Italian Capitalistic Development and the Role of the Metropolitan Areas

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Aportes, Revista de la Facultad de Economía, BUAP, Año XII, Número 36, Septiembre- Diciembre de 2007

La fase actual de reestructuración del capitalismo, caracterizada por el Toyotismo, la subcontratación, la producción esbelta y un retroceso general de la lucha de clase, ha producido una precarización intensa e innegable del trabajo. También, ha creado un nuevo papel de relaciones económicas y sociopolíticas «locales». Las áreas metropolitanas han adquirido así una importancia práctica y también teórica, y representan un laboratorio en donde se experimentan los cambios sociales y políticos que están ocurriendo y pueden ser estudiados. El caso italiano es particularmente interesante en el cual la presencia de una estructura de pequeñas industrias con características peculiares (la autonombrada tercera Italia) y de sindicatos confederados complacientes ha ayudado a dar forma a las economías locales desde 1980. La fase actual muestra que el nuevo papel que desempeñan estas áreas está configurado como una forma de distorsión socializada del mercado de trabajo que representa una forma real de coerción del trabajo, sancionada en el nivel local social y político. Esto realza la precarización no solamente del empleo: la precariedad se convierte en la normalidad absoluta en el nivel social, político y cultural en general. Los datos presentados provienen de un esfuerzo de investigación de largo plazo de CESTES, el centro de investigación de RdB, los sindicatos marxistas autónomos.

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The present phase of capitalist re-structuring, characterized by Toyotism, outsourcing and lean production and a general retreat of class struggle, has produced an intense and undeniable precarization of labour. Also, it has created a new role for "local" economic and socio-political relationships. Metropolitan Areas have thus acquired a practical and also theoretical importance, and represent a laboratory where the social and political changes that are taking place are experimented and can be studied. The Italian case is particularly interesting in that the presence of a small industry structure with peculiar characteristics (the so-called Third Italy) and of acquiescent confederate Trade Unions has helped shape local economies since the 1980s.The present phase shows that the new role these areas play is configured as a form of socialized distortion of the labour market

that represents a true form of coercion of labour, sanctioned at the social and political local level. This enhances precarization not only of jobs: precariousness becomes the absolute normality at the social, political and cultural level in general. The data presented come from a long-term research effort by CESTES, the research centre of RdB, the autonomous Marxist Trade Unions.

1. The Peculiarities of Italian Capitalistic Development.

One can hardly over-emphasize the fact that the Italian economic and productive structure from the post-WWII to the present day presents a number of peculiar characteristics, especially when compared to the other countries of advanced capitalism. At the beginning of the said period Italy in fact used to be a prevalently agricultural economy. The development of industry was fragmented and also very diversified, given the economic and cultural differences among the various geographical areas that compose Italy. Such differences must be added to the persistent and well-known difference between the North and South of the country. It is in this very heterogeneous framework that industrialization took place in the 1950s and 1960s.

In the last twenty-five years we witness instead a phase of de-industrialization accompanied by a thorough industrial decline, with the connected development of a tertiary sector, both implicit and explicit. This is often determined by the processes of tertiarization and outsourcing of service activities that used to be formerly performed within the centralized headquarters of the industrial enterprises.

It is also fundamental to consider that Italian capitalism has been developing all the time in the form of a family capitalism. It therefore has been unable, especially starting from the 1970s, to cope with international competition. This has caused problems that are difficult to solve.

There have been in other words three fundamental periods in the late post-WWII period. The first, stagnating, was centred on the rural world. The second was characterized by the movement from agriculture to industry. The third, post-industrial period is characterized by high levels of education and by jobs that are less and less manual, but are also precarious due to the post-fordist character of recent Italian economic development, whose main features are «Toyotism» and the so-called lean production, which lead to what we shall call in this paper the «diffused factory».

The need for an in-depth class analysis of the present modalities of development of the Italian economy and society is born from the observation that the social and economic dynamics of the country have been determined by a specific spatial characterization, conditioned by the processes of re-structuring and international competition Italian capitalism is undergoing in the era of neo-liberal globalization. With the passage from mass production, i.e. concentrated processes, to flexible and diffused production based on the mobility, flexibility and precarization of the labour force, the territorial aspect is taking an ever more determining role.

If we concentrate upon the changes that

have taken place in the world of labour we can outline three parallel and yet very different periods. In the first, initial period (in between the 1950s and 1970s), labour is for the most part made up of white and blue collar workers employed in the great industrial plants.

The second period was characterized by the birth and development of small firms, with labour composed of highly skilled but also highly fragmented workers. In this period the large enterprises become less central, and as a consequence the figure of the employed workers defended by the historical Trade Unions becomes less central too. It is very important to signal that the official, confederate Trade Unions, adapting themselves to the consociative corporative model that prevailed in that period, decided not to fight the capitalist restructuring that was, and is, taking place, accepting it. They even ended up approving of the anti-labour, neo-liberal policies that compress and suffocate the workers' movement.

Finally in the third period, that goes form the beginning of the 1990s to our days, the process of neo-liberal globalization prevailed in Italy too, with its characteristic financialization of the economy, lean production and Toyotist forms of labour organization. This type of evolution has led Italy to join the countries of advanced capitalism, with the peculiarities we shall consider in this essay.

