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Chieti-Pescara Metropolitan Area: International Migrations, Residential Choices and Economic Deconcentration*

SUMMARY

The subject of human mobility – with reference to the migratory component – has taken on specific significance during the last decade, particularly with regard to the concept of place. This paper considers the subject in relation to residential and economic deconcentration. The specific point of reference is the metropolitan area of Chieti-Pescara, in the central part of Italy's Adriatic coast. The research was carried out through quantitative analysis of official data from population censuses and register offices. The results highlight the links between movements of residents and those of firms, in which foreign residents show distinctive behaviour. The residential choices made by foreigners in the area are based on economic reasons and are primarily linked to housing and transport costs. Their communities tend to be concentrated in specific zones of the metropolitan area and in specific districts of the cities, as a consequence of a feeling of belonging and solidarity. Although there are no clear signs of segregation phenomena, the native population tends to avoid mingling with foreigners from marginal countries.

KEY WORDS: human mobility, international migration, urban dynamics, residential deconcentration, economic deconcentration, locational choices

Introduction

The subject of human mobility – with specific regard to the migratory phenomenon – has been approached during the last few years from the perspective of the spatial dynamics of population and firms. In a complex society the overlapping of demographic, economic and cultural flows calls for an innovative approach to research relating to the concept of place: space for living, consuming, producing; space for social relations and human mobility.

The point of reference in this paper is the metropolitan area of Chieti-Pescara, situated in the Abruzzo region, along the Adriatic coast of central Italy. Human mobility – in this case migration – is treated in relation to the residential and economic deconcentration processes that occurred during the 1990s; the overlap and mutual interaction

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of such complex phenomena brought about the specific traits that characterise the metropolitan area – the place – today.

Section 1 reflects on the concepts of human mobility and place, on their reciprocal interactions and relative consequences; section 2 deals with the subject of population movements in Abruzzo, defining the phenomenon in a region that, during the last century, was primarily a land of emigrants; section 3 looks at economic and residential deconcentration, highlighting the specific residential behaviour of foreigners; section 4 deals with the subject of spatial distribution and the characteristics of the foreign presence in the metropolitan area and, in particular, in the City of Pescara.

1. Evolution of the concept of “place” in relation to human mobility

1.1. Definition of the concept

The concept of “migrant” is not easy to define, especially in the light of increasingly rapid changes affecting this theme. During the last decades, researchers have referred to definitions emphasizing distance travelled, time spent abroad or motivations that influence the decision to move. Until the 1970s, due to social and economic characteristics, attention was primarily focussed on aspects that determined the characteristics of the phenomenon. This was also the case with regard to push-pull theories based on neoclassical theory and thus stressing the search by individuals for a place of residence where they can maximise their well-being (Borjas, 1989, 1990). Although neoclassical theory has been criticised by many scholars for its simplicity and incompleteness, it has been very successful in explaining, through elementary references, a phenomenon that had already become complex at the time (Dorigo and Tobler, 1983).

During the last decades, numerous social and economic changes that have occurred in society have also had consequences on migration, which has acquired: (i) a global dimension, in the sense that now all countries of the world are affected by incoming and outgoing migratory phenomena; (ii) a complex dimension, since bipolar flows are today primarily organised in networks and, moreover, in the same areas of entry or exit, flows that are prevalently production-orientated overlap those that are consumption-orientated; (iii) an equalised “feminine” dimension in a phenomenon that for decades had been exclusively “masculine”, to which women contributed solely in the context of family reunifications; (iv) an accelerated aspect of the phenomenon in quantitative and qualitative terms, which caught off-guard the administrations that should have measured and monitored it and also the instances that were supposed to govern it. This complexity created the conditions for a definitive departure from the push-pull theory and for the introduction of the “human mobility” concept, that is, the definition of a phenomenon characterised by overlapping flows of people who move in order to carry out prevalently economic and productive activities, and in order to satisfy needs primarily linked to leisure time and consumption.

The temporal dimensions of the sojourn constitute a further typological variable which can help to identify at least four groups of situations: (i) foreign citizens who relocate for a period of time less than a year, and this can occur just once in their lifetimes or on an irregular or a recurrent basis; (ii) foreign citizens who relocate for a period of time more than a year, and who then move to another country or back to their

country of origin; (iii) foreign citizens who relocate to and settle in a foreign country and only return to their country of origin at the end of their working lives, such as retirement age for those that work, or old age and illness for pensioners; (iv) foreign citizens who relocate to a foreign country permanently and become more or less integrated in the receiving community.

1.2. The evolution of the concept over time

Evolution of the process was discussed in the second half of the 1990s in working groups made up of geographers and particularly in the commissions of the International Geographical Union (IGU). The process of theoretical reassessment was initiated in the European Science Foundation (ESF) research project “Regional and urban restructuring in Europe (RURE)”, the results of which were published in the volume *Mass migration in Europe* (King, 1993). This volume considered the effects of innovation on political, social and economic changes that had occurred in the preceding decade. The publication described a multitude of situations, constituting an innovative mosaic and relating to migratory movements. In particular, it reflected on the fact that new mass migration had resulted from economic restructuring during the last twenty-five years of the 20th century, and that it in turn influenced this restructuring in a more or less positive, or else even negative way, depending on existing conditions in the receiving territories (Fielding, 2003).

Positive local conditions constitute the basis for determining an “escalator region”, in which positive social progression becomes possible on the basis of spatial mobility. In this sense, the most dynamic young population groups of peripheral and developing regions tend to leave their places of residence – where development potential is limited – in order to move to the most dynamic regions, which offer greater possibilities for social progression. In order to be an “escalator region”, therefore, a region should be marked by an immigration of a young and dynamic population groups, should facilitate an above-average process of social development, using the synergies between immigrants and residents, and should, eventually, allow at least some immigrants, after reaching the end of their productive period, to capitalise on economic, social and cultural advantages and, then, return to their countries of origin.

These themes were once again treated at the IGU Congress in The Hague in 1996, during the Symposium on the Mediterranean Basin (King, De Mas and Mansvelt-Beck, 2001) and particularly in papers on migration (Montanari, 2001), tourism (Williams, 2001) and above all in a paper on new migratory flows to southern European tourist regions made up of still-young pensioners from northern Europe, as well as by economic flows in the same direction and also by migratory flows of young workers from the southern hemisphere (Rodríguez Rodríguez, Salvá Tomás and Williams, 2001).

At the mentioned 1996 IGU Congress, other scholars¹ held a meeting on “International migration and ethnic segregation: impact on urban areas” to discuss the consequences of the impending failure of areas, which the RURE Project had defined as “es-

¹ The meeting was held on the initiative of the IGU Commissions on “Population geography”, “Urban development and urban life”, “Gender and geography”, and “World political map”.

calator regions”, to live up to many of the migrants’ expectations. Indeed, malfunction of the processes of social growth among immigrants, due to changes that occurred in the receiving countries, created the conditions for the onset of ethnic segregation and thus the formation of ghettos that threatened to cause considerable problems for urban management (Drooglever Fortuijn, Musterd and Ostendorf, 1998). Some researchers involved in these initiatives began a scientific debate at The Hague in 1996 which in 2000, during the IGU Congress in Seoul, led to the formation of a commission, named *Globility*, whose task is to study the relationship between human mobility and global change (Montanari, 2002).

