shrink smart

Governance of Shrinkage
Within a European Context

SEVENTH FRAMEWORK PROGRAMME

Work package 2

Urban shrinkage in Genoa, Italy

Research report

D4 Comparable research report

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1. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In Italy demographic decline has not been a particular feature of urban development if one extends the definition to the movement of population from the municipal centre to the outer urban areas of a larger metropolis.

Italian research has paid attention, especially in the 1970s and 1980s (Sonnino 1980) to demographic decline, but the term which is most often used is not 'shrinkage' but 'depopulation'. The main difference being that depopulation is primarily referred to rural areas rather than to urban centres. In one hundred years of general population censuses conducted between the 1870s and 1971, only 25 out of more than 100 core municipalities of larger administrative regions experienced some kind of shrinkage. Moreover, shrinkage had generally been at a very low rate (less than 0.1% per year) and over a relatively short time. In 13 of these 25 cities, the shrinkage was limited to a few decades in the middle of the 19th and 20th centuries and was a consequence of the massive transatlantic emigration, or caused by some natural disaster.

Until recently, depopulation had never been a continuous phenomenon. After 1971 a decline in population in Italy's core municipalities (metropolitan areas) started to spread to all the larger cities. The main cause of shrinkage was the expansion of suburbs and conglomerated municipalities outside the city administrative limits, which grew and included the population moving away from the city centre. This change was interpreted by Italian urban sociology as a step towards a 'post-modern' metropolitan pattern of settlement, which created larger metropolitan areas (Martinotti 1993).

The shift towards urban sprawl was basically the major, if not the only cause of demographic decline in Italian cities. Nonetheless, all along its history and especially since the 1960s, Italy has been a country characterised by significant internal migration from the South to the North (Pugliese 2006). Clearly, the point is not that Italian internal migrations had no consequences on depopulation of southern society, but that these consequences are not primarily urban. In the South, the urbanization was actually delayed, and southern cities during the 1970s were still increasing their populations from the rural areas, and in many areas birth rates are still positive (albeit rapidly declining). When, during the 1960s, there was massive migration from the less developed to the more industrialized parts of Italy, birth rates in southern cities were positive enough to compensate the population loss, while for many rural areas those years marked the beginning of a definitive decline[1].

It is therefore more interesting to look at historical demographic reproduction patterns and their socio-spatial impact on Italian cities. We will proceed in this way for two reasons.
Firstly, until very recently (compared to the other European countries) Italy was characterized by a variety of local demographic patterns that were determined by

[1] In 2008 the southern part of the country (the Mezzogiorno) accounted for just 35% of the population. Furthermore, the southern Italian population is overestimated since many people work temporarily in the north, but keep their legal residence in the south.

the uneven levels of industrial development, modernization and urbanization on a national scale. What is specially compelling in Genoa as a case study is not so much its profile, as the fact that already twenty years ago it anticipated the urban effect of what was called the second demographic transition (Van de Kaa 1987; Laestaghe 1995) in a Mediterranean and, more particularly in an Italian context. The same trends seen in Genoa in the 1970s are now at work in almost all Italian cities, even if in Genoa these traits overlapped with the typical consequences of de-industrialization in a port city, and a common error was to attribute this demographic decline to economic decline.

The second reason for focussing on historical demographic patterns concerns de-industrialization. Concentrating on historical demographic patterns will offer an opportunity to detach demographic decline from the economic cycle, and to better evaluate the weight of the latter in shrinkage processes. Since ageing and depopulation began to be perceived as a problem in the late 1970s) both by Genoa's municipal government and by the residential population, the conviction arose that a proper transition to a post-industrial form of development would also revitalize these demographic patterns. Tourism and culture-based Regeneration strategy were chosen to drive the urban recovery over the last two decades. Recent years have in fact seen a stabilization of the rate of decline and even a minor counter-trend.

Is it then merely a cycle of decline and rebirth achievable by adopting a successful urban policy strategy? We will try to go deeper into the causes of Genoa's shrinkage and how it interacted with its recent economic history, and also try to describe the social effect of this demographic pattern and its recent developments in order to predict how stable the recent counter-trend growth indicators will prove to be.

2. PATTERNS OF URBAN SHRINKAGE

1.1. Reason and premises

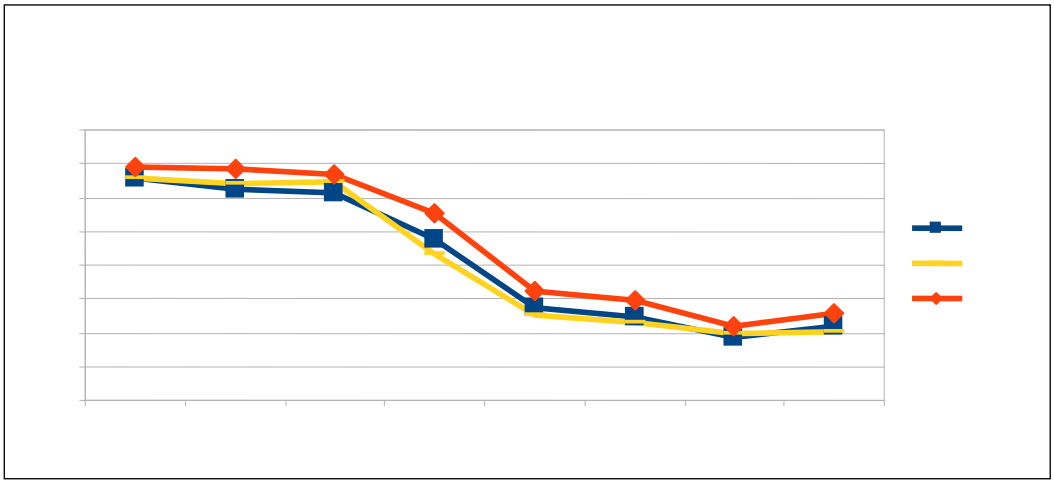
Three factors are usually identified as causes of shrinkage; demographic reasons, external migration connected to economic trends and settlement patterns (people moving outside the administrative border). In Genoa these three factors are present in different combinations at different times.

Demographic

From the point of view of historical demography Genoa has a long history of low fertility. According to many sources fertility[2] was at low level already in the 18th century in the whole territory of the former Republic Genoa; even if the reliability of antique sources can be questioned, we can provisionally accept this hypothesis. It is not easy to quote evidence about pre-modern Genoese low fertility because the first Italian census began in coincidence with the first wave of the city's urban industrialization, which produced a revitalizing effect on Genoa's demography.

Some municipalities around the cities grew at an impressive rate and productive activities of the city (beginning with the port economy) were strongly affected. In the second part of the 19th century Genoa began to be the destination for massive internal urban flows and its fertility rate was positively boosted by the arrival of new working class families. However, the collapse of fertility after the end of the first wave of industrialization marks the first sudden step towards a modernized demographic pattern. Between 1881 and 1911 fertility collapses in all the three industrial cities of the north-west of Italy, but especially in Turin and Genoa (Figure 1).

Figure 1- Fertility rates in Italian cities



Source: Census data calculated by (Livi Bacci 1980)

[2] Here fertility refers to children born in wedlock, since in the 20th century in particular; children born outside marriage represent a marginal proportion of total births. Nevertheless, we will also refer to Genoa's specificity in this aspect.

While in Turin there was to be a more stable demographic recovery in the years after the Second World War, in Genoa fertility was still low in 1951, and the growth of the population in the sixties would be entirely the effect of a positive migration rate. Ageing became the first and more visible effect of this low fertility pattern as the processes of modernization advanced and longer life expectations became common also in Italy. Genoa became, along with Bologna[3] and Trieste, the 'oldest' city in Italy (and one of the oldest in Western Europe), and many concerns were raised about the sustainability of such a demographic pattern.

But why did this pattern prove to be so stable in Genoa? There are various reasons for this and not all concern Genoa as a city. Low fertility is the main demographic character of modern Italian society, and is compensated only by the rapidly growing international in-migrations. Low fertility spread from different points during last century and Liguria (Genoa's region at NUTS 2 level) was one of them. Reasons usually offered by the literature in order to explain this specificity concentrate on its high rate of urbanization. In a sense it is not a question of *urban* shrinkage, but a process of *urban living* which is the cause of the shrinkage in itself.

As we know, both from demography and social history, there is a fertility differential between village and city that derives from the different roles of children in urban and rural families. In a peasant family children can be given a working role very early on, and therefore the flow of resources is not one way. For geographical reasons Liguria has not only always been a very urbanized region, but its provinces are also distinguished by many differences compared with the other Italian rural areas. In 1931, in Liguria, the difference between the fertility in the municipalities over 100,000 inhabitants and the fertility in those beneath that threshold was only of 2.4%. In 1951 the same difference rose slightly to 9.4%. Similar figures for the other northern western regions were about 20% in 1931 and around 40% in 1951.

Genoa, like the other cities in Liguria, developed on a thin strip of land between the sea and a range of mountains unfit to extensive farming. Its productive activities were all directed to the sea and it grew as a financial and commercial centre in an extremely densely built-up area. Genoa's ruling classes used to spent long periods of the year in large rural *villas* located outside the city. This custom created a kind of urbanization within the rural areas, since the household economy of the *villas* needed to produce enough to feed the aristocratic families residing there and their servants for several months, without, therefore, selling the food commodities they produced on the urban market[4]. The main consequence was that Genoa's territory was not very rural compared to other Italian regions. If we look at the proportion of unmarried women aged 50 years or over (hence most probably without children) in larger Italian cities, the Province of Genoa is definitively above average, while the data referred only to the city is only just over the average.

[3] Which is a partial exception compared to the other two cities because is embedded in a younger metropolitan area

[4] Genoa is also taken as example by Weber in Die Stadt for this kind of rural/urban relationship.

Table 1 Share of unmarried women 50-54 aged

	municipalities			
Census Years	**1871**	**1911**	**1931**	**1951**
Turin	18,4	19,7	20,2	17,6
Milan	21,2	13,7	14,9	16,7
Genoa	23	20,6	17,5	19,1
Bologna	17,7	18,2	17,3	17,6
Rome	22,3	24,7	15,2	18,3
	metropolitan areas			
Census Years	**1871**	**1911**	**1931**	**1951**
Turin	17,1	17,9	17,2	18,8
Milan	9,2	10,2	10,3	13,1
Genoa	14,2	13,5	19,6	20,1
Bologna	6,4	6,2	7,7	10,4
Rome	8,9	6	7,5	7,6

Source: calculated by Livi Bacci on census data in (Livi Bacci 1980)

This data permits us to introduce another specific point related to Genoa's historical demographic pattern, which is that of gender and family relations. For reasons that are difficult to identify Genoa showed a greater family instability and a different degree of freedom for women. Since the 19th century[5] Genoese women arrived later at marriage and a higher proportion of them remained unmarried. This female biographical cycle has obvious implications on reproductive performance. The point is that greater autonomy for women was not necessarily assisted by a greater presence in the labour market, even if it is quite difficult to obtain reliable historical data on this. Labour forces surveys from the 1980s were collected only at a NUTS2 level and document that the female employment rate was indeed lower.

What is certain is that the number of women with a higher school diploma was above the Italian average. A higher level of modernization, in some way connected with a solid urban environment, may have been a basic factor for Genoese women's condition. Other cultural influences could be also be attributed to the proximity of enlightened metropolitan France (one of the first countries to distribute efficient methods of contraception to the population), or to the historical role of a port city enjoying the presence of visitors from different continents. In any case the low employment rate is not at odds with the given framework. Women with a marked sense of autonomy, but with little chance of employment on the labour market are more likely to delay their first child, rather than abandon hope.

Except for a few years of baby boom, the demographic growth of the 1950s was due to a positive migration rate. This positive migration rate depended on flows coming both from the South and from rural areas of the other northern western regions,

[5] Most popular 19th century realist novels were set in Genoa, such as "Wolf's Mouth" by Remigio Zena that tells of on a single mother with three daughters looking for another husband.

during the period of the massive migrations from the South to the so-called industrial triangle, of which Genoa was a part. If a port economy and commercial and financial activities had been the economic sectors characterizing the Genoese urban economy since medieval ages, these new migrants, like those in other parts of northern Italy, were seeking employment in industrial factories.

Economic development

The peculiarity is that Genoa's factories have always been part of, or have worked for a major Italian State corporation, Ansaldo.[6] The industrial infrastructure outside this main corporation was limited to the sectors of raw materials and food processing (such as oil and sugar refineries). This industry was obviously connected to the importance of the port where oil and sugarcane arrived from abroad, but was also the first to disappear when in the 1950s the food market changed and the Italian government tried to attract industry to the southern parts of Italy by special fiscal incentives. Genoa's manufacturing sector was in the end fragmented into various sub-sectors of the metallurgical industry (mainly dockyards and electro-mechanical) owned by the same corporation, but dependent on State intervention and subjected to highly unstable economic cycles. In 1966 Ansaldo closed its shipbuilding plant, which was moved from Genoa to Trieste[7].

From the mid sixties on Ansaldo concentrated on the construction of engines for nuclear power plants, which was significantly less labour intensive than shipbuilding. Furthermore, even in this sector State demand was highly cyclical, and in the 1980s Italy voted in a national referendum to abandon nuclear energy, thus causing the final suppression of the dedicated Ansaldo branch. These brief details are mentioned to illustrate how the industrial labour demand reached its peak well before the late 1970s as in other northern cities, and caused a sudden interruption of the migratory flows from southern Italy, which while they did not account for the majority of the in-migration flows, were the ones that had made the migration rate so positive.

6 This corporation was founded by two entrepreneurs (Mr. Taylor and Mr. Prandi) and was financed, before the creation of an Italian state by the future Italian monarchy. Northern Italy did not have of an industry able to supply materials and machines to build a railway's network. The factories were located in Genoa but the long long-term mission of the entrepreneurs was to invest in the shipbuilding industry. After a few years the factories were expropriated by the government and sold to a group of Genoese entrepreneurs, who pursued the same industrial aim. After the northern railway network was completed the railway materials industry was substituted by another State -dependent sector then in demand: the production of motors for the electric industry.

7 Docks still exist in Genoa-Sestri, even if the changing competition on the world market has forced the new public owner to outsource many lines of production, where mainly immigrant labor is employed at a lower salary and inferior contractual conditions

Settlement system

From many points of view Genoa does not represent a typical case in the Italian context of urban development, since central cities normally diminish in importance in favour of metropolitan areas. In Genoa, on the contrary, the core Municipalities still represent almost three quarters of the population, but it has not always been this way. The first major industrial investments were made by foreign (British and German) investors who substituted familiar craft industries (mainly in the textile and paper sectors) and located them in small centres not far away from the city The city thus found its metropolitan area within itself, and this might have been an opportunity (never taken seriously[8]) to create a large logistical area running from the centre to the western part of the city, and to move most of the residential functions onto the hillside, as drawn up in the Urban Plan of 1920. But there was one main factor which rendered permanent one of Genoa's historical characteristics, as mentioned above: the lack of a lively metropolitan area, developing with its own productive structure outside the city.