These new economic and productive characters of the economy have in fact brought Italy to adopt the new atypical and precarious forms of labour employment more intensively than the other countries of advanced capitalism. This took place in a disproportionate and inordinate fashion, both in industry and in the private services. The public administration was used as a laboratory to experiment new forms of precarious employment.

Italy (see Arriola, Vasapollo, 2005 for a full treatment and a comparison with other EC countries, and especially Spain) has in fact been introducing, with the past two governments (the centre-left cabinets led by Prodi first and D'Alema after and the centre-right Berlusconi cabinet), ever increasing forms of legalized «atypical» work relationships. Indeed, at the time of writing this paper Italy is probably the EC country that has the most advanced legal degree of «flexibility» of the labour force. The number of atypical legal work relationships is very high, as high as the degree of «atypicalness».

The results of all this are that the pace of the industrial decline of the country has not been slowed down, on the contrary, while new forms of poverty and of disguised unemployment have been produced. Even worse, the former dependence and exploitation of waged labour has been worsened by the «precarious» and temporary character of the new «flexible» work relationships. This has introduced precariousness in the whole of social life.

A peculiar and interesting form of such a change is constituted by the one-man firms, what we shall call here «individual enterprises». These are often constituted by workers that the industrial re-structuring (lean production, just-in-time production and outsourcing) have made redundant, who are re-absorbed, partly and at lower wages, this way. They can be found out and counted by looking at the proliferation of new VAT numbers. All this has been possible thanks to the development, parallel to the processes of industrial decline and the re-structuring of production processes, of a tertiary sector where individual firms and local networks play a key role. This is very much the case in Italy, as we shall see.

As a consequence of these processes, in the last decades the development and differentiation of productive activities has produced profound modifications in the social and productive models and in the decisions concerning spatial localization, which have concerned the entire economic, social, political and institutional organization.

As a consequence of all the developments that have been quickly summarized here, the theoretical models that have been used to analyze Italian economic and productive development have been changing over time too. Important methodological and conceptual developments have taken place, adapting such models to a territorial and social reading of development, which is what we are about to consider in what follows.

The early models, introduced in the 1960s (Becattini, 1979), have been interpreting Italian development hinging their reasoning upon the North-South dichotomy. Their analyses were centred on the industrial sector, whose development was in full swing. From the second half of the 1960s they have started to appear inadequate (Becattini, 2000) to explain the modifications in the productive settlements and the changes in the development path and in the model of development itself, which as hinted above were having important consequences upon the class structure of the whole country, and not only of the working class.

The new analyses that were proposed were paying more attention to the social and local aspects of economic activities. These new analyses, with the model defined as the «three Italies» (Bagnasco, 1977), make us glimpse at new ways of reading the modalities of economic dynamics, which seek to emphasize the varied local features of development. These models did not pay enough attention, however, to the actual political and social meaning of the processes of de-composition of the class unity that the industrial Fordist factory had generated, and which had found its tightest form of aggregation in the Northern industrial area.

It has already been said above that the North-South dichotomy alone cannot explain the fragmented and diversified character of the Italian development model. This has been heavily affected by the underdevelopment of the southern areas (and not only), but was also functional to the variety of the forms of capital accumulation.

This variability contributes in various ways to explain the belated and dependent development of Italian capitalism, especially in comparison with the rest of the Western countries. Among other things (especially precise political choices by governments as well as by most political parties in the right and in the left) it contributes also to the continued growth of the productive structure made of small enterprises that had developed in Italy as an answer to the workers' struggles of the 1960s and 1970s.

Small industry (Grassi, 2001) has evolved into a truly institutional model, functional to Italian capitalism and supported by it with the sole aim to pursue a strategy of social control of the working class aimed at limiting social conflict. Since the second half of the 1970s Italian capitalism has taken as its main resource the new productive forms of the industrial district, the network enterprise and the filieres. It has thus become characterized by specialization of the productive structures and of the labour force; also, and importantly, its activities are subdivided and spread in multiple territorial localities. We are in presence of extremely dynamic firm structures, that are continuously changing. The main character of these firms is their specific, local territoriality, that is not necessarily associated with small territorial size.

For this reason the studies on socio-economic dynamics concentrate upon the localization of development (Becattini, 2001) rather than on its social and political contradictions. As a consequence, they often fail to even individuate the modifications and the true socio-economic and productive role that metropolitan structures have had and keep having.

Starting from, and bearing in mind, the general framework delineated here, we shall analyze in what follows some characteristics of the local economies. We shall argue that they do not challenge, but on the contrary fully support, the economic and productive centrality of industry. This is in fact supported by the development of a tertiary productive sector and by the central economic and productive functions performed by the metropolitan areas.

This whole set of developments leads us to refute the political and intellectual arguments of the lovers of the little and local and of the «small is beautiful» in industry and in the economy in general, who see in the evident processes of tertiarization the «end of industrial Italy» and more in general the «end of work» (Hobsbawm, 1986).

The unemployed, precarious workers, students, immigrants, the more or less politicized forms of the new urban sub-proletariat, or better said the new proletariat, opposing capitalism in heterogeneous and often un-organized forms, go to constitute the new subject of conflict, the resistance to capitalist domination. The examples of the rebellions of the great metropolis of Latin America, in Paris, and those that not always come out in all their organized social aggressiveness, often taking the forms of metropolitan rebelliousness with an apparently non-direct political character are only the first instances of the new dimension of the social conflict in the metropolitan areas.

