Doctoral Thesis

TRAILS OF AN INDIAN COMMUNITY IN PADOVA.

Chasing the invisible migration of Indian students (re)shaping spaces in this Italian medium city.

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To my Indian friends in Padova : Kalparupa, Isha, Hemant and Anuj.

"We all live as parallel mirrors.
Looking at each other through different emotions
until one day those reflections
meet and become one."

Damien Mc Fly[1]

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[1] http://www.damienmcfly.com Homage to my friend Damiano Ferrari, a Paduan singer.

Abstract (English)

Italy is often considered as a host or receiving country for low-skilled (and mainly illegal) migrants and over the years, I have had to explain on many occasions that high-skilled migrants are also attracted by Italy and even come under international agreements concluded between countries involved in a soft-power competition for 'talents' to foster their power on a global scale and obviously, legally.

International students constitute a migrants' category that did not receive so much attention by scholars until 2000s (Piguet et al., 2017). However, migration for studies has older roots that can be dated back to 1190 (Lee, 2015), and perhaps more rightly to colonial times between 1600s-1900s (Leucci et al., 2018). In that respect the thesis has evidenced how the flow of Indian students to Italy is by and large encouraged by international policies which remain undisclosed. Within these policies, many bilateral agreements have been signed by the Italian government to attract Indian tertiary students who could '*invest their talents*' in Italian Universities. The thesis bonds two analysis levels (local and global) in one discussion about the interdependencies between the trends and structure of Indian students' migration flows and their spatialization in Italy as a destination country through the case study of the city of Padova ; a medium city which is gaining importance in the international landscape thanks to its 800-year-old University. Eventually, the discussion will lead us to assess the relationship tying together the city and the University of Padova around the internationalization challenge. As a matter of fact, my Ph.D. track is in "*Urban Planning and regional public policies*", therefore by recovering hints of visionary urban planners like Leonie Sandercock, I have sketched out a way to gather the city with the people and the university intertwining them around the concept of 'cosmopolitan city'.

The thesis contributes to highlighting a relevant migratory flow underexplored by literature in Italy: the international students' migration. Meanwhile, a focus on the Indian university students considered as 'students-migrants' enriched with knowledge and intellectual capacities will help nuance the eclectic mosaic of the Indians' migration in Italy nowadays, which remains largely concentrated over the 'low-' or 'semi-'skilled migrants such as the Indian Sikhs working in agriculture, for instance. Overall, the migration of highly skilled and educated workers has not been studied extensively neither in Italy nor in many other European countries (Piguet 2016; McGuill, 2013; King and Raghuram, 2013). I argue

for the need to trace an alternative mode of thought, of interpretation and actions which overcomes the narrow approach to migration randomly associated to 'illegals' only (Ambrosini, 2011, 2017; Panichella & Ambrosini, 2018).

The thesis also fills a significant gap in assessing the negative impacts of the studentification process for a city like Padova running for an international recognition, beyond its heritage milestones like the Sant'Antony church or Elena Lucrezia Cornaro, the first woman worldwide with a bachelor's degree. In this pattern, I underline the prominent role and place of the university, acting as a "bridge" or crossing and convergence point of the interculturalism in the city.

Overall, the thesis provides a rich and nuanced canvas of assorted Indian students' profiles on a same territory: Padova city. This research takes us far away from the pronationalist political claim of 'Italy to Italians' and from the 'ordinance policies', emphasizing the feeling of separation with 'gated community' of migrants, separated from permanent residents, in messy social-mixing areas of the city (Briata, 2014). Instead, it brings the reader to a new vision of co-existence within a delimited local space thanks to the example of the city of Padova and its appealing 'internationalization' desire involving the university in this process.

Abstract (Italiano)

L'Italia viene spesso considerata come un paese che ospita o riceve migranti poco qualificati (per lo più illegali), così nel corso degli anni mi sono trovata a spiegare in più occasioni che anche migranti altamente qualificati sono attratti dall'Italia, e che addirittura vi giungono grazie ad accordi internazionali stipulati da paesi che sono tra loro in competizione 'soft power' per la ricerca di talenti, con lo scopo di aumentare il proprio potere a livello globale, ovviamente attraverso vie legali.

Gli studenti internazionali costituiscono una categoria di migranti che fino agli anni duemila non ha ricevuto molta attenzione in ambito accademico [Piguet et al., 2017]. Tuttavia, la migrazione per motivi di studio si può far risalire al periodo coloniale tra il XVII e il XIX secolo [Leucci et al., 2018]. A questo proposito, la presente tesi ha evidenziato come il flusso di studenti indiani verso l'Italia sia largamente incoraggiato da politiche internazionali che rimangono per lo più sconosciute. Tra queste politiche figurano vari accordi bilaterali firmati dal Governo italiano per attirare studenti indiani di livello universitario che vogliano "investire il proprio talento" nelle Università italiane. La tesi riesce a coniugare, attraverso un 'case study' sulla città di Padova – città di 'media' dimensione che sta guadagnando importanza nel panorama internazionale grazie alla sua Università, fondata 800 anni fa - due livelli di analisi (locale e globale) in un'unica discussione sulle interdipendenze tra l'andamento e la struttura dei flussi migratori degli studenti indiani e la loro spazializzazione in Italia quale nazione di destinazione. La discussione porterà infine a valutare la relazione che unisce la città e l'Università di Padova nella sfida dell'internazionalizzazione. Dopotutto, l'ambito di studio del mio dottorato è la "Pianificazione territoriale e politiche pubbliche del territorio" perciò, seguendo le tracce di urbanisti visionari come Leonie Sandercock, ho delineato un metodo per collegare la città alle persone e all'Università, intrecciandole intorno al concetto di città cosmopolita.

La tesi presentata contribuisce quindi ad evidenziare un flusso migratorio rilevante ma inesplorato dalla letteratura accademica in Italia: la migrazione degli studenti internazionali. Allo stesso tempo, un focus sugli studenti universitari indiani, considerati come studenti-migranti dotati di conoscenze e capacità intellettuali, aiuterà a delineare il variegato mosaico dell'attuale migrazione indiana in Italia. In effetti, l'analisi della migrazione degli indiani in Italia resta attualmente limitata a migranti con bassi o medi livelli

di specializzazione come, ad esempio, gli indiani Sikh impiegati in agricoltura. In linea generale, la migrazione di lavoratori altamente qualificati e con alti livelli di istruzione non è stata studiata in modo approfondito né in Italia, né in altri paesi europei [Piguet, 2016; McGuill, 2013; King and Raghuram, 2013]. Pertanto, richiamo la necessità di definire un diverso modo di pensare, interpretare e agire che superi l'approccio limitante alla migrazione generalmente associato ai soli irregolari [Ambrosini, 2011, 2017; Panichella & Ambrosini, 2018].

La tesi colma inoltre un'importante lacuna, valutando gli impatti negativi del processo di *studentificazione* di una città come Padova che ricerca il proprio riconoscimento a livello internazionale, aldilà del suo patrimonio storico noto globalmente per la basilica di Sant'Antonio. In questo contesto, ci tengo a sottolineare come il ruolo illustre dell'Università e il suo spazio fisico fungano da "ponte", o da crocevia e punto di convergenza dell'interculturalità della città.

Nel complesso, la presente tesi di ricerca fornisce un quadro dettagliato e ricco di sfumature sui vari profili degli studenti indiani presenti in uno stesso territorio, cioè la città di Padova. Questa ricerca ci allontana dagli slogan politici nazionalisti de "l'Italia agli italiani" e dalle politiche di sicurezza che tendono ad esasperare la sensazione di separazione dalle 'comunità chiuse' di migranti, diverse dai residenti permanenti, in aree di caotica mescolanza sociale della città [Briata, 2014]. Questa ricerca mira invece a portare il lettore ad una nuova visione di co-abitazione in uno spazio locale limitato, grazie all'esempio della città di Padova e del suo interessante desiderio di internazionalizzazione che coinvolge l'Università nel processo.

Acknowledgements

Last day at CSH with all the team, 28/11/2019. New Delhi. Photo credits: J.T Martelli

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Forewords

My personal background study is in social sciences with a bachelor's degree in political sciences, International Relationships and Human Rights, and a master's degree in Governmental Sciences and Public Policies which led me to conduct an atypical research.

The thesis is interdisciplinary as the outcome of three years of Ph.D with three different coordinators, each of those having a different 'cut' in apprehending our programme in Regional Planning and Urban Policies -namely: politics, sociology, urbanistic. Considering this, my approach and theoretical framework have inevitably dived their roots in a political-sociological frame of analysis which might seem 'borderline', but which apprehend the city as a space of social interactions where people are the co-protagonists of the city's changes and evolution. The purpose of my research is to show the link between migration and urban transformation in terms of urban policies and social practices within a specific local territory: the city of Padova.

The thesis analyses the question of Indian students-migrants in Padova through different angles generally difficult to tie together, while keeping a strong sociological base though. On that regard, it should be also noted that, the argument presented here has been treated according to the methods of urban sociology's literature of the traditional 'School of Chicago' -among others (Part 1). Furthermore, the thesis' analysis is bridging the international mobility policies between Italy and India, examining the educational policies which attract Indians to Italian Universities (Part 2). Lastly, the thesis assesses the sociological effects of a continuous flow of foreign students into a local territory, exploring the urban and social spaces of the city of Padova (Italy), a space of places working on the promotion of internationalization (Part3).

Therefore, coherently with my social-studies'background and my major source of inspiration – R.E Park's works (1930s)- the thesis has an 'ethnographic cut' which narrates the experiences of some Indian students in Italy and in Padova, rather than a traditional academic one. Indeed, I believe that the true output of a Ph.D thesis is to produce knowledge – scientific first, of course- but in my view, that knowledge should also open a window to everybody who is interested on the topic, beyond the academic *niche* only.

Finally, I hope this work will be understood by future readers such as the participants to my research who helped me (re)constructing a scarcly explored story of migration by giving their time and their trust to *a stranger* who eventually has sealed forever their memories of the Paduan-experience along the following pages: आपनी कहानिय.

General introduction

The sprawl of cities and migration flows describe two of the most dynamic, interdependent contemporary world processes, even if each of them contains particularities. In my research-experience, I have witnessed that while considerable migration research exists on low-skilled and semi-skilled migrants in Italy (Ambrosini, 2011a; Bertolani et al., 2014; Caponio et al. , 2011.; Denti et al., 2005; Ostanel, 2014), scarce attention has been devolved to the highly skilled category of migrants. Whereas, the highly skilled category deserves a specific attention, country by country. According to the World Migration Report (WMR, 2020, p.70) the two Asian "*population giants*", India and China, have the absolute largest numbers of migrants living abroad. As I could benefit of previous knowledge about Indian public policies on education (tackled during my master's), the Ph.D was a further opportunity to gain knowledge about India.

The thesis approaches the migration issue in urban context under an innovative angle which will complete the current Italian migration studies framework. To illustrate this angle, the discussion focuses on the migration of Indian students, as part of the 'talented brains' arriving to Italy- an output of policies between India and Italy; and on their daily experiences in the city of Padova to nuance the migration debate in Italy with new hints.

I.1 INDIAN MIGRATIONS TO ITALY

As the graphic n°i1 attached resumes, the historical evolution of the main reasons regarding the insuance of Residency permits delivered to Indians in Italy between 2007-2016
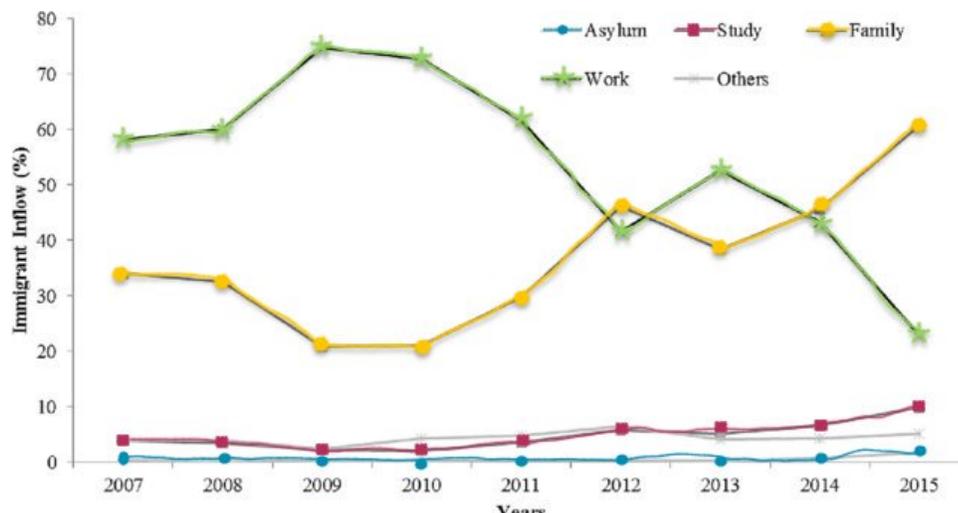
Graphic i1: the main reasons for the insuance of Residency permits to Indians in Italy. (2007-2016).
Source: Garha (2020), colored by me .

and shows how work was the major reason for Indians to come to Italy, coupled with family reunification until 2014.

From the graphic observation it is clear that India supplies a great number of 'low-skilled migrants' as Lum (2012) suggested: "*The Indian population in Italy, although relatively <u>low in profile</u> and recent newcomers to the <u>Italian multicultural mosaic</u>, is already <u>making its mark</u>, whether it be in the dairy industry or in nursing/elderly care.*" (*Ibid.,*p.25, my underlining). Meanwhile, asylum seekers are barely countable. Another small number is represented by the Indian students category with a steadly lower number which started increasing in 2012.