In the last century, before the first wave of industrialization, the municipality of Genoa had developed the contradiction between a medieval centre (where back-port activities also took place), and an economic centre containing only a very limited share of the urban population (compared to the other large Italian cities) living in a very densely built up area (Table 2). This was a large territory *inside* municipal boundaries but lacking significant productive activities, as described above. The creation of a larger conurbation reversed the situation that had existed until that time, also from a demographic point of view. Since the 1930s Genoa had become a large city extending for about 30 kilometres.

Inside its urban territory were present the entire range of functions, from manufacturing to advanced services and residence. Generally, and in a broad sense, there was a division between the industrial working-class west and the residential middle class east of the city, but at a finer level a certain co-presence was preserved (Cavalli 1965; Palumbo 1985). Those going to live in the province are mostly retired people with an average income, looking for a quiet place far away from pollution in which to spend their retirement. It is not by chance then that movement has remained quite flat over the years, whereas in other cities the main motive driving new families outside the city centre has been the cost of living (especially housing), and thus the movements of suburbanization reached their peak during the years of the real estate bubble.

[8] Before the conurbation was decided in 1920 by the last socialist administration before the fascist regime, several interventions were proposed whose spirit would only be realized many years later (for example moving the centre of port activities to Voltri , to the far west of the city)

Table 2– Proportion of population inner centres of Italian cities in 1900

	inhabitants (thousands)	inhabitants of city centre	% of total population
Turin	336	283	84,2
Milan	491	464	94,5
Genoa	235	159	67,7
Venice	152	143	94,1
Bologna	152	145	95,4
Rome	463	425	91,8
Naples	564	493	87,4

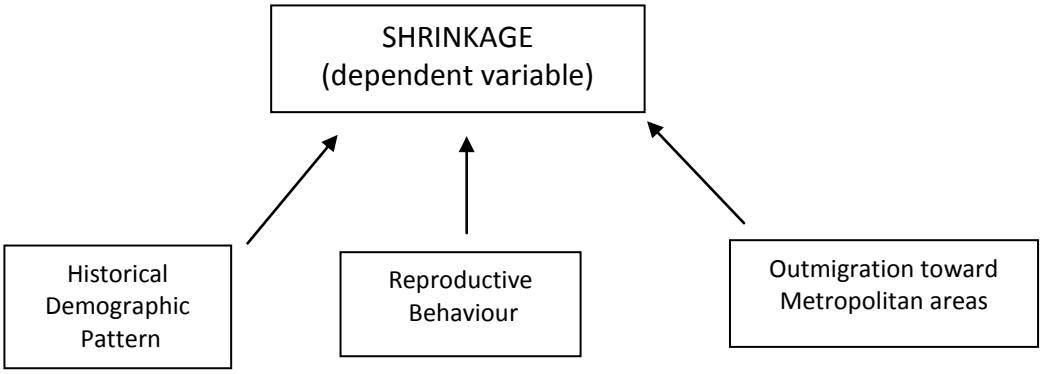
Source: Calculated on Municipal registers by the author in (Mortara 1908)

This lack of a strong metropolitan area became a problem not only for the municipalities outside Genoa, which had always been relegated to a residential role for old and retired middle class people, but also for the core activity of the city. In Northern Italy many former industrial centres transformed themselves into advanced services centres for their regions (this was especially the case in Milan). When State industry was downsized within the city as a result of cuts in public intervention on the economy, Genoa became a tertiary based urban economy, but its productive services did not have any serious chance of developing beyond the demands of the port economy.

2.2. Trajectories of urban shrinkage

Spatial temporal patterns

Figure 2– Shrinkage: a dependent variable



Transitions of development (pre-industrial, industrial, post industrial, etc.)

From the 19th to first half of the 20th century Genoa began to be characterized as a model of extensive industrial development, which also hampered housing density (Tables 3-4 and Figure 3). Taking into consideration the census data (from 1861 to 2001), it is clear how the number of inhabitants, initially low (241,158), increased progressively throughout the decades reaching 816,872 units in 1971. This year is a turning point in the socio-demographic and economic history of the city.

The increase registered in the decade 1961-1971 is to be explained in relation to two main elements; firstly, in 1959 law n.1092/1939, known as the "bill on urbanization" was suspended. This old Fascist legislation did not allow a change of residence to people without a regular work contract. The new procedure now allowed many migrant citizens living in Genoa, who had probably been there for a number of years, to get the residence permit and so be included in the municipal Register. The second explanation is linked to a positive migratory balance (Figure 5). The demand for labour by the large Genoese industrial firms attracted a large workforce, especially from the nearby northern regions, as can be deduced from the percentage in Figure 5, but also from Southern Italy.

It is worth analyzing the migratory movements of the decade 1955-1965 because it is the only decade characterized by a positive balance, which rose to +19,169 from 16,434 in 1963. In the following years the value became negative again and would remain so in the following decades, too (Figure 4), with the exception of the early years after 2000, when the migratory influx reached very high levels, resulting in a positive balance. In 2004 the number was +5,882 (mainly because of the international component of migration that accounted for 8,010 newcomers). In 2008, the migratory balance was still positive (+3,828) and here, too, the non-Italian component was important (6,475 new arrivals) (Figure 6). On the other hand, after 1971, the population was on the decrease, slowly at first, and later with more marked increase. According the census data for 2001 there was a decrease of -10% compared to 1991 (Census year), and of 3.63% compared to 2000 (Municipal Register). This contraction halts in 2005, when the number of inhabitant again starts to rise (620,316) (Table 4). However, this halt is not a sign of recovery, but rather a normalization of the presence of non-Italian citizens (through the Bossi-Fini Bill on the regularization of residence permits), as is demonstrated by the decrease occurring in the following years. Although this decrease is quite mild (from 0.75 of 2006 to 0.05 of 2008), up to the present it has not possible to detect a demographic counter-tendency (Figure 3).

Table 3 – Population Genoa from 1861 to 2001

Number of inhabitants	*Historical city*	*City after 1874*	*City after 1926*	*Actual borders*	***DECREASE RATE***
1861	127.986	24.111	89.061	*241.158*	*...*
1871	130.836	31.4	98.747	*260.983*	*8,2*
1881	135.862	40.723	112.198	*288.783*	*10,7*
1901	155.939	63.568	158.103	*377.61*	*30,8*
1911	166.556	158.977	139.963	*465.496*	*23,3*
1921	179.685	124.426	237.451	*541.562*	*16,3*
1931	178.654	151.684	260.398	*590.736*	*9,1*
1936	185.659	170.298	278.689	*634.646*	*7,4*
1951	178.804	203.117	306.526	*688.447*	*8,5*
1961	174.456	248.348	361.39	*784.194*	*13,9*
1971	166.624	267.921	382.327	*816.872*	*4,2*
1981	144.8	248.584	369.511	*762.895*	*-6,6*
1991	123.44	213.281	342.05	*678.771*	*-11,0*
2001	110.361	190.732	309.214	*610.307*	*-10,1*

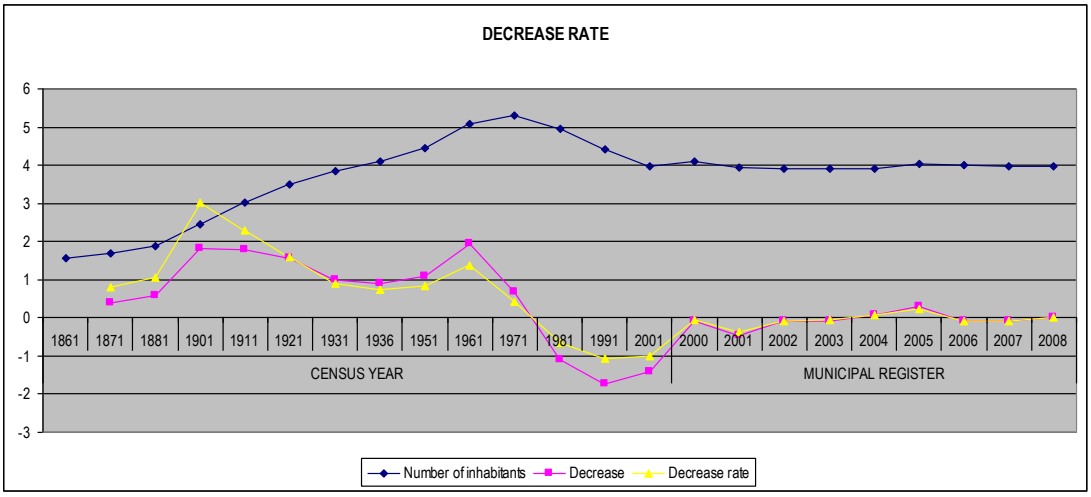
Source: Istat, Census years

Table 4 – *Population Genoa from 2001 to 2008*

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Number of inhabitants	*632.366*	*609.399*	*604.732*	*601.338*	*605.084*	*620.316*	*615.686*	*610.887*	*611.204*
DECREASE RATE		*-3,63*	*-0,77*	*-0,56*	*0,62*	*2,52*	*-0,75*	*-0,78*	*0,05*

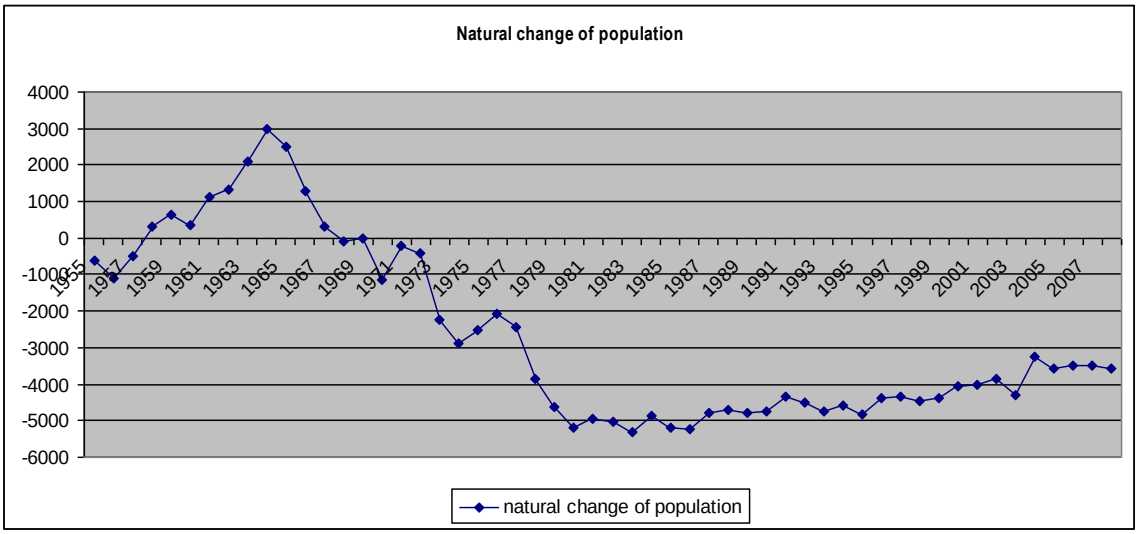
Source: Municipal Register

Figure 3 – *Number of inhabitants and decrease rate in Genoa from 1861 to 2008*



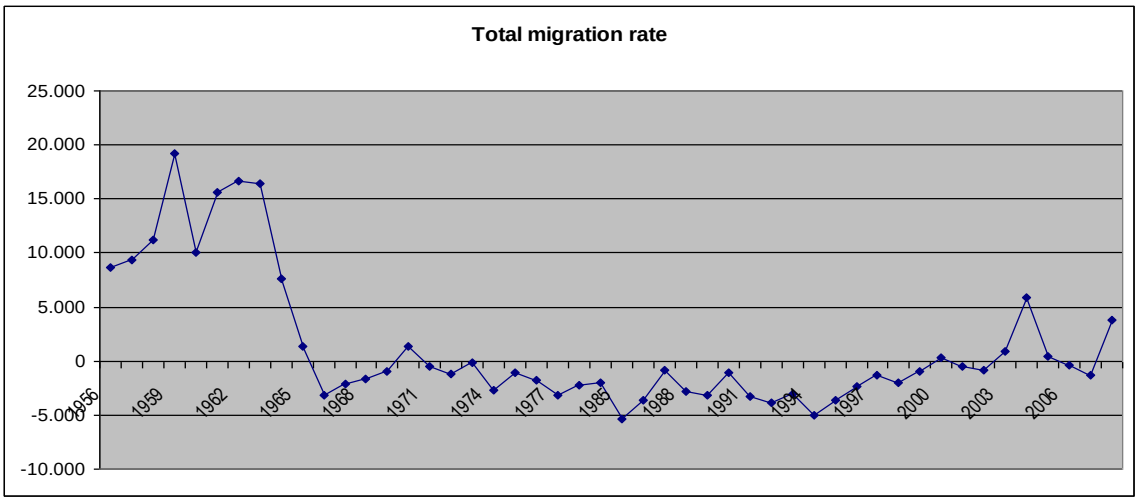
Source: Istat, Census Years (1861-2001); Municipal Register (2000-2008). Z score variable.