The implications of these different points of view in terms of the dynamics of class struggle and of the role of Trade-unionism are evident, but they lie outside the scope of the present work.

2. Comparing the Main Italian Metropolitan Areas: Similarities and Differences.

There are two possible ways to describe and identify the Metropolitan Areas. We can identify them as particular forms of Local Labour systems, or as territorial areas within the provinces with homogeneity at the productive, social and economic level, and solid communication as well as transportation structures. In the latter case provinces contain Metropolitan areas, but the overlapping is usually such that analyzing provinces and Metropolitan Areas can be considered as taking an administrative twist in an economic, social and productive analysis of homogenous structural characteristics.

In the present globalized market the Metropolitan Areas constitute very complex social systems that in order to be fully understood need accurate analyses of the labour market, distinguishing «poor» from «rich» jobs, stable and precarious work, the formation of new classes and new consumption patterns, and the study of how the new social, economic and productive dynamics affect class composition.

In Italy the concept of «Metropolitan Area» was introduced at the administrative level with the law 142 of 1990. What is considered in legal terms as a Metropolitan Area is any region surrounding a city, or in general a municipality, whose population and productive settlements have relationships of strict integration with the urban centre itself. Economic activities, essential services concerning social and political life, cultural relations and territorial characteristics contribute to the definition of what «strict integration» means. Law 142 concerned the largest Italian cities: Turin, Milan, Venice, Genoa, Bologna, Florence, Rome, Bari, Naples. These were defined by the legislator as «metropolitan cities» (*città metropolitane*). Cagliari, Catania and Palermo are later additions, administratively finalized in the Decreto Legislativo 18/8/2000, no.267.

The main metropolitan areas can be classified into two categories from the point of view of the population and of the production of national wealth:

a. the GAM (Great Metropolitan Areas), comprising: Rome, Milan, Naples, Turin.

b. The SAM (Standard Metropolitan Areas) whose GNP varies in between the 20 billions euro of Bologna and the 11 of Bari, and that comprise all the other Metropolitan Areas.

A Censis research[1] evaluates the GNP of 11 metropolitan areas. In them lives 25% of the Italian population (Turin, Milan, Genoa, Venice, Bologna, Florence, Rome, Naples, Bari, Palermo, Catania). 15% live in the metropolitan cities, i.e. in the province capitals of the metropolitan areas. This part of the population produces 31.4% of the national GNP, for an absolute value in the year 2000 of 366 billion euros (•25,200 per inhabitant in the average).

For instance Milan's figure is •105.5 billions, 52.2% of which are concentrated in the provincial capital, while the remaining 47.8% is spread in the 105 municipalities of the hinterland. Also, Milan has the highest per capita value, with •34,500 per person. Right below Milan is the Roman area, with 82.3 billion euros, 91.1% of which is to be attributed to the municipality of Rome itself. The figure per person is •27.900.

It must be emphasized that in the average the per capita GNP (tables 1 and 2) of the metropolitan centres is higher compared to that of the municipalities of the hinterland. This witnesses to the fact that the main

[1] Cf. www.censis.it La Ricchezza del Territorio Italiano. This exercise delineates the geography of welfare and estimates GNP for all Italian municipalities. 16 Gennaio 2004, Sintes, 4. Le Aree Metropolitane e la «Metropolizzazione» del Territorio Ricco.

cities remain the true attraction pole for economic activities. The hinterland is usually the areas where the inhabitants of the large cities move their residence.

The same source (Rur-Censis) tells us that the 11 Metropolitan Areas supply 31.4% of the Italian GNP, with a significant 9.1% in Milan, 7.1% in Rome, and

TAB.1.
GNP IN THE METROPOLITAN CENTRE AND IN THE HINTERLAND[2]

	Centro metropolitano		Hinterland		Totale area	
	V.A. (milioni*)	V. Pro capite (migliaia*)	V.A. (milioni*)	V. Pro capite (migliaia*)	V.A. (milioni*)	V. Pro capite (migliaia*)
Torino	25.439	29,4	18.707	24,9	44.146	27,3
Milano	55.074	43,8	50.457	28,0	105.532	34,5
Genova	15.080	24,7	2.348	18,9	17.428	23,7
Venezia	8.317	30,7	6.392	21,7	14.709	26,0
Bologna	11.719	31,6	7.518	32,2	19.237	31,8
Firenze	11.615	32,6	5.823,4	26,0	17.438,4	30,0
Roma	74.955	29,4	7.306	18,3	82.261	27,9
Napoli	17.536	17,5	14.723	10,9	32.260	13,7
Bari	7.387	23,3	3.610	13,9	10.996	19,1
Palermo	10.890	15,9	1.437,4	8,5	12.328	14,4
Catania	6.304	20,1	3.290,9	11,4	9.594,7	15,9
Totale	**244.315**	**28,4**	**121.614**	**20,6**	**365.929**	**25,2**

* In Euros.
Fonte: Rur-Censis, 2004.