The fact that the number of highly skilled Indian migrants in Italy is still 'small' compared to the other migrants, is not a reason to neglect the topic, for two main reasons. First, with a population of 1.3 billion Indians, India accounted 18 million of its population residing abroad in 2018. Italy has become the second destination country in Europe, after UK, hosting the Indian diaspora with 157.965 Indian migrants in 2018.

Second, it is important to stress that the supply of 'skilled' migrants from India has increased in recent years along with the education level of Indian citizens holding a tertiary diploma and this phenomenon will carry on in the forthcoming years. Indeed, India is a rapidly changing country in which inclusive, high-quality education is of utmost importance for its future prosperity at least, for a priviledged part of the population. The country is currently in a youth bulge phase, with half of its total population between 25 and 28 years old (WES, 2018) so, it is likely that the Indian population who is well known for being highly mobile and *transnationalist*, will 'send' more and more Indian highly skilled students to Italy in the forthcoming years.

Finally, in other countries, Indian migrants have been approached as highly skilled migrants by a larger number of authors (Agrawal et al., 2011; Basri et al., 2008; Hainz, 2009; Kirk et al., 2017; Kõu & Bailey, 2014; Martin, 2012; Wiesbrock & Hercog, 2012), therefore this study aims to be aggregated to the pre-existing litterature on Indians' migration, feeling the gap of the missing category of the highly skilled.

I.2 INDIAN STUDENTS AS PART OF THE INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS'MIGRATION FLOW

In the past 20 years, Italy has been involved in the attraction of international students for the same reasons as other EU member states : faced with the growing challenges of the labour market, Italy has increasingly seen migration as a means of tackling aging populations, supporting welfare systems, and finding skilled labor migrants of different levels (EMN[2] Report, 2018, p.1). One strategy to address the shortcomings of the European labor market is to attract and promote the permanence of "*third-country citizens*[3]" who had chosen an EU member state for higher education (EMN, 2018, p.1)[4]. Mukherjee and Chanda (2012) revealed that it is through the EU economic and political policies that India has established its first contacts with European countries in 1973 through bilateral agreements. As evidenced in the discussion, two-thirds of Asian students converge onto five main countries: Australia, Canada, Japan, the United Kingdom and the United States (OECD, 2019). Among these Asian students, ranking after China, India is considered as the second biggest 'sending' country.

- *A definition of international students*

The term *"international students*" is used in my dissertation referring to students who are third country citizens i.e. from non-EU countries. The definition refers to article 3, paragraph 3, of the students and researchers directive (EU) 2016/801: "a *third-country national citizen who has been accepted by a higher education institution and is admitted to the territory of a Member State to pursue a full-time course of study leading to the qualification of higher education recognized by that Member State, including diplomas, certificates or doctorates in a higher education institution, which may include a preparatory course before that education, in accordance with national law, or compulsory training. Member States will be invited to indicate at the beginning of their national contribution and in the statistics provided*

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[2] European Migration Network report of 2018 https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/00_eu_international_students_2018_synthesis_report.pdf

[3] "Third-country citizen" means "any person who is not a citizen of the European Union within the meaning of Article. Article 20 (1) of the TFEU and who is not a person enjoying Union law to free movement, as defined in Article 20 (1) of the TFEU. Article 2 (5) of the Schengen Borders Code.

[4], Chapter 3 will be interested by the global scale: the policies and strategies to attract international students in Italy by grounding the reasons and intruments thorugh which Indian students arrive to Italian Universities (the analysis on local level will follow in Chapter 6.)

whether or not doctoral candidates are included when referring to "students"" (Directive (EU) 2016/801, art.3,3). In the case of Italy, Ph.D/doctoral candidate are considered as students.

- *The category of students-migrants*
    Literature has evidenced how international students hold a multifunctional task which goes beyond the mere studying purpose. International students are individuals in the first place, therefore the micro-level perspective in migration studies cannot be avoided in our study. Indeed, a stream of studies defends the polymorphic character of international students as a *"hybrid figure of the student- worker, or the student-refugee, who may also be a husband, wife, father or mother, or responsible for family members back home, [needing] further empirical investigation and theorization."* (R. King & Raghuram, 2013, p. 13, my underlining).

    As I can see it, the 'hybrid' nature of students in Raghuram and King's argumentation is convincing. As Raghuram alone (2013) further underlines : "*students have multiple identities*". Hence, as a growing category, international student-migration should be faced questioning its '*distinctive*' features and *"the need to retain a distinctive space for analyses of student migrants in the panoply of research on migration."* (Raghuram, 2013, p.11). In the end, I would rather commit myself to Baas'point of view as our case studies share more common points than differences[5]. First, Baas has clearly evidenced that international students are migrants: *"Although these people are students in name, in practice such behaveour actually makes them migrants."* (Baas, 2006, p.10, my underlining). Hence, for the scope of this dissertation, the category under analysis will be framed as 'student-migrants'.

    This discussion carries on in Part 2 resuming how literature (Boeri, 2012; Dotti et al., 2014; Kim, 2016) and international reports (ILO, 2006; MIUR et al., 2017; OECD, 2008-2019; WMR 2020; UNESCO 2019) have enhanced the need to connect the rise of the relevance of "student-migrants" with the increased emphasis on human capital mobility as an instrument to assess the possibility of investments following a knowledge-driven economic development. Indeed, the national political background of countries involved in the '*competition for talents*' operates as the framework governing students' migration. Hence,

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[5] Acknowledgement based on the discussion we shared during the interview in April 2019.

policies and regulation are a fundamental feature of the process of international students' migration for both sending and receiving countries.

Besides, it is important to consider the contingent category of international students-migrants due to the current context of increasingly securitized migration policies in Europe (and especially in South European countries like Italy) as it also raises some contradictions. On the one hand, in the light of the national security concerns, governments are urged to reduce immigration due to the heightened public pressures, which should entail a downsize of inward flows of student migration. On the other hand, for countries like the UK, Australia and the USA, these restricted visa-policies appeared as paradoxical since the presence of international students was a "*mode for enhancing incomes*" with higher fees for international students (Madge et . al., 2015). As a result of these changes, international students have started being perceived as *vital* to higher education landscape to sustain everyday academic life as well as everyday economic life in many receiving countries. All in all, if we read the political intentions of India and EU together with the national strategies of sending and receiving countries, we obtain the broader landscape that fuels Indian students' migration to European countries as Italy.

As a consequence, the thesis sheds light on the strategies put into place by the Italian governments abroad, through the example of the strategies of the Italian Embassy in India. In order to achieve the 'attraction' of Indian students that allows Italy to join the 'global competition' for talents, the Italian government has invested on instruments to secure a continuous flow of skilled migrants coming to Italy from India, by selecting them directly in the Italian Embassy Headquarters in New Delhi: this is the case of Indian students-migrants participating to my research.

I.3 THE OBJECTIVE, THE RESEARCH QUESTION, HYPOTHESES

The thesis mirrors the complex nature of Indian students' migration encounters with other migration flows (e.g the Indian community) and the permanent residents ('the locals'/'natives') by focusing on diverse type of living and sharing of the everyday life spaces, in the context of the city of Padova.
More precisely, the thesis proposes to cross urban sociology and migration sociology to study the mobility of Indian students between India and Italy and their place and role in the

production of the cosmopolitan space of the city of Padova, while acknowledging the recognition of qualitative research's validity and reliability.

- o *Objectives:*
  The aim of this thesis is twofold : epistemological and empirical.

My primary goal is epistemological and investigates whatever the Chicago School methodological and theoretical frame is replicable/adapted to observe the case study of the Indian Community in Padova, as part of the mosaic of small words characterizing the city, in order to assess the validity of Chicagoans' original approach while going beyond the latter with new insights from other social fields.

My secondary goal, like the Chicagoans, is based on empirical observation and participation and focuses on two main aspects : the people and the city. First, **the people**, the invisible inhabitants of the city (the Indian students-migrants) as the co-protagonists of innovative social and urban practices, in a cross matching between a top-down / bottom-up approach. By doing this the thesis examines the co-production of urban space by the "*invisible*" but "*desirable*" migrants through their traces in the city who are influenced by their paths and trajectories, and by the public policies of the city of Padova.

Besides, this goal is meant to outline new perspectives in migration studies involving other categories of migrants in urban studies overcoming the current rethorics of 'migration=refugees=illegals'. Second, **the city of Padova** as example of a medium city able to attract brilliant ressources to internationalized it thanks to its active University. A goal meant to enhance the presence of actors in urban policies which are often dismissed whereas they are motors of new migration flows remain largely invisible (as the case study of Indian students illustrates) . Thus, the aim is to understand the way in which the people transform the city in parallel to university's actions.

On the whole, the thesis aims **to establish <u>a theoretical model of the ecosystem of a medium-sized city on the way to a broader international visibility</u>, based on "*people*", "*city*" and "*university*".** This theoretical contribution (particularly through the establishment of the model *"sense of community"* and the eco-systemic study) has operational aims for the planning of medium-sized cities, on the regional scale of Veneto, but also on the European scale, since this casestudy -and the developed model- could be also applied in other contexts.

o *From the research questions to the hypothese*

In order to cope with my goal '*to undertand the city through the people*', I have identified several research questions which eventually led me to identify a central research question.

Therefore, I have first redrawn the migration routes of Indian Students focusing on migration flows for studies from India to Italy using sociological and geographical instruments (maps and story telling) to understand *Who are the invisible Indian students ?* In answering this question, I focused on: *When and how do they migrate to Italy and why ?* in Part 2, next, in Part 3, I have examined the extent to which these Indian student's migration trends from India have occurred to Italy. In addition, I asked myself : *do Indian students – as part of the Indian community- shape spatial changes in the city* ? The question brought me to map the city's neighborhoods where Indian students dwell, their daily activities and routes across the city, to evidence the sprawl of the Indian community between three spaces connecting two neighbourhoods or '*Quartieri*' (Q1 and Q2) in Part 3.

Next, when advocating the role of 'key player' for social-mix urban development to the University of Padova, in Part 3 I have wondered *what kind of relationship is occurring between the university and the city* ? *Does the university (as an institution and as a space) complement city's urban planning routines* ? *Is the University's presence relevant to bridge the gap between locals and migrants* ? The answers to these questions have highlighted the weighty role of the University in the city, modelling direct and indirect impacts on the city and on the wider society. An exploration of these impacts and processes has exhibited the extent to which Universities aren't just institutions located in the city and are 'part of the city' actively supplying to its development.Finally, to understand the changing processes of the city in terms of spatial transformations, I have discussed *to what extent the 'invisible migration' of Indian students fosters the design of spaces of flows and spaces of global cultures in Padova* ?

Subsequently, the answers to these questions, led me to discuss the sociological effects of a continuous flow of foreign students within a local territory outlining Padova's aspiration of internationalisation in the conclusions of the thesis. Moreover, empirical findings have provided a broader picture of Padova's citizen's perception (ideas and viewpoints) on the current progressive development of the city related to the 'migration question'.

Thus, in the true spirit of the Grounded Theory Methodology, the main research question emerged at the end of my Ph.D journey, in these terms :

To what extent the Indian students'migration contributes to narrate a different story of migration in Italy while updating the School of Chicago's approach to the study of a specific migrant-community?

These questions and objectives led me to identify hypotheses that will be assessed in the general conclusion of the thesis.

o *Hypothese:*
The hypothese of this thesis are inspired by those scholars who approached the study of urban communities in the contemporary framework of Italian cities experiencing deep changes of its populations, from earlier studies of the Chicagoans (Park, Burgess and Thomas) to more recent one, like those of Italian scholars in urban planning (Cancellieri, 2020; Cancellieri et al., 2020; Cancellieri & Ostanel, 2014, 2015b; Cancellieri & Peterle, 2019; Lironi, 2016; Mantovan & Ostanel, 2015; Marconi et al., 2014; Ostanel, 2013).

All in all, as Chicagoans had earlier assessed, the urban world has perpetually been recommended as the best place for imaginating visionary images of contemporaries societies and communities- empowered as a "*locus of tolerance and freedom, conviviality and democracy*" (Marconi, 2016). It has been argued by literature and international organizations that the urban areas are more likely to provide higher employment chances for migrants, irrespective of their skills' level, and better education opportunities.

Yet, contextually, the considerable rise of urban population is transposed into powerful flows affecting the local level 'ecosystem' of human communities and the city, both in terms of physical and social structure. Having stated this, the hypotheses are three:

(1) An integrated study of the Chicago School tradition together with recent migration studies and a sociological-based analysis of the Indian Community, could give a suitable frame to meet Park's primary missions: **to understand the city through *the people*** (Indian Students in relation with locals) **and to understand the *changing processes of the city* of Padova** (spatial transformations) (See Chapters 1, 2).

(2) The Indian students' motion represents an unusual, invisible migration flow to the eyes of Italians and thus might be able **to give another narration of migration** in the

current blurred mediatic exposure focused on "*migrants=refugees*". Conversely, the *students-migrants* are bringing knowledges and skills (See chapters 3, 6).

(3) It might be possible **to advocate the role of 'key player'** for social mix/cosmopolite urban development **to the University** of Padova in the city of Padova (See chapters 4,5).

These hypotheses acquire greater credit by the fact that they have been formulated during the fieldwork, in line with the Grounded Methodology's guidelines[6] and challenged all over the thesis to find an assessment in the conclusion of the thesis at page 286.

I.4 AN ONGOING PERSONAL RESEARCH : CASE STUDY, FIELDWORK AND METHODOLOGY.

