed in the building sector, and the places for the 'by the day' recruitment are located in the most peripheral areas with intense building activities. Women, who outnumber men in the Polish community, perform housework by the hour and therefore prefer to live in low-cost areas and commute every day towards more central areas.

The Moroccans, the community with the greatest male component between the seven national groups analysed (women account for only 31% of the total), are mainly located in the most degraded areas of the city (Figure 2b), particularly in the eastern area and the peripheral zones with a low-cost housing market. In some cases they form great concentrations. Moreover, in this community a close link between city of origin and place of residence may be observed, because Moroccans coming from Rabat live in the south area while Moroccans coming from Casablanca prefer the eastern sector of the city.

The Chinese, a community with the greatest gender balance, are distributed with a strong aggregation in the central-eastern city sector (Figure 2c). The Chinese community is much more concentrated in some central areas, where they have built up a commercial district that has become an economic and social model for other communities of immigrants. The Chinese are also speculating in the real estate market by purchasing entire buildings cheaply because of their dilapidated condition. Their presence is clearly visible in the urban landscape, as ethnic restaurants and shops (the signs are often written in Chinese only) have been opened in the eastern city sector where the community is located. As in other metropolitan areas of the USA, the Chinese live and carry on traditional activities in enclaves usually localised in the metropolitan core, closer to the commercial areas (Kaplan and Holloway, 2001).

Immigrants from Sri Lanka tend to reside in the wealthier sections of the northern and southern sectors of the capital (Figure 3c) where they live with Italian families or fill low-cost housing niches, such as garages, basements or small apartments.

The two EU communities occupy the wealthy zones of the central neighbourhoods and some peripheral areas (Figure 3a; Figure 3b) where generally middle-high income Italian families live. The linear distribution pattern of the Spanish extends from the central neighbourhoods through the Vatican and reaching the westernmost area of the capital along the Via Aurelia, which is the boundary between the 16th and the 17th districts. This pattern can be attributed to the presence of the Spanish Embassy, Spanish schools and numerous religious centres. As much as 33% of the