TAB. 2
GNP IN THE METROPOLITAN AREAS
(percentage of the total of each area)

	Metropolitan centre (%)	Hinterland (%)	Total (area) (%)
Torino	57,6	42,4	100,0
Milano	52,2	47,8	100,0
Genova	86,5	13,5	100,0
Venezia	56,5	43,5	100,0
Bologna	60,9	39,1	100,0
Firenze	66,6	33,4	100,0
Roma	91,1	8,9	100,0
Napoli	54,4	45,6	100,0
Bari	67,2	32,8	100,0
Palermo	88,3	11,7	100,0
Catania	65,7	34,3	100,0
Total	**66,8**	**33,2**	**100,0**

Source: Rur-Censis, 2004

[2] Tables are in Italian. The names of the cities differ slightly, but need no translation. Pro capite means per capita, migliaia means thousands.

2.8% for Naples. It is evident that the metropolitan areas have developed in a significant way despite the incomplete implementation of the legislative and administrative decisions concerning them. They strongly contribute to the total development of Italy.

A research of the provincial administration of Rome (EU.RE.S, 2004) analyzes nine Metropolitan Areas (Turin, Milan, Venice, Genoa, Bologna, Florence, Rome, Naples, Bari). It supplies some interesting results nonetheless, which can be generalized.

Table 3 shows the data concerning the resident population of the 9 metropolitan areas considered. The data clearly show that in the years in between the two censuses a strong diminution of inhabitants of the metropolitan areas has taken place in the various cities, in different degrees. For instance Genoa has registered a -7.7%, Florence a -3.5% and Turin a -3.2%.

Also, the population of the metropolitan centres has decreased in between 1991 and 2001, even because there has been a population movement towards the small cities. This has been mainly due to the increase of rents and the strong housing price increases.

This diminution (these data are from the same source as Table 3) has been very relevant in cities like Florence (-11.7%), Turin (-10.1%), Genoa (-10.1%). Rome felt this phenomenon less (-6.8%). It is worth signalling the contraction of the two former industrial poles of Turin and Genoa.

Another fact worth pointing out concerns the productive system in the 9 metropolitan areas. If we look at the number of registered and active firms, we see in the year 2004 (tab.4) a positive variation as compared to 2003 in all areas except Bologna. Rome, Milan, Naples are the cities that have the highest growth rate. If we analyze, however, the birth and mortality rates of firms, we see negative rates in most metropolitan areas. The only exceptions are Milan (with just a +0.1%, i.e. a small

TAB. 3
RESIDENT POPULATION IN THE METROPOLITAN AREAS
(EU.RE.S, 2004: 162)

	1992	2001	Var.% 2001/1991
Torino	2.236.765	2.165.619	-3,2
Milano	3.738.685	3.707.210	-0,8
Venezia	820.052	809.586	-1,3
Genova	950.849	878.082	-7,7
Bologna	906.865	915.225	0,9
Firenze	967.437	933.860	-3,5
Roma	3.761.067	3.700.424	-1,6
Napoli	3.016.026	3.059.196	1,4
Bari	1.530.170	1.559.662	1.9
Italia	56.778.031	56.995.744	0,4

Fonte: Elaborazione Eures Ricerche Economiche e Sociale su dati Istat increase due to a 1.9% increase in registration, vs. a 1.8% for liquidation of firms), Florence (+0.2%), Rome (with a significant +0.5%) and Naples (+0.2%).

It is useful to compare the percentage variation of value added per capita in the year 2002 for the nine metropolitan areas. Rome (4.4%) and Venice (5.1%) have the highest growth. Only Genoa shows a negative figure (-1.1%). The average Italian total is +2.6%.

While Italy's average (data form the same source. See Vasapollo, 2006a for the complete figures) is a positive 2.6%, some Metropolitan Areas like Rome (+4.4%), and Venice (+5.1%) show variations above the average. Some other areas are instead well below, such as Naples (+2.9%), Florence (+2.7%). Turin (2%), and Milan (1.6%) have moderate values. Together with the negative figure of Genoa, this shows the continuing decline of what used to be the old celebrated «industrial triangle» (Turin, Milan, Genoa).

Graph 1 shows how in all metropolitan areas the added value is higher in the service sector and very low in the agricultural sector.

The per capita income (for a complete set of figures see Vasapollo, 2005a, 2006a and 2006b) confirms the difference between areas. The southern metropolitan areas have an income lower than the national average (•19,677). Naples's figure is •12,649, Bari's •13,714. Milan is the richest areas of Italy (•30,022), followed by

TAB.4
REGISTERED AND ACTIVE ENTERPRISES[3]
MARZO 2004

	Registrate	Tasso iscrizione	Tasso cessazione	Variazione% sull'anno precedente delle imprese registrate
Torino	221.917	2,7	2,8	1,4
Milano	424.252	1,9	1,8	1,7
Venezia	79.957	2,3	2,4	1,0
Genova	83.425	2,3	2,4	1,2
Bologna	95.733	2,4	2,5	0,0
Firenze	106.346	2,3	2,1	1,3
Roma	389.799	2,1	1,6	1,8
Napoli	255.392	2,1	1,9	1,8
Bari	156.161	1,7	1,8	0,9
Italia	5.898.1588	2,2	2,3	1,3

Fonte: Elaborazione Eures Ricerche Economiche e Sociali su dati Infocamere

[3] Source: (EU.RE.S, 2004: 173).Registrate means Registered, Tasso Iscrizione is Registration Rate, Tasso Cessazione is the Liquidation Rate. The last column gives the figures of the % variation compared to the preceding year.