A qualitative analysis: methodological main features[7]

As mentioned above, the thesis is *grounded* in an original *multisited contextualization* (Kliest in Frykman & Högskola, 2004) wherein the Indian students experience of Italy, in the city of Padova is discussed with a focus on the role of the University of Padova (UniPD). Besides, it addresses the internationalization challenge, through the case study analysis of Indian students' practice, as part of the international students coming every year to Padova, for study purposes.

In order to achieve the thesis' goals, at first, the research has required, an intensive fieldwork immersion in Delhi, using a *regressive-progressive approach[8]* (Lefebvre in Hess, 1991) to capture the turning point of India-Italy diplomatic relationship regarding abroad policies and migration regulation, briefly redrawing the key actors and the annexed policies and international agreements which favor the mobility of Indian students to Italian Universities[9]. The data from Delhi have provided an essential contextual base for the problem in focus.

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[6] I am using the *Grounded Theory Methodology* (Fairhurst & Putnam, 2018; Gilgun, 2014).

[7] For the sake of sobriety, the methodology of the thesis is further detailed in a Chapter located in the appendix, where the nature of the relationship and the instruments I have employed to apprehend the migration of Indian students-migrants to Italy, will be explained. See to Chapter 2: **Fieldwork And Methodology. The Research Journey from India to Italy, through the Netherlands, Denmark and back** Appendix p.332.

[8] See Appendix to Chapter 2 p.341-342.

[9] See Appendix 3.3 to Chapter 3, p.394-398.

The multi-sited contextualization

      o   *Fieldwork places and time-lapse*

I carried out the fieldwork in Padova and in the University of Padova at intervals, over a three-year period, covering 2017-2018, 2018-2019 and 2019-2020 school years. Moreover, as I will further explain in detail at the end of Chapter 2, the process of immersion and acceptance within the community actually started in 2015, with my first master's thesis about public policies on education in India and the relation between public system and local NGOs providing education programs. My focus was dragged towards '*the city as a welcoming, cosmopolitan space for mobile persons*' as the thesis' central topic which emerged during my fieldwork.

A common thread has characterized my approach throughout this thesis: migrants are, to use the expression of Michel de Certeau, "*co-producers*" of the space in which they evolve *Ibid.*, 1984); in this case, transnational spaces as urban spaces.

      o   *Abroad studies, local studies*

Although my fieldwork, the place where I could observe the Indian students interacting in the city, was Padova, I wanted to trace the journey (*pathways*) and the stories of migration of my subjects starting from a bigger scale. This led me to start a journey across many countries, starting with India. A stop in New Delhi was mandatory for me (Chapter 3). There, the French Center of Human Sciences (Centre de Sciences Humaines) hosted me to conduct research in an international frame, and the Italian Embassy of New Delhi welcomed me for interviews, especially with Uni-Italia and Valentina Ierna in November 2018 and 2019. During my first stay in Delhi in November 2018, I also had the chance to spend time at the "*Delhi School*" with Meenakshi Thapan, the school supervisor and one of the few researchers who wrote about education of Indian students in Italy.

Next, I pursued my chasing after answers, across other countries which were not casually related with my topic on Indian students' migration to Italy. During our Ph.D. path, in Italy, Ph.D students are invited to spend some time abroad to open up new horizons on their work. In my case, I felt I was inexperienced in methodological instruments to carry on with an in-depth fieldwork research in Padova, so I decided to fill this gap in my knowledge, travelling around the world to meet some experts of my field of interest: human geography, educational anthropology, sociology of migration, and urban sociology. All in all, I have spent

six months abroad during my Ph.D (See the map i1 attached): three months in India (August 2018, November 2018 and November 2019), one month in the Netherlands (March 2019), and one month in Denmark (May 2019). These short stays were also punctuated by periods in France (in Poitiers and Paris between 2018 and 2020). Thus, I had a more accurate outlook on the life of a mobile student and could identify myself with my informants once back in Padova.

Together with the abroad fieldwork in Delhi, the research has necessitated to trace Indian students' routes (and roots) to Italy, analyzing the individual, internal motivations, and the external ones, behind the unarresting growing flow of Indian students in the city of Padova.
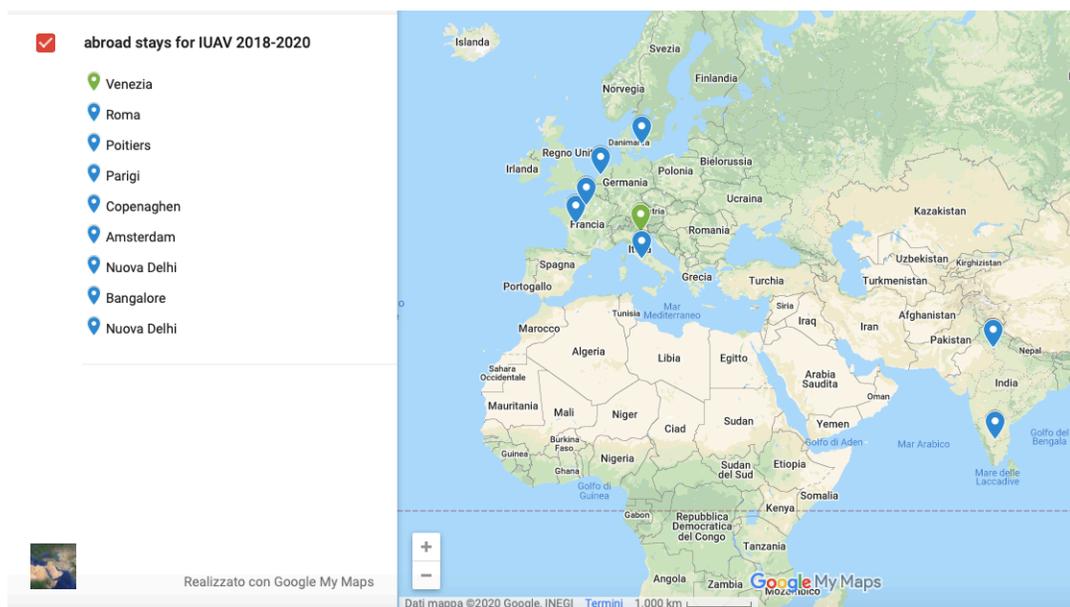
Map i1: tracing my international journey to chase experts' knowledge in different fields. (Updated in September 2020)

o *My spatial interface: the city of Padova.*

I have chosen Padova because of the explicit presence of a historical worldwide well-known background on its education quality (*i.e.* Galileo Galilei's anatomical theater in Palazzo Bò and the first woman in the world obtaining a degree: Lucrezia Cornaro[10]). In more general terms, I was interested in understanding the *"invisible migration trends created by the Indian students/ community, in Padova"* through the process of observing and interacting with the ongoing reality. Hence, the city of Padova is my spatial interplay. As the third part of the thesis

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[10] See the magazine of UNIPD: Il BòLive (BOLive, ESU & UNIPD, 2011)

will reveal, Padova is an interesting interplay due to it strategical geographic position, its historical background and his (almost) 800-year-old University (Chapter 4).

Secondly, I have selected the city of Padua –'Padova'- as my *spatial interplay* primarily because it represents a territory that I know very well[11] and for that reason, I am directly involved in the evolution of Padova, being part of several associationsdealing with the topic of bottom-up regeneration processes for the city. For example, recently, I have been a member of the consultive table "*Urbanistic and Environment*" for Padova European Capital of Volunteer work 2020 (EVC2020), always feeling the "*love for my city*[12]".

Maybe the most relevant aspect would be that I am a foreign student too, a migrant, and I have faced personally the 'integration process' in this city being a foreigner myself without any family nor relatives here and braving heavy bureaucratic procedures to accomplish and respect in order to get official access to healthcare, to acquire the right of vote at local elections (with the permanent residency permit), to open a bank account, to find a house, etc. Besides, my personal background studies together with my personal experience of the *everyday life* in the city of Padova allowed me to directly observe some major changes over the past ten years.

The Grounded Theory Methodology

  o *Made-to-measure GTM*
The thesis slightly differs from the GTM 'classic' methodology though and offers an original reinterpretation of the Grounded Theory Methodology (GTM[13]). Tapping into qualitative data analysis, I had progressively realized that I shifted from the inductive approach to an integrated one with the Deductive Qualitative Analysis (DQA) (Fairhurst & Putnam, 2018; Gilgun, 2014; Patton, 1990). As DQA is apprehended by Gilgun (2014), "*the principle of immersion*" and "*negative case analysis*", seemed to cope with the process I had started so far. Besides, depending on my research question, my time constraints and resources, I have chosen the '*abbreviated*' version of the grounded theory (Fairhurst & Putnam, 2018; Willig, 2013). Moreover, from Charmaz's GTM (Charmaz, 1990, p.1165, in

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[11] It is the same explanation given by Park when asked about: "*Why Chicago?*", he answered that it was the city he had the best knowledge on, to launch an urban sociologist study. Following the School of Chicago tradition, I replicated the concept. (*ibid.* 1925)

[12] "*L'amour pour la ville*"- "*Love for the city*" Lefebvre (p.14, 2009-"Le droit à la ville"). All along the thesis, when mentioning "*The right to the city*" (Lefebvre,1968), I used the re-edition: Lefebvre et al.(2009).

[13] See Appendix to Chapter 2, p.341 for the complete discussion about my version of the GTM.

Willig 2013) I have learnt that the social constructivist version of the GTM aims to capture a "*construction of reality*". Besides, Charmaz aspired to map individual categories of experience and, to theorize them in a contextualized social process; I felt it was a good way to tie together my findings in the discussion. Thus, the thesis includes insights from L.Ghirotto and V. Anzoise's visual variation (in Frisina, 2016a) where "*visual data are capable of humanizing research*", a richer tool compared to "*textual data only, as they can intercept phenomena cannot be declared or shared otherwise.*" (*ibid.* Appendices, p. 19 in Frisina, 2016a) [14]. Hence, I have used GTM to theorize contextualized social processes and sometimes to map individuals' categories of experience, using maps and photography (See Chapter 2, section 4).

o *Chasing the invisible: ethnography and ethics*

Looking for invisibility, I had to be invisible myself, therefore I framed my position as an 'involved observer' among Indian students. As I argue in the discussion, it has been sometimes difficult to find a correct balance between personal talks and research moments with the Indian students. Ethically speaking, my goals have included approaching fieldwork and data with reflexivity[15], sensitivity, and an appropriate level of involvement and detachment.

Conducting fieldwork research, it came out that interaction and collaboration are inescapable 'using' people as source of information, while we should not forget ethics when we deal with the Chicago's School principal of immersion (Chapter 2, Section 4). On that regard, I outline here the real power of the Chicago School : the traditional urban ethnographies as fieldwork qualitative method, have been able to endure so far (Acocella, 2010; Gilgun, 2014).

o *The case study : 'invisible' indian students-migrants in italy.*

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[14] Indeed, Parts 2 & 3 will be more discursive and critical compared to this first 'contextual' part n°1. I have made a large use of maps, both conceptual and geographical to illustrate in a visual and '*friendly*' manner a complex topic which bridges many disciplines.

[15] Barbara Morovich- École supérieure d'Architecture de Strasbourg- AMUP/Réseau LIEU. On 11th March 2019 at the IUAV University of Venice, during the seminar on "*Abitare il patrimonio urbano*", B. Morovich, presents the case entitled "*Who participates to the transformation of popular districts* (France)?". She illustrates her anthropological work as a methodology to study urban transformation at a micro scale (district) and provokes us with this challenging question: "*How can the anthropologist be accepted in districts, when those are very stigmatized?*". The answer was: "*by using an inter-relational anthropological approach and a collaborative anthropologist approach, a reflexivity process is mandatory*"

The flow of Indians to Europe does exist for various reasons which are generally divided into three main categories: economy, demography, regulation and education public policies (Mukherjee & Chanda, 2012; Riaño & Piguet, 2016). Following these insights, the case-study of Indian students-migrants deserved a specific attention with a single case study for an in-depth discussion on the relationship between migrants, city, and university.

First, the case of Indian migrants is unique if we think about the diaspora phenomenon of the Indians worldwide. The migratory wave of 'brains' from India has started arriving to Europe from the '60s and '70s, with the diasporic phenomenon, to which, for about ten years, plethoric attention has been dedicated by scholars (Agrawal et al., 2011; Boeri, 2012; Buga & Meyer, 2012; Debu, 2015; Docquier, 2014; Ferrario & Price, 2014; Singh & Krishna, 2015). this wave of brain as *'brain circulation'* beyond the rhetoric of brain drain/gain[16] (Chapter 1). The diaspora entails the presence of networks that may be a further reason to activate the migration of Indians in what Tumbe (2018) called, new *'hot-spots'*. Among these '*hot spots*', recent research has outlined changes in the destination countries selected by Indian students (WES, 2018). Fieldwork's data have evidenced that Italy is among the ten preferred destinations (Chapter 3).

Next, conversely to mainstream academic's production on migration to Italy, the flow of Indian students-migrants to Italy is the externalization of a legal migration pushed and led by the governments of India and Italy, primarily for economic reasons and benefits that both countries aim to gain on the long term, through bi-lateral agreements allowing human mobility for studies. On that regard, Chapter 3 gives insights to understand why Indian students'attraction to Italy is still weak, compared to other European countries like the United Kingdom (Findlay, 2011; Mukherjee & Chanda, 2012), France (Servan-Schreiber & Vuddamalay, 2007), Germany (Butsch & V S Saravanan, 2018; Wiesbrock & Hercog, 2012; Wolfeil, 2010) , the Netherlands (Kirk et al., 2017; Wiesbrock & Hercog, 2012) - to mention some of the '*most preferred destinations'* (Phukan, 2015).