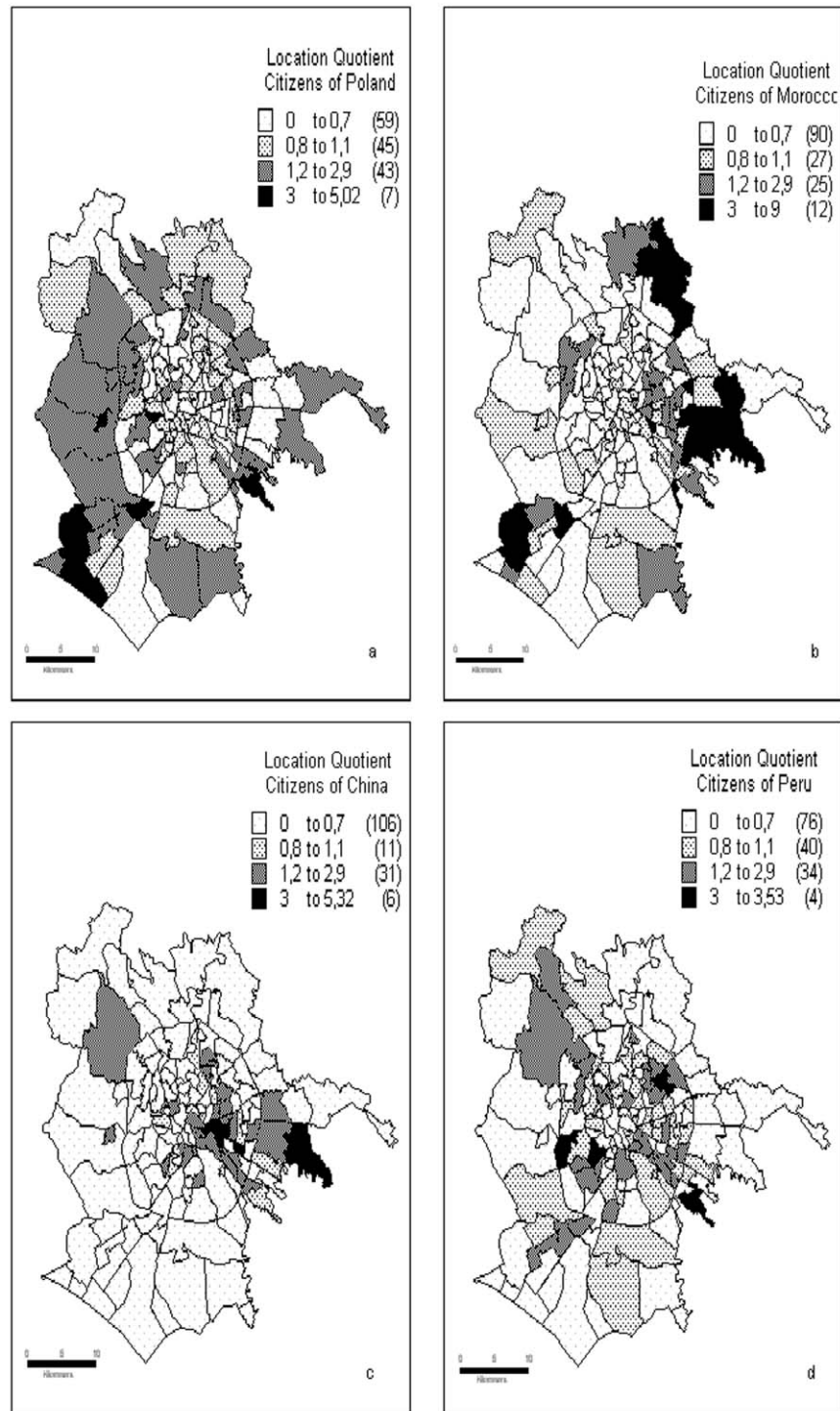


Figure 2. Location Quotients in Rome by national group in the urban zones: (a) Poles; (b) Moroccans; (c) Chinese; (d) Peruvians.

immigrant Spanish women are 65 years of age or older, and the great majority is likely to belong to the religious staff. The presence of about 11,000 different religions in the urban centre renders this phenomenon even more complex.

Public policy for residential integration

The residential integration into Rome's urban fabric is one of the most problematic aspects of the integration of immig-

rants. Many believe that *"the cornerstone of social integration is residence stabilisation on the part of foreigners and their progressive equalisation with the Italians in the enjoyment of civil rights"* (Caritas, 1997, p. 10). Although a legal framework for equalisation between foreigners and nationals exists at various government levels, the local community is still biased, and this often hinders integration into the overall society. For instance, immigrants suffer several forms of discrimination. For example, in Italy, most landlords do not rent their houses to foreigners – especially if they belong to spe-