Bologna, Florence and Rome. Milan is the richest also from the point of view of the GNP, followed by Bologna, Florence, Turin and Rome, as shown in Graph.2.

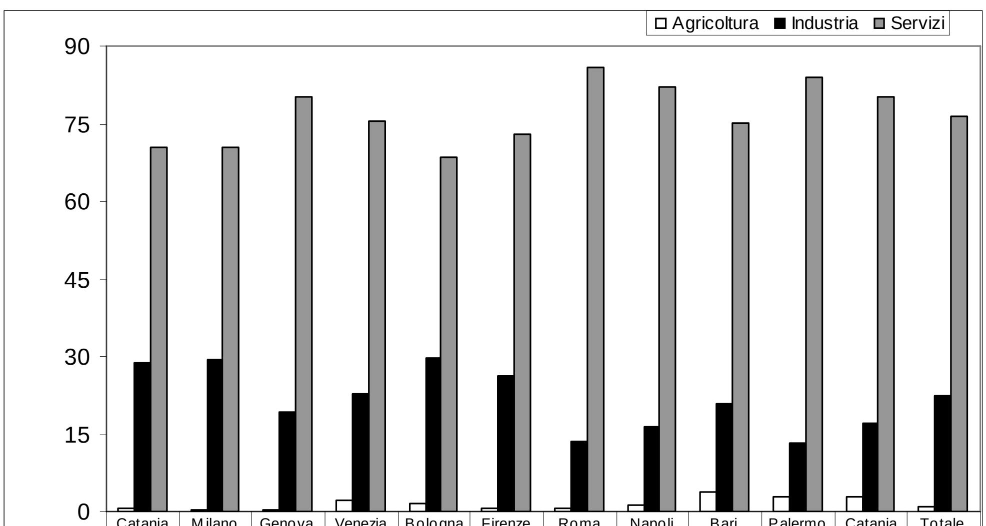
Family bank deposits, which is an extremely good indicator of wealth in Metropolitan Areas, confirm this picture. Milan for the years 2002/2003 shows the highest per capita values (10,883)[4] followed this time by Rome (10,147), then Bologna (9,792) and Florence (9,132). All these areas are above the national average. The metropolitan areas of the South (Naples, 5,364, and Bari, 5,455) show values that are significantly lower than the national average (7,439) (Banca d'Italia data. For a complete set of figures see Vasapollo, 2006a, 2006b, 2006c).

The employment rates (ratio between employed people and the population above the age of 15) (tab.5) further confirms the difference between the Southern metropolitan areas and the rest of the country. While in 2003 Rome, Venice, Turin, Florence, Bologna and Milan lie well above the national average, Bari and Naples are well below. Genoa shows a value just below the national average.

This confirms that Genoa has left the group of the economically developed cities

[4] Values are in thousands of euros.

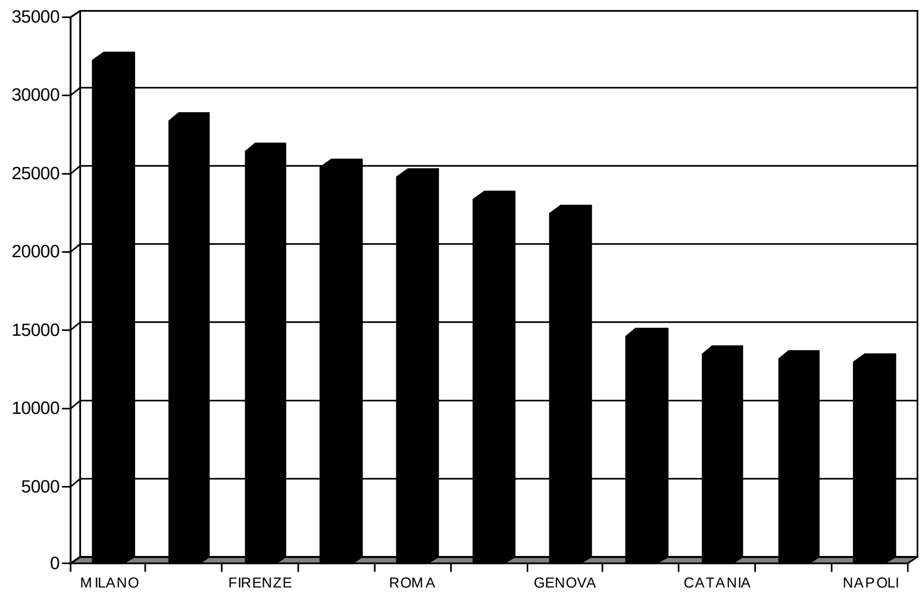
GRAF. 1
VALUE ADDED PER OPERATOR IN THE THREE PRODUCTIVE SECTORS IN THE PROVINCES



	Catania	Milano	Genova	Venezia	Bologna	Firenze	Roma	Napoli	Bari	Palermo	Catania	Totale
Agricoltura	0,743	0,273	0,417	2,059	1,625	0,616	0,527	1,303	3,947	2,696	2,869	1,009
Industria	28,874	29,430	19,364	22,605	29,776	26,338	13,728	16,569	20,987	13,182	16,942	22,555
Servizi	70,385	70,296	80,224	75,341	68,599	73,046	85,746	82,130	75,071	84,122	80,188	76,438