Lastly, building upon the scientific state of art about Indians' migration to Italy (Part 2) and on the in-depth analysis of the participants'stories (Part 3), the thesis led me to assess that the Indian students' migration in Italy is mostly *invisible*, not for the fact that they do not

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[16] See the discussion on brain drain/gain/circulation in Chapter 1 p.29-30.

have the '*right to visibility'*, indeed it is exactly the opposite: Indian students as knowledgeable migrants are selected by the government and have the right to move, however, as Chapter 6 will assess, they prefer remaining invisible to the eyes of the 'local' population. Trailing the invisible migration was broadly inspired by the work of Leonie Sandercock: *Making the Invisible Visible*, where planning is redefined "*as the regulation of the physicality, sociality, and spatiality of the city*"(*ibidem;* 1998a).

I.6 MY THESIS'CONTRIBUTION

The thesis deepens our understanding of the functionning of medium-sized European cities (through the example of Padova), and of the modalities of migration of non-European students in Europe (through the case-study of Indian students).

1) "&SoC": an ecosystem to apprehend the study of migrants' communities on the local level and the role of the 'UniverCity'.

While discussing the insights and limits of the Chicagoans' methodological approach transposed to the Indian community in Padova in Part 1, I have stressed how the city's shape and the city's policies have a prominent role in defining migrants' daily experiences of space. I suggest that the city's dimensions can be medium-small as long as its organic structure can capture the essence of diversity. As Padova's example shows in Part 3, the medium size is an advantage for the city which is fostering internationalization with projects and policies, also through the vibrant image of a centuries old University (Botton, 2019; Fusar Poli, 2019; Romania & Zamperini, 2009; Ronconi, 2007).

Indeed, the story of the city of Padova (Italy) as a '*space of places'*e, through the case study analysis of the Indian students copes with the goal of Sandercock's book: "*to provide the foundation of a new, alternative planning paradigm for the multicultural cities of the future*" (Sandercock, 1998). This alternative planning paradigm towards cosmopolism may be realized mingling the city urban policies with the university international commitments- a UniverCity- in which '&SoC' appears as a new approach to assess a possible model: an ecosystem for the internationalization in medium cities.

2) The migration of international students in European medium cities, an invisible but desirable group

Through the thesis'discussion, the sociology of migration is enriched by taking into account the students' experiences at the local level and above all the reflections on urban planning, already based on a solid sociological foundation (i.e. the Chicago School "*revisited*"). These reflections gain new perspectives through the concepts of "*cosmopolitan*" and intercultural middle-sized city (i.e. '*the city as a 'mosaic of small worlds'*) relying on its university. Besides, from an epistemological point of view, the discussion contributes to updating the theories of the Chicago School to the realities of the 21st century European cities. Indeed, methodologically speaking, the thesis participates in the development of the topic of "*urban co- production*", mostly investigated through a social recearch approach : that of partcipatory action research. Besides, the thesis approches the phenomenon under hand with different adapted and interlocking methods at different scales (global and local) to provide a broader understanding of the hetereogeniety and complexity of the migration's category analysed.

Moreover, urbanists, architects, urban sociologists and anthropologists, and geographers, have been extremely overwhelmed by the essential features of cities, and by the flows and forces unpredictably crossing the urban environments, eventually (re)designing unique environments. However, as previously mentioned, a few studies have observed the migration behaviors of "*international students*" as it pertains to Italy, apart from rare exceptions like Staniscia (2011) on the mobility of international students and Dotti et al. (2014) on the selective process to attract Science and Technology workers in Italy. In any case, so far, it seems that no one has studied in detail the case of Indian students regarded as students-migrants to Italy and to Italian Universities.

Thus, besides the epistemological scope of theory's production to update the Chicagoans' vision of migrants communities in cities, the thesis also expands the preexisting research on a specific international migration - that of international students – on which academic production is scarce.

I.7 OUTLINES OF THE THESIS

The thesis is divided into three parts: the first part is theoretical while the second and third are related to my fieldwork experiences, respectively in India and in Italy.

PART 1 : Theories, concepts and methodology.

Chapter 1 introduces the two theoretical tracks which have guided my study. First, I started relying on the urban sociological work of the Chicago school (Fischer, 1975; Park, 1952; Park et al., 1925; Thomas et al., 1996; Wirth, 1938). Then , I have integrated the urban sociological perspective with migration theories, relying on the socio-anthropological work of Thapan (2006, 2013), Breman (2015) and Baas (2006, 2017, 2019) to assess the transnational behavior of Indian students-migrants.

Chapter 2 presents my conceptual framework in which I have introduced my syncretic position merging Chicagoans insights: the '*city as a mosaic of small worlds*' with the Sense of Community model (Chavis & Wandersman, 1990). I built the *ecosystem* -&Soc-, an integrated approach to the study of human communities imaged by the 'urban kaleidoscope' to frame the students-migrants experiences between the city, the university and the people.

<div align="center">***</div>

The case study is narrated in two parts tiying up a discussion on a global and local scale. **Part 2** resumes the **global scale** of Indian students-migrants migration to Italy and is an output of my fieldwork in New Delhi (11/2018-2019) and presents the state-of-art of scientific research on the topic of of Indians'migration in Italy and international students' migration to Italy. While **Part 3** focuses on the **local scale**: Indian students-migrants life and pathways in Padova, as the output of my fieldwork in this medium Italian city.

PART 2: State of Art- Fieldwork in New Delhi

Chapter 3 places the migration of Indians to Italy answering to the questions: **WHEN** *Indians'diaspora to Italy has started* and **HOW** *it has evolved over time?*

The discussion presents the state of art of research on the topic of International students' migration from India to Italy. The chapter gives contextual elements and data to apprehend the migration of non-Eu citizens to Italy, focusing on Indian migrants. Next, the chapter demonstrates the unicity of the Indian students' migration case among the flows of international students roaming all over the world. Besides, the chapter enriches our understanding of soft-power strategies bringing worldwide countries in a competition to attract 'brains'.

Finally, the third part is the core of the thesis: the configurations of Indian students in Padova based on original field data. The migration phenomenon is apprehended through the *&SoC model* using the variables of the city, the university and the people to answer the following questions: **WHERE** *does the case-study take place? ;* **WHO** *are the Indian students in Padova* ?; **WHY** *is it interesting to analyse the migration question adding the University (and the international students) as urban actors contributing to shape new spaces in the city ?*

PART 3: Case-study analysis , Fieldwork in Padova

In **Chapter 4,** I focused on the city of Padova in terms of spaces organization by neighborhoods and in terms of the political impacts of the Townhall on the city's spatial organization. Within this context, I have started to analyze the '*human behavior in the urban environment*' (Park, 1925) investigating the Indian Community in the medium North-Italian City of Padova. Here, the Indian students' migration is barely noticeable as the number is small compared to the whole community residing (83 Indian students recorded in 2018-2019 over 448 Indians regularly and continuously dwelling in Padova).

Moving on, in **Chapter 5** I have witnessed that underneath the University-City relation, University's students have a role in 'place-making' and thus can have effects on the local community which could help understanding, how territories react to these undisclosed migratory flows**.** This chapter eventually discusses how the university of Padova is assigned a central role in the internationalization of the city through the example of Indian students-migrants experience of the 'space of knowledge'.

Chapter 6 carries on showing the daily adventures of Indian students-migrants in Padova as a special category of 'temporary dwellers' likely to leave Italy after their mobility period. Through the personal stories of 10 informants, this chapter highlights city's spaces- as the 'space of global cultures'- in which the internationalization challenge is ongoing silently [*invisibly*] but surely, towards Sandercock's dreamed *'cosmopolis'*.

In the **conclusions** I evidence that the case of Padova deserves a particular attention since the unarresting presence of international students' flows has dynamized the city in many ways, mostly through cultural events and associations' mobilization engaging the University and its students. By connecting fieldwork and literature data, I have witnessed a current political will to bring out the '*international soul'* of the city. In other words, the current town council (2017-2022) is working along a common line with the University aiming to promote cultural diversity, cosmopolitism, internationalization, within a vision of peaceful and reciprocal help for a better

co-existence and social inclusion of people of different ages, sexes and origins. Although this goal may sound utopic in the current city-setting, traces of changes are occurring, only time will show us whatever the &SoC model (*as a theoretical model*) will be able to face the internationalization challenge.

PART 1:
SOMETHING OLD, SOMETHING NEW, SOMETHING BORROWED.
Theories, concepts and methodology.

Introduction Part 1

In this first part, I have primarily taken interest in urban sociology, a discipline that acts as a 'bridge' between my previous studies in Political Sciences and the doctorate in Urban Planning and Public policies, therefore I was inspired by its roots and the Chicago school is a pillar in the discipline. First, attracted by Park's work- and the subsequent theoretical aspects related to the city and human ecology and, then by Thomas and Znaniecki's approach, for their methodological insights. In fact, the Chicago's School enjoyed previous works that were interested in the systemic study of society which were more familiar to me. Chicago sociologists, influenced by Simmel[17], built the theoretical approach rooted on the idea of social change. They study social phenomena as processes (Hart, 2010, p.6). According Kligman, the social community is the core of both contributions: ecology and city planning (Kligman, 1945). A captivating combination which needed to be balanced carefully with the second central discipline of my study: migration studies. Migration studies have also prompted for systemic theories moving to a specific one (Massey, 1993).

Tracing integrated theoretical and conceptual perspectives to build a unique methodological framework, the first part explores something old, something new and something borrowed.

Hence, the first part is articulated in two chapters. As per correspondance with my primary goal, the first part investigates the possible compatibility of Park and Burgess' city-model with my study of the city of Padova. Chapter 1 is my theoretical framework, it presents 'something old' – macro structural models of urban sociology and migration theory, adding 'something new' by reading the sociological model as a metaphor which allows me to imagine the "*social ecology*" as the interplay for transnational mobile students (Anderson & Elmqvist, 2012; de Haas, 2010; Hart, 2010; Kligman, 1945; Douglas S. Massey et al., 1993; Park et al., 1925, 1925; Schiller et al., 1995; Sinatti, 2008). Chapter 2 is my conceptual framework, it follows the metaphor track to excavate concepts such as spaces, multi/inter-cultural city, and

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[17] The first edition of Die GroßStadt und das Geistesleben was published it 1903, when mentioned in the thesis, I will refer to the re-edited version: Simmel & Lichtblau (2009).

debates on migration/mobility use. There is also 'something borrowed': the Sense of Community model (McMillan & Chavis, 2005) incorporated within an integrated approach bridging urban sociology with migration studies into a multidisciplinary triangular relation between: city, people and university (Cancellieri & Scandurra, 2012; Castells & Castells, 2000; Cicognani et al., 2011; A. D. King, 2004; Lacroix, 2018; Marconi & Ostanel, 2016; Raghuram, 2013; Urry, 2000; Varna, 2019). Finally, the Appendix of chapter 2 (p.332) encompasses the methodology and retraces my personal journey in collecting and coding data, while acknowledging the potential replicability of the methodological innovative ventures (Grounded Theory Methodology) employed by Thomas and Znaniecki (Abbott & Egloff, 2008; Acocella, 2010; Fairhurst & Putnam, 2018; Gilgun, 2014; Thomas et al., 1996).

Chapter 1: State of Art of the Literature. Glimpses of the Chicago's School. The 'social ecology' gazing out of the window, looking for the transnational migration theory.

Introduction to Chapter 1

In connection with my study about the Italian society and spaces of the city of Padova, I am interested in local community studies[18]. Sociological studies on communities have been increasing for years thanks to the illuminating researchers of the University of Chicago[19] (Blumer, 1986; Wirth, 1938 and more recently Dennis, 2017 ; Gilgun, 2014) and others (Anderson & Elmqvist, 2012; Cancellieri & Ostanel, 2015; Kligman, 1945; Marconi & Ostanel, 2016). Next to the attempt to give a frame to the city under Chicagoans' lens, I have decided to investigate whatever the ecological vision of human communities within the city can be extented and replicable to the analysis of my case study: the Indian students-migrants moving from India to Padova. *Does it need to be revisited, to adapt its theories to the contemporary scenario of international migrations?* This is the question I will answer in this first chapter. Chapter 1 starts with Chicago's definition of the city, revisits the latter and the ecological theory. After retrieving the interactionist approach acknowledged by Thomas and Znaniecki (Thomas et al., 1996), the second section investigates international migration theories fashioning transnationalism as a suitable approach for Indian students'migration.

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[18] From IUAV University, see "Urban regeneration and social innovation: the role of community based organizations in the railway station area in Padua, Italy" by E. Ostanel (2017)

[19] The University of Chicago, established in 1892, soon became the first sociology department in the history of the American university. American sociology at that time was divided into two major orientations: a speculative social philosophy theorizing the foundations of human society and on the other hand, was plonked social progress, and a social inquiry movement, committed to collecting data on perverse effects of the developing industrial society. Both orientations were interested in improving the human condition, but they were far apart (Hannertz, 1994)

SECTION 1.1 Revisiting the Parkian ecological approach to human communities and Thomas's pioneer work

1.1.1 The city according to Park's crew and beyond.

The most representative studies on the topic of the city and the biological interpretation of human communities in urban spaces were conducted by Park and Burgess in the first half of the twentieth century (Acocella, 2010; Hart, 2010; Lannoy & Ruwet, 2004). Together, they have developed spatial models to represent the urban territory which will be reiterated and discussed across the thesis.

o *Robert Ezra Park and the 'mosaic city'*

First and formost, the city is defined following the Parkian interpretation, as a "*natural phenomenon based on human interaction*" (Park, 1925, p.118) in his book "*The city: suggestions for investigation of human behavior in the urban environment*". The study of the city as a *social unit*, through the existence of *natural city boundaries*, was the design offered by Park and the scholars of the Chicago's School (Park, 1925, p.167). Park, Burgess and McKenzie have elaborated a city model made up concentric circles where industrial areas in the second circle, starting from the center, are the "*area of Transition*". An area of transition is typically "*non-descript*" as it is "*in process of evolution*" (Park et al., 1925, p.89). The concentric zones revealed themselves only as a more general component of the urban design, being modified by the presence, sometimes dominant, of radial sectors and nuclei. (Dematteis & Lanza, 2014).