A further contribution was made by the IGU Commission in regard to the “Geography of sustainable tourism”, particularly at meetings held in 1998 (Hawaii), 1999 (Flagstaff, Arizona) and 2000 (IGU Congress in Seoul). The changes that have taken place in the tourism and migration sectors have led to new relationships between forms of production and consumption. In particular, new themes have been identified for in-depth study in regard to the redistribution of expenditures, incomes and remittances, the restructuring of the job market, the new social and spatial division of labour, the renewal of host-guest relations, the new concept of identity, citizenship rights, the demand for public services, the environmental consequences of migrations associated with tourist flows, and the role of tourism-led migrations (Williams and Hall, 2000, 2002; Hall and Williams, 2002).

1.3. Human mobility and development of places

The reassessment of migration theory, which is no longer based on bipolar models, must not fall into the trap of imaging an absolutely de-territorialized form of human mobility; on the contrary, new phenomena have provided a new dimension for the concept of “place”. It is not that in the past the concept of “place” did not have special significance in migration theory. The origin of migration is often associated with the concept of abandonment and decay, both as the cause and effect of migration. One should also consider the effect of place renewal due to return migration, which brings vigour, funds and innovative experiences back to places of migrant origin. Furthermore, there are also places where new immigration flows are concentrated, usually urban areas in which various immigrant communities come together in different districts, and which become expressions of different ethnicities: of the way in which people meet in public spaces; of traditional costumes; of culinary customs revealed in local markets, in small restaurants, in “exotic” fragrances that emanate from homes’ and restaurant kitchens; expressions revealed in shop windows displaying products being sold, revealed in the way these are sold, in shop signs; and last but not least, expressions revealed in the music that soundtracks the lives of the inhabitants. Moreover, whereas social science researchers have relied primarily on statistics and therefore on the dimensions and characteristics of migration flows, migrants mainly refer to places, especially to the places they left behind, which in time are elaborated in their minds and transformed into devices capable of re-evoking memories, but also of influencing views of the receiving countries, which are often identified with solitude and sadness. In the context of methodological presumptions regarding human mobility, which are complex, the concept of place takes on new significance inasmuch as it is precisely at local level that

flows of people can be better monitored, analysed and managed. Indeed, it is at the local level that migratory and tourist flows meet and overlap, irrespective of the temporal dimension of mobility and its causes, and also of ethnic and linguistic relationships as well as flows of merchandise and information. Each of these flows can be represented – as is done in geographical information systems (GIS) – on different layers that overlap and can be observed from the perspective of each individual place.

In the RURE Project, White (1993) was entrusted with the task of studying the structure of immigrant societies in European cities and especially of providing hypotheses on possible evolutions. The issues examined were those of housing, neighbourhoods and concentrations. From this viewpoint also, new models emerged of a new large-scale migration with marked differences between various cities and between ethnic communities of varied origin. On this occasion, the RURE group identified certain possible perspectives: (i) an apparent assimilation and dilution of identity in individual groups through the acceptance of the norms of the majority groups; (ii) a polarisation of the differences with respect to the majority groups; (iii) the creation of a pluralist society structured in the form of a social and cultural archipelago, facilitating forms of contact through, for example, trade activities.

These observations were subsequently examined by the Metropolis Project and again by Globility. White (1999) confirmed that great diversity is present in the development of foreign communities in European cities and proposed four elements that for the most part determine this diversity: the economic situation of the city; the cultural behaviour of the society compared to that of various immigrant communities; the cultural, social and religious distance between the resident and immigrant societies and, finally, the characteristics of services and infrastructures, and their location within the city. In the course of the research promoted by Globility, it became increasingly obvious that the city's role was to be the subject and object of all types of mobility of capital and services, but also of tourist and migratory flows. The most significant empirical evidence emerged from a study by Salvá Tomás (2002, 2003), applied to the case of the Balearic Islands. This area provides a complex model of human mobility flows, with various demographic, cultural and social characteristics, that have escalated since the end of the 20th century, facilitated by a high level of economic development built around the tourist industry, by a considerable investment potential and by excellent links with the main European airports. This qualitative analysis of the Balearic Islands enabled the identification of numerous overlapping flows from Africa, Latin America, the Eastern Mediterranean and the European Union. South-north flows were production-orientated and, therefore, can be primarily identified as labour migrations, but added to these are migration flows motivated by family reunions, visits from family members and friends (VFR), trips to the countries of origin, and finally potential return migration, with all the economic movements that ensue. On the other hand, north-south flows have had both recreational and productive aims. Apart from traditional tourists, who spend brief holiday periods on the Islands, there are also senior citizens and pensioners who stay for much longer periods – months or years – or people who move there to take up activities linked to services and infrastructures. An attempt to create a model showing the interrelation of flows as a function of the phases of economic development was made by Montanari (2005) and tested in the study of Val di Sangro by Staniscia (2005).

2. Human mobility in Abruzzo: peculiarities of a region where migratory phenomena are not recent

Italy changed from an emigration to an immigration country between the 1970s and 1980s and on the 31st of December 1990 there were slightly over 490,000 foreigners with residence permits in the region, from southern countries, Eastern Europe, Africa, Asia and Latin America (Montanari and Cortese, 1993). In 1970 foreign immigrants in Italy numbered 144,000, less than Italians that, in the same year, emigrated abroad; after 35 years, foreigners with legal residence permits numbered approximately 2,800,000.

Foreigners in Italy tend to settle in the main cities – nearly 50 percent on the average, and in Central Italy close to 60 percent. This trend can be explained by the following factors: (i) proximity to one's own ethnic group (co-ethnicity), (ii) anonymity guaranteed by a large population, (iii) larger job opportunities in the services sector and proximity to red tape.

The foreign presence in Italian cities can be studied through the analysis of the following elements (Montanari and Cortese, 1993; Montanari, 2001; Montanari and Staniscia, 2003):

(i) Settlement patterns of foreigners in metropolitan areas.

In the case of polarized regions, which are the most common, foreigners tend to concentrate in the main urban poles, while in the polycentric regions – as is the case of Abruzzo – they tend to be dispersed.

(ii) Settlement patterns of foreigners at the intra-urban scale.

In Italian cities phenomena of segregation, and the consequent creation of ghettos, are not very common, although many cases of spatial concentration have been registered. Foreigners coming from poor countries show a tendency to settle in central areas and historic centres, often dilapidated and abandoned by the Italian middle classes, as well as in the less costly suburban areas. In these areas they live together with the poorest and more marginalized locals. When a concentrated presence of foreigners is registered in affluent downtown areas, it is due to people who do domestic services or act as nannies for rich families (Cristaldi, 2002).

(iii) Polycentrism or monocentrism of foreign communities.

Italy is characterized by migratory polycentrism: a low concentration of foreigners in small spatially diffused ethnic groups. The number of people in the five most represented foreign communities in Italy, does not exceed 50 percent of the total number of foreigners (Caritas, 1995–2005).

(iv) Demographic characteristics of foreign communities.

In Italy, the number of women is higher than the number of men in groups coming from Central and Eastern Africa, Central and Southern Africa, the Far East, the former Soviet Union and Latin America. A prevalence of males is registered in the groups coming from North Africa, Western Africa, the Middle-East, India and Eastern Europe (Caritas, 1995–2005).

(v) Labour market characteristics.