Source: our elaboration from data ISTAT-CNEL

GRAF.2.
PER CAPITA GNP IN THE METROPOLITAN AREAS



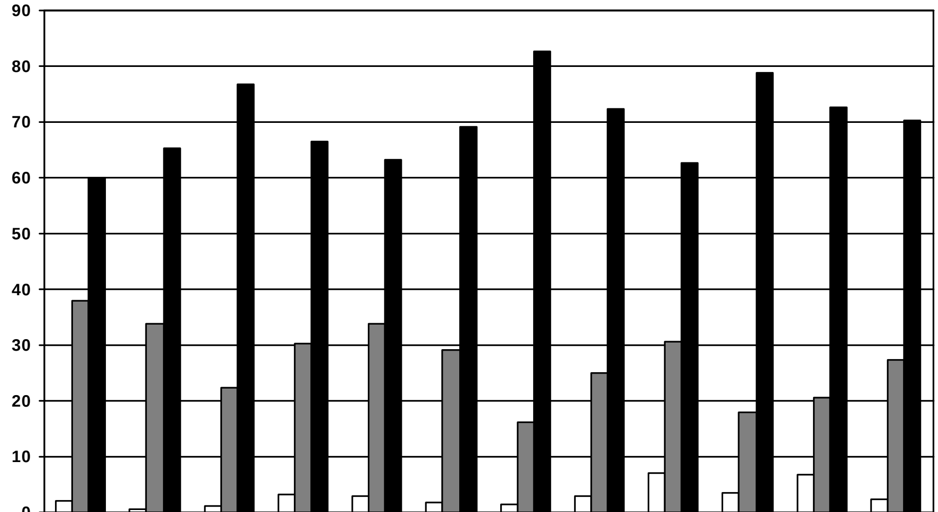
Source: our elaboration from data ISTAT-CNEL

TAB.5
EMPLOYMENT RATE
(EU.RE.S, 2004: 179) ANNI 2002 – 2003

	2002	**2003**
Torino	47,6	48,3
Milano	50,7	50,7
Venezia	48,8	48,9
Genova	43,0	43,6
Bologna	50,4	51,3
Firenze	46,0	48,3
Roma	45,5	46,2
Napoli	33,2	33,2
Bari	38,9	38,8
Italia	44,4	44,8

Fonte: Elaborazione Eures Ricerche Economiche e Sociali su dati Istat

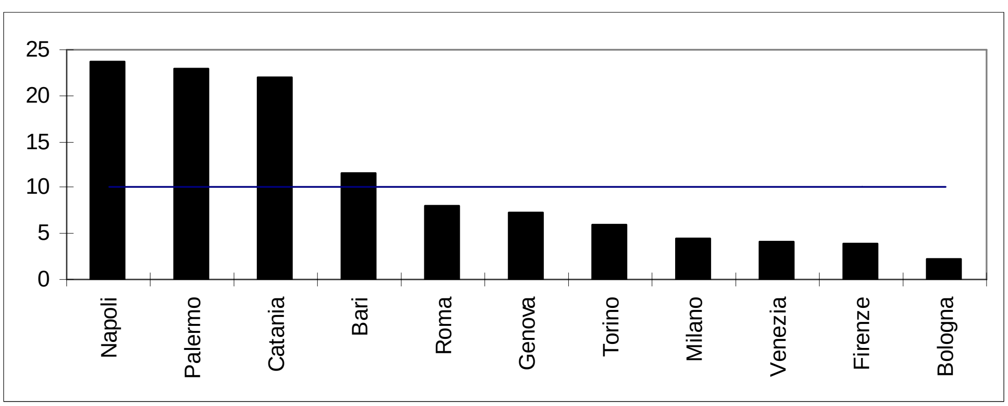
GRAF.3
PERCENTAGE OF EMPLOYED IN THE THREE PRODUCTIVE SECTORS



	TORINO	MILANO	GENOVA	VENEZIA	BOLOGNA	FIRENZE	ROMA	NAPOLI	BARI	PALERMO	CATANIA	TOTALE
AGRICOLTURA	2,001	0,665	1,08	3,369	2,916	1,834	1,364	2,797	6,972	3,423	6,635	2,312
INDUSTRIA	37,97	33,923	22,215	30,271	33,935	28,982	16,04	24,959	30,479	17,896	20,583	27,438
SERVIZI	60,029	65,412	76,705	66,36	63,149	69,184	82,596	72,244	62,549	78,681	72,781	70,251

Fonte: nostra elaborazione su dati ISTAT-CNEL

GRAF.4
UNEMPLOYMENT RATE IN THE 11 PROVINCES



Fonte: nostra elaborazione su dati ISTAT-CNEL to which it used to belong. The unemployment rate shows the same situation, with Naples having a rate three times higher than the national average, and the northern cities having significantly lower rates than the national average.

The distribution of labour in the three productive sectors clearly shows the reduced percentage of agricultural workers in all the metropolitan areas. The service sector prevails in all the 11 areas.

Finally, it is worth having a look at the «social» quality of life, considering schooling and the supply of cultural activities.

Naples and Bari again show their inadequacy. Rome also results among the less developed areas.