What follows is that the city is "*a mosaic of little worlds*" that increases social distance between people in the words of Park (1925).

"The processes of segregation establish moral distances which make the <u>city a mosaic of little worlds</u> which touch but do not interpenetrate. This makes it possible for <u>individuals to pass quickly</u> and <u>easily from one moral milieu to another</u>, and encourages the fascinating but dangerous experiment of <u>living at the same time in several different contiguous</u>, but otherwise widely separated, worlds." (Park et al., 1925, p.40-41)*.*

The argument is sound; however, one might add that this vision is oldfashioned for 2020's era. In fact, Park's definition will be revisited over the years, sometimes controversed by its successors, also within the Chicago's School.

o   *Louis Wirth and the three city's variables*

Now, let me come to the definition of 'the city' given by another Chicago's fellow, Louis Wirth (1938), which continues to inspire many contemporary scholars from urban geography and sociology (Jayaram, 2017; Lin & Mele, 2012; C. Wu, 2016). Wirth contributed to inform urban sociologist's understanding of Park's city where the *mosaic* is an outcome of urban density and specialisation. In other words, the author has updated Park's quote in this way: "*a mosaic of social words in which the transition from one to the other is abrupt*" (Lin & Mele, 2012; Wirth, 1938b, my underlinings). Indeed, Wirth (1938) defines the city along three independent variables: the dimension, the density and the heterogeneity. Quoting Wirth, the accumulation of strangers in the city makes it a "*relatively large, dense, and permanent settlement of heterogeneous individuals*" (Wirth 1938, p.1, my underlinings). Wirth's definition of urban society was based on heterogeneity but was not considering accessibility related to diversity (and *vice-versa*) at that time, a gap that has been filled up later by Hannerz (1983).

In 1992, the work of the Swedish anthropologist Ulf Hannerz was translated into Italian "*Explore the city. Anthropology of urban life* (Il Mulino, Bologna, 1992), and published with a dense introduction by the Italian sociologist Arnaldo Bagnasco[20] ("*Urban research between anthropology and sociology*", pp. 9-68). The Italian Sociologist sumed up the main lines drawn by Hannerz in 1983 for the first time in an attempt to provide a coherent and unified theoretical understanding of urbanism. Hannerz employed the urban perspectives of other disciplines as well, such as history, sociology, and geography, to bring intellectual unity to the history and development of urban anthropology.

Similarly, Simmel's works on the relationship between modernity and the city by interweaving sociological and anthropological analysis paths, have often been taken up directly or implicitly by various urban sociologists such as Hannerz (1983) and Bagnasco (1992).

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[20] As Bagnasco (1992) has reminded, Hannerz's book "tidies up anthropologists, but it also creates certain bewilderment among the sociologists, who see each other having subtracted themes and authors, they again feel the problem of their boundaries, and in eachchance, the problem of the border with the new, or better said, renewed specialization "(Ibid., pp. 10-11). That disciplinary rift between anthropology and sociology has gradually been accentuating, at least in urban studies, during the course of the Twentieth century. Thanks to Hannerz's work among others, this disciplinary rift seems to have recomposed itself -at least in part- as argued by Bagnasco (1992).

In particular, Simmel's analysis has dedicated attention to the figure of the foreigner who integrates the metropolitan condition remains an object of a controversial study. For Simmel, the foreigner is not rooted but is present, free in the space of the city: a condition that involves risks but that can also be an element of opportunity for the stranger. Drawing on the same line, the stranger in Simmel's city, is someone who stays over a longer period of time, settling down: "*the stranger is not just a wanderer who comes today and goes tomorrow rather <u>the person who</u> comes today and <u>stays tomorrow</u>*"(Simmel & Wolff, 1950,p.402).

- o *<u>Georg Simmel and the metropolis</u>*

Furthermore, for Simmel (2009), the city is the metropolis. The author alludes to the metropolis and the character of urbanism with a gaze at the dialectic between the individual and the society and expresses an even more realistic and unsentimenl view of the *Gemeinshaft*[21] (community) than Wirth's one. In the 20th Century, Simmel started a sharp criticism of the individual's modern life enhancing:

"*An inquiry into the inner <u>meaning of specifically modern life</u> and its products, into <u>the soul of the cultural body</u>, so to speak, must seek <u>to solve the equation which structures like the metropolis set up</u> between the individual and the super-individual contents of life. Such an inquiry must answer the question of how the personality accommodates itself in the adjustments to external forces*" (Simmel & Wolff, 1950, p.409, my underlinings).

According to him, the modern man of the *Gesellschaft* (urban society) is deprived of spirituality, subjectivity and social life, at the expense of money and modern capitalism. He offers a bleak picture of the metropolis-man, lonely, *blasé* and materialistic, who has given up his soul to explore its individualism. In a similar fashion, Wirth raised critics on the urbanites *'way of life'*: labor division and spatial segregation ensure the circumstances for a segmentalisation of human relationship and the *blasé outlook*[22] manifested by urban dwellers resulting in "*impersonal, superficial, transitory, and segmental relationships*" (Wirth, 1938, p. 12).

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[21] Gemeinshaft und Gesellshaft written by Tönnies, in 1887, marks the beginning of community sociology. (See Bagnasco p.582).The version of Tönnies here, comes from the new edition (2012).
The first edition of Die Großstadt und das Geistesleben was published it 1903, refering to this book, we took the 2009 reference : (Simmel & Lichtblau, 2009)

[22] Wirth's concept of the 'schizoid' urban personality (Wirth, 1938, p.12) is akin to Simmel 'blasé attitude' (*ibid.* 1950, p413-415) and reserved metropolitan man.

On the other -bright- side, Simmel also promoted the metropolis as the "*locale of freedom*" fostering the idea that urbanism favors "*cosmopolitanism"* for the individual.

"*It is not only the immediate size of the area and the number of persons which, because of the universal historical correlation between the enlargement of the circle and the personal inner and outer freedom, has made the metropolis the locale of freedom. It is rather in transcending this visible expanse that any given city becomes the seat of cosmopolitanism.*" (Simmel , 1950, p.419, my underlinings).

Even though, I do not share Simmel's paradoxical portrait of the alienated metropoli-man in its experience of modernity, his work offers insightful tracks for my analysis of a cosmopolitan city consisting in a revisited version of the heterogene "*Gemeinshaft".* As far as I am concerned, while dealing with a cosmopolitan city's spatial organization, we should also consider the people residing there and their characteristics. This will bring us to introduce the concept of 'community'(See Chapter 2). In connection with local community studies which have been in progress for years building on the illuminating researches of the university of Chicago, the majority of arguments are in favour of Park's initial definition, which included: a "*population territorially organized* (1), "*more or less rooted in the soil it occupies"* (2) establishing "*relationship of mutual interdependence*" in the living unit (3)(Park et al., 1925). Parks draws attention to the fact that individual organism maintained some "*sort of collective existence.*" (Park, 1952, p.258). In contemporary /modern sociology, a "local community" is nowadays defined to portray that kind of collectivity: "*whose members are sharing a territorial area as a base of operations for their daily activities*" (Parsons, 1951 in Bagnasco et al., 2010, p. 582). As I can see it, the fact that contemporary definitions in sociology use a definition of community including a shared area, common ties, and social interaction, may suggest that Park's early definition continues to exerce influence on subsequent community analysis. Besides, it is commonly agreed that the term 'community' is more adapted to describe relationships between people living in civil societies of small dimensions (Bagnasco et al., 2010; Lyon & Driskell, 2012, p. 582).

On the whole, Simmel et Wirth provided us with tools to look at the city critically. I have refered in the first approximation to the definition of the city of Wirth (1938), however, I am aware that it leaves open questions about its application (Bagnasco et al., 2010, p. 594;

Dematteis & Lanza, 2014, p. 57). To what extent are the cultural consequences identified by Simmel (of the blasé, alienated man) attributable to the urban fact itself? (i.e. to the three variables of Wirth)? Can these consequences vary according to the different cultural matrices of society, types, and functions of cities?

Put another way, Wirth's definition hints that the city has converged in a map of segregated social areas both in economical and cultural terms, owing to citizen's tendency to gather with peers. Yet they are counterforces in the modern society that machinates against the idea of neatly segregated urban area: social and political forces. For this reason, the considerations of the Chicago school must be taken with caution and read in the light of subsequent theoretical contributions.

o *Claude S. Fischer and the 'subcultures' of the city*

Lastly, Fischer's contribution (1975) in this sense is illuminating and anticipates the theories and researches on the theme of the multicultural city, especially on the understanding of " *kaleidoscopic array of community*" in the contemporary city. (Lin & Mele, 2005). Fischer is not a Chicago's scholar; however, he has worked on the reformulation of Wirth '*theory of urbanism'* (1938). Just as other scholars previously mentioned, Fischer has applied Wirth's three variables in a constructive way, where cities are creating communities rather than destroying it. In his view, the size and density of a city created a sufficient "*critical mass*" engendering "*new subcultural community*". Fischer promptes for a rehearsal of communities in a time where the traditional urbanism acknowledged its decline in favor of a territory- oriented debate, typicall of the Chicago's scholars.

"*Cities provide the critical mass necessary for a viable subculture and the clashes that accentuate that culture.*" (Fischer, 1975, p. 1328).

His concept of '*subculture'* is a reformulation of Wirth's "*heterogeneity*" and Park's "*urban mosaic*", as he commented him-self (*Ibid.*p.1324):

"*A "subculture"is a set of modal beliefs, values, norms, and customs associated with a relatively distinct social subsystem (a set of inter personnal network and institutions) existing within a larger social system and culture.*" (*Ibid.* p.1323).

Earlier, Wirth had advocated the idea of "*the city as a community [which] resolves itself into a series of tenuous segmental relationship superimposed upon territorial bases.*" (*Ibid.*p.23, my underlinings). We can find a parallelism with Simmel's metropolis which " *reveals itself*

as one of those great historical formations in which opposing streams which enclose life unfold, as well as join one another with equal rights"(Simmel & Wolff, 1950, p.423). These declarations are double-sided: on the one hand, the city '*resolves itself*', spontaneously, naturally, as if there were no need of any coordination to govern it. On the other hand, the '*superimposed relationship*' anticipates the idea of an external power-control in city's group relationship and '*inefective kinship ties*', failing to communicate and creating '*fictional kinship groups*. (Wirth, 1938, p.23-24). For all these reasons, Wirth's idea that the city is a 'community' is very appealing to me where, recalling to Park's word: *"The urban community turns out to <u>be a mosaic of minor communities</u>* […] " (Park, 1952, p.196, my underlinings).

      o   *<u>Assessment</u>*

    In the end, I agree with A. Cancellieri: the spaces created by subcultural communities, are *"communitarian spaces"* (Cancellieri & Scandurra, 2012, p.75) reinforcing the Wirthian idea of "*the city as a community*", a space for the cohabitation of "*a mosaic of social worlds*" (Wirth, 1938). Beyond the mosaic, Park also depicted the city as '*a universe of discourses*', a congreries of areas becoming the interplay for "*competition and cooperation with all other living organisms*" (*Park et al.* 1925*,* p.260). Extending the analogy between the city and a living organism, he developed an ecological approach to human communities, observing the city from the point of view of the "*urban ecology*". As it happens, rather than redrawing the entire ecological approach employed by Chicago's scholars, the next paragraph takes into account the limitations of this approach and injects some reflections on the relation between the metaphorical 'social ecology' as an ecosystem and spaces that will be developed in the following pages of the thesis as part of the discussion.

1.1.2 The ecological approach to human community and the Indian students'community[23] under the Chicago School's lens.

The adaptation of human societies to the environment has been developed by the Chicago School which was interested in the social articulation of urban space. The Chicago's scholars studied everything that regarded urban space transformations over time, interpreting the city through ideas and principles changed by evolutionary biology. Such biology observed the existence of a strong connection between the physical environment and the individuals who are localized in a specific environment. (Lutters & Ackerman, 1996). In this pattern, Chicago's scholars were wondering how did the biology act and displaced individuals on the territory.

o *A constellation of natural areas, from Zorbaugh to Park.*

According to Park, to assert human communities' control of space, people fight. The battle arises between many kinds of groups (ethnic groups, racial groups, holders of differing lifestyles and values) and social classes looking for their "*niche*[24]" in the urban order. In the ecological theory, the control for the use of space is drifted by powerful forces such as competion, conflict, invasion and assimilation. (Park, 1952; Park et al., 1925). Tomasi (1995) defines the Chicago's territory as "*a tangle of hatred and love, ruin and success, order and disorder.*"(Tomasi, 1995).