Figure 4– *Natural change population (1955-2008)*



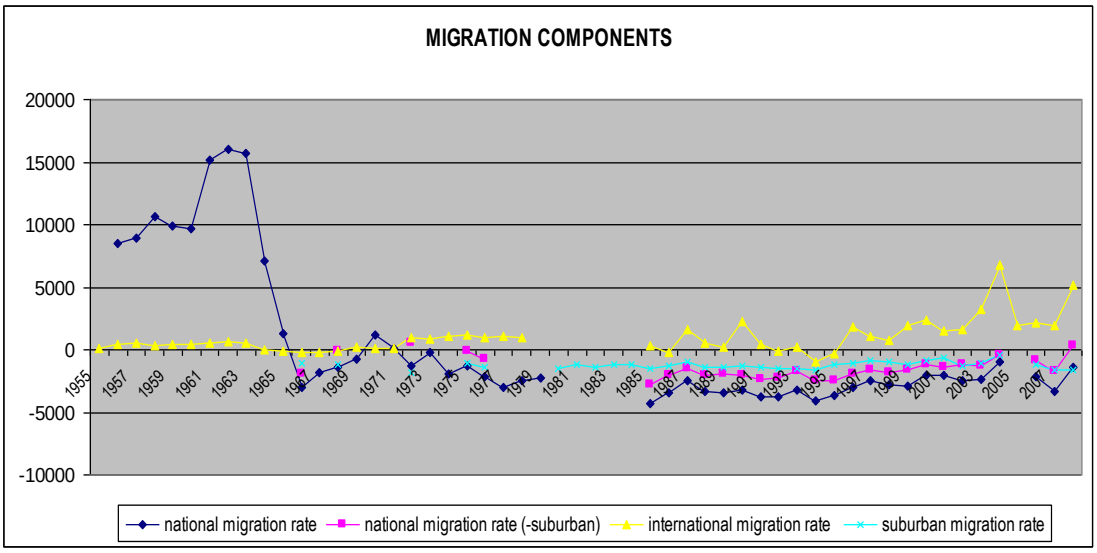
Source: Municipal Register

Figure 5– *Migration rate from 1956 to 2008*



Source: Municipal Register
Note: Except years from 1980 to 1984

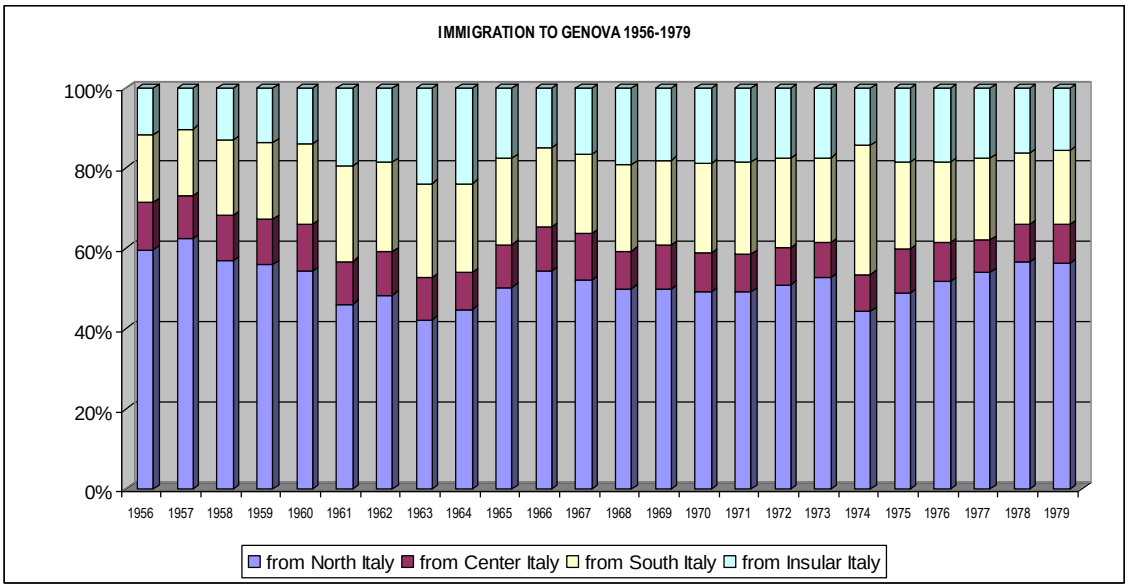
Figure 6 – *Weight of migration components in Genoa*



Source: Municipal Register

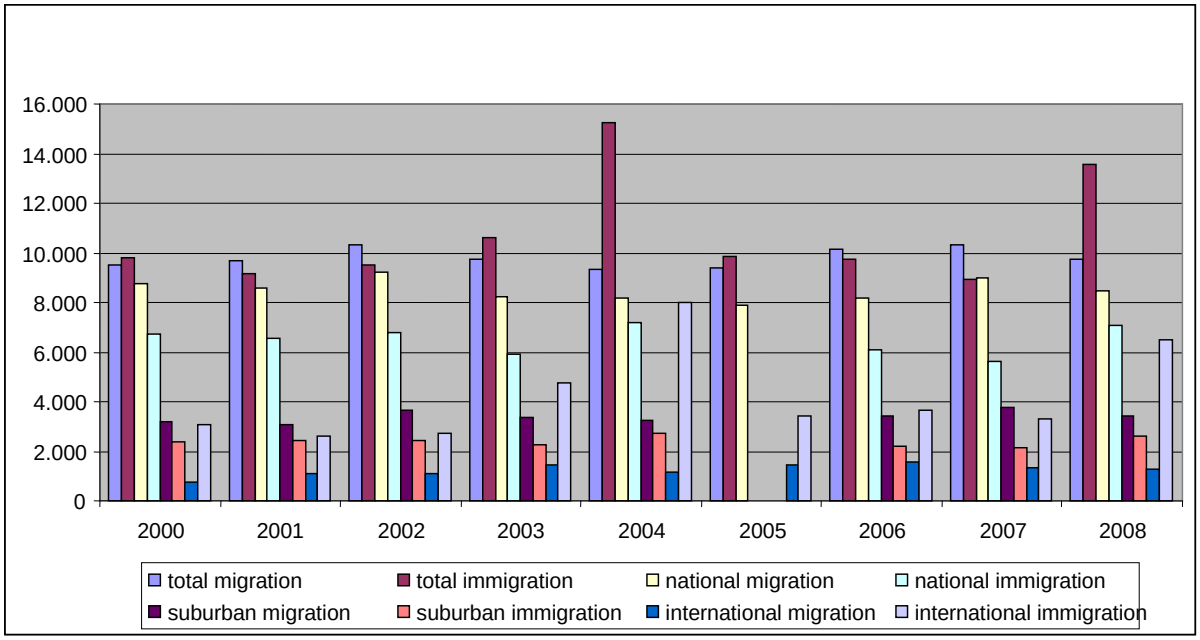
Note:
National Migration Rate: complete from 1985 to 2008
National Migration Rate (-suburban): available for many years between 1960s and 1970s; available for all years since 1985
International Migration Rate: except from 1979 to 1985
Suburban Migration Rate: available for many years between 1960s and 1970s; available for all years since 1981 (except 2005)

Figure 7 – *Proportion of migrants by areas geographic of residence*



Source: Municipal Register

Figure 8 – *Migration Components 2000-2006*



Source: Municipal Register

A socio-demographic analysis per decade points to some features that suggest significant middle term trends.

In the **1950s** Genoa had a negative natural balance with a maximum fall of -1,104 in 1955. The percentage of births over deaths started to go up again significantly only after 1961 (+ 1,123) when, in line with the national tendency, the effect of the so called baby boom started to become apparent. The baby boom brought a substantial increase in births (2.3 children per woman) and in the **1960s** it also brought the natural population back to a positive balance. The positive migratory numerical outcome mentioned above (Figure 5) is a concomitant factor, together with that of the reunification of immigrants' families with the family head who had moved to Genoa to work. Yet, even this case, it marks only a brief increase. After a very positive outcome (+3,002) in 1964, the relation between births and deaths progressively decreased in a substantial negative course running right up to recent years, and characterized by only a slight improvement (from -4,033 in 2001 to -3,578 in 2008).

The demographic contraction of the **1970s** was worsened not only by a relapse to the natural balance (from 216 of 1971 to -4,613 of 1979 see Figure 3), but also by a negative migratory balance (from -462 of 1971 to -3,149 of 1977) produced by the progressive movements of residents away from the core city towards the nearby towns and hamlets, selected as a destination for their better living conditions[9] (Figure 6)

This "urban depopulation" continued in the **1980s** when concomitant phenomena contributed to driving the inhabitants of Genoa towards the province.[10] The progressively ageing population preferred to leave the centre of the city, in which migrants, especially from North Africa, had started to settle; the employment levels had started to decrease, anticipating the crisis brought about by the de-industrialization in the 1980s, and families started to "shrink". Thus, the 1980s can offer a photograph of the Genoese socio-demographic situation, which anticipated many national features and the trends that were to characterize Genoa in the subsequent years.

In 1985 the data on the resident population (735,071) per age group contains a higher percentage of people over 65 (18%) than the other groups (Figure 7). The average age is 41.2 (against an average Italian age of 36 years in the 1981 Census) and it goes up to 43.4 in 1989 (while the Italian average age was 39.2 for the 1991 Census). Still comparing this data with the national average age as calculated by means of the Census, it is worth noting that the index of ageing in Genoa in 1985 is 142%, and thus much higher than the national value of 61% for 1981, and is 96% for 1991. For the same year, the youth index in Genoa counted 70 young people per 100,000 inhabitants while in 1990 this number fell to 50. In both cases the index was declining but the percentages were not a cause for concern (162% and 103%). The economic and employment crisis of the 1980s produced serious consequences for the social and economic life of the city.

In the **1990s** there was a mild recovery of port activities, although from a

[9] The main destinations are small municipalities as Renzano, which since the 1960s have had a significant urban settlement.

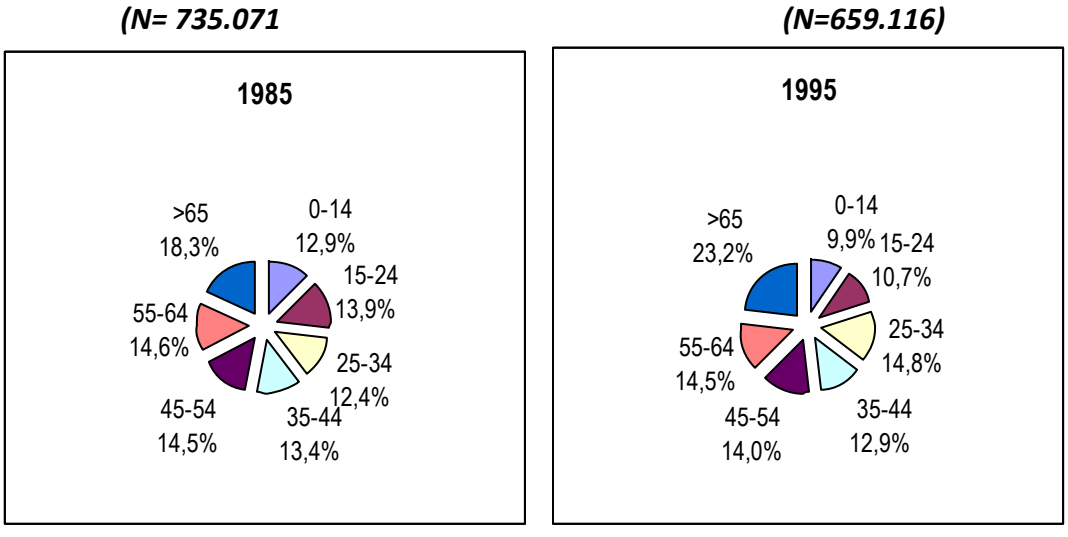
[10] The eastern coast of Levante (Recco and Camogli) become an exclusive residential area for the wealthy.

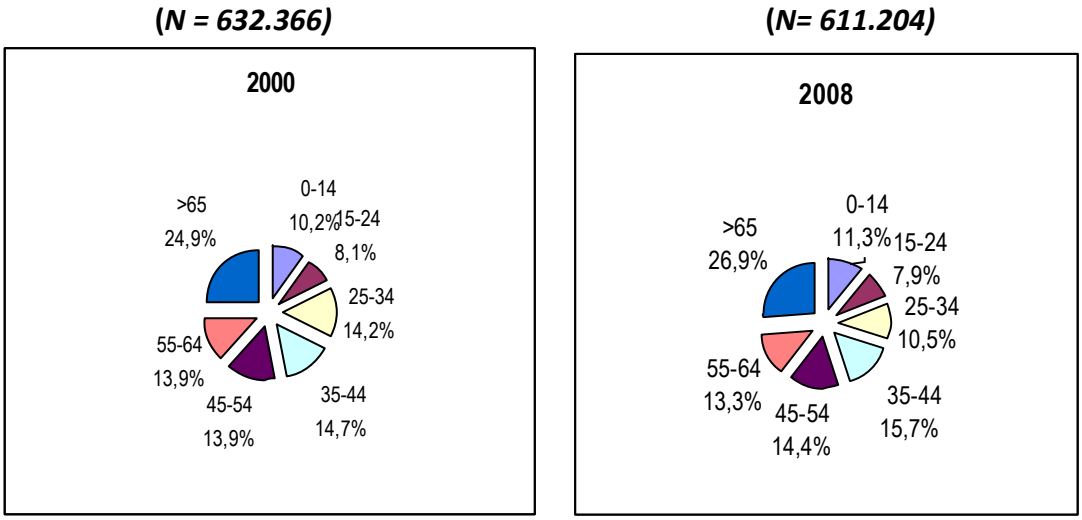
demographic point of view, apart from a slight increase in the population in 1994 (from 659,754 to 661,857, i.e. + 0.32), the pace of the drop remained constant and the natural balance produced a very negative result (Figure 4), as had occurred in the previous decade when in 1995 it had dropped to -4,844. The demographic index of this last decade is highly revealing; in the year 2000 the average age goes up to 46,2 while in 2008 it rises to 47,1. On the other hand, the ageing index remains constant and in line with that of the decade of the 90s (244%), making a slight improvement in the year 2007-2008 by going from 242% to 239%.

The ratio of the young against the elderly population has stayed constant over the last two decades, moving from 41% to 42%. As illustrated also in Figure 9, through the decade 1985-95, the elderly population continued to increase (+4.9) while the age group 0-14 continued to get decrease (-3.0%).

As anticipated in the description for the previous decades, the demographic trends of the **2000s** share some elements with the previous years, but at the same time present signals of recovery, due especially to the improvement of the natural balance. While this is still negative, the negative values are getting smaller thanks to a higher number of births (Figure 4), and to the migratory influx (Figure 5). Although the move from the city centre to the residential areas, and the return home of the southern emigrants of the 1950s and 1960s continue to increase (Figure 6), the negative effects of this is balanced by the substantial arrivals of non-Italians (Figure 8), especially female migrants. The two figures show different types of migration. From 1950s to the end of 1970s most migrants came from northern Italy and from the South to work in Genoese industries (Figure 7). In the 1980s and 1990s the national migration continued, but it was smaller than international migration. This trend is clear in the first half of 1990s and in the beginning 2000s, when Genoa became the destination for foreigners coming from Africa initially, and after from South America (Figure 8 and Figures 18-19-20-21).

Figure 9 – *Inhabitants by age*





Source: Municipal Register

In relation to **reproductive behaviour**, existing studies illustrate a peculiarity of Genoese women who, while they outnumber the men (Table 5), have always been little inclined towards maternity (Bini &Palumbo 1990). However, these Genoese women have anticipated a trend that has now become national, that of having children later in life. In Italy the average age of mothers when they have their first child has increased from 24.4 years in 1975/1976, to 28.7 years of 2001, while the national fecundity rate was 1.19 child per mother[11].