TAB.6.
CULTURAL POSSIBILITIES IN THE METROPOLITAN AREAS
(EU.RE.S, 2004: 1240) ANNO 2002

	Biblioteche/ 100.000 abitanti	**Musei Statali/ 100.00 abitanti**	**Biglietti cinema/ 100 abitanti**	**Biblietti teatro-musica/100 abitanti**
Torino Capoluogo	3,4	0,8	426,3	116,0
Torino Provincia	14,8	0,5	164,1	29,6
Torino Totale	**10,2**	**0,6**	**268,8**	**64,1**
Milano Capoluogo	3,7	0,2	460,0	179,0
Milano Provincia	8,7	0,0	214,4	33,6
Milano Totale	**7,0**	**0,1**	**297,6**	**82,9**
Venezia Capoluogo	10,3	2,6	316,3	359,7
Venezia Provincia	8,2	0,2	196,2	137,1
Venezia Totale	**8,9**	**1,0**	**236,4**	**52,4**
Genova Capoluogo	3,4	0,7	359,7	72,5
Genova Provincia	11,6	0,4	137,1	15,8
Genova Totale	**5,9**	**0,6**	**291,8**	**55,2**
Bologna Capoluogo	8,4	0,3	703,9	91,4
Bologna Provincia	13,6	0,2	148,4	70,6
Bologna Totale	**11,5**	**0,2**	**373,7**	**79,0**
Firenze Capoluogo	5,1	8,7	613,6	224,2
Firenze Provincia	8,7	0,0	190,6	51,6
Firenze Totale	**7,3**	**3,3**	**351,9**	**117,5**
Roma Capoluogo	1,3	1,9	483,4	128,1
Roma Provincia	6,6	1,7	214,4	18,7
Roma Totale	**2,9**	**1,9**	**399,5**	**94,0**
Napoli Capoluogo	1,6	1,1	221,2	81,6
Napoli Provincia	2,2	1,2	80,3	11,5
Napoli Totale	**2,0**	**1,2**	**126,6**	**34,5**
Bari Capoluogo	1,3	0,9	223,5	81,0
Bari Provincia	2,7	0,8	155,6	15,4
Bari Totale	**2,4**	**0,8**	**169,4**	**28,7**

Fonte: Elaborazione Eures Ricerche Economiche e Sociali su fonti diverse.

3. Results from a Statistical Analysis

During our activity as CESTES, we have been monitoring the social and economic situation of the working people and the evolution of the Italian economic structure, also through statistical analyses concerning the Metropolitan areas. We report here the findings of our most recent exercise: Vasapollo (2005, 2006a, 2006b) develops in fact a statistical analysis of economic, demographic and social data concerning the metropolitan areas we have been considering in the preceding section. We briefly report here some of the findings of that analysis, that confirm and enrich in many respects what has been said so far. For the complete statistical discussion of the exercise and the original data please refer to the said papers.

The exercise related in two different ways economic and demographic data concerning the metropolitan areas.[5] Both analyses converged showing the same results. A cluster analysis individuated three clusters of geographically and economically differentiated metropolitan areas. Here they are:

Cluster 1: This is constituted by the economic and productive vanguard areas. It comprises Milan, Turin, Venice, Bologna, Florence.

Cluster 2: Backward areas with some aspects of intermediate development. It comprises Genoa, Naples, Bari, Catania, Palermo.

Cluster 3: Areas with a diffused tertiary sector, with multiple characterization. This cluster counts only the metropolitan area of Rome, which is different from all other areas.

It is interesting to notice that the second analysis, that weighed in a different way the various indicators (economic and demographic/social indicators were kept more separated) offers similar, indeed almost identical results. It also yields three clusters:

Cluster 1: Economic and productive vanguards. It comprises Milan, Turin, Venice, Bologna, Florence and Bari.

Cluster 2: Backwards and with some intermediate development aspects. It comprises Genoa, Palermo, Naples and Catania.

Cluster 3: Diffused tertiary with multiple characterization. It consists only in the area of Rome.

The only relevant difference between the two statistical analyses is the passage of the Metropolitan area of Bari from the second to the first group. This means that refining the weighing system relating economic data and geographical and employment ones the structural economic features are better identified. Bari in fact is showing strong signals of being in the process of becoming an advanced economic pole in the South.

In summary, what interests us here is the fact that also the statistical analyses show a great difference between the North and the South of Italy. The peculiar characteristics of the centre-south are: the prevalence of the tertiary sector, shown by the

[5] In the first case the geometrical average between population of the Metropolitan Area and that of the respective province and GNPs of the Metropolitan Areas and respective provinces were weighed. In the second we related per capita GNP of the single Metropolitan Area to the per capita GNP of the relative province. For the employment data the weighing has related the population of the Metropolitan Areas to that of the relative province.

percentage of the employed, the reduced presence of the industrial sector, the limited export propensity, unemployment, the presence of irregular workers and the modest per capita GNP and consumption expenditure. That means that compared to the North, the South is poorer.

The common characteristics of the Northern areas are their similar demographic structure, a good performance of the employment indicators, unemployment rates lower than the average despite the evident processes of de-industrialization and of industrial decline, a good performance of industrial value added, an excellent export propensity and a good consumption capacity due to the high per capita GNP.