In the essay "*The city as a social laboratory*"(1915), Park described the city as "*a constellation of natural areas* [where] *each one has its characteristic environment and a specific function to be fulfilled in the urban economy as a whole.*" (Park in Acocella, 2010, underlined by the author). In this "*sociological laboratory*" urban sociologists tried to build an original paradigm for unveiling the intricated relationships between society and nature in a space where all the elements of urban modernity are condensing (Park, 1952; Tomasi, 1995). The originality of this approach takes roots in the specificity of its territory which encompasses a plurality of highly differentiated "worlds". The natural areas are defined by the action of man

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[23] The Indian students as part of the Indian diasporic community, allow me to give for granted that they are a community *per sé*, furthermore, everyday life practices and sptialisation of Indian students in the city of Padova described in and 3, will leave no doubt to define them as such.

[24] The notion of an ecological *niche* comes from the study of ecosystem and biology. Its definition is similar to the one of "natural area." Wirth describes the concept as "*each area in the city being suited for some one function better than any other.*" (Wirth 1925, in Lutters & Ackerman, 1996)

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in a given territory where the latter tends to divide cities into relatively isolated areas. A 'mosaic of worlds', as we mentioned: areas that must be subjected to rigorous urban planning capable of incorporating the typical growth trends of a city.

Specifically, the "*natural areas*" are those circular and sectoral areas in which individual types tend to concentrate for one character or the other are considered homogeneous (Park, 1952). Zorbaugh codified the '*natural areas*' as '*the unplanned, natural products of a city's growth*', '*distinct cultural areas*', '*each with its complex of institutions, customs, beliefs, mores, traditions, attitudes, sentiments, and interests*'(Zorbaugh in Lin & Mele, 2005, p.82-88). Park has re-elaborated the urban sociologist Zorbaugh's concept (1926): *"Every natural area has or tends to have, 'its' own peculiar tradition, customs, convention, standards of decency and propriety, and, if not a language on its own, at least a <u>'universe of discourse'</u>, in which words and acts have a meaning which is appreciably different for each local community" (Ibid,* p.201, my underlinings).

o <u>*Cultural areas*</u>

It cannot be denied that the ecologists could not find an agreement among themselves as to the extent of urban planning possible under the ecological theory, though. (Kligman, 1945). Parks himself was aware of the flexible nature of its "natural areas": *"Incidentally, sociologists have discovered that every natural area is, or tends to become, in the natural course of events, <u>a cultural area</u>"* (Park, 1926, p.201, my underlinings). Next, he underlined that 'natural' areas becoming '*cultural areas*' are often less defined, they are not properly delimitated in cities where we can find '*cosmopolitan regions*' (Park, 1926, p.201). For all that, in subsequent academic studies where the ecological theory is evoked, the concept of "*natural area*" appears through operational concepts (See Anderson & Elmqvist, 2012; Tomasi, 1995).

Basically, natural areas are territories in which the opportunities provided by the city were fitting with the needs of different groups. Under a contemporary lens, these opportunities might be interpreted as economic ventures in human communities' orientation to settle within a space. This definition is of greater interest as it has a potential application in contemporary scenarios. Indeed, such areas manifest themselves as Little Italy or Chinatown in New York or like Little India in Canada (See Trouillet, 2018). In this research, I am triyng to defend the idea of emerging '*areas*' of multiethnicity in the city of Padova, looking

at the spatial experiences of the Indian student community in their daily life activities on the city map. Nowadays, the city presents itself in different socio-spatial-temporal contexts which have drawn its multifaceted nature (Dematteis & Lanza, 2014).

- o *Social areas*

Consequently, next to the idea of "*natural areas*" the concept of "*social areas*" appeared (Dematteis & Lanza, 2014; Herbert & Johnston, 1978). "*Social areas*" are understood as socially homogeneous areas, capable of revealing, with their different spatial articulation and their transformation, the structure of the interactions and typical processes of the city. Sandercock (1998) takes the path of the "social production of social space" following Lefebvre (1991). She refuses the "nature or biology" spatiality of the body and envisioned that "*each [bodies- cities- texts] is a social production existing only in its performed reproductions and hence can be dis-ordered, re-ordered, reformed. A city, a body, a social order- each is a complex production, a selective tradition, a socially produced regime of truth that may tumble and fall.*" (*ibid.,* p231). Like her, nowadays, contemporary urbanists have left the distintion between cultural and biotic forces made by Park (1952): while the biotic (or symbiotic) society was based on competition[25], the cultural society relied on communication and consensus[26]. Park argued that these two are dependent on one another in a complex relationship[27].

Today the analysis goes in the direction of the socio-structural determinants of urban behavior. From the "natural areas" there is a shift to the "social areas", notwithstanding, they tend to identify irrevercible and uncontrollable forces similar to the forces of urban ecology: the growing urbanization and modernization. (Binnie, 2006; Briata, 2017; Fraser, 2009; Van

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[25] Following the ecologist theory of Park, biotic forces, similarly, as it happens for plants and animals, are engaging communities in a struggle for existence, thus characterised by unconsciuous processes through which human being establish a biotic order in which competition is the basic form of coexistence (controlled by factors such as moral obligations) resulting in a functional adaptation among themselves in the environment (the city) (Park et al., 1952, p.119-120). The competition at the biotic level is more restricted in society due to the existence of conventions, mores, law. The competition is primarily a competition for space.

[26] The theory of the urban cultural process lies in the fact that the city tends to exhibit and publicly misrepresented the human attributes and varieties that are ordinarily hidden and inhibited. In this way, it gives the city a permissive role rather than an active influence (Park, 1952, p.85-87). It is a perspective of analysis in which the specifically human phenomena of consent and communication are of negligible importance, and which, on the contrary, finds inspiration in social Darwinism with the ecological theory.

[27] See: The human ecological pyramid, Park 1952.(p.145–164) ; visualised by Teherani-Kroenner, in 1992 in Appendix n°1.1 p.330 "*Society is made up of individuals spatially separated, territorially distributed, and capable of independent locomotion'. These spatial relationships of human beings are the products of competition and selection, and are continuously in process of change as new factors enter to disturb the competitive relations or to facilitate mobility*" (Park, 1925, p.64).

Til, 2019). The urban space from the "cause" of alleged social symbiosis became a simple way of representing and deciphering certain latent structures, certain significant correlations, capable of suggesting new hypotheses. An argument in favor of the Chicago's tradition. Even if scholars have gradually moved away from the spatial focus implicit in the ecological analogy, the term '*social ecology*' has remained in its metaphorical sense (Dematteis & Lanza, 2014).

- o   *Chicago's scholars critics and 'spatial determinism'*

Over the years, many other critics have been addressed against the Chicago School (Saunders, 2013, pp. 62–66), most of them attacked the theoretical weakness of the human ecology (although an important theoretical elaboration had been developed in terms of quantity), and the excessive micro-sociological approach addressing research focused on sectoral aspects of the city rather than an entire body, enhancing human ecology's ambiguous influence on urban ethnography (Bagnasco in Hannerz, 1994). These critics have shaken the credibility of the discipline itself: urban sociology, leading many authors to question the fundamental pillars that built this discipline. This, of course, has entailed a review of certain claims made by the Chicagoans.

The first concern about gaps in combining theory and '*real objects*' was risen by Castells in a French article (1968): "*Is there an urban sociology?*" where the author was retracing the seminal works of Park and Wirth in a negative way, pointing out their "*ideological*" character (*Ibid.,* p.76, p.79) that perceived the city as an independent variable of sociology while Burgess'concentric model was opening on dependent variables. What Castells advocated was to overcome the lacunae left behind by the Chicagoans (among others) in a carefull integration of sociology which is able to capture the "*natural*" and the "*constructed*" in an "*inseparable analysis*" (*Ibid.,* p.79), following the steps of authors like Lefebvre. In the mid 1980s, urban sociology was divided into two main paradigm Marxism and Ecology (Castells, 1968; Walton, 1993). Moreover, Castells' work has pointed out how Chicagoan scholars disagreed among themselves, contributing to disempower Park's ecological theory.

Successively, Walton (1993) came to the same assessment as Castells (1968): "*. The problem was a divorce between the real and the theorized objects that defined cities*" (Ibid., p.305) and as a consequence "*No single formulation of the urban question has yet won universal and permanent allegiance, nor is any one likely to*" *(Ibid.,* p.306). Starting from

Castells work in 1968, Walton claimed in favor of the 'interdisciplinary and intercontinental' paradigm 'political economy' which "*has been the most unifying and vigorous paradigm in urban sociology during the last two decades*" *(Ibid.,* p.306).

According to Walton (1993) Sharon Zukin is one of the first exponents of this new paradigm, advocating interdisciplinarity and using the phrase "the new urban sociology". Zukin opened her reflection with the same observation made by Castells (1968): "*At the end of the 1960s, urban sociology presented a most curious ance: a growing corpus of work that was all limbs and no head*" (Zukin, 1980, p.575). She also reminded the conclusion of Wirth (1938, p.24) in "Urbanism as a Way of Life" about "what passes as "urban sociology"" in terms of discipline highlighting once again the different position of Chicagoans within the same school, before diving into an analysis that compared the works of Castells and Harvey to appraise the 'political economy paradigm' already noticed before. All in all, she stated that: "*By tying together urbanization, the quest for profit and domination, and the state's attempts to moderate domestic conflict between social classes, the new urban sociology achieves a coherence the field lacked*" (Zukin 1980, p.579).

To conclude, as Walton (1993) commented later suggesting the need to find new models fitting better with the conditions of mobility, technology and capitalism of the contemporary era, Zukin (1980) deplored that: "[…] *there is still no macro-level model of an alternative to capitalist urbanization and its defeats of certain interests. [...] The opposition to capitalist urbanization the new urban sociologists imply does not deal with the likely realities of urban planning- notably, the exigencies of private investment and local politics - and the determination of what a victory in this area will really involve*" (Zukin,1980, p.599). A call for further attention on "*the relation between policy and practice*" (*Ibid.*).

Lastly, a note here should be made on the central notion of territory in the Chicago's scholars works, which is the main point of ongoing critics on the ecological urban-social model. Critics over the 'spatial determinism[28]" remains widely accepted as they do not recognize the influence of socio-eceonomic forces controlled by policies, highlighting the notions of space and citizens, instead. We acknowledge that the model lacks of a political

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[28] Discussion during the seminar held at IUAV on 27th of January 2020 with Prof. Cognetti and Grassi.

vision of the city (Cognetti et al., 2019; Dematteis & Lanza, 2014; Van Til, 2019). Van Til (2019) calls the approach of the urban ecologists as "*one of economic determinism of space, […] closer to the Darwinian acceptance than the Marxian call for change.*" (*ibid.* 2019). Concurrently, Tomasi (1995) argued that despite the later critics attributed to their tendency of 'spatial determinism', Chicago's sociologists actually never introduced the territory as a fundamental explanatory principle, rather recognized the primordial importance of the territory as the interplay where human activities take place in a specific territory and thus reflecting on everyday social life.

Despite the critics, as Hannerz (1994) has reminded quoting Howard Becker, "*Each piece added to the mosaic adds a little to our understanding of the total picture*" (Becker in Shaw, 1966, p. p.viii) and as such, the Chicago studies constitute a mosaic which is useful for us as a background reading for the others (cooperative ethnography).

- o *Assessment*

At the end of the day, the organic vision of the city seems pretty much updated, especially considering the later contributions of Wirth and Fischer about community and diversity. This means that in more contemporary studies, the essential character of diversity in cities needs to be strengthened and nuanced to compensate what escaped to Chicago's scholars' vision. Besides, I suggest like Anderson and Elmqvist that even more than an "*urban ecology*", cities constitute an "*urban ecosystem*[29]": a container of humans, animal and plants. (Anderson & Elmqvist, 2012). The authors' image of the city as an ecosystem is informed by the experience of the city of Cape Town, where they have settled a "*City Lab*". Doesn't it sound familiar? Precisely, it echoes with "*The city as a social laboratory*" of Park!

Such considerations suggesting that the city needs to be described and designed by its systemic functions, adding a political tie to the Chicago's spatial vision, and stressing the variable of human interactions are convincing. Thus, the city must organize its functions internally and externally in a continuous process of interaction and cooperation between different actors and levels. In fact, the last part of this section introduces the symbolic interactionist approach I have employed in the thesis.

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[29] Duncan (1959) instead suggested "the Ecological Complex", successively reframed as a concept of 'livelihood', bridging his work with Teherani-Krönner29 (1992) above mentioned.

1.1.3 From the Chicago's interactionist approach to the symbolic interactionism to apprehend the study of Indian students in Padova

Let me come back to Park and Thomas but from a methodological point of view: both were claiming using an interactionist approach (Acocella, 2010; Lutters & Ackerman, 1996; Sinatti, 2008). Debate has recently arisen concerning Park's claim for interactionism: a note of Hart (*Ibid.,* 2010) underlines the limited use of this approach in Park and Burgess' work since they established a sequential model of human beings' integration that was ending with assimilation.

o *Refusing Park's assimiliation theory*
The study of migration then, was restrained to the relation between *new-comers* and national societies welcoming them. Indeed, the Chicago's scholars have framed the *socialisation* phenomena as *cooperation* which starts with interaction and terminates with *assimilation.* Park defined assimilation in these terms: "*it involves the more or less complete incorporation of the individual into the existing moral order as well as the more or less complete inhibition of competition*"(*Park,* 1925*,* p262). Under Park's argumentation, assimilation asserts the idea of a unilateral path, from an old life-environment to a new one. But that was in the United States' 1930s. Where is the interaction with the others, if the goal is to replicate and strictly stick to what people -USA, in that case- are dictating you to be? Where is the integration if it happens without interaction?