In Genoa, the average marrying age of the husband was already 30.5 in 1975, and that of the wife was 37.4 (Table 4). In the last five years, the average has risen to 37.9 for men and 34.5 for women. In 2001 the average age of the Italian bridegroom was 31.3 years and that of the bride 28.5 (Istat 2001). The two features of Genoese life that could be taken into account to explain the higher shrink rate are the decrease in the size of families and the instability of marriages in Genoa. Genoese couples getting married at an age between 34 and 37 years (Table 6) are more likely to separate than Italian couples generally (Figure 10), and they have fewer children (Table 7). If in 1951 the average family in Genoa was made up of 3.1 components, in the 1960s it became progressively smaller. In 1961 it was made up of 2.9 components; in 1971 of 2.7; in 1981 and 1991 of 2.4; and by the 2001Census it had fallen to 2.2 components (Figure 11). The data of the Register's Office shows a further reduction in the last three years, indicating the components of the Genoese families as two, on average (Figure 11). This number started to rise in the 1970s, from the two person families at 27.5% (1971), to 2001 when they had become 32.6 %.

[11] Istat, Avere un figlio in Italia, 2002

Table 5 – *Population in Genoa by sex*

YEAR	MALE	FEMALE	Total
1975	381.557	422.647	804.204
1985	346.823	388.777	735.600
1995	310.385	348.731	659.116
2000	*297.539*	*334.827*	*632.366*
2006	*289.287*	*326.399*	*615.686*
2007	*287.030*	*323.857*	*610.887*
2008	*287.097*	*324.107*	*611.204*

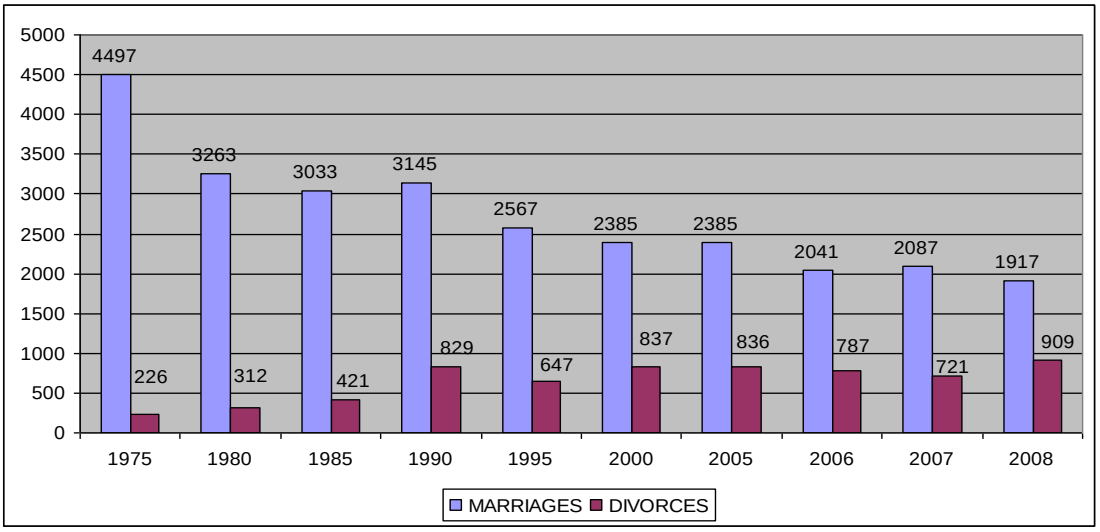
Source: Municipal Register

Table 6 - *Mean Age Married in Genoa*

YEAR	MALE	FEMALE
1975	30,54	27,14
1980	30,16	26,82
1985	30,29	27,09
1995	32,74	29,70
2000	*34,38*	*31,31*
2006	*37,10*	*33,76*
2007	*37,19*	*33,90*
2008	*37,90*	*34,52*

Source: Municipal Register

Figure 10 – *Proportion Marriage and Divorces*



Source: Municipal Register

Table 7- *Fertility Rate in Genoa*

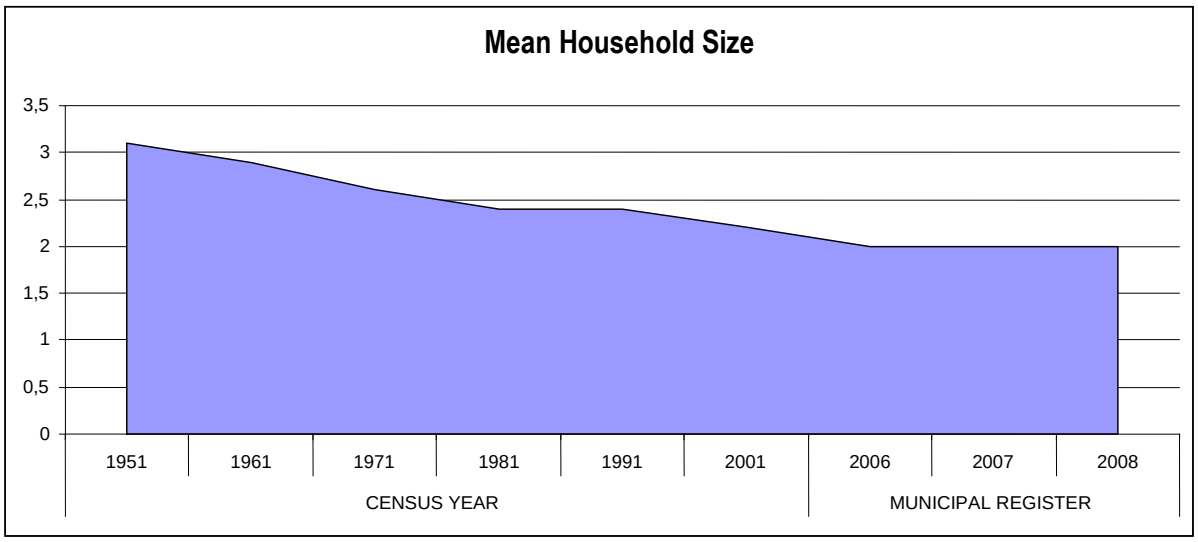
YEAR	TFT
1985	26,42
1990	27,03
1995	28,47
2000	32,06
2006	*35,99*
2007	*36,00*
2008	*37,33*

Source: Municipal Register

Note: calculated on number of children born in one year over the number of women 15-49 aged

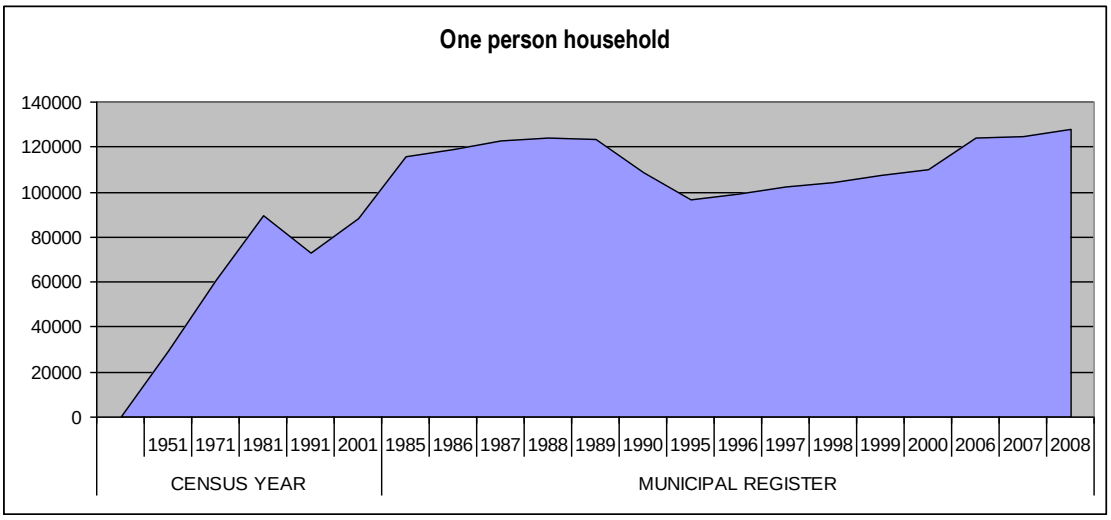
In studying the phenomenon of the demographic decline, it is crucial to interpret the rise of the families made up of just one person (Figure 12). In the 1951 Census these family units were just 12% of the total families. In the 1981 Census they increased to 22% (+10%), with a continued decline in the year 2000 that reached 24% by 2001. In 2008 30% of the family units were of one person only. Nevertheless, the phenomena illustrated above, and the diminution of family size over the last 40 years is in actual fact the other aspect of the progressive ageing of the population, which is the real and persistent feature of the Genoese case. If we look at the age of the one person families since 1985, the over 75 group has represented between 26% and 28% of these families (Figure 13).

Figure 11- *Mean Household Size*



Source: Istat, Census Years and Municipal Register (last years)

Figure 12- *One person household*



Source: Istat, Census Years (except 1961) and Municipal Register

Figure 13 – *Proportion One person Household*

Source: Istat, Census Years and Municipal Register (last years)

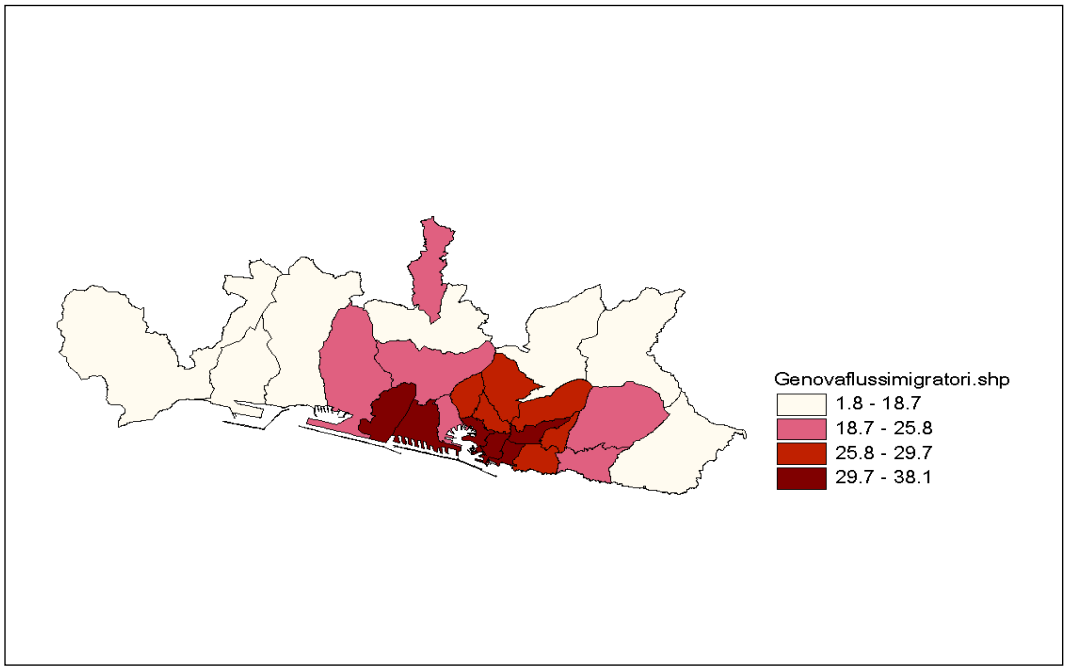
Another critical pattern in the socio-demographic history of the city is the fragility of the Genoese family. The worrying data is not only the low number of marriages (coexisting with an increase in the number of co-habitations, especially among young couples), but also the high percentage of separations and divorces out of the total number of marriages. If we look at Figure 12, it is apparent that the interrelation between the two events has increased year by year. When marriages go up, divorce also increases. In 1975, 226 couples (7.6%) separated out of 4.497 marriages. Twenty years later the number of marriages decreased (-1,930) and in proportion the divorces increased (647 out of 2567, that is 25%). After 2,000, with the exception of 2007, which registered an increase in the number of marriages and a decrease in divorces compared to the previous year, separation involved 50% of the couples (in 2008 the separations were 909 out of 1,917). If we look at the national data, the Italian average in 2001 was that out of 264.026 marriages celebrated in Italy, 28% ended with a separation and 15% with divorce.

How was the impact of shrinkage distributed spatially in the city? Did it affect certain areas or was it evenly distributed? We will begin by considering shrinkage between the 1971 census and 2001. If we consider the absolute loss, the picture drawn is of a map randomly marking all the larger neighbourhoods around the historical city centre; but the "shrinkage map" normalized for the starting population is different. The larger relative loss of population regards two groups of areas. The historical inner-city centre with the historical residential neighbourhoods built in the 19th century in its east, and the two industrial neighbourhoods of Cornigliano and S.Pierdarena (two municipalities annexed in 1926), which were once considered the centre of Industrial Genoa (figure 15).

Dynamics

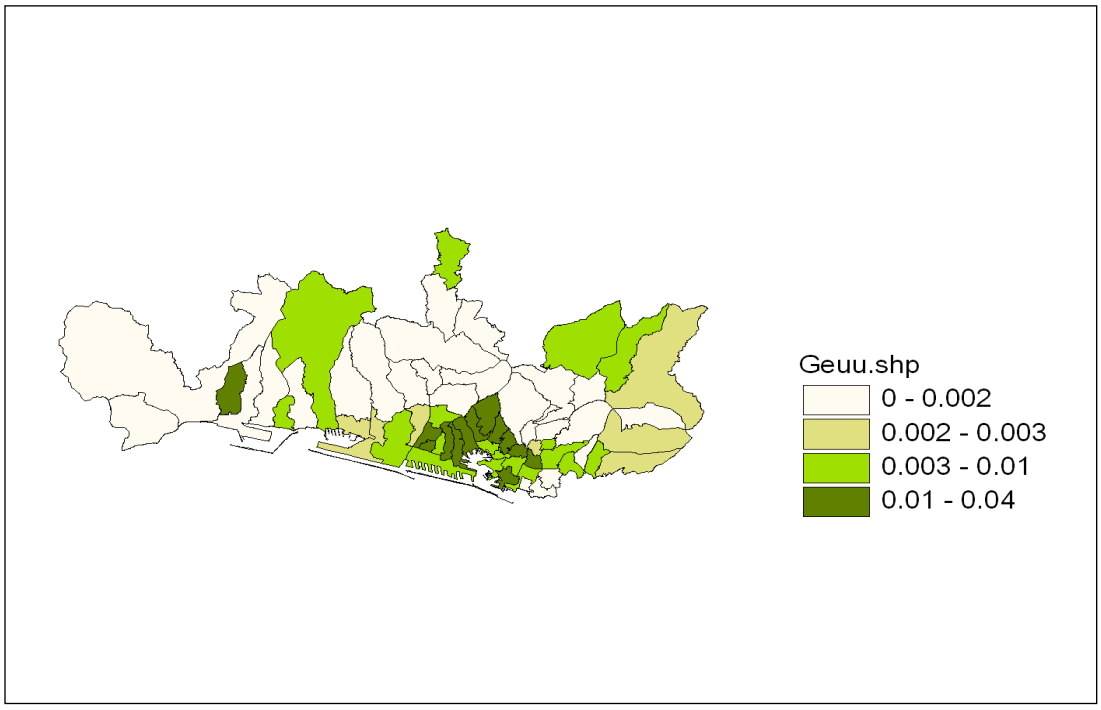
Why, if we consider such a long period covering more or less all the years of demographic decline in Genoa these neighbours are these ones relatively more affected? These neighbourhoods were basically the most densely populated (figure 14). Shrinkage in some sense overlapped in Genoa with de-densification. This is an important aspect since Genoa always had a complex relationship with space, especially in its city centre. The centre had been, since the pre-modern age, been an overcrowded area where productive activities and residence were so close that they resulted in very poor hygienic conditions. The attempt to create a larger conurbation was partly motivated by the idea that enlarged city borders would have contributed to disperse the popular masses living in the city centre. To the present day these attempts have been quite ineffective. This does not mean we can identify shrinkage with de-densification, since if it is true that all the areas that have shrunk are among the most densely inhabited, not all the most densely populated neighbourhoods shrink at the same time or at the same rate. A clear example, among the ex-industrial neighbours, is Sestri, while (still in the western industrial part of the city) the opposite case is represented by Cornigliano.