All the Metropolitan areas of the South are similar to each other, and so are those of the North, with some exceptions. Rome, Bari and Genoa stand out for their peculiarities. Genoa is a northern city that belongs with the South in terms of economic, demographic and social development, despite being at the northern levels for its labour market and sectorial structure. What draws it into the southern generalization is the percentage weight of industrial workers, and the percentage of industrial value added, that are well below the national average. This shows that a relevant process of de-industrialization and structural backwardness is taking place.

It is worth therefore singling out for some considerations the Metropolitan area of Bari, that presents some northern characteristics. In particular, it has a much higher percentage of industrial as well as agricultural employment, a higher percentage of industrial value added, a high rate of enterprises to the population, a good percentage of value added performed by the service sector, while it is fully within the southern average for all the other indicators. In other words, Bari's area is still structurally southern, but shows some economic-productive trends towards an equilibrated growth with industrial and tertiary characteristics that help strengthen its historical agricultural structure.

Rome's Metropolitan area is a special case. It is a tertiary area with diffused and advanced entrepreneurship. The urban centre itself produces 6.4% of Italian GNP, although it has been losing importance in this respect. 85.7% of its GNP comes from services firms (the highest in Italy, whose national average is 70.9%). Rome has the second highest number of enterprises (after Milan). The intensity of the services sector makes it very different from the other Metropolitan Areas. It also shows a good export propensity, and its labour structure is similar to that of the northern Metropolitan Areas. It also stands out from the average for the number of crimes (higher than anywhere else).

4. Final Considerations: The Metropolitan Area as the New Diffused Social Factory

The analysis pursued here and in Vasapollo (2005, 2006a, 2006b, 2006c) confirm the results of two earlier research exercises (Vasapollo, 1995a, 1995b), clearly indicating that the transformation of the geography of development in Italy in the last twenty-five years has taken place due to a process of industrial decline rather than deindustrialization. This has been accompanied by processes of implicit and explicit tertiarization, with qualitative and quantitative transformations of the services sector and of the activities within it. These transformations are the cause of paramount changes in the re-definition, specialization and diversification of labour. They produce a strong mass precarization and structural unemployment.

We witness the growth of a tertiary sector that more and more interacts and gets integrated with the other productive activities, especially the industrial ones, contributing to form a new model of local development that we can define a «fabric of tertiary diversification», whose role is to support industry. In practice then the tertiary is taking the role of engine of the development model.

It is in this framework that we must read the great importance that is given in the literature and in politics (Datar, 2001) to the new concept of «territorial entrepreneurship», that is projected beyond the industrial district. The important thing is that what is taking place is defined by the relations of behavioural coercion that take place between enterprises and the local community. What this comes down to is a forced self-regulation of the supply and demand of labour, realized by means of the marginalization, precarization and expulsion of the non-compatible economic and productive subjects.

In the light of this socio-economic interpretation the technological and productive transformations that characterize local areas determine the growth of territorial networks that are formed around great firms with strong local connotations. This is what causes the birth of a «social factory of the Metropolitan Area». The «social factory» keeps having an industrial character resulting from the joint de-verticalization of big productive plants, with strong connotations of local productive specialization. Such process at the same time exerts a social domination by means of the control of the modalities of access to the job and consumption markets. This causes the precarization of the whole social life of the labouring classes.

The structural transformations that are moulding the socio-economic system at the local level are determined by the continuous interaction of the tertiary sector with the rest of the productive system, and have been caused by the need to re-define capital productively and socially. To read them we need disaggregated analyses of the local distribution of productive activities, that must be analyzed alongside the social and political features. Also, attention must be paid to the new entrepreneurial phenomena (the one-man firms), that conceal forms of subordinated labour, precarious and without the average guarantees, and often cover up for the actual expulsion from the productive system. Such processes need new interpretive logics, new tools that analyses of a «Fordist» type lack.

The crisis of the system that emerges from the empirical evidence and is due to the process of transformation of the so-called post-fordist society can be explained by looking at the atypical forms of work that it produces, whose main character is the precariousness. Such work is in fact characterized extensively by a form of social cooptation that goes beyond the factory and material work, and intensively through communication and information, the resources of the capital of abstraction and of intangible capital in general.

Here then the re-definition of homogenous social and economic areas gives the «social factory of the metropolitan area as a social factory diffused in the territory» a country-wide role. The specific and different functions of economic and social activities of the single areas, with areas with similar economic features, are the connective tissue that ties the new mode of being of Italian capitalist development with its specificities and its areas of backwardness.

This is, therefore, only the beginning of a work of analysis that must be developed in various directions. The central point is the new labour figures that are determined by the transformation of the local productive activities in the metropolitan areas. Once again it is with Marx's toolkit, the great tradition of class research that in Italy still is referred to the work of Panzieri and of the Quaderni Rossi, that we can repropose in a unitary path the production of empirical research works as a way to give consciousness and force for radical transformation to the antagonist social bloc. The role of the grassroots movements and of a new urban trade-unionism is fundamental in this sense. We are talking of a trade-unionism that begins from the bottom, from the shop-floor and territory struggles, capable of organizing Trade Unions action in the workplace with a sort of social bargaining in the metropolis together with the committees of the unemployed, the networks of the precariously employed of the new cognitive sort and of the traditional type, the grassroots committees against high prices, the organizations that battle for a social income, the structures that work for the right to a home and for the improvement and gratuitousness of services.

To this task CESTES PROTEO will devote the next years.

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