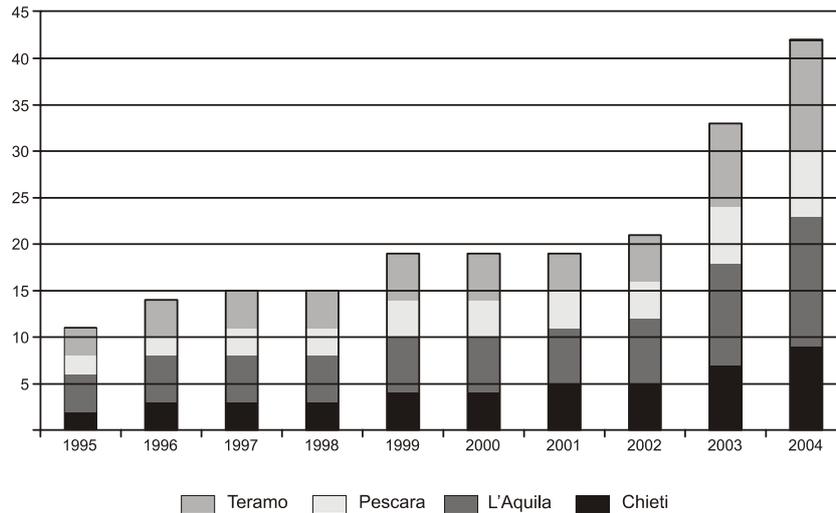
Three typologies of working activities can be defined in Italy: (i) “traditional” – very common in the North-East, is characterized by a high demand in the production

sector, a low incidence of domestic work and a high demand for work in agriculture; (ii) “domestic” – very diffused in Central-South Italy, is characterized by an exceptional incidence of domestic work (about 50 percent) and by a non-negligible presence in the agriculture sector (about 20 percent); (iii) “median” – more equilibrated, is typical of the North-West and is characterized by a prevalence of jobs in industry (about 40 percent) and in the service sector (around 22 percent), as well as by a noticeable incidence of domestic work (33 percent) (ISTAT, 1999–2004, c).

Of the total number of foreigners resident in Italy in 1990, only approximately 1 percent resided in Abruzzo, a number that corresponded to less than 0.5 percent of the native population. The 1991 Population Census was the first in Italy to record the foreign population also using multilingual census forms.

In Abruzzo, apart from the low presence of foreign communities, what is surprising is the pattern of settlement of foreigners: indeed, they are not concentrated – as in the rest of the country – in the chief municipalities and, hence, in the main urban areas, but are dispersed in other municipalities (over 80 percent). During the last 15 years, the foreign population living in the region has increased almost tenfold and in 2005 it represented 3.3 percent of the total population, double the average in Italy’s southern regions, but lower by about 1.5 points than the national average. The last decade was the most significant period in the evolution of migration flows, which have almost quadrupled. The population distribution per province indicates that the territory most populated by foreigners is that of L’Aquila, followed closely by Teramo (Fig. 1).

Figure 1: Abruzzo region: foreigners by province with a residence permit on 31st December

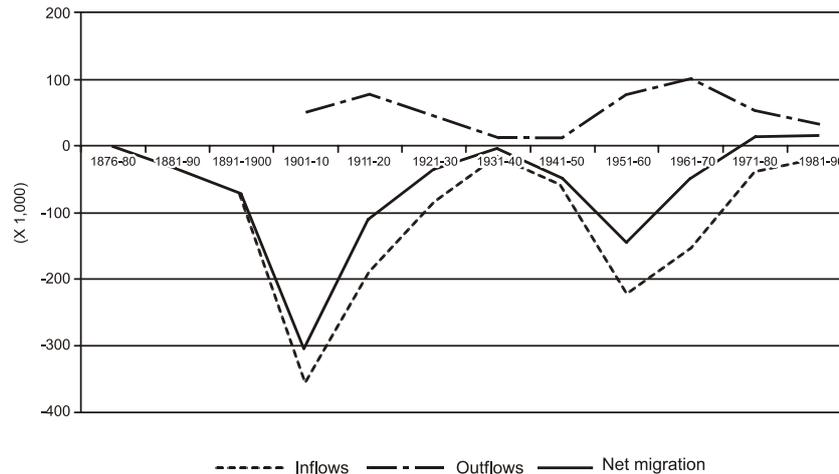


Source: Caritas, 1995–2005

In the province of L’Aquila there are many foreigners from the former Yugoslavian countries, employed in agriculture and animal husbandry, and in particular a signi-

ficant Macedonian community has been registered in the sheep-farming sector. In the province of Teramo there is a sizeable Chinese community, particularly active in the textile-clothing sector. Many historical firms of the Val Vibrata (a textile-clothing cluster) have been abandoned by Italian entrepreneurs and replaced by Chinese ones. This creates problems in regard to clandestine and illegal labour. It should also be remembered that from the last decades of the 19th Century, Abruzzo has been a region of intense human mobility, for a long time characterised by the emigration and return migration of the Abruzzian population: between 1876 and 1990 there were 1,246,000 Abruzzian emigrants and in the same period 460,000 return migrants (Fig. 2). This was an enormous number when compared to the total resident population between 1876 and 1990, which was on average approximately 1,400,000.

Figure 2: *Abbruzzo region: outflows and inflows, 1876-1990*



Source: ISTAT, 1991, 2001, a

3. The Chieti-Pescara metropolitan area: mobility of residents and firms

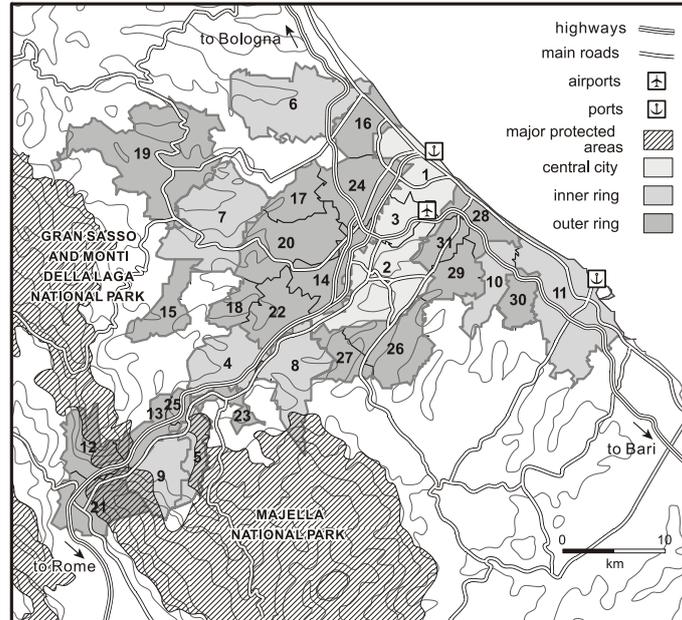
3.1. Definition of the area, methodology, data analysis

The Chieti-Pescara metropolitan area had been identified according to a functional criterion. Since our interest is to understand movements of firms in connection to population movements (especially of the foreign population), the study area was defined selecting municipalities belonging to the same area of industrial development. This affiliation was considered a sign of economic vitality and a shared purpose among the different administrative units. The result was a territory formed by 31 municipalities² covering a total area of 978 km².

² The municipalities of the Chieti-Pescara metropolitan area are as follows: Central city: 1 – Pescara, 2 – Chieti, 3 – San Giovanni Teatino. Inner ring: 4 – Alanno, 5 – Bolognano, 6 – Città S. Angelo, 7 – Loreto Aprutino, 8 – Manoppello, 9 – Tocco Da Casauria, 10 – Miglianico, 11 – Ortona. Outer ring: 12 – Bussi Sul Tirino, 13 – Castiglione a Casauria, 14 – Cepagatti, 15 – Civitaquana, 16 – Montesilvano, 17 – Moscufo,

In order to study the phenomenon of deconcentration, the area was divided into sub-areas denominated: the central city, the inner ring and the outer ring. The central city constitutes the heart of the residential district and of the service industry in the metropolitan area. It is there, in particular, that advanced public and private services and the main supermarkets and shopping centres are located. The inner ring is the productive core of the metropolitan area: indeed, it is where the area's planned industrial sites are located. The outer ring is made up of peripheral municipalities with residential and service functions (Fig. 3).