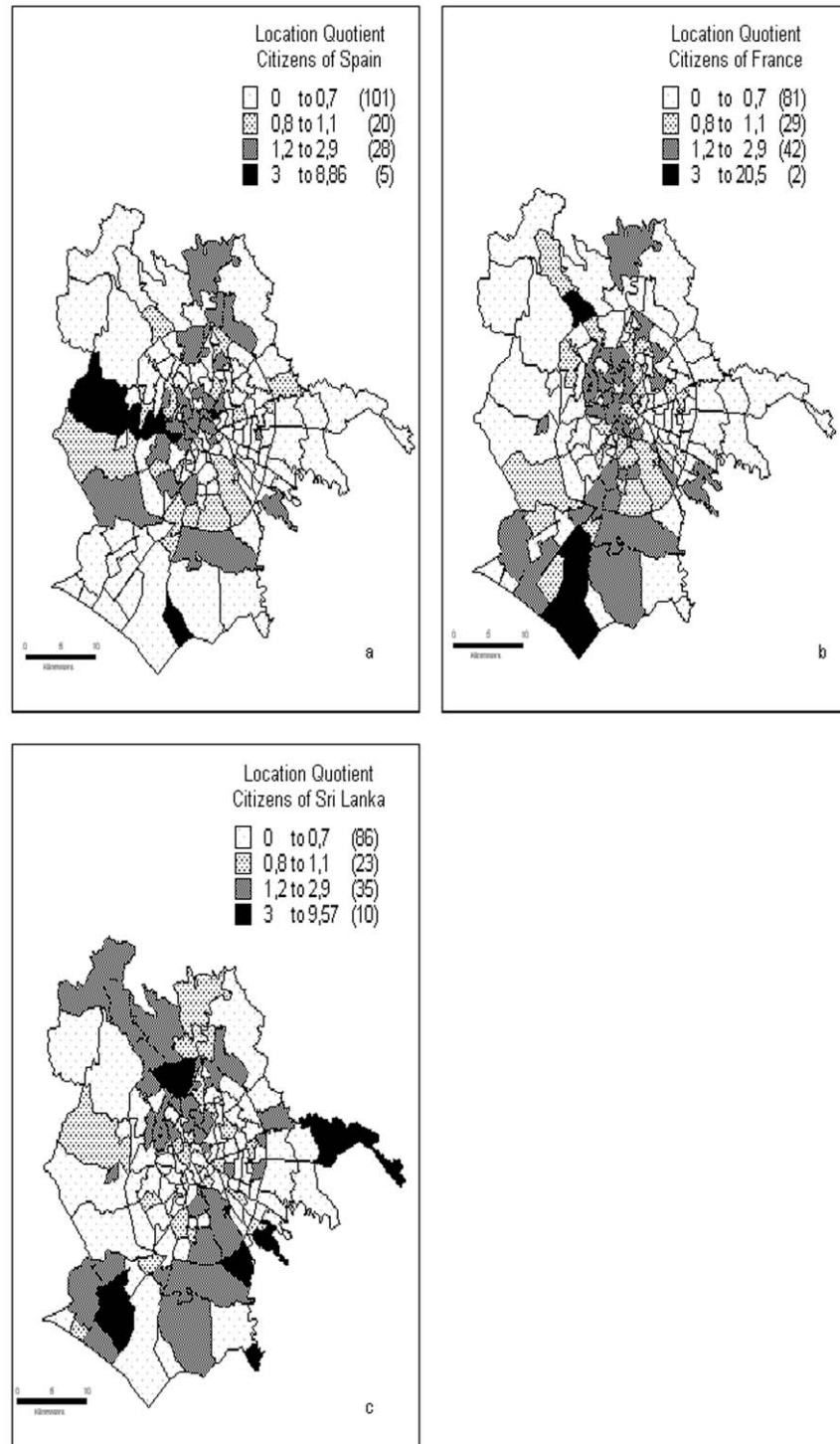


Figure 3. Location Quotients in Rome by national group in the urban zones: (a) Spanish; (b) French; (c) Sri Lankans.

cific ethnic groups – without a security deposit. When they decide to rent, to a foreigner, there is often no written lease to protect the renter. Landlords also tend to require additional fees and tenants are granted only short terms leases. Rents are paid ‘per person’ and not by square meter, while flats rented to migrants are usually thought uninhabitable by the Italians because of their location and unsanitary conditions.

A statistical comparison showed that the Italian households devote about 23% of their income to housing (National

Statistics Institute) and that migrants, given their low income and the higher rents, devote 90% of their income to obtain decent housing. Because of the high costs, most migrants are cut off from the regular housing market, and current public policies fail to bring about structural changes as to facilitate the integration of the poorer classes. Hence, many migrants, although employed, cannot find decent housing and must settle on precarious solutions. Some sleep in shelters, others under the Tiber’s bridges, in cars, public parks, railway

stations, run-down and abandoned housing; still others have to share flats, sometimes in extreme situations; recently the police have found 30 Chinese sharing a two-room flat in the Esquilino neighbourhood.

The purchase of a house, although aimed for by many, is out of the reach of most migrants and it would require a long term commitment to living in the host country. As previously stated, only a small percentage of foreigners stay in Italy because they choose it as their 'elective residence'. Those are primarily migrants from the EU or other economically advanced countries.

The initiatives that are being implemented in Italy are twofold: social welfare and immigration support actions. In fact, the welfare policy tends to prevail over the support for integration. In Italy, moreover, local experiments with new integration policies vary quite a bit. Where the local authorities can count on the support of the voluntary associations, some solutions – even though incomplete – have been successful.

Pursuant to law no. 943/86, which tackled *inter alia* the role of local authorities in the management of migration trends, almost all administrative regions have gradually passed rules on immigration. The provisions on the access to housing, however, have not been enforced by the migration authorities and are usually delegated to the public housing service. The unevenness makes foreigners uncertain about the actual access to their rights.

In 1994, the Rome municipality entered into the first conventions between local authorities and voluntary associations to set up accommodation centres for immigrants. At present there are 15 centres for a total of only 485 places. Beside the accommodation centres, housing structures at moderate prices are being developed that may be accessed by both Italians and foreigners. Local authorities and public or private non-profit institutions have been entitled to funding for the renovation of dwellings that migrants have owned or legally held for at least 15 years, provided that these are migrants with a legal permit. Under the Immigration Law no. 286 of 25th July 1998 migrants have the same rights as the Italians in terms of access to public housing, facilitated building trade financing, recovery, purchase and lease of the residences.