Up until a certain point, I agree with the argumentation presented in Park, his narration on community and explanation on the relationships between migrants, residents and shared living spaces. However, personally, I do believe that assimilation is nothing alse but an extreme form of acculturation and as such, a process which spoils integration. Hence beyond this old-fashioned and not adapted vision, I think the sociologist should rather see the problem from another angle.

o *Thomas and Znaniecki's claim for interactionism*
A first alternative to assimilation theory is given by Giulia Sinatti, in a brilliant dense article, which revisits the "*Polish peasant*" (Sinatti, 2008) and shows how this work has contributed to anticipate the contemporary trends and has also influenced the creation of new theories, as the symbolic interactionism I'll be presenting here. She elucidates some of

the main peculiarities that distinguish migrations at the time of The Polish Peasant and in the contemporary era. In her words: "*Thomas and Znaniecki were interested in showing that the Poles were not merely being assimilated, but that they carried their own cultural values with them.*" (*Ibid*. p. 9). Thomas et al. were pushing their descriptions of Polish integration further compare to Park:

"I*n attempting to obtain firsthand descriptions of aspects of social reality, one cannot observe everything that goes on in the life of a group of subjects: <u>one is limited to observing episodes of interaction.</u>* […], *like the social world of which they are a part, in a state of constant flux, the methods one brings to bare must meet the particulars of that episode so as to reveal the <u>essentials of that episode</u>* […]*"* (Thomas et al., 1996[30], my underlinings).

In my case, I left behind the idea of studying the whole Indian community in Italy, and rather selected a specific group of people (Indian students) and a single urban context (Padova). Episodes of interaction on a bigger scale seemed too superficial to me; they are just 'bites' shrinking research to '*essential*' contents (as Thomas declared above), while details in human interaction matter as much as generalities, maybe more for me. Still, it is not clear to me where is the interactive part when you spend more time reading the correspondence of Polish peasants to understand how individuals react to circumstances and influence the development of their situation, than talking with them directly and sharing their daily life[31].

Therefore, beyond Thomas and Znaniecki blurred interactionist approach, I have progressevely moved to H. Blumer and then to P. Woods and M. Thapan's ones.

- o *Beyond Blumer's symbolic interactionism*
Herbert Blumer in 1976, is one of the School of Chicago's fellow who covered the topic of symbolic interactionism.(Blumer, 1986). Symbolic interactionism is a sociological perspective that is most concerned with the face-to-face interactions between members of society.(Carter & Fuller, 2015; Dennis, 2017). First, interactionists perceive culture as highly dynamic and fluid, as being created and maintained by the ways people interact and in how

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[30] The first edition was from 1918-20. The Polish Peasant in Europe and America. Boston: Gorham Press.
[31] For a discussion on Thomas and Znaniecki's methodology compared to the one of Durkheim, see Guth & Schrecker (2002).

individuals interpret each other's action, as it is dependent on how meaning is interpreted and how individuals interact when conveying these meanings. (Blumer, 1986).

Secondly, the interactionist viewpoint adopted in the '70s-'80s by Peter Woods concentrated on how people construct meanings in the ebb and flow of everyday life – what they think and do, how they react to one another. He deals with symbolic interaction related to the topic of education. Woods' work is described as one of the leading approaches in education in recent years (Woods, 1980, 2012). By bringing together the major interactionist concepts of situation, perspectives, cultures, strategies, negotiation and careers, in this way, the author demonstrates their collective potential for the deeper understanding of school life and the possibilities for sociological theory. His book therefore offers both a summary of and a reflection on the achievement in the area of interactionism as it relates to schools. (Woods, 1980, 2012).

"It has generated illuminating research, which, by being based in the <u>real world</u> of the school and dealing <u>with fine-grained detail</u> of teachers' and <u>pupils' experiences</u>, has helped <u>to break down the barriers</u> between teacher and researcher" (Woods 2012, abstract, my underlinings).

Apart from the techniques developed by the symbolic interactionism to have access to the data we need, through the infomants, this approach also intimately deals with the construction of identity as well (Thapan, 1995, 2001). Basically, one of the key themes of symbolic interactionism is to depict the dynamic processes by which individuals construct their identities.

Kliest (2004[32]), for example, focuses on the constructions of collective identities within the Somalia's diaspora, therefore her study deserved attention to me as identities within communities of different types may turn out to change individuals' identity at once. Furthermore, Kliest's attention is devolved to the specificity of communities in their '*home country'*, in relation to media and political discourses.

Woods, Thapan and Kliest works represent an inspiring frame for me. Besides, close to our interests, Thapan[33] had also discussed the topic of identity and boundaries for transnational

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[32] See the chapter of Nauja Kleist, in Frykman Högskola (2004).

[33] Meenakshi Thapan worked within "CARIM-India research group" in Florence (see the website: http://www.india-eu-migration.eu/) on the topic of migration with a particular regard on Italy and France between 2011 and 2013. After that, she continued writing about Indians in Italy with a major focus on education and identity of women and young migrants (data from interview: IN261118). <u>NB:</u> Interviews have

migrants (*Ibid.*, 2005). Under a gender perspective, she has underlined how immigrant women's identity is far more fluid compared to men since identity is regulated by both social and state insitutions in the new country in which they enter. Although my analysis will not adopt a gender perspective[34], we shall reming that the topic of interaction also needs to be read with an eye on individuals' stories and identity. The thesis third part would explore in-depth the everyday life of Indian students in Padova and their relationship with the space of the city and the University.

o *Assessment*

That being said, the symbolic interationist theory on its own was not sufficient to carry on the kind of deep-focused analysis of Indian students in Padova I had in mind, especially considering the years I have spent observing them at the University of Padova, before being included in the Indian community of the city. I felt it was necessary not only to revisit these classical approaches we have seen but also to add more recent approaches. As for now, taking another look at Thomas and Znaniecki's work, which has been cited as "*a pioneer of the transnational migration theory*" in the 'Polish peasant' (Sinatti, 2008), I move to another approach which deserves a closer look in the next section: transnationalism. As we are going to see, literature on international migration theories seems to convey on the fact that transnationalism can be used in the context of international students'migration.

SECTION 1.2 Refashioning theories about international migration, towards transnationalism for students'migration.

1.2.1 An overview of the international migration theories.

Social scientists have addressed the question of *why, how, where do people migrate?* as well as *what happens after migration?* from several angles and disciplines over the past decades.(White, 2016, p. 69). Building upon Ravenstein's pioneer work asserting economy as the major cause of international migration in 1885, his 'laws[35]' were later reinterpretated by

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been coded with a mix of letters and numbers; the full list of interviews conducted during field work is available in Appendix to Chapter 2, p.332.

[34] See the conclusions of this chapter which resume my focus and leave aside the gender perspective as well as the caste one. Unfortunately, I could not engage with such a deep and wider study in this thesis, however it might be interesting to integrate these two variables in a subsequent study about Indian students'migration abroad.

[35] Ravenstein's 'laws on migration' determined after the observation about 'stream and counter-stream' outlining an individualistic and historical model of migration which saw migration as an inseparable part of development. His laws on the return flow and large destination

geographers, economists, anthropologists and sociologists (de Haas, 2010; White, 2016). International migration studies thus advocate a "*pluralist*" "*multidisciplinary*" approach (de Haas, 2010, p. 31; White, 2016, p. 84) to dig further theoretical assumptions and to consolidate the idea of a "*comprehensive*" theory of migration to overcome the "*fragmented set of theories isolated from one another*" (Massey et al., 1993, p.431). Before setting out a model of international education flows that represent Indian students' migration to Italy, it can be useful to briefly invoke some theories of international migration. A complete review of all the theories of migration is unnecessary as it will be nothing else than repeating what Massey et all. already brilliantly wrote in 1993. Therefore, to lighten this complexe theoretical part, I will give a short overview of general theories of migration which allow us to distinguish them into three - not mutually exclusive- main types: macro, meso, micro (de Haas, 2010; Heine, 2002; D. S. Massey & Zenteno, 1999). As we will discuss in this chapter and in the following, together with the question of the use of space, the question of human's mobility[36] is central in my analysis. The purpose of this section is to move beyond what Park outlined in the 1920s: "*Human are capable of movements*" (Park et al., 1925, p.174-175) where he emphasised the role of mobility in human's life as a *'unique experience'* which constituted these human beings as persons. Therefore, this section exposes more contemporaries theories on migration and mobility, closer to my topic.

o *Macro-micro neoclassical theories*

To attempt to explain the dynamics of migration, scholars have first sought empirical evidence of the drivers of international migrations between countries (macro-level) and of individual migration decision-making (micro-level) under an economic perspective. Fortunately, theories emerged in many social sciences disciplines to go beyond the linear link of migration to work opportunities (de Haas, 2010, p.12, 23), and to understand *why people are moving,* suggesting an analytical framework located in an intermediate meso-level to explain macro-level discrepancies. As Matznetter et al. (2010) introductory note has

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places seemed to suggest the embeddedness of migrants in social structure.(Barbas et al., 2018; de Haas, 2010; Heine, 2002; Douglas S. Massey et al., 1993; White, 2016).

[36] The debated question on whatever we shall talk about students'mobility or migration is resumed in Appendix 3.2 p.390. Meanwhile, as it is commonly agreed in literature about international students mobility, I will interwined the concept of migration and mobility as if their meaning was the same (authors like King & Raghuram (2013) generally employ "ISM", where the 'M' is free of interpretation by the readers about International Students Movement/Migration/Mobility). although preferring students'migration to the too general 'mobility' concept.

enhanced, ideally we should have a look on all the three levels: on the macro level (of brains flows between nations and world regions in knowledge-based societies where we convey macro economic repercussions); on the meso level (of international and regional policies and organisations garnering international students flow); and on the micro level (of internationally mobile students as individuals). Yet, three years research alone cannot afford dealing with these three levels. Leaving behind the macro theories offering fostering the push-pull model, and also providing an explanation for forced displacement that has nothing in common with my case-study (Heine, 2002; Massey et al., 1993), I argue in favor of a meso-level theory with a glance at micro-level personal stories. To approach international migration, inspired by Faist's 'macro-meso-micro' model which underlines the idea that networks are the "*crucial meso level*[37]"(Ambrosini, 2006, 2011). Besides, to cope with our Ph.D. track in regional public policies, the meso-level could be interesting. It shows how a range of transnational policies and strategies fostered by institutions – Universities, Embassy Uni-Italia Offices, Foreign affairs ministry, Townhalls- have invested in attracting internationally mobile students to mobilise them locally, to facilitate exchange of knowledges and practices giving them a possibility to enter in the destination-country labour market (Baas, 2019; Crescenzi et al., 2016; Matznetter, 2010; MIUR et al., 2017; Wolfeil, 2010). Hence, I have briefly summarized some of the theories that I will aptly empirically in the following parts, especially in Chapters IV, VI and VII.

- o *Meso theories and systems*

Meso-level theories locate migration flows within a complex system of linkages between states. As the modern world is embeeded in a process of increasing structural interdependence of countries and societies, social scientists as Haas (2010) proposed a revisited version of Wallerstein's world system theory (*ibid.* 1974) and Zelinsky's mobility transition theories[38] (*ibid.* 1971) to set off a debate about the relationship between globalisation processes and migration. The "new economics of migration" has tried to catch the globalization and modernization challenge and has incorporated the societal dimension

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[37] See Thomas Faist theory in Hammar, Brochmann, Tomas, & Faist, 1997, p. 247 in Chapter 9 From Common Questions to Concepts - (by Thomas Faist).

[38] To keep this review lighter, I have avoided to develop Zelinsky mobility transition model which aims to predict migration through the transition theories. (see Haas, 2010 and the Handbook of International migration 2016.)

of migration by including meso-level theories as the theory of rational choice that has begun to consider social units like families (including household, migration chains and diaspora networks). These theories located within a structural model investigating the probability of migration, required an integration with the concept of community, to move to an aggregated level: the migration system theory (Barbas et al., 2018, p. 15; Massey et al. 1993, p.454) As a matter of fact, systems and networks are the key concepts of meso theories. (Heine, 2002). World system theory hypothesized: "*The penetration of capitalist economic relation into peripheral non-capitalist societies, <u>creates a mobile population</u> that is prone to <u>migrate abroad</u>*" (*Ibid.* p.445, 447, and Massey, 1999, my underlinings). Assuming that international movements might be perpetuated across time and space modifying the initial conditions that activated the migration, Massey observed that migrants 'chains[39]' would be better defined as *networks*[40].

- o *Networks, cumulative causation and migration system theory*

The network theory of Massey defines networks as "*a set of interpersonal ties that connect migrants in origin and destination countries through ties of kinship, friendship and shared community origin*" (Massey et al., 1993, p.448-449). The networks theory life cycle follows an 'ecological path', it has shed into light that migrations are amalgamated in social networks which cross space and time, emerge, grow up and decline (de Haas, 2010). Drawing on the theory of the rational choice, the individual decision of migration can be taken within a social group or unit as a family improving the '*likelihood*' of additional migration (Barbas et al., 2018; de Haas, 2010; Douglas S. Massey et al., 1993; White, 2016). These networks ties and international migration ties contribute to feed a form of *social capital* and the concept of *embeddedness* in a community (Ambrosini, 2006; Verstappen, 2016). From a theoretical perspective, networks and community can influence migration in several ways. The system theories have incorporated in their analysis the networks between the different types of links that connect the places of origin and destination of the migrants (Ambrosini, 2006; Fitzgerald, 2006; Verstappen, 2016). The combination of both meso-theories - system theory

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[39] I am refering to Ravenstein's law 'chain of migration". Ravenstein in 1885 already had observed the importance of relationship networks for individual transfers of people: 'chains of migration' which headed towards the commercial and industrial centers. (Faist 1997, Ambrosini, 2006).