Figure 3: Chieti-Pescara metropolitan area



Deconcentration – both residential and economic – is a complex phenomenon. Its scale, in our interpretation, is given according to the varying importance of each ring, in terms of the number of employees and residents, at the beginning and at the end of the period in consideration. Furthermore, the scale of deconcentration takes into consideration changes – both in absolute and relative terms – influencing the economic sectors in terms of workforce and firms, and the population in terms of the number of inhabitants. Deconcentration is the result of both centrifugal and centripetal forces that could co-exist in the period of time considered. It is determined by: (i) the movement of firms and population from outside the metropolitan area towards it; (ii) the movement of firms and population within the area; (iii) the emergence of new firms (*in situ* growth) and the birth of new residents (*in loco*).

18 – Nocciano, 19 – Penne, 20 – Pianella, 21 – Popoli, 22 – Rosciano, 23 – Scafa, 24 – Spoltore, 25 – Torre De' Passeri, 26 – Bucchianico, 27 –Casalincontrada, 28 – Francavilla Al Mare, 29 – Ripa Teatina, 30 – Tollo, 31 – Torrevicchia Teatina.

Data used in this paper to analyse deconcentration were taken from the Industry and Services Censuses and Population and Household Censuses of 1991 and 2001.

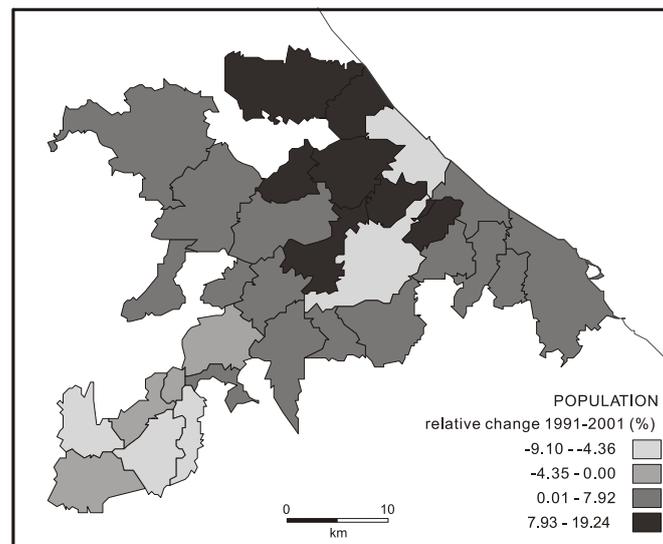
3.2. Residential deconcentration in the Chieti-Pescara metropolitan area

The central city of the Chieti-Pescara metropolitan area registered a population loss in the period 1991–2001 due to a decrease in the two main cities: Pescara and Chieti. The net loss was about 4.15 percent or 8,000 inhabitants, respectively. The net average yearly migration rate was 1.8 per thousand, resulting from a very negative migration rate in the coastal municipalities (-4.6 per thousand per year), only partially compensated by a positive rate in the internal municipalities.

The northern coastal municipality belonging to the inner ring registered a strong population increase (15.2 per thousand per year). Other municipalities registered a weak positive migration rate, with the most internal municipality being the only exception. The net average yearly migration rate was +6.5 per thousand. The result was a general weak increase in population in the inner ring of around 2,000 inhabitants, or 3.68 percent.

The outer ring registered a significant population increase: more than 12,000 inhabitants or 8.78 percent, respectively; there was a substantial rise in the two coastal municipalities and in the municipalities surrounding the central city. The migration rate was positive on the average, with the only exceptions being the most internal municipalities. The highest positive peaks were registered in the coastal municipalities and in the municipalities surrounding the central city. The net average yearly migration rate was +9.1 per thousand (Montanari, Staniscia and Di Zio, 2006) (Fig. 4).

Figure 4: Residential deconcentration in the Chieti-Pescara metropolitan area, 1991–2001



Source: ISTAT, 1991, 2001, a

3.3. Economic deconcentration in the Chieti-Pescara metropolitan area

The central city of the Chieti-Pescara metropolitan area suffered a slight loss in its relative economic importance during the period 1991–2001. Its role in terms of the number of jobs in the entire metropolitan area, in fact, fell from 60.50 to 58.77 percent, to the advantage of both the inner and outer rings. The growth rate in the number of jobs in the inner and outer rings was much higher than in the central city (in the first two cases it exceeded 10 percent, whereas in the latter it barely rose above 2 percent).

Deconcentration during the period 1991–2001 was on a small scale, but it could intensify during the next few years if the trend continues. With the exception of the public services sector, the central city is always the area with the lowest growth rate. The Chieti-Pescara metropolitan area, therefore, is characterized by an external dynamism in a state of positive vitality.

During the same period, the industrial sector registered a decline of 2.06 percent in the number of jobs in the Chieti-Pescara metropolitan area. This drop was due to a reduction in the number of jobs in the central city (-7.56 percent), that was partly compensated by an increase in both the inner and outer rings (4.97 percent and 1.77 percent, respectively). The role played by the three sub-areas within the area changed from 1991 to 2001: the central city, which accounted for 47.54 percent of the number of jobs in 1991, only accounted for 44.86 percent in 2001; at the same time the inner ring moved from 18.92 percent in 1991 to 20.27 percent in 2001 and the outer ring from 33.55 percent in 1991 to 34.86 percent in 2001. In short, the metropolitan area, in the considered period, experienced a process of deconcentration in the industry sector that involved both the inner and outer rings.

The commerce sector registered a positive shift (+2.67 percent in the number of jobs) in the metropolitan area in the period 1991–2001. This change is particularly notable in the inner ring (+11.02 percent), but it is also noticeable in the outer ring (+3.91 percent) and in the central city (+0.29 percent). At the end of the period, the central city experienced a slight reduction in its relative importance in terms of employment (the central city accounted for 58.79 percent of jobs in 1991 and for 57.43 percent in 2001), whereas the inner and outer rings registered an increase in their relative importance in employment terms (the inner ring from 12.48 percent to 13.49 percent; the outer ring from 28.73 percent to 29.08 percent). In short, a slight deconcentration can be detected in this sector, in particular from the central city towards the inner ring.

The private services sector registered a significant positive change in the number of jobs (+25.88 percent) in the metropolitan area in the period 1991–2001. This change was due to an increase in the number of jobs in all three sub-areas: +47.98 percent in the outer ring, +38.18 percent in the inner ring, and +17.99 percent in the central city. The relative importance of each sub-area also changed during the period considered: the central city experienced a slight weakening of its role (in 1991 it accounted for 70.50 percent of the total number of jobs, but only 66.08 percent in 2001), which corresponded to an increase in the importance of the inner ring and, above all, the outer ring (the latter accounted for 19.76 percent of jobs in 1991 and for 23.22 percent in 2001). In short, there was a process of deconcentration in the private services sector, despite the fact that the central city still held a significant share of the total number of jobs.

The public services sector registered a general contraction in the number of jobs (-3.24 percent) in the metropolitan area in the period 1991–2001. This reduction was particularly significant in the inner ring (-7.01 percent) and in the central city (-3.17 percent). The relative importance of these sub-areas did not undergo significant changes: the greatest change, which was in the outer ring, was less than 2 percent in relative terms. There does not appear to have been a process of deconcentration in this sector (Montanari, Staniscia and Di Zio, 2006) (Tab. 1).