These measures may be indicative of an intervention to support the integration process, but the public authorities work in the opposite direction also. Some Regions claim to have granted foreigners access to public housing, yet they have introduced various forms of discrimination that result in constraining or denying housing allocation to migrants. In one case, for instance, residence for at least five years is required in the same area in order to be placed on the list. In other cases Italian migrants returning from foreign countries are favoured, in a third case Italian nationals are given five additional years. This approach is similar to other situations where the majority groups try to thwart the attempts of minorities to settle in neighbourhoods inhabited by locals (Alba and Logan, 1993).

In the past few months, for instance, the Rome Municipality and the Chinese community concluded an agreement by

which the wholesale shops run by the Chinese community in the Esquilino central neighbourhood will be closed down and moved to a peripheral area of the city. The official objective was to protect retail trade in the urban fabric (wholesale activities may be changed into retail activities) and was part of an urban rehabilitation programme for the debilitated area (the action is likely to introduce gentrification). This action seems to be aimed at forcing the Chinese community into the ghettos of the more peripheral areas.

Yet few immigrants currently live in Rome and the competition for public land and housing facilities has not reached the critical threshold. As early as the 1970s it was clear that the process of integration of migrants is dependent upon the percentage of foreigners (Schelling, 1971). In practice, as too many migrants settle in a neighbourhood, the Italian population considers it as less attractive and moves away. For example, the recent construction of a Mosque in the rich Parioli neighbourhood has reduced the value of the dwellings located near the Mosque. The local population, usually middle-high income Italians, are no longer attracted to the same buildings that they were some years before. Problems of racism, religious intolerance, and intra-ethnic coexistence have affected real estate prices.

In 2000 the Rome municipality drew up a general list for the allocation of public housing that included foreigners with regular documents also. This measure provides homes for about 770 foreigners. Pursuant to Law no. 431 of 1998, the Rome Municipality has set up the 'housing bonus' to help low-income families pay the rent. Each resident in Rome with a regular lease contract may apply for the allowance. On the basis of the 2001 list, about 1,100 foreigners have benefited from these allowances, but this number is likely to increase in the future allocation procedures. Indeed, given last year's results, and a powerful information campaign carried out by local authorities, in conjunction with the work of voluntary associations and cultural intermediaries, many informed immigrants now intend to apply for these allowances.

One of the main problems immigrants have to face is indeed information and therefore, access to knowledge. In order to overcome this hurdle and on the basis of a European directive on to immigrants' right to housing, some Italian and European voluntary associations have launched an information campaign to facilitate the renting of flats to foreigners.

Perhaps most importantly, the Rome municipality is now drafting its first Social Master Plan that is intended to guide its social organisation and development. One of the objectives of the Plan will involve all the citizens in the integration of immigrants. It is an attempt at participatory that will be tested in the future.

Conclusions

Post-modern theories maintain that the suburbanisation process is linked to the decline in residential segregation, but some detailed studies reveal that "*the socio-spatial segregation of the weak groups persists*" (Petersimeris, 1995, p. 141;

Massey, 2000). Rome is a good example of the difficulty of co-existence. In Rome the immigrants are mainly concentrated in the central neighbourhoods, in some of which the ageing of the Italian and foreign population may be observed. Many elderly foreigners, generally coming from economically advanced countries, choose to live in the historical area. In the Roman neighbourhoods inhabited by high status Italians, ethnic groups are mixed; there are high-income immigrants (mainly coming from EU and developed countries), and low-income immigrants usually employed by families or engaged in household work. In some peripheral and deprived neighbourhoods there is greater competition for space so that an ethnic group often prevails. Socio-spatial segregation, moreover, is not exclusively linked to the composition of the groups, however, since many factors influence residential patterns, including cultural differences among ethnic groups, the segmentation of the housing market, the vicinity of places of worship and social aggregation, the presence of specific services (e.g. embassies, foreign schools, clinics) and the type of employment of population.

International comparison (Massey and Denton, 1988; Petsimeris, 1995), however, suggests that Rome does not show the strong segregation characterising some USA and UK cities, both because of the small quantitative incidence of the immigrants and the relatively young age of migration flows from developing countries. The ethnic differentiation of urban areas that can be observed today, however, caused by the fast augment of immigration and the decline of Italian population in the inner city, could evolve in the future into a more pronounced form of residential segregation.