Figure 14 – Density map at 2001 Census



Source: Map drawn on Municipal Register data

Figure 15 – Shrinkage map loss in % 1971-2001



Source: Census 2001 (density calculated as resident per square meter)

Shrinkage crossed zones that were very socially differentiated; Cornigliano, which was still a working class area, was affected just as much as the residential eastern part and the historical city centre (a rapidly gentrifying zone). This could even suggest that since Genoa's shrinkage has been the fruit of ageing and a negative birth rate, it spread across the city without any significant social impact. But this is only a part of the reality because shrinkage was not socially insensitive. If we look at the map of ageing we find that ageing is much more widespread as process than shrinkage is, and what is more, historical central zones hardly hit by shrinkage are not elderly at all, if we go on the urban average. To simplify we can consider shrinkage as the outcome of three distinct processes.

First there is a movement to the suburbs outside the city involving the areas on the hills to the north and extreme east in particular. But if we accept the process of suburbanization in the eastern upper middle class neighbourhoods in the 1980s, this dimension was not decisive at all.

The second process shaping shrinkage is the progressive death of elderly people living in their owned flats, which leaves the remaining partner alone. This is a process that is present in almost every part of the city as a result of its high mortality rate, but the share of owner-occupied housing is particularly high in the middle class historical areas outside the city centre, which are among the areas most hit by shrinkage. It is important to underline that neighbourhoods like San Pierdarena, (the epicentre of 19th century industrialization) where there was a high rate of residential substitution cannot be included among areas hit by this kind of process, which serves to introduce the third point.

In Genoa some areas have always served as the entrance path to initial settlement for newly arrived migrants. If we look at the map of the inflows during the sixties, when migrants were arriving from southern Italy and rural areas of north-western regions, and the inflows during the nineties, when migrants arrived mostly from foreign countries, we realize that the small medieval and densely built up area in front of the old port has always functioned as the settlement area for newly arrived migrants in Genoa. In the 1980s and in the early 1990s outmigration started from the centre that was determined mainly by the infrastructural conditions of the housing available (dilapidated accommodation, the availability of services etc.). Last batch of municipal social housing was built in the northern periphery and many families moved there, also because a great number of evictions were carried out by the authorities on the grounds of the new availability of social housing. Vacant housing was occupied by the first wave of international migrations arriving in Genoa. Since the middle of the nineties, a gentrification of historical “sestrieri”[12] and a substitution of the resident population of the older housing were consequent to the beginning of a renovation strategy which will radically change the waterfront around the old port.

The whole process has also involved issues of ethnic relations because the of the

[12] Ancient name in Genoa’s language for neighbourhoods.

historical city centre were no longer entirely Italians, but in a few years between the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the nineties African migrants had created a sort of ethnic enclave on small scale in certain areas of the inner city.

Urban riots, between migrants and residents took place in the summer of 1993 for reasons which are still not completely clear. Since then renovation of the properties has continued at a faster pace but a second wave of international migration has spread around the periphery of the city. Renovated housing was sold or rented at speculative prices to young middle class professionals, who constituted single person families and were not looking for large flats. Many flats have changed from residential use to offices (professional services), or tourist accommodation (B&B).

These combined processes brought about the largest collapse of resident population the centre has ever seen and it is rapidly taking the form of an expulsion of foreign and older residents. The process is in many ways similar to what happened in the other Italian historical city centres many years before Genoa and it is strictly connected to the tourist use of the centre as we will describe below.

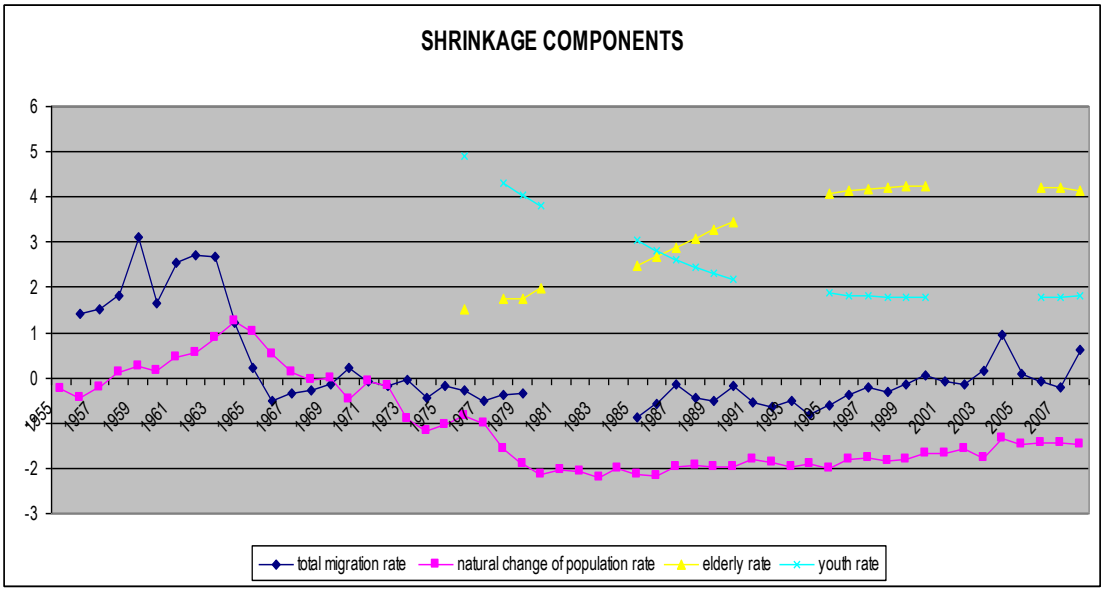
3. IMPACTS AND CONSEQUENCE OF URBAN SHRINKAGE

3.1. Patterns of segregation and social cohesion

This overview has shown some persistent "historical" trends in the Genoese case (Figure 16) identifying the shrinkage:

- Negative natural balance and low fertility index (especially due to the reproductive behaviour of Genoese women)
- Maternity in later age (women with high level of education but tax of female occupation in line with the Italian average)
- Family instability (high percentage of marriages break up)
- progressive ageing of the population
- Improvement of the migratory movement thanks to the migration from the third world and south America migration since the 1990s
- High percentage of inhabitants, especially over 65 moving out of the city centre either to go back to the place of origin or to move in the province (pull factor)
- Genoa has an important harbour and is therefore often a passing stop for other destinations

Figure 16 – *Shrinkage Components*

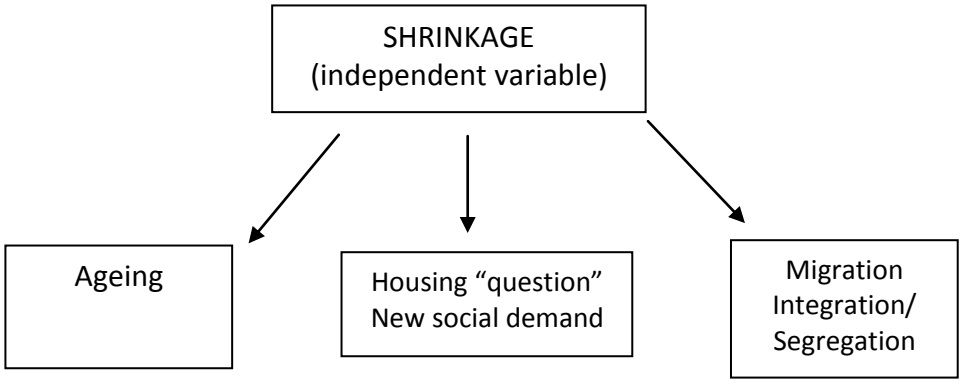


Source: Our elaboration on Census years and Municipal Register database (Z score variable)

Before considering into depth the consequences of this scenario, on the social, economic and housing issues of the city, it is worth referring to the foreign population of the city. Since the 1990s the foreign population has had a crucial role in the demographic balance of the city, producing all the counter tendencies from birth to mortality rate. As a matter of fact, the arrival of foreign (non Italian) citizens is not a result of the economic resurgence of the city, but rather an *indirect effect* of shrinking (the general ageing of the resident as well as their high level of education have hampered the entry of migrant workers in the sector of care of elderly people.

In this last sector there it was not possible to find Italian force labour). Paradoxically, shrinking could generate light inversion of trend and function as contrast to the urban de population.

Figure 17 – Shrinkage: an independent variable

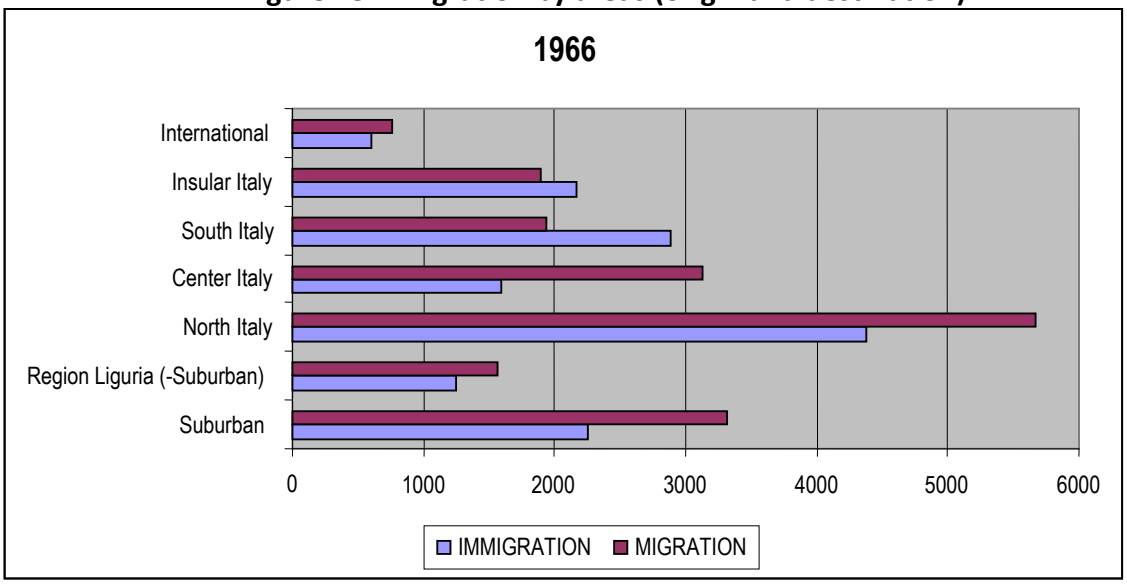


In sum, it is possible to identify three main periods of migratory movement in Genoa:

- in the decade 1955-65 (Figure 7) national migration especially from North and South Italy
- in the decade 1985-95, international migration called "third world migration" for the high presence of North African citizens (Figure 19 - see International migration)
- in the decade 1995-2005 (Figure 21), international migration, characterised by the arrival of citizens from South America

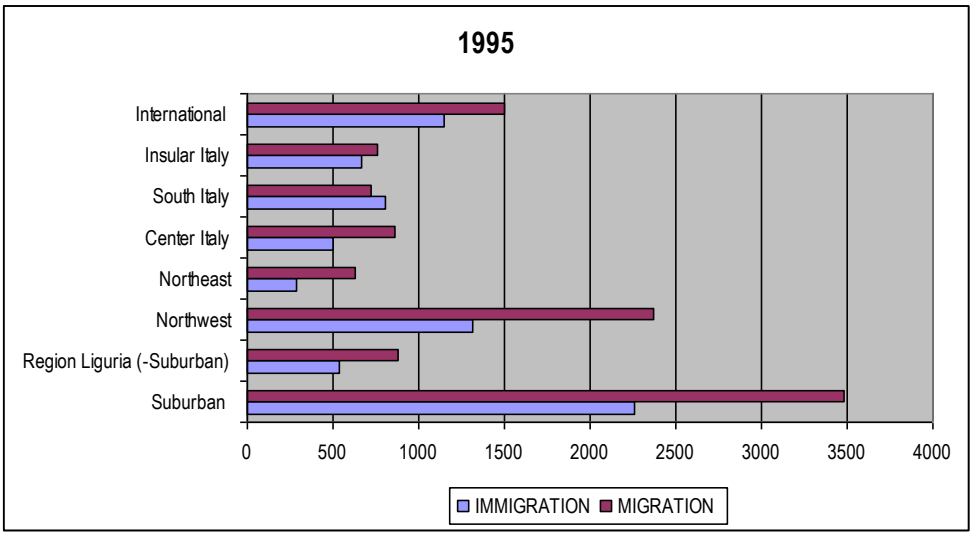
In order to better grasp the differences in the migratory flux of the last fifty years it is better to analyse the migrant population by ad area of origin and destination in three crucial years (Figure 18-19-20) and then by nationality of the migrants (Figure 21).