Table 1: Chieti-Pescara metropolitan area: employment change by sector according to functional areas, 1991–2001

Area / Surface	Change (%)		% of total urbanized area		Change (%)		% of total urbanized area	
	2001	1991–2001	1991	2001	2001	1991–2001	1991	2001
	<i>Public institutions</i>				<i>Industry</i>			
Central city (111 km ²)	19,214	-3.17	70.33	70.39	18,691	-7.56	47.54	44.86
Inner suburban ring (333 km ²)	2,615	-7.01	9.97	9.58	8,446	4.97	18.92	20.27
Outer suburban ring (534 km ²)	5,467	-1.62	19.70	20.03	14,524	1.77	33.55	34.86
Total urbanized area (978 km ²)	27,296	-3.24	100.00	100.00	41,661	-2.06	100.00	100.00
	<i>Commerce</i>				<i>Services</i>			
Central city (111 km ²)	14,322	0.29	58.79	57.43	27,136	17.99	70.5	66.08
Inner suburban ring (333 km ²)	3,365	11.02	12.48	13.49	4,394	38.18	9.75	10.7
Outer suburban ring (534 km ²)	7,251	3.91	28.73	29.08	9,537	47.98	19.76	23.22
Total urbanized area (978 km ²)	24,938	2.67	100	100	41,067	25.88	100.00	100.00

Source: Authors' own elaboration on ISTAT, 1991, 2001, b

4. Spatial dynamics of foreign communities in the Chieti-Pescara metropolitan area

4.1. Foreign presence in the Chieti-Pescara metropolitan area during the 1990s. Observations on spatial deconcentration

The foreign population in the Chieti-Pescara metropolitan area showed a considerable increase in the period 1991–2001, rising from 1,993 to 5,053 inhabitants (+153 percent in 10 years). The incidence of foreigners, measured as the impact of the foreign component on the total population, was particularly high in the inner and outer rings, at 14.37 per thousand and 14.84 per thousand, respectively, in 2001, whereas in 1991 the totals were 4.44 per thousand and 6.49 per thousand, respectively.

If the spatial distribution of the foreign population is analysed, it shows that the outer ring accounts for the highest number of foreigners (45.12 percent of the entire area in 2001); however, this number has decreased with respect to 1991, when it was 46.01 percent. The most sizeable foreign presence has been registered in the larger municipalities with greater economic vitality: Pescara, Montesilvano, Francavilla al Mare in the area along the coast, Chieti inland.

An analysis of the location quotient³ confirms these evaluations. Indeed, it is above 1 in the inner and outer rings (1,117 and 1,153 respectively in 2001) and highlights the relative importance of the smaller inland municipalities, in which a significant proportion of the foreign presence is attributable to return migrants (Tab. 2).

Table 2: Chieti-Pescara metropolitan area: foreign population change according to functional areas, 1991–2001

	2001	1991–2001	1991–2001	1991	2001
		<i>Change</i>	<i>Change (%)</i>	<i>% of total urbanized area</i>	<i>% of total urbanized area</i>
Central city	1,908	1,090	133.25	41.04	37.76
Inner ring	865	607	235.27	12.95	17.12
Outer ring	2,280	1,363	148.64	46.01	45.12
Total urbanized area	5,053	3,060	153.54	100.00	100.00

Source: Authors' own elaboration on ISTAT, 1991, 2001, a

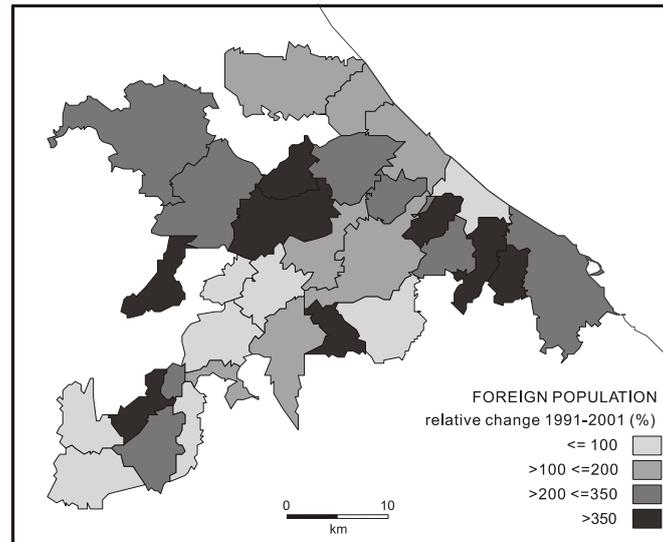
The direction of residential deconcentration has been shown in the previous paragraph: the central city, between 1991 and 2001, lost some of its importance to the inner ring and particularly to the outer ring. This was due to a decrease in population which occurred between 1991 and 2001 in the central city and an increase in population in the inner ring and, to a greater degree, in the outer ring.

If the foreign component is observed by itself, a deconcentration with different characteristics can be detected. The diminished importance of the central city is very much to the advantage of the inner ring, inasmuch as the outer ring is also losing some of its importance. Despite the occurrence of residential deconcentration, which is also due to the foreign component, it should be emphasised that this takes place in the context of a growing number of foreigners in all three rings. Deconcentration, therefore, is generated by a different spatial distribution of foreigners, and not by a decline in their number in the central city.

³ The location quotient is calculated as: $LQ = (x_i/y_i)/(X/Y)$, where x_i is the number of foreign citizens of a certain national group in municipality i ; y_i is the total number of residents in municipality i ; X is the number of foreign citizens of a certain national group in the metropolitan area; Y is the total number of residents in the metropolitan area. The location quotient provides a measurement of the degree of concentration of foreigners of the group in a certain zone of the metropolitan area. A quotient equal to 1 indicates an equal distribution over the entire area. A quotient of less than 1 indicates an under-representation of the national group in a certain zone. A quotient higher than 1 indicates an over-representation of the group in a certain zone.

The inner and outer rings that are in the lead in regard to the residential deconcentration of the foreign and total population, respectively, also display economic vitality. Although it is not possible, from a purely statistical point of view, to establish cause and effect links between these two types of deconcentration, it is possible to affirm that they take place at the same rate and that when the population (Italian and foreign) moves, so do jobs. Foreigners, especially those whose mobility is particularly limited by inadequate local transport, are affected by the presence/absence of jobs and choose locations that meet these needs (Fig. 5). The Chieti-Pescara metropolitan area, therefore, appears to be experiencing deconcentration phenomena, both residential and economic, at different stages.

Figure 5: Residential deconcentration of foreign population in the Chieti-Pescara metropolitan area, 1991–2001



Source: ISTAT, 1991, 2001, a

The Italian population is moving into the outer ring: the peripheral municipalities have become more attractive due to low housing costs and improved transport infrastructures, which minimize the inconvenience of distance from the central city, which continues to represent the hub of the entire area. This has been the result of the implementation of development policies which, apart from attracting new residents, manage to retain the locals.