Integration policies play a major role in curbing or fostering segregation. In Italy these policies have recently abandoned the 'melting pot' approach in favour of the 'salad bowl' approach, whose aim is to foster integration while respecting the difference. Many observers, however, believe that this political action has provided assistance rather than integration. The minorities respond to this 'ethnicisation' processes by strongly clinging to their culture and language, thus strengthening the solidarity within the ethnic community (Castles, 2000), and interestingly in some cases the integration process is opposed by the same communities.

Only in 1998 has the problem of cultural mediation and cultural mediators been tackled in Italy with law no. 40, which was passed as a response to the difficult relationships between the Italian institutions and the foreign communities. This measure aims at elaborating on general principles and defining the ultimate goals of an integration policy by enabling experts to decode the codes of the societies of origin and the societies hosting the foreign communities. Since the flows of foreign migrants represent a relatively young phenomenon, new social issues have come to the fore in the past few years. Public administration, in Rome, has tried to provide answers, albeit not always in an organic way. The recourse to social services on the part of immigrants, for instance, has proved to be difficult in many cases, often because of language, religious and cultural problems.

Information about the presence of the foreign communities in the urban fabric, if analysed in detail by public

administrators (for instance through an ethnic breakdown at the intra-urban level) would permit culturally sensitive interventions with a specific interpretation tool. The social services provisions for the Muslim migrant community, in an urban area where most migrants are Catholic, may mean that Muslim's will not truly have access to the services. At the same time, to have an Arabic speaking cultural mediator in an area where most migrants are Chinese is also not useful. Information on the residential distribution of the foreign communities in Rome, is therefore, a key element for an effective planning of the services designed for the foreign communities.

At the same time, data on the distribution patterns can cast light on the evolution of the estate market that obviously responds to the presence of foreigners. The presence of foreigners from the EU, for instance, does not help bring down real estate prices; on the contrary it contributes to their rise. If the foreign diplomatic staff prefers a certain area of Rome, this may indirectly render it difficult for middle-high class Italians. The presence of other foreign communities, however, which may trigger the establishment of certain economic activities linked directly to their ethnic identities (shops selling imported goods, ethnic restaurants, telephone centres, financial brokers, etc.) may negatively affect the real estate market, or at least the willingness of Italians to live in the area. Some Italians, for instance, do not tolerate the proximity of foreigners coming from developing countries (both for cultural problems and for cohabitation issues) and prefer to sell their real estate and move to less congested areas.

The analysis of residential patterns offers new insights into transportation patterns in an area. In some areas, for instance, most immigrants live in Italian households and therefore do not travel daily. Yet during their spare time, on Thursdays and Sundays, foreigners use public transport and live in the rest of the city. On the contrary, in other areas where immigrants live but do not work, hundreds of persons travel daily on public transport. These centre-bound flows have a strong ethnic component and can be observed daily from Ostia or other peripheral zones to the area inside the Great Ring Road.

Yet the migrants' geographical residential distribution represents much more than their presence or absence in the urban fabric, being in fact the expression of a much wider social process. The analysis of the statistical distribution of a superficial factor such as the ethnic one does not only aim at providing the basis for the drawing up of the city's sociological map but rather at initiating a more complex study of the urban reality.

The analysis performed so far is but a small contribution to the study of residential integration and segregation of the foreign communities in Rome and requires further investigations. The different gender composition of the immigrants, for instance, is thought to have an impact on the residential distribution of the immigrant groups. The immigration process, moreover, should be examined in the light of economic restructuring processes, new forms of labour and the distribution of other social divisions among the population.

Notes

¹Actually the areas should be 155. However the Martignano's zone has not been analyzed as it is an *exclave* and as its statistical data cannot be considered reliable.

²These authors identify five dimensions for residential segregation: *evenness*, *exposure*, *concentration*, *centralization* e *clustering*. The members of an ethnic minority may be distributed so as to be over-represented in some areas and underrepresented in others, thus varying in their degree of homogeneity (*evenness*). The members of a community may be distributed in such a way so that their exposure to the members of the majority group is limited (*exposure*). They may be geographically concentrated in a very limited part of a metropolitan area, occupying less physical space than the members of the majority group (*concentration*). They may be physically centralised, gathered around the city centre and occupying a more central position than the rest of the population. (*centralisation*). Finally, the settlement areas of ethnic minorities may be strongly aggregated so as to form a large enclave or be widely scattered over the city (*clustering*). The Authors maintain that each dimension requires a quantitative measuring method.

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