Figure 18 – Migration by areas (origin and destination)



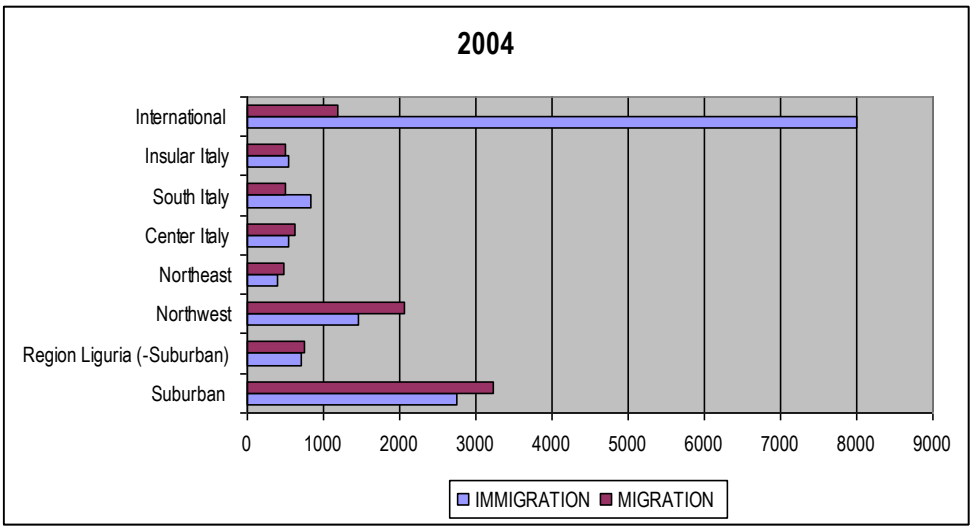
Source: Municipal Register

Figure 19 - Migration by areas (origin and destination)



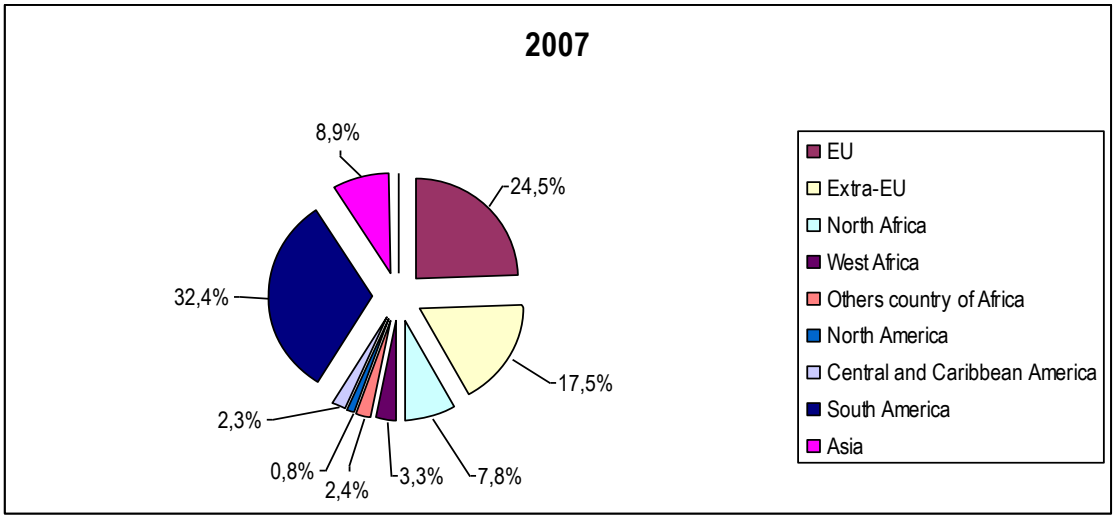
Source: Municipal Register

Figure 20 - Migration by areas (origin and destination)



Source: Municipal Register

Figure 21 – Migration by area geographic of origin



Source: Municipal Register

In any case, it is the presence of the foreign population that has had a special impact on the growth of the city. The greatest increase of their presence (+23.69) took place in 1996, and for the following years the value remained positive (Table 8). In 2004, foreign citizens numbered 30,377 and in 2008 they were 42,744 (+ 15% on 2007). According to the latest statistical news bulletin of the Municipality of Genoa, most of the migratory influx is constituted by people coming from abroad (36.5 %); after this come those coming from municipalities in the province of Genoa (23.2 %), and then those coming from the Italian North West (12.7%).The outflow of Genoese residents continues to be directed towards the province (33.9% of emigrants) and to the North West regions (19.9%).

If we look at Figure 21, we see that most of the migration comes from abroad; 32.4% is from South America and 24.5% from countries outside the EU. It is interesting to note that the second largest Ecuadorian community lives in Genoa. The Ecuadorian immigrant chain started with the arrival of single women, who immediately proved reliable and became very much in demand in the elderly care sector. After a few years the reunification of families made for a rapid increase in the number of resident Ecuadorians. According to the latest data available[13], 44,770 are foreign citizens (7.3%) out of a total of 610,766 inhabitants (Table 8).

The immigrants are always younger than the emigrants and if we analyse the migratory movement by age group, in the decade 1995-2005, the balance was always positive in the age group 16-24 (+296 in 1996, and +1,310 in 2004). The balance was also positive for the age range 25-34 years old; in 2004 the number of migrants arriving was of 2,587 and in 2008 the number of incoming migrants was of 1,470. Finally, while in the 90s there was a negative balance in the age range (the young age 35-44), an increase of arrivals in this age group characterised 2003 (+368), 2004 (+1,152) and 2008 (+593).

[13] Statistical news bulletin of the Municipality of Genoa 30/06/2009.

Table 8 – Resident Population and Foreign Resident in Genoa

	Inhabitants	**Foreign**	*Proportion Foreign/ Inhabitants*
1995	*659,116*	*8,26*	*1.25*
1996	*653,529*	*10,217*	*1.56*
1997	*647,896*	*11,424*	*1.76*
1998	*641,437*	*12,335*	*1.92*
1999	*636,104*	*14,38*	*2.26*
2000	*632,366*	*16,857*	*2.67*
2001	*609,399*	*30,377*	*4.98*
2002	*604,732*	*32,848*	*5.43*
2003	*601,338*	*35,255*	*5.86*
2004	*605,084*	*37,16*	*6.14*
2005	*620,316*	*42,744*	*6.89*
2006	*615,686*	35,255	*5.73*
2007	*610,887*	37,16	*6.08*
2008	*611,204*	42,744	*6.99*
2009	*610,766*	44,77	*7.33*

Source: Municipal Register

Table 9 – Foreigners by sex in Genoa

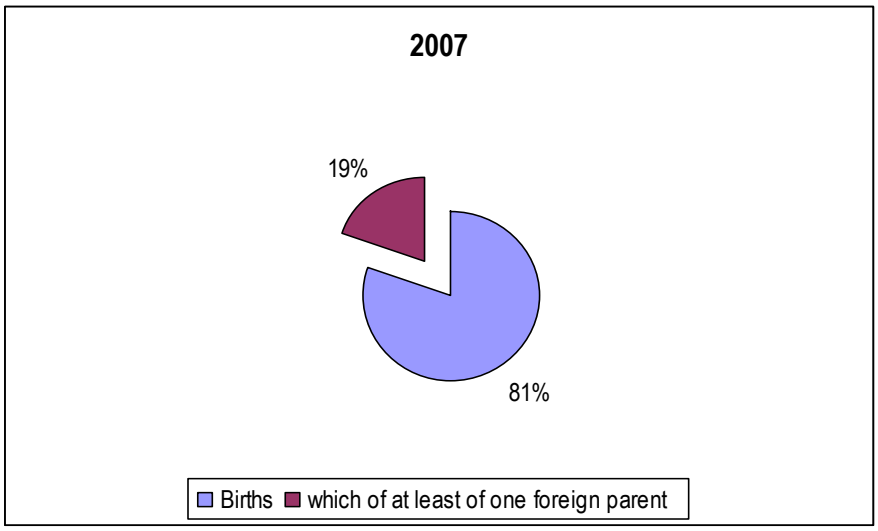
	Foreigners					
	Male	Female	*Total*	Resident in core city	*Increase*	*Increase rate*
1995	4.247	4.013	*8.260*	2.240	…	…
1996	5.135	5.082	*10.217*	2.910	1.957	23,69
1997	5.832	5.592	*11.424*	3.338	1.207	11,81
1998	6.205	6.130	*12.335*	3.428	911	7,97
1999	7.211	7.169	*14.380*	3.746	2.045	16,58
2000	8.364	8.493	*16.857*	4.332	2.477	17,23
2004	14.302	16.075	*30.377*	5.099	…	…
2005	15.479	17.369	*32.848*	5.002	2.471	8,13
2006	16.550	18.705	*35.255*	4.858	2.407	7,33
2007	17.452	19.708	*37.160*	4.684	1.905	5,40
2008	…	…	*42.744*	…	5.584	15,03

Source: Municipal Register (except years 2001-2002-2003)

The young age of migrants and the female element, which since 2004 has exceeded the male one (Table 8), have had positive effects on the natural balance in terms of birth rates. “Mixed” marriages are becoming more frequent and the low percentage of 6% doubles in 2004 (13.1 %). In 2007, out of 2087 marriages, 1659 concerned Italians (79%), 102 Italian-South American couples (4.8%); 51 were between Italian and non Italian EU citizens (2,4 %) of which 31 were between Italian and EU citizens (1.4%) and the rest between citizens from Italy and from other countries, thus

accounting for a total of 21% of mixed marriages in 2007. There has also been an increase in the number of births from couples in which one of the two partners is non Italian. This phenomenon was characterised by extremely low percentages up to 1998 (only 1.9 of children were born from parents of different nationalities). In 1997 this reached 6% and in 1999 it was 9.7%. Births have continued to increase at an exponential rate and from 15.4 % in 2002, the percentage reached 21.2% in 2005, then with a slight decrease, it touched 19% in 2007 (Figure 22).

Figure 22 – Proportion births of at least of one foreign parent



Source: Municipal Register

As a conclusion of this first descriptive part, it is possible to identify two macro-trends for the demographic, social and economic history of the city. From the middle of 1800s to the 1960s of the following century, Genoa has been a large industrial city and has experienced a period of growth and development typical of modern western metropolitan cities. After the 1960s, quite early compared to the other strong industrial metropolis, the Genoese economy experienced a crisis, in which the progressive decrease and ageing of the population was not balanced by the positive impact of economic growth, with consequences in various sectors of urban life, as it will be shown in the following sections.

3.2. Business and employment

As we have tried to demonstrate in talking about demographic patterns of reproduction, the labour market is only indirectly connected to shrinkage. During the fifties and sixties the migration rate was extremely positive because migration from other regions of northern Italy came in addition to the population movement from southern Italy. When the economic situation of Genoa's labour market became worse in comparison to other northern metropolis, migration from the south stopped.

If we look to Genoa's figures with a long term retrospective, we find an industrial decline similar to the British one. A first change in Genoa's industrial structure was already at work in the 1950s when big national and international firms, started to move their plants to southern Italy where they could benefit from fiscal advantages from the Italian State. This was followed by the decline of the shipbuilding industry which determined a fall in the metallurgical production of iron. In the 1970s manufacturing employment was sustained by the electro-mechanical sub-sector until the 1980s, when the definitive decline of manufacturing employment reduced the total number of employees to approximately one third of the people employed in 1951.

This change represents a great division between the migrations of the 1960s and the latter ones. When the waves of international migration started during the 1980s there was no longer an industrial labour demand for the new arrivals. The port of Genoa has always enjoyed the advantage of being the best and most convenient point for the arrival for the raw materials necessary for great manufacturing industry of northern Italy. After the 1980s technological innovation has expelled the labour force from this sub-sector also. Businesses around the port employed tens of thousands of people at that time, but as the industrial destiny of Genoa was tied to the cycles of State economy, port activities are also strictly connected to changes occurring at a global level, which impact on port cities. Since the 1970s there was a shift in the flow of world trade towards Northern Europe. Railways connections from the Netherlands to Northern Italy and Switzerland made it more convenient for many commodities to avoid Genoa completely.

Genoa became an economy strongly concentrated on tertiary activities, with a strong presence of the public sector and various sorts of consumer services. We does not have reliable employment data at a territorial level because during the 1980s labour force surveys were collected only at a NUTS2 level, and after the 1980s local level data were not properly surveyed at a local level, until very recent years.
We can, in any case state that the demographic effect of an older population and the crisis of de-industrialization are both visible. Employment and unemployment rates were both lower than the national average because business activity was three points below the national average. The weakness of the labour market, as is usual in the segmented Italian labour market, hit the weakest labour sector, that of the young and women. The view of the depression in the labour market was in any case partly a distorted picture, given the demographic composition of the population. If we look at the same basic figures for the labour market calculated for ages 15-64 of the population, they are slightly above the Italian average, albeit far lower than Milan, Turin or even Bologna.

Nevertheless, a comparatively smaller working population has had to maintain a larger elderly population. The breaking point for disadvantaged categories was in the mid-nineties for young people, and a little later for women. In 1996 figures on youth unemployment suddenly rose to above the national average, but it is necessary to point out that this rise may have largely depended on the re-sampling done by the national labour force survey. There are, however, two factors responsible for an improvement of the 1980s. The first is the demographic downsizing of the total

number of young people looking for a job. The second is the growth of the tertiary sector activities.

Part of these tertiary activities were in the form of jobs in qualified productive services directed at the recovery of the port economy. These new jobs were precluded to migrants, who have instead been employed in the various consumer services, also in growth during the same period. Employment growth among migrants was also the central factor in the female labour market. Although the nationality variable is not available, the correspondence between rising employment and the increased of proportion of foreign women among the residents leads one to suppose that most of the employment rise is due to migrant women prevalently employed in care services for elderly people, or in working-class services jobs.

It is particularly interesting to underline this point, because essentially the whole demographic counter-trend seen during recent years can be attributed to migrant women. The shrinkage operated in the form of labour demand for the care needs of elderly people, and thus brought into operation the counter trend in relation to the shrinkage itself, without operating any significant change in the economic composition after the de-industrialization processes. It could be argued that a transformation in Genoa's economic base has been real and was brought about by the tourism-driven regeneration that was activated through the renovation of the old port area. We shall discuss this presently; for the time being we shall simply look at the numbers of arrivals in Genoa's hotels to gauge the growth of the tourist flow. During last forty years arrivals have risen slightly, but at a metropolitan level and in tourism directed to the small residential municipalities along the coast. While visits in the sixties were tied to work routines and the period of stay was mostly spent in cheap hotels, new tourist flows are more now commonly Holidays for rich travellers from northern Italy and other European countries. Since the reception took place in the municipalities, at an urban level, during the nineties this luxury tourism did not generate any real increase in employees, and tourism cannot be really considered a part of the economic recovery, even if it has entirely transformed the face of city centre, and in recent years a slight increase of tourism-related activities is visible, especially in the city centre.