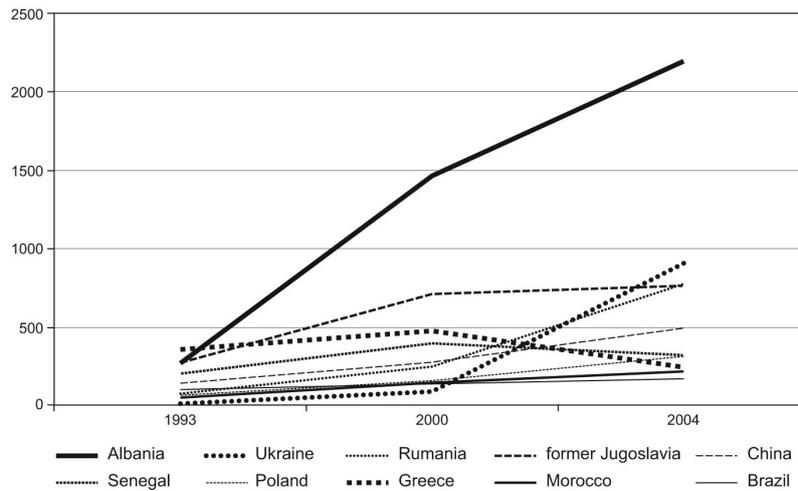
The foreign population behaves differently: deconcentration pushes them primarily towards the inner ring and the main urban centres along the coast. The lower cost of housing and improved services of the most peripheral municipalities of the outer ring are not sufficient, at least for the moment, to attract a more substantial number of foreigners. They tend to be, much more so than the Italians, bound by work opportunities in the places of residence and to the existence of efficient means of public transport. One

might speculate that centrifugal forces on the foreign component may continue during the next few years and cause a further deconcentration. Indeed, even economic deconcentration shows signs of a start and a continuation, a fact that reinforces the idea that the residential deconcentration of foreigners will increase in the future.

4.2. Foreign presence in the Chieti-Pescara⁴ metropolitan area today. Observations on the main communities

At the end of 1993, a total number of 3,458 foreigners were registered in the Chieti-Pescara metropolitan area. After ten years, in 2004, the total number of foreigners reached 9,109. Between 1993 and 2004, therefore, the foreign presence rose by 163.4 per cent. The average annual growth rate accelerated from the year 2000 (Fig. 6).

Figure 6: Chieti-Pescara metropolitan area: population change by country of origin, 1993–2004



Source: ISTAT, 1991, 2001, a

On the 31st of December 2004, the incidence of foreigners was particularly evident in the outer ring (25.84 per thousand), followed by the inner ring (22.07 per thousand) and the central city (19.04 per thousand).

An analysis of foreign spatial distribution shows that nearly a half of their number resided in the outer ring (45.24 percent), whereas the lowest number lived in the inner ring (15.19 percent).

⁴ In the analysis, the traditional countries of emigration from Abruzzo (France, Belgium, Switzerland, Germany), were not considered in order to avoid “contamination” between foreigners and return migrants. The former Yugoslavia was considered as a single body for purposes of homogeneity with data relative to the municipality of Pescara, discussed in the last paragraph. Russia was considered with its present borders, excluding the countries that belonged to the Soviet Union but are not a part of Russia.

Figure 7: Chieti-Pescara metropolitan area: location quotients by the ten largest communities, 2004



Source: ISTAT, 2004

The analysis of the location quotient confirms the previous observations: the quotient was above 1 in the outer ring (1.17), just below 1 in the inner ring (0.99) and 0.86 in the central city. Some of the coastal municipalities (Città S. Angelo, Montesilvano, Francavilla al Mare), and some smaller inland municipalities (where there was a considerable presence of return migrants), registered the highest location quotients.

Our Chieti-Pescara case study shows a settlement pattern with the characteristics of both polycentric and polarized regions: indeed, a significant foreign presence in small towns can be noticed (a typical case in the polycentric regions), and there is also a trend towards concentration in the largest cities (a typical case in the unipolar regions).

If the foreign communities are analysed in detail, it can be noticed that the most represented in 2004 were the Albanian, Ukrainian, Rumanian, former Yugoslavian, Chinese, Senegalese, Polish, Greek, Moroccan and Brazilian communities. In 1993, the situation was somewhat different: in particular, the Ukrainian community, which presently is the second largest, practically did not exist that year. The Rumanian, Albanian and Polish communities also registered intense growth rates.

In 2004, the the three largest communities (Albanian, Ukrainian and Rumanian) together exceeded 50 percent of the total number of foreigners. This proportion grows to 75 percent of the total when the fourth largest community (former Yugoslavian countries) is included (Fig. 7).

The Albanian community is highly concentrated in the inner and outer rings (with location quotients of 1.41 and 1.26 respectively) and particularly in the small inland hillside centres. This community shows quite a low segregation index⁵ (29), below the average of the first ten communities. This signifies that in relative terms the Albanian community is fairly evenly spread out over the territory.

The Ukrainian community, being predominantly female (87 percent of the total number), definitely prefers the central city (a location quotient of 1.27), in particular the large urban centres (Città S. Angelo, Montesilvano, Pescara, Francavilla al Mare). This community has a low segregation index (23).

The Rumanian community is concentrated in the outer ring and prefers both large centres (Montesilvano, Francavilla al Mare) and the small hillside centres. The segregation index is low (20).

For foreigners from former Yugoslavia, the highest concentration is registered in the inner ring (a location quotient of 2.05), followed by the outer ring (a location quotient of 1.11). There is a significant presence in the foothill municipalities of Val Pescara (Torre de' Passeri, Tocco da Casauria) and a higher segregation index than that which characterises the first three communities (35).

The Chinese community, owing to the types of activities the Chinese are involved in – predominantly work in the trade and catering sectors – is concentrated in the cen-

⁵ The segregation index is calculated as: $IS = 0.5 \sum |x_i/X - y_i/Y| 100$, where x_i = number of citizens from a given community in municipality i ; X = number of citizens of the given community in the metropolitan area; y_i = total resident population in municipality i ; Y = total resident population in the metropolitan area. The index varies between 0 and 100, where 0 indicates the minimum and 100 the maximum segregation.

tral city and, more generally, in all the large economically-dynamic municipalities (Città S. Angelo, Montesilvano, Pescara). This community is particularly segregated, compared to the other three, with a segregation index of 48.

In the Albanian community and among foreigners from former Yugoslavia there is a predominance of males (54 percent and 55 percent of the entire populations, respectively); in the Chinese community genders are essentially balanced (males representing 51 percent of the total), whereas the Rumanian and Ukrainian communities are predominately female (62 percent and 87 percent, respectively). Albanian, Slavic and Rumanian adult males are employed in the building sector and do manual work, in general, both in the agricultural and industrial sectors, particularly in small and medium-sized craft enterprises, which are frequent sources of irregular labour. Chinese residents are active in the retail sector (clothing and shoe shops, general stores), in catering – especially in the large coastal centres – and in the textile industry, particularly in small hill-side centres, with high rates of irregular and illegal employment. Ukrainians and Rumanians are generally employed as nannies and often live with the families they work for.

4.3. Focus on Pescara⁶, the largest urban centre of the area

In-flows of foreigners in Pescara have gradually increased during the last fifteen years. This rise has been particularly sharp, but differentiated in various communities, during the last five years. The five most represented communities in 2005 were the Ukrainian, Albanian, Chinese, Senegalese and Rumanian, and their in-migration can be represented as in the Fig. 8.

By studying the in-flows, it can be noted that the Senegalese community seems to have reached a phase of maturity and that, as a consequence, in-flows are beginning to diminish. Moreover, it can be seen that the Ukrainian community experienced a peak in

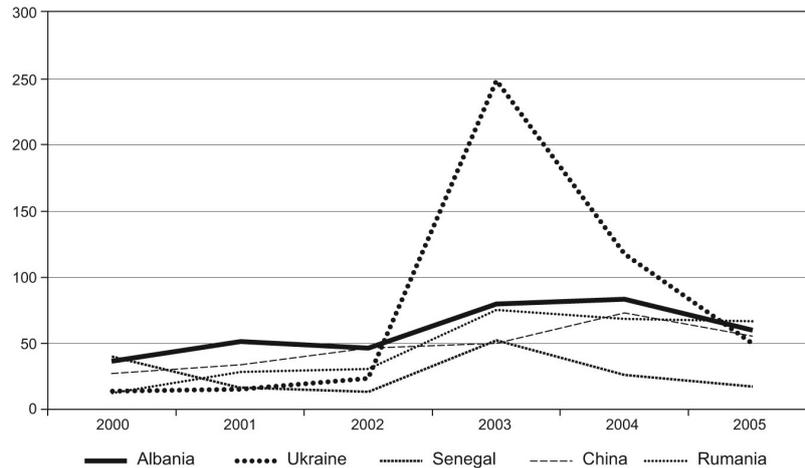
⁶ The detailed analysis of the municipality of Pescara was conducted using data provided by the municipality of Pescara register office, relating to registrations and cancellations of residence by foreign citizens. By selecting certain dates, a list of foreigners was established, who at that moment were resident in the municipality, as a difference between those whose date of immigration to the municipality preceded the chosen date and those whose date of emigration from the municipality came after the chosen date. In this way, only foreigners who at the chosen date had already immigrated to the municipality, but not yet emigrated from it, were selected. This procedure was limited by the fact that foreigners who emigrate from the municipality do not necessarily cancel their registration of residence, since there is no obligation to do so. A comparison, however, of the ISTAT (National Statistical Institute) register data revealed a substantial uniformity in the data, with the exception of the Senegalese and Russian communities, whose data proved to be very different. For these two communities, we resorted to interviews with “key persons” in order to define the reliability of data provided by the municipality of Pescara register office.

Problems were encountered in the classification of countries that have changed their structures over time. These problems were resolved on a case by case basis. With regard to the former Yugoslavia, this was considered a unitary body, since the classification of the residence register includes both the present independent states (e.g. Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Serbia, Montenegro, Slovenia, Macedonia) and the old definition of Yugoslavia. Therefore, in order to avoid confusion, they were all kept together.

In the case of current-day Russia there was the same problem, in so far as both the present states (e.g. Russia, Ukraine, Lithuania, Moldavia) and the old definition of the USSR were listed. Since it was necessary to keep Ukraine separate, a reconstruction was made of the Russian component through the analysis of the places of birth of those citizens classified as nationals of the USSR.

arrivals in 2003. This peak, however, is attributable, more than to effective new flows, to a substantial regularisation that occurred over the entire national territory, following the issuing of decree 195/2002. If the number of each community is taken into account, between 1994 and 2004, and if the first ten communities are considered, a generalised increase can be noticed, with the exception of Senegalese citizens and foreigners from the former Yugoslavia.

Figure 8: City of Pescara: flows of immigrants by main immigration countries, 2000–2005



Source: Municipality of Pescara Register, 2000–2005

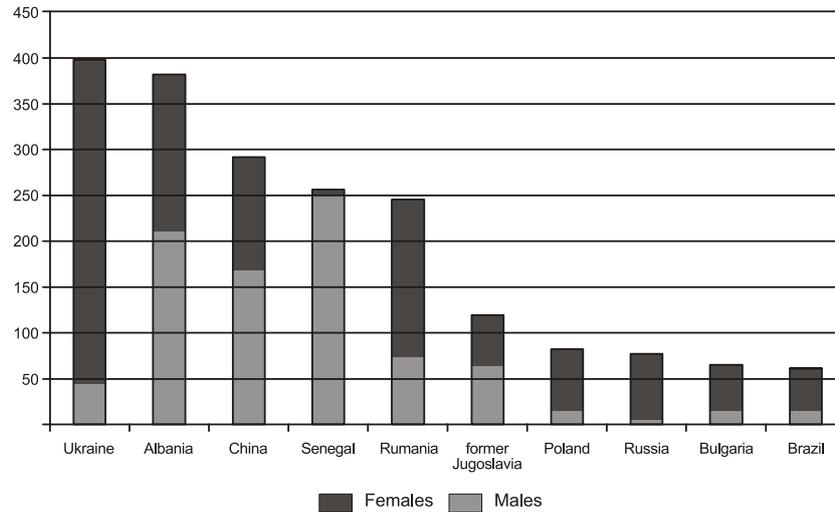
In 2005 the first five communities represented 54 percent of the total number of foreigners. Ethnic concentration can, thus, be defined as medium-low, and a moderate ethnic polycentrism can be noticed; this latter is, in any case, lower than the average registered in Italy. Although there is no evidence of relevant social contacts among the different ethnic groups – since they tend to maintain a community compactness – several important efforts in this direction have been registered, through associative forms. Indeed foreign groups know that their lobbying action with public players is more effective when it is combined and unitary. Thus, coalitions – sometimes non-spontaneous – have been formed between different communities. The only exception is the Chinese community, remaining, intentionally, isolated and not participating in any form of co-operation, preferring informal ways of establishing a relationship with public players.

Looking now at the internal characteristics of each community, there is a clear predominance of females in the groups from Eastern Europe and South America, a clear male majority in the Senegalese group, and a balance between genders in the other groups (Fig. 9).

With respect to characteristics linked to age, the situation is differentiated: the Ukraine population is mainly within the middle age-groups, between 36 and 55 years,

although those persons older than 56 are not insignificant. This can be explained by the function that these citizens carry out, which primarily pertains to domestic help.

Figure 9: City of Pescara: ten largest communities by country, 2005



Source: Municipality of Pescara Register, 2005

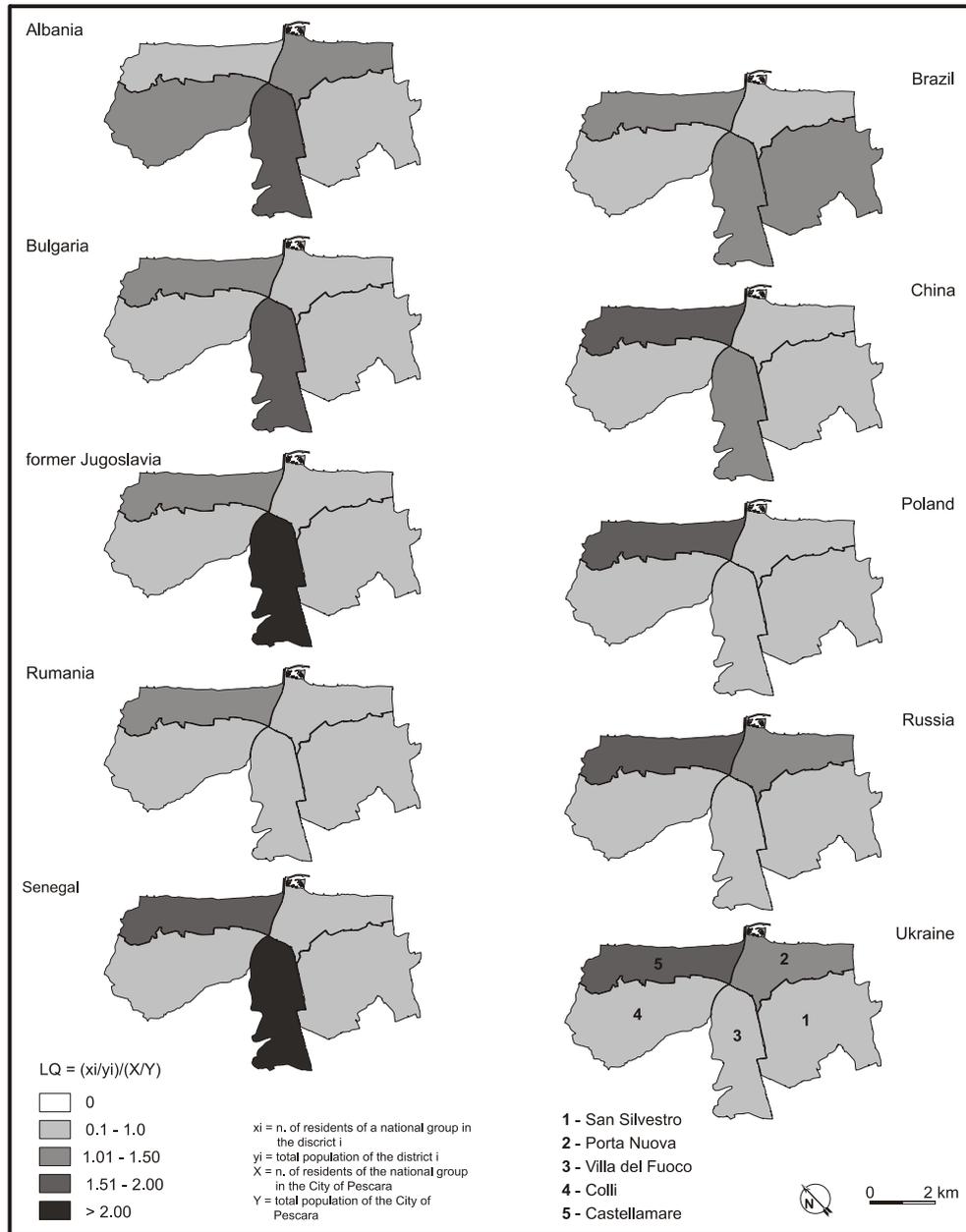
For the Albanian and Slav communities, the majority of the population is in the younger age-groups, between 15 and 35 years, while for the Rumanian and Chinese communities, the greatest concentration is found in the intermediate age-groups, between 26 and 45. The Senegalese population mostly consists of adult males (42.97 percent are aged between 36 and 45) with the lowest percentage of very young persons.

Foreign communities express a locational preference for the 5th district, the only exception being the Albanian community, which is more uniformly distributed over the territory and shows a preference for the 4th district. Fig. 10 shows the location quotients. It shows a concentration in the 5th district of the Ukrainian, Chinese, Rumanian, Polish and Russian communities; a concentration in the 3rd district is, in fact, shown by the other communities.

The segregation indices for the first ten communities are somewhat low (always under 35). The highest indices characterise the Slav and Senegalese communities, while the Polish and Brazilian communities have the lowest.

The combined analysis of location quotients and segregation indexes indicates a balanced spatial distribution of foreigners and does not show signs of segregation. Nevertheless, some trends can be noticed: (i) foreigners have a preference for settling in the central districts of the city, above all along streets close to the train station. These are districts – or, even, simply buildings – that were abandoned by the local middle class and are now inhabited by the poorest Italian groups. Low income foreigners have,

Figure 10: City of Pescara: location quotiens of the ten largest communities by district, 2005



Source: Municipality of Pescara Register, 2005

thus, activated the process of housing substitution, and they have also initiated new commercial and services activities that serve both the local and foreign communities; (ii) they show also a preference for the suburbs – there they can find very cheap flats, often lacking very basic sanitary conditions, where they cohabit with the poorest Italian local groups. Often these are really dormitory districts, characterized by social housing, from which foreigners can easily reach working places located in the city outskirts.

Conclusions

This paper has emphasised interactions that have occurred in the Chieti-Pescara metropolitan area between the components of place and migration, during the most extensive occurrence of human mobility. Foreigners, especially citizens from marginal countries, are attracted to the area's large centres, but are moving into the peripheral municipalities, particularly those in the inner ring, and by so doing are following in the footsteps of the Italian population. The residential choices of foreigners are influenced by job opportunities, but are also affected by the availability (or unavailability) of good public transport. Thus they have less choice than Italians: either because, in some cases, they must cohabit with the families they work for, due to the functions they carry out (which is the case of the Ukrainian, Rumanian and Polish nannies), or because they have less spending capacity to cover housing and transport costs. The residential choices of low-income foreigners, in turn, influence the residential choices of Italians, who tend to avoid, as much as possible, buildings or districts inhabited by foreigners. This has an effect on the real estate market, especially in areas in close proximity to railway stations in the large cities.

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METROPOLITANSKO PODRUČJE CHIETI-PESCARA: MEĐUNARODNE MIGRACIJE, IZBOR STANOVANJA I EKONOMSKA DEKONCENTRACIJA

SAŽETAK

Tema ljudske pokretljivosti – s obzirom na migracijsku komponentu – dobila je specifično značenje tijekom zadnjeg desetljeća, posebice u vezi koncepta mjesta. U članku se tema razmatra u odnosu na stambenu i ekonomsku dekoncentraciju. Specifična referentna točka je metropolitansko područje Chieti-Pescara u središnjem dijelu talijanske jadranske obale. Istraživanje je provedeno putem kvantitativne analize službenih podataka popisa stanovništva i prijavnih ureda. Rezultati naglašavaju veze između kretanja stanovnika i tvrtki, pri čemu se očituje distinktivno ponašanje stranaca. Stranci koji žive na tom području mjesto stanovanja biraju na temelju ekonomskih razloga, prvenstveno vezanih uz troškove stanovanja i prijevoza. Njihove zajednice pokazuju sklonost prema koncentraciji u specifičnim zonama tog područja i specifičnim predjelima gradova kao rezultat osjećaja pripadnosti i solidarnosti. Premda nema očitih znakova segregacije, domaće stanovništvo nastoji izbjegavati druženje sa strancima iz marginalnih zemalja.

KLJUČNE RIJEČI: ljudska pokretljivost, međunarodna migracija, urbana dinamika, stambena dekoncentracija, ekonomska dekoncentracija, odabir lokacija

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L'AGGLOMÉRATION URBAINE DE CHIETI-PESCARA: MIGRATIONS INTERNATIONALES, CHOIX RÉSIDENTIELS ET DÉCONCENTRATION ÉCONOMIQUE

RÉSUMÉ

Le thème de la mobilité humaine – sous la perspective de la composante migratoire – a acquis une importance particulière au cours de la dernière décennie, surtout quant au concept de localité. Le présent article traite ce thème au regard de la déconcentration résidentielle et économique. Il prend pour point de référence spécifique l'agglomération urbaine de Chieti-Pescara, sur la côte adriatique centrale de l'Italie. La recherche menée s'appuie sur une analyse des données officielles du recensement et des bureaux d'enregistrement de la population. Les résultats soulignent les liens qui existent entre les mouvements de la population et ceux des entreprises, et mettent en lumière le comportement distinctif des étrangers. Les étrangers qui vivent dans cette région choisissent leur lieu de résidence en fonction de critères économiques, essentiellement liés aux coûts de l'habitat et des transports. Leurs communautés tendent à se concentrer dans des zones spécifiques de cette région et dans des quartiers spécifiques des localités, tendance motivée par un sentiment d'appartenance et de solidarité. Bien qu'il n'existe pas de signes évidents de ségrégation, la population autochtone s'efforce d'éviter la fréquentation des étrangers originaires de pays marginaux.

MOTS CLÉS : mobilité humaine, migration internationale, dynamique urbaine, déconcentration résidentielle, déconcentration économique, choix de lieux