[40] For further details on the concept of networks with the rise of the network society, see: Castells & Castells, (2000).

with the network theory - dawn the migration system theory (Massey et al., 1993, p. 454). This system perspective additional to the network theory, includes the institutional theory and the cumulative causation concept inspired by Myrdal (1957).

In Massey's broader picture to adapt a position on multiple simultaneous levels, there is a causal process known as *"cumulative causation"* (Barbas et al., 2018; de Haas, 2010; D. S. Massey & Zenteno, 1999; Massey, 1999; Massey et al., 1993; Tan & Hugo, 2017; White, 2016). The cumulative causation is based on the idea that "*migration tends to create more migration*" because each act of migration can '*alter social context*' (Massey et al. 1993, p.452). Migration is first deeply rooted into people's individual decision and behavior and progressively grows within the community who shares common values related to the migration intention (Barbas et al., 2018; de Haas, 2010, p. 42; Massey, 1999; Massey et al., 1993). Once the structural determinants[41] that prompted international migration in the first place no longer exert their force, cumulative social process may turn migration into a self-sustaining and self-perpetuating phenomenon (Ambrosini, 2006, 2011; Barbas et al., 2018).

  o *Micro theories*
Micro theories- as the rational choice theory[42], concentrate on the factors influencing individual decisions to migrate, and thus, can help to demonstrate how macro and meso factors are translated into individual decisions to move. (Heine, 2002). Micro theories focus on analysing how potential migrants weigh up the various costs and benefits of migrating. Costs may include the financial and psychological resources invested in moving and integrating in the country of destination, while benefits could appraise a higher *lifestyle,* as salary or physical safety (Verstappen, 2016, p. 159; White, 2016).

Later, I felt the need of collecting direct considerations of Indian students about their life in Padova, and thus micro theories investigating desire, emotions, aspiration, fears and dreams seemed to fit with my case. Besides, the micro perspective furnishes a reappraisal and further refinement on the migration systems theory which should "*address how the individual, even personal, dimensions of aspiration, desire and emotion intersect with meso-*

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[41] Structural determinants include the establishment of diaspora networks, counter-flows of remittances, segmented labour markets with a structural demand for unskilled labour, relative deprivation and the diffusion of a migration culture.
[42] The rational choice theory is a perspective adopted by the individual and makes a number of controversial assumptions about how and why individuals take decisions (Heine, 2002, p.4).

structures, such as social relations and migration infrastructures, as well as macro-structures, such as large scale demographic forces and economic settings, interstate relationships, policies" (Barbas et al., 2018, p.16). All in all, the micro theories, should not be neglected in migration studies as they provide "*a form of check or control for macro and meso theories, describing how individuals actually make decisions on the basis of objective or relational factors*" (Heine, 2002, p.4).

o *Assessment*

Ultimately, none of the above theories is sufficient in its 'exclusive' level-version to describe the international students' migration. First of all, the major problem is that these theories are much related to economy and a discussion on wages or employment, while Indian students -for the majority- do not come to Italy with work intentions but to acquire knowledge in foreign universities. Secondly, further specific theoretical perspectives have to be investigated to formulate a suitable model for Indian students' migration which may consider an integration of macro, meso and micro-perspectives. This overview of international migration theory has vividly demonstrated how migration scholars are heeding the vigorous call of an integration of macro-meso-micro theories in light of the empirical evidence yields the Massey's 1999 account of how international migration was initiated and sustained in the modern world (Massey, 1999; Smith & King, 2012). Still, the need to unpack the flows of migrants into categories of international migrants was not considered until recently: scholars started to pay attention to international students'migration about ten years ago: "*Only in recent years, data on international students have been added to international migration statistics* [43]" (Matznetter, 2010). As we will see, student migrants share some common points with labour migrants (who were used to formulate the above theories) but also include some specificities that deserve a particular attention (R. King & Raghuram, 2013; Tan & Hugo, 2017).

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[43] Such as the OECD's 2001 SOPEMI Report on Trends in International Migration, or IOM's World Migration Report, 5th edition, 2010.

1.2.2 Exploring the definition of international students'migration/mobility and related theories.

The awareness of a need to distinguish the students'migration as a component of global migration flows, came out in 2010s to address this lacuna in migration research. (Findlay, 2011; R. King & Raghuram, 2013).

As literature suggests, studies analyzed this 'neglected field' about thirty years ago. Tremblay in 2005, wrote an article about *Academic mobility and migration* where she anticipated many illuminating indicators to deal with this specific topic which inspired further studies related to the analysis of the benefits and drawbacks of international migration for both sending and receiving countries, the political-related question for the attraction of international students in foreign universities, and the 'return-flow' risk and strategy. Refering to Kim (1998) who modeled '*education as a process of knowledge impor*t' in an economic analysis of foreign education and students abroad (Tremblay, 2005, p.224), we can reconnect the first studies of international students' migration to the 2000s.

o *A rampant interest for students'migration*

To begin with, Adriansen et al. (2014), Ambrosini (2019[44]), Baas (2006, 2013) and King & Raghuram (2013) have argued that the treatment of students as migrants has been limited in migration studies compared to the pletoric and detailed discussions and analysis of 'economic' migrants and refugees, especially in Italy such consideration is perfectly tangible. The wealth of historical and statistical knowledge existing thanks to international organisations as OECD, UNESCO,UN-IOM and EU is remarkable and despite their attention devolved to the actual constitutive role of international students in nationalist projects (innovation, trade, research and development, internationalism etc.), many standard textbooks on international migration dismiss the phenomenon in a few lines. (see Ambrosini, 2011, and White, 2016). Conversely, Staniscia (2011) has underlined the great number of research carried out on the issue of international students assuming different facets that she classifies into eleven categories as a collection of the many ways to analyse this polymorphic figure. The studies that she mentions took place between the 2000s and the 2010s.

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[44] Summer school of Sociology of Territory held in Venice: Overtourism, host and guest. Final section discussed by Professor Ambrosini on 19/09/2019 at Iuav University of Venice.

Lastly, King and Raghuram (2013) pointed out that some recent studies on international migration 'fail to mention students-migrants' as Sammers in 2010 and the subsequent urge to take into account the study of international student migration/mobility (ISM) as the flows is exponentially growing year by year across the world. But what is an international student?

- o *Definition: an international student*

The definition given by the Italian government, which is useful for my study, has been designed on the '*Glossary on asylum and migration 2.0*[45]' where an international student is first defined as a "*Foreign student of higher education as third-country national who has been **accepted** by a higher education institution and who has been **admitted** to the territory of a Member State to pursue, as main activity, a full-time study program leading to the attainment of a higher education qualification recognized by that Member State, including diplomas, certificates or doctoral degrees in a higher education institution, which may include a preparatory course prior to that"(*my underlinings[46]). I have bold-emphasized the words "accepted"and "admitted" as its shows how the international students' migration is rooted into a premetidated controlled strategy of migration excerpting from a national regulated policy. Secondly, in 2018[47], another EMN report enriches the previous definition, the 'foreign student' becomes an "*International student*", the program attended is controlled "*under national law*" and adds that doctoral candidates may be considered as a side-category: "*Member States will be invited to indicate at the beginning of their national contribution and in the statistics provided whether or not doctoral candidates are included when referring to "students"*[48].

This definition does not entirely satisfy neither literature nor international organisations have evidenced. A reason may come from the fact that, once again, the glossary

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[45] See: "Glossario sull'asilo e la migrazione 2.0. Uno strumento per un approccio comparato, Ufficio delle Pubblicazioni dell'Unione Europea, Lussemburgo," (2012, p. 218).

[46] My translation from the original version from the EMN report 2012, p.7 : "Il Glossario EMN Migrazione e Asilo 2.0 definisce lo "studente straniero di un insegnamento superiore" come il "cittadino di un Paese terzo che sia stato accettato da un istituto di insegnamento superiore e che sia stato ammesso nel territorio di uno Stato membro per seguire, quale attività principale, un programma di studio a tempo pieno che porti al conseguimento di un titolo di istruzione superiore riconosciuto da tale Stato membro, compresi i diplomi, certificati o diplomi di dottorato in un istituto di insegnamento superiore, che può comprendere un corso propedeutico preliminare a tale . "

[47] My translation from the original version from the EMN report 2018, p.4 .

[48] NB: In Italy, doctoral candidates receive the same guarantees as students with regard to the right to study as per the Decree of the President of the Council of Ministers of April 9, 2001. See http://attiministeriali.miur.it/anno-2001/aprile/dpcm- 09042001. aspx

is a document where students' migration is barely mentioned, besides inserted in a confusioning context since the students we are analyzing are neither asylum seekers nor refugees. It is thus surprising that official national documents (EMN reports) refer to this EU general collection of definitions. It is even more striking since UNESCO, working precisely on education, has formulated a broader definition[49] on this topic. As far as I am concerned, one can define the international students taking back the merged definition of the Migration data portal[50]:

'*Internationally mobile students' typically hold a non-resident visa status (sometimes called a <u>student's visa</u>) to pursue a tertiary degree (or higher) in the destination country. These individuals are also called 'degree-mobile students', to emphasize the fact that <u>they would be granted a foreign degree,</u> and to distinguish them from 'credit-mobile students' on short exchange or study-abroad trips."* (United Nation-IOM, 2017, underined by the author).

Such definition expresses 'international students' as those students who have crossed borders 'expressly with the intention to study' and to 'participate in educational activities in a destination country' and ads the time variable, with the distinction between *'credit-mobile students'* ie temporary students on exchange or bilateral programs (as Erasmus) and '*degree-mobile students'* staying over a longer period. In my case, due to the small number of Indian students in Padova, I have considered both categories.

Furthermore, the portal suggests a short bibliography related to studies linked on the UNESCO website on the topic of international students' migration. However, the portal also expresses critics on the cited literature and declined them as 'representative samples':

"*Many studies of international students <u>rely on surveys of potential students</u> to understand their motivations for studying overseas (e.g., Mazzarol and Soutar, 2002), and <u>surveys of current international students</u> to examine their intentions to stay or to leave after graduation (e.g. Han et al., 2015). These <u>surveys typically lack a sampling frame, and therefore could</u> not be treated as representative samples.*" (United Nation-IOM, 2017, underined by the author).

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[49] "An internationally mobile student is an individual who has physically crossed an international border between two countries with the objective to participate in educational activities in a destination country, where the destination country is different from his or her country of origin." (UNESCO, 2015). See : http://glossary.uis.unesco.org/glossary/en/home

[50] The migration data portal analysis facilitates the comparability of international data from OECD, EUROSTAT and UNESCO.- by United Nation-IOM https://migrationdataportal.org/themes/international-students#further-reading

I understand and acknowledge this comment. Also, this is the reason why my study is rooted in an in-depth qualitative analysis and empirical data coming from a two-year ethnographic fieldwork in Padova.

o *A missing theory for student's migration?*

Up until today to the best of my knowledge, it seems that despite abundant research regarding the highly-skilled migrants (Agrawal et al., 2011; Wiesbrock & Hercog, 2012), the mobility/migration of international students lacks of theorization and of a concrete empirical-research proposal, which contributes to obscure the understanding of this profile. Theories on the migration of international students have been drawn upon the knowledge acquired by classical migration theories and contemporary one, but only few papers that we have examined take a clear stand and argumentation on the theory they have been drawing upon (Van Mol & Ekamper, 2016). Therefore, I have searched insights in their discussions and bibliographical references to understand where the model and assumption presented were coming from.

As Han (2015) had already outlined, there are indeed three main theoretical lines followed by scholars: first, those focusing on the push-pull theory *tout-court*[51]; then, those integrating the push-pull theory with some interpersonal variables, advocating the idea of an individual level theory[52] (Han et al., 2015, p.3). In fact, the Migration data Portal (cited above) deplores that studies about internationally mobile students tend to focus on the conditions ('*push and pull factors'*) that motivate students to study overseas, while policymakers are also interested in encompassing international students as highly skilled immigrants which can bring something to the destination country in the future (United Nation-IOM, 2017). What

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[51] As Mazzarol and Soutar defined (2002, p.82): "``*Push''* factors operate within the source country and initiate a student's decision to undertake international study. ``Pull'' factors operate within a host country to make that country relatively attractive to international students.". Indeed, the authors advocated that "*The global pattern of international student flows may be explained by a combination of* ``*push and pull'' factors that encourage students to study overseas.*" (Ibid., p.82) and presented in their paper an assortment of factors influencing students'decisions to move abroad for studies. Han et al (2015) refers to Mazzarol and Soutar (2002) while listing the way in which scholars approach students' mgration.

[52] For example Lee,(2008) argued that the way the push-pull forces interact within the individual process is 'highly speculative' (Ibid., p.323) .The author observed the individual choice variable's relevance : "*Beyond the experiences of these students, much is unknown regarding how their choices are made, not only whether they study abroad but also where they study.*" (Ibid., p.324) and therefore research need to be conducted empirically "*to better understand and address shifting international enrollment rates in the United States and elsewhere [...] future research should explore these, and other factors related to international student college access.*" (Ibid., p.323).

follows is that they have been numerous attemps[53] to refine general "push-pull" explanations for migration where these factors initially triggered "pioneer" voluntary migration (Heine, 2002; Lee, 2008). Finally, the third line refuses the macro push-pull theory in favor of an interactionist theory that is able to capture relations, ties and individual variables (Han et al., 2015, p.3-13[54]).

Eventually, like migration studies, most of the studies conducted on international students are