3.3 Social infrastructure and education

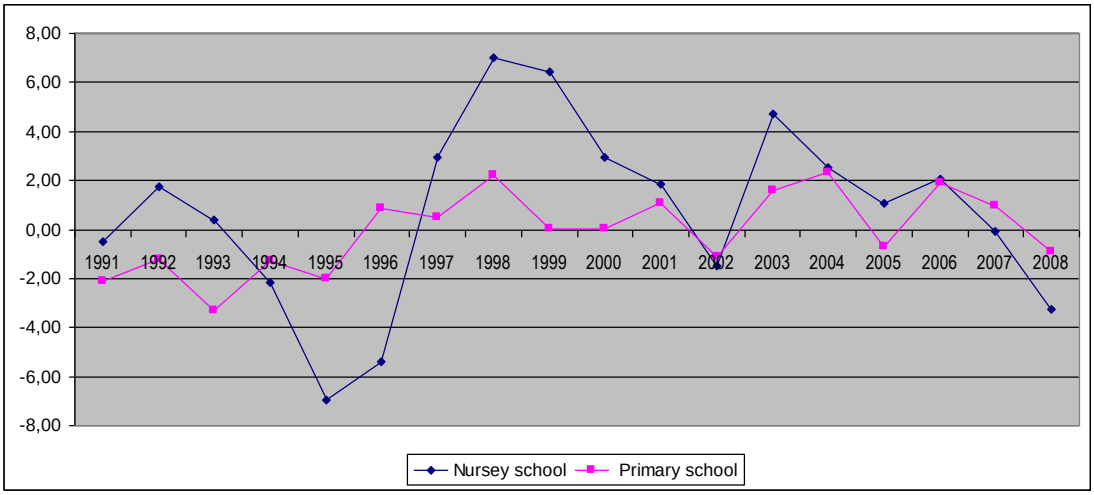
Shrinking has strong consequences on the composition of social demand, on public services and on education system. As it is illustrated in the *Social Service Plan [2005]*[14], school services, especially Nursery and Primary school, have been affected by the decrease in the birth rate. In primary school, the number of children moves from 19,928 in the two years 1974-75 to 14,133 in the two years 2003-2004, with a decrease of 29.2% (Figure 23). However, if one looks at a short time trend, the decrease is definitively lower and has to be considered according to any school grade separately. For what regards the negative trend of the number of children registering

[14] It is a planning of the social-charitable services that the Municipality has to implement together with the Local Health Body and no profit agencies.

at the kindergartens at the beginning of the 1990s (lowest point in 1995 with -6.9%), it was caused more by a lack of available kindergarten places free of charge than by a demographic decrease. The situation improves indeed since 1998 (+7.02%) and in 2003 (+4.73) when the numbers of offered available places increases. The decrease registered on last two years concern just the Municipal kindergartens while additional places are offered from Third Sectors and/or private kindergartens.

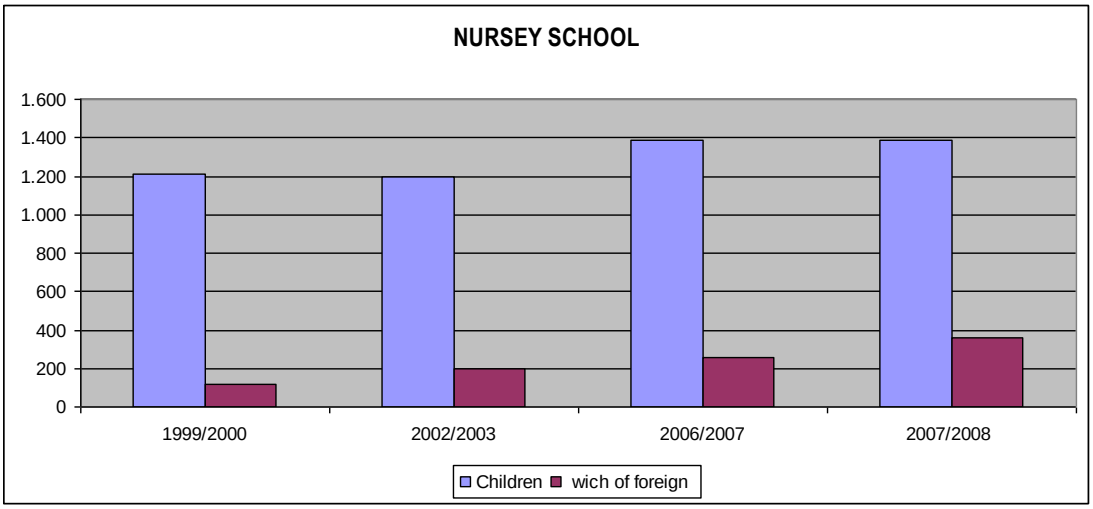
The positive effect of the foreign presence has not the supposed incidence in all the school levels as we are going to examine in the following figures. The positive counter-trend in the number of pupils registered at Genoa's primary school is connected to a sudden increase in the number of foreign children caused by families reunion happened at the half of 1990s. The peak of foreign pupils' enrolment was at the middle of 2000s but it is now most probably already reached. That is why last two years show a little decrease (Figure 23).

Figure 23 – Decrease rate number of the children in Nursery and Primary school



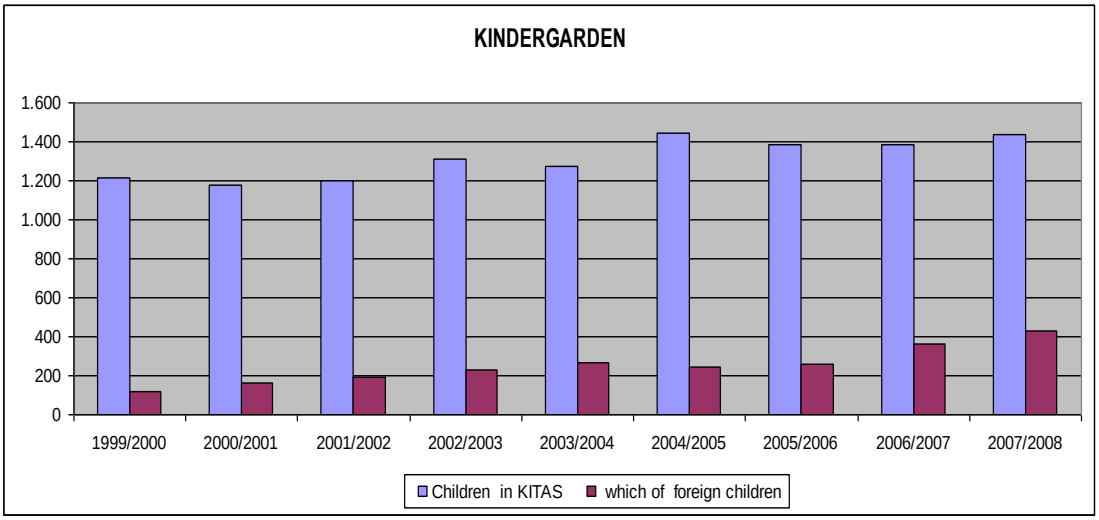
Source: Municipal Register

Figure 24 – Number of children in Nursery school



Source: Municipal Register

Figure 25 – Number of children in Kindergarten

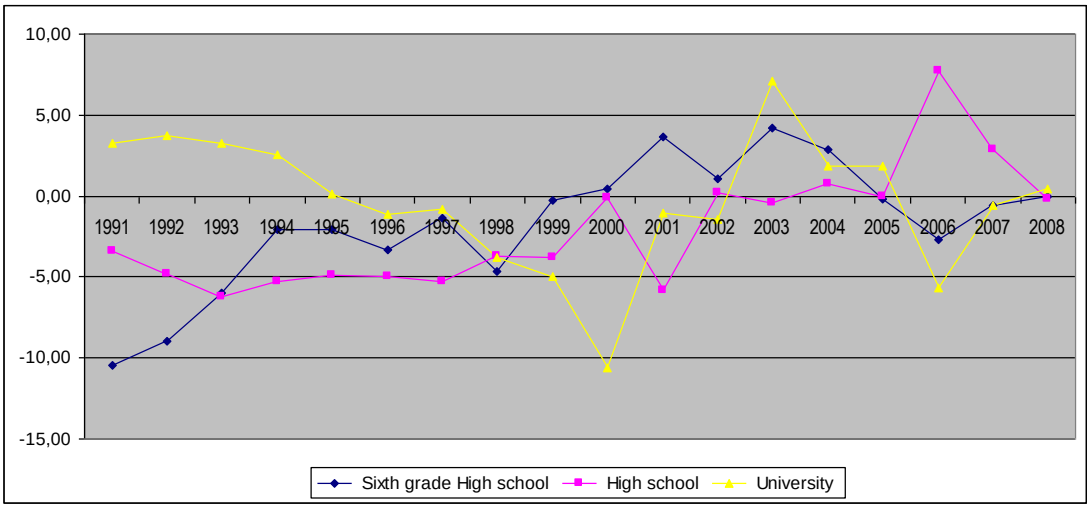


Source: Municipal Register

Sixth grade high school level shows the worst figures for what regards student enrolment. This bad situation is caused by three factors. First most of second generation migrants belonging to the wave of arrivals of the end of 1990s are still under the age of sixth grade enrolment. Secondly those ones which are instead enough old to be enrolled are signed at the same school of neighbours where they live, but faced serious troubles of integration. Italian students families managed in fact to avoid the foreign children enrolling their sons to schools of other neighbours. What is more foreign students suffer pressure by the families to enter too early in the labour market. At this school level the number of foreign students is in fact low also in the years 2000: only 521 foreign students out of 14,486 (3.6%) in the two years 2006/2007 and 463 out of 14,487 (3.2%) students registered in the years 2007/2008.

They rather prefer to finish their formation outside the proper school course. In Italy there exist two channels to obey to the formation duty. One is the proper school course the other is a composite offer of professional training and basic formation courses. The latter ones are mostly preferred by young migrants. The number of High School students stays more or less constant, with a gradual decrease in the 90s reaching a negative sign number (-1,431) and a very positive number in 2006 (+1,806). The latter number could be the effect of the regularization of migrant parents on their sons. The situation in University in Genoa is less positive. There is a sharp decrease at the beginning of the 1990s, a very low number in 2000 (-3,631 registered students *vs.* the number if previous academic year), and then finally an increase in 2003 (+2,547). Between 2006 (-2,011) and 2008 (+149), another change takes place (Figure 26).

Figure 26 – Decrease rate number of the students in Sixth grade, High school and University



Source: Municipal Register

Although the social demand undergoes qualitative and quantitative changes, the data available underlines that the number of elderly people assisted by the social services goes from 18,548 of 2006 to 19,490 of 2007. These data will keep on changing according to the amount of the social expenditure available. The last data we have register a decrease of about 400 units (from 1384 to 990 elderly peoples in care of program financed by Regional Fund). The percentage of social service users is composed in the percentage shown on Table 10. The main users of most social services are elderly people and minors, respectively 46% and 24% in 2006; 43.4% and 25.4% in 2007. While the number of elderly people in care is characterised through the years by a slight decrease, the number of under-18s the care of social services goes up, between 1999 to 2007 the number passes from 2,111 to 3,384.

Table 10 - Number of people in care of Social services by target

	2006		2007	
TARGET	**a. v.**	**%**	**a. v.**	**%**
ELDERLY	8.527	46,0	8.449	43,4
MINORS	4.475	24,1	4.950	25,4
DISABLED	1.955	10,5	1.913	9,8
MENTAL IMPAIRMENT	642	3,5	648	3,3
ADDICTS	126	0,7	127	0,7
ADULTS	2.726	14,7	3.301	16,9
EXTRA UE	37	0,2	39	0,2
OTHERS TARGET	60	0,3	63	0,3
Total	*18.548*	*100,0*	*19.490*	*100,0*

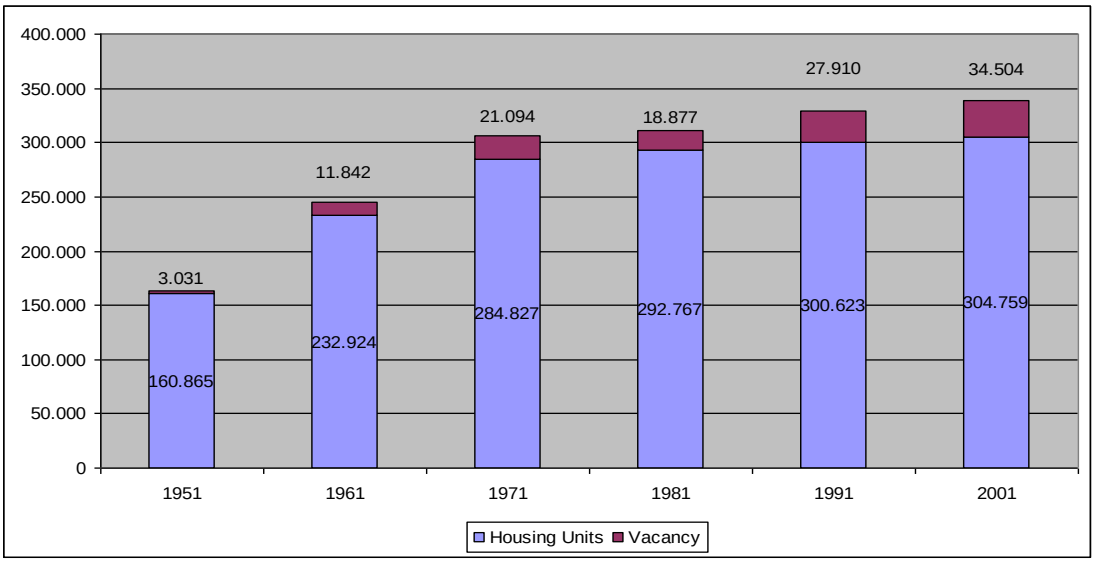
Source: Municipal Register

3.4. Housing

The housing question is strongly intertwined with the demographic dynamics described above. In fact, in Genoa housing is characterised by two main factors: a low investment in the construction of new houses and a poor management of the existing housing spaces, leading to housing isolation and residential segregation. Starting with an analysis of the census data (1951-2001) (Figure 27), it comes out that the number of empty houses rises reaching 21,094 vacancies. This number continues to go up in the following decades and in the last Census, out of a total of 304,759 houses, a total of 34,504 houses get empty.

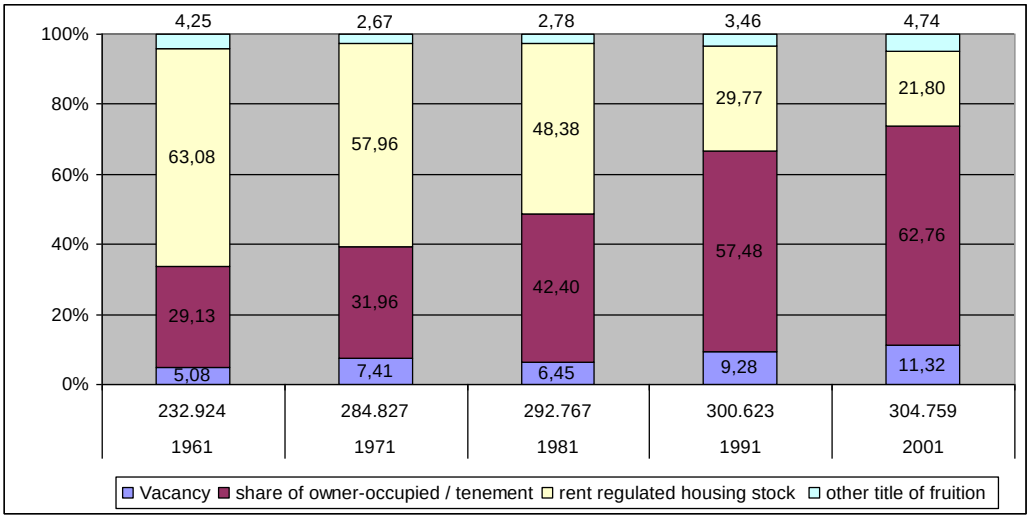
The boom in the construction of houses, in the light of an increasing demographic rate (positive migratory balance) of those years, should have produced a glut in supply; yet this did not happen, probably due to the increase in family units made up by only one person and the high proportion of families who owned their own home. While in the two decades 1961-1971, the percentage of people renting a house was higher than that of house owners, this proportion became inverted in the following decades (Figure 28).

Figure 27 – *Number of Housing Units which of Vacancy*



Source: Istat, Census Years

Figure 28 – Proportion Housing units by tenement



Source: Istat, Census Years

The new housing supply in the twenty years from 1971-91 is located in the periphery of Genoa, rather than in the central areas of the city, where the existing buildings are converted for new purposes, also of non residential nature. The economic crisis of the 1980s has also had effects on the forms of settlement in the centre of the city. Many houses have been abandoned and many residents have moved out to the outskirts of the city. Furthermore, the de-population of the urban centre has led to a fall in the rent of houses. For the incoming foreign population (migration from third world countries), settling in the houses of the centre has turned out to be affordable.

If we pass to the current situation, the estimate from the *Land Register* and employed for the *Municipal Urban Plan* indicates a total of 308,000 houses in Genoa on 31/12/2008, of which 280,095 were vacant (90%). It is harder to get an estimate of the non-inhabited houses, but one can get some idea by considering that the Tax Register data shows that on the 31/12/2007 104.403 houses had not been inhabited for at least two years. Therefore, new housing has not been built since 2001 (see *Municipal Urban Plan,* p.13). This notwithstanding, since the mid 1990s, the cost of buying and renting houses has increased, with a rise in market price that is independent of the great supply. Hence, recent years have led to a widening of the gap between the needs of those who want to buy a house (young people, university students, elderly people on their own, and migrant families) and those who sell. This mismatch is related to the size of the houses, (there is a greater demand for studios or small flats) and as a consequence to the price.

Deals are easier to achieve in the areas where the housing is offered at less than 200,000 Euros. Using the information gathered by the Department of Urban Works (see *Municipal Urban Plan* pp. 11-28), it is possible to provide an analysis of the housing situation by municipality and number of residents (Table 11), which indicate the following features:

- 35.12% of the housing in Genoa is occupied by single people
- 31.91 is occupied by two people.
- Municipality I (centre East) is the most populated and diverse

heterogeneous area, as most houses are inhabited by a single person (38.45%), and the other types (by two to 6 persons).

- The IX Municipality (Levante) and the VIII Municipality (Medio Levante) are the other two areas where housing inhabited by only one person is primarily located, and they account for 36.90% and 35.99% respectively.
- The most crowded houses (from 4 to 6 residents) are located in Municipalities I (Centre east) and in the II (Centre West), in the III (Bassa Val Bisagno) and in the IX (Levante).

Table 11 – Housing Units Occupied by number of occupants and Municipality

	Housing Units occupied							TOTAL HOUSING	TOTAL OCCUPANTS	% housing occupied by one person
MUNICIPALITY	1 person	2 persons	3 persons	4 persons	5 persons	more 6 person				
						Housing	Occupants			
I - GENOVA CENTRO EST	15.931	12.272	7.274	4.368	1.090	497	5.069	41.432	90.288	38,45
II GENOVA CENTRO OVEST	10.282	9.808	6.099	3.217	715	305	2.063	30.426	66.701	33,79
III GENOVA BASSA VAL BISAGNO	12.965	11.815	7.075	3.627	683	203	1.434	36.368	77.177	35,65
IV GENOVA MEDIA VAL BISAGNO	9.070	8.814	5.622	2.827	502	152	1.028	26.987	58.410	33,61
V GENOVA VAL POLCEVERA	9.532	8.962	5.780	3.136	650	245	1.835	28.035	62.425	33,68
VI GENOVA MEDIO PONENTE	8.969	9.181	5.856	3.031	615	241	1.551	27.893	61.649	32,16
VII GENOVA PONENTE	9.873	9.471	5.824	3.156	546	163	1.060	29.033	62.701	34,01
VIII GENOVA MEDIO LEVANTE	10.274	9.141	5.223	3.040	675	192	1.301	28.545	61.061	35,99
IX GENOVA LEVANTE	11.472	9.909	5.720	3.216	610	160	1.052	31.087	65.416	36,9
PORTO	4	3	3	6	1	2	19	19	67	21,05

Source: Municipal Urban Plan p. 14

The average number of residents in housing is 2.29; there are 14,506 houses occupied by two families (parents with offspring, students, couples); and 1,787 houses are occupied by three or more families , concentrated in I Municipality. This data shows the presence of foreign males, mostly Africans, who house-share, and are not interested in family reunification.

Table 12 – Housing Units Occupied by number of components and Municipality

	Housing Units Occupied								
	1 Household		2 Households		3 and more households		Total HOUSING	Total HOUSEHOLDS	
MUNICIPALITY	N	Components	N	Components	N	Components			
I - GENOVA CENTRO EST	38.210	78.651	2.700	7.308	522	4.329	41.432	47.034	90.288
II GENOVA CENTRO OVEST	28.242	59.760	1.861	5.381	323	1.560	30.426	33.049	66.701
III GENOVA BASSA VAL BISAGNO	34.368	71.368	1.776	4.676	224	1.133	36.368	38.722	77.177
IV GENOVA MEDIA VAL BISAGNO	25.563	54.470	1.316	3.403	108	537	26.987	28.552	58.410
V GENOVA VAL POLCEVERA	26.640	57.262	1.507	4.220	158	943	28.035	30.272	62.452
VI GENOVA MEDIO PONENTE	26.237	56.768	1.458	3.992	198	889	27.893	29.835	61.649
VII GENOVA PONENTE	27.875	59.659	1.093	2.782	65	260	29.033	30.267	62.701
VIII GENOVA MEDIO LEVANTE	27.045	56.715	1.382	3.755	118	591	28.545	30.222	61.061
IX GENOVA LEVANTE	26.605	61.434	1.413	3.625	69	357	31.087	32.681	65.416
PORTO	17	48	0	0	2	19	19	24	67

Source: Municipal Urban Plan p. 14

Genoa's case clearly shows that depopulation does not necessarily lead to oversupply of housing. The joint effect of rise in the number of families and high stock of owned houses, can lead to an under-usage of the housing stock and to rigidity of the supply. Assisted caring houses for elderly people are not plenty, in any case, most of the elderly population (mostly female) is not willing to leave their flat, where they live on their own after the death of the spouse. This leads to an inter relation between ageing and under-usage of houses. This lack of flexibility of the supply of housing by the end of the 1990s was a good field for speculation in the housing market: the latter, in Genoa and in many other large cities, has pushed up the prices of the houses and the rent, especially in the refurbished area of the centre, leading to marked expulsion of the original inhabitants.

3.5 Technical Infrastructure

At the end of the fifties in Genoa an incredibly fast growth of built environment was realized by private developers. This growth was based on wrong estimates of future immigration flows and on speculative reasons. In 1951 there was a rate of 10,000 new housing built for year in 1957 the same figures was 30,000; the peak of new housing was reached in 1965 with 56,000 and after two years started a sudden decline to be followed by a flat increase of new constructions. During those years density of built environment in Genoa's territory became really high compared to other Italian cities. The biggest functional problem identified at that time was the impossibility to realize the classical "zoning planning" of the Fordist city because of

the uncontrolled spreading of residential building, subtracting space to directional areas. In those years overcrowding was the problem of the city-centre and the main task for planners was making easier access to central areas trough private means of transport . In 1965 an urban highway and an elevated road arriving directly to the old port were built.

When the city expanded at the outskirts, during the eighties, almost no plans(except the first stop of the new subway) were developed to improve connections between the centre and the fringes and between the fringes among themselves. As a consequence now most of the problems of urban connections are registered between the inhabited areas upon the hills and the centre. When shrinkage started to show its effect overcrowding of the centre and a difficult circulation remained still major problems. In this sense a relative smaller number of cars was a relief for the overloaded Genoa's urban network. The problem is that decreased amount of urban traffic regarded exclusively the city centre.

Private traffic flows from the eastern and the western periphery to the centre increased constantly during last twenty years, using the national highway surrounding the city as an urban street. Some improvements of the urban connections between the eastern periphery and the centre were done during the celebration of the anniversary of America's discovery, but major problems remain on the western side (which is also the industrial part of the city). On the contrary the situation changed substantially after 1990s in the city centre.

3.6 Land use

Since the middle of the 1990s a regeneration process of historical centre (and particularly of old port docks) started to change the use of Genoa's waterfront. This process included the renovation of many industrial relics and their transformations in tourist attractions (the largest Italian aquarium among them), and the creation of pedestrian area, in most of the historical inner-city. Car traffic was deviated far away from the centre and a new stop of the subway was open in the most central place of Genoa. These transformations had two different consequences on historical centre (Sdino & Castagnino 2007). On one hand it was decontaminated from traffic pollution with the result of decreasing rate of NO2, CO and PM10 in the air, on the other hand renovated areas showed higher increases of real estate prices. Of course the concentration of tourism-connected activities in central areas contributed to the gentrification process.

The regeneration of city centre is only one line of action of the New Urban Plan. The other two are the called green line and brown line. The green line has the task to maintain the undeveloped green spaces on Genoa's hills. Around 90% of Genoa's land surface is in fact composed by the green hills around the coast. Because of the difficult connections and the reduced availability of urban services these areas are often at great risk of shrinking. A scenario for these zones is depopulation with the permanence of big detached housing lived by rich and old families moving to the city

through private cars. The brown line is the planned redevelopment of former industrial areas. The maximum concentration of former industrial sites to redevelop is in the western part and especially in Cornigliano, one of the neighbourhoods that lost relatively most of the population. Some special regeneration plans have been already designed for Cornigliano and other areas of the western industrial part, but compared to the central areas most of the work is still to be enacted. A road of connection between two major neighbours of the western part (Voltri and Prà) and the centre is under construction. Another planned big infrastructure is an urban highway connecting the urbanized zones between the two bigger Genoa's hill (Valpolcevera and Valbisagno). This infrastructure has been a very contested issue in Genoa. A fierce opposition which was able until now to stop the project has been erected by urban movements because of the ecological consequences (Genoa's hill contain asbestos) and the impact it would have on the existing settlements

3.7. Municipal budget

If we look at the composition of revenues in the budget sheet of Genoa's municipality we realized that Municipal finance depends for an half by the Regional and national transfers. This structure of the budget-sheet is in accordance with a deep change in the role of local governments happened during the 1990s.Italian State gave shape to this change in its administrative structure in 2001 with a constitutional law. Most of the competence about the Health National System, Social and Activation policies, Local transports etc. pertains now to the regional level. Since then Municipalities are in charge of (but in different ways according to any specific region) the provision of services. In contrast with the autonomy in organizing the provision of services Municipal level never really reached a fiscal autonomy. Just an half of the revenues -as we said above- comes from tax and tributes, and there is actually a trend in downsizing this share. The major fiscal revenue was not on resident income but was a tax on own-property home abolished recently by the right-wing government. Anyway the amount of this revenue was dependent on housing stock not exactly on the number of people or its population. It must be said that given a limited growth of built environment (caused by the absence of vacant plots and a weak demand of housing) , this revenue and the urbanization taxes paid by developers as contribute to primary urbanization services, had a small if any increase in last decades. To feed in a significant way the fiscal revenue the administration was forced at the beginning of 2000s to increase the municipal income tax.

Even if State and Regional transfers represent more than an half of the all revenues, according to public debate Municipal income will be more and more tied to Municipal fiscal autonomy to collect taxes. This perspective is going to become even more concrete in the following years, since there is a retrenchment of national State from the support to local governments due to the high public debt. Municipal administration is now caught in a double budget constraint: decreasing transfers and limited autonomy in collecting taxes. While the tax on own-property home has been

cleared there is an uncontrolled cut at the transfer of the State to Municipalities. If a stronger fiscal autonomy will be conceded to local administrative levels, as it seems from the political debate, Genoa will have the advantage of being composed of high-income residents but in perspective will suffer the smaller share of active population on total residents.

Another constrain for Municipal capability of spending is that big investment and big urban plans of restructuring have to be financed by Municipality by its own finance for more than an half. Municipal public debt is, in fact a stock of over one billion € and the Municipality assumed the duty to not open new loans for more than 50 millions € . At the beginning of the 1990s when a part of the Municipal debt was accumulated were massive investments were made every year (over 460 millions of actual Euro). Most of them (around 65%) were in infrastructure and improvements of road networks. Another large share (around 15%) was employed in creation and restructuring of social and cultural infrastructure. This kind of expenditures became particularly visible in correspondence of big events, (the first one of which was the celebration of the 500th anniversary of America's discovery in 1992) when big amount of capitals were transferred appositely from the State to the city. These periods have been used all along the 1990s to feed the urban regeneration of the centre. During this period more or less an half of the whole amount of investments were destined to the city centre (even if not specifically to urban regeneration plan). At the beginning of the 2000s a similar situation was again at work because of the organization of G8 and the year in which Genoa was elected European capital of Culture. This time (especially for the first event) part of the work of urban restructuring was also invested in the eastern part.

A significant change during the last twenty years concerns public utilities. While at the beginning of the 1990s loans (figuring out initially as investments but resulting later in public debt) were open to cover the deficit of public companies (especially the public transports company), during recent years profits and gains from public utilities are growing constantly.

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