



Xenofobia, sicurezza, resistenze. L'ordine pubblico in una città 'rossa'. Il caso Pisa

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To cite this article: Marta Niccolai (2015) Xenofobia, sicurezza, resistenze. L'ordine pubblico in una città 'rossa'. Il caso Pisa, *Modern Italy*, 20:3, 326-327, DOI: [10.1080/13532944.2015.1051870](https://doi.org/10.1080/13532944.2015.1051870)

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13532944.2015.1051870>



Published online: 08 Jun 2015.



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termination of Marianne's journal in August 1832, but this volume will be able to keep alive the memory of this extraordinary period of her and her family's life.

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<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13532944.2015.1051867>

Xenofobia, sicurezza, resistenze. L'ordine pubblico in una città 'rossa'. Il caso Pisa, by Tindaro Bellinvia, Milan, Mimesis, 2013, 211 pp., €18.00 (paperback), ISBN 978-88-5751-310-2

This book analyses the security policies introduced to tackle immigration and marginalised people such as the homeless in an urban context, and the role of associations and social groups in supporting or resisting those policies. As a case study, Bellinvia takes the small town of Pisa, a site of the 1968 student protests, and a place with a long-standing tradition of solidarity, cooperation and integration. This tradition, largely the product of a 'red subculture' found in the regions of Emilia Romagna and Tuscany, and well established in Pisa, is changing. The author looks at the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century, focusing on 2008 and 2009 when the newly elected Partito Democratico (PD) mayor, Marco Filippeschi, declared war on street sellers and immigrants in general, actions that have come to define his time in office.

The book is in two parts, and includes a preface, an introduction and an afterword. The preface by Salvatore Palidda discusses the similarities in policy making between the centre right and centre left, which have increased since the 1990s, with both emphasising the need for security measures that protect citizens. Bellinvia's introduction provides the methodology and a summary of the chapters. The first part of the book is a theoretical multidisciplinary framework on urban spaces and attitudes to difference. Chapter 1 uses Bourdieu to illustrate the city as a 'field' where fairly stable and unstable forces interact in an attempt to prevail over one another, with foreigners kept on the margin. The second chapter looks at 'policed cities' as an indispensable aspect of urbanisation, culminating in the more recent 'zero tolerance' towards any form of unusual social behaviour. In Chapter 3, urban space is the ground for conflict between dominant frames excluding immigrants, and alternative movements open to the inclusion of immigrants in the urban environment.

The second part of the book focuses on Pisa. Chapter 4 investigates Pisa through the metaphor of the fox and the porcupine. According to social anthropologist Ulf Hannerz, the fox stands for diversity whereas the porcupine invests only in one direction. Pisa, once able to integrate different cultures as part of its identity and to facilitate inter-communication between them has chosen to be a 'porcupine' town by adopting measures that hide categories such as the homeless, immigrants and the marginalised with the intent of creating a peaceful and safe urban identity attractive to tourists. This is partly also motivated by the desire to curry favour with the Lega Nord, which has been gaining support in the province of Pisa since 2009.

Chapter 5 focuses on political strategies aimed at the Roma people. Pisa led the way in the early part of the decade with housing policies that encouraged the inclusion of the Roma people in the social fabric of Pisa. The European Union also gave the project particular consideration.

With the election of Filippeschi, preference has been given to policies that exclude rather than include the Roma, and extend to employing the military and using violent action during evictions. The process has been aided by negative media coverage, which systematically associates the Roma with safety issues and degradation. The main theme of Chapter 6 is the management of street sellers, mainly Senegalese, as an issue of public security, and the involvement of the police even when there is no criminal issue involved. Street sellers are a controversial topic because they are encouraged by the market for expensive, counterfeit products. Chapter 7 looks at the conflict between uncommunicative security committees and their opposite, social groups that operate for the integration of immigrants in a plural city, with a particular focus on the Progetto Rebeldia, which unites autochthones and immigrants through activities such as sport and cultural events.

Bellinvia's approach makes the book attractive to intercultural experts, those in migration and socio-political studies, and social anthropology. The book succeeds in showing that the erosion of the 'red subculture' is a process riddled with conflicts and controversy. Modernisation in Pisa, which aims to attract private and public investments, inevitably demands guaranteeing safety with norms of 'zero tolerance' towards immigrants, who become the focus for fear and insecurity. Hiding the poor and immigrants means relegating them to tiny communities in the suburbs transformed as 'luoghi dell'eccedente umano', or zones of human excess. Above all, activities like begging, street selling or queuing for food outside Caritas must be avoided. Administrative measures such as the 'antiborsoni' regulation that forbids carrying big bags in the centre of town, or the use of large military forces to evict a Roma camp are at once sensational and provocative. The policies issued by Filippeschi have been heavily criticised by a number of organised student groups, academics and intellectuals, experts in town planning, groups of volunteers and migrant communities, such as Progetto Rebeldia, that answer back, criticising and resisting the administration's choices. What Bellinvia shows is that Pisa has become a 'porcupine' town, but the 'fox' culture typical of the 'red subculture' still exists.

The interesting aspect of this research is finding in this conflict of visions a war of symbols. Bellinvia says that 'safety' is a combination of social discourse and socially constructed meanings. For example, it is unnatural to see a homeless person as a threat to citizens. This happens when poverty comes to be associated with danger. The media, the mayor and politicians construct these sorts of messages. Opposition to this vision will come by using alternative symbols that argue against it.

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<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13532944.2015.1051870>

History, memory, and trans-European identity: unifying divisions, by Aline Sierp, New York and Abingdon, Routledge, 2014, xii + 192 pp., \$140.00 (hardback), ISBN 978-1-138-78693-6

Aline Sierp's comparative study of the development of political memory of the Second World War in Germany and Italy is a welcome addition to the growing literature on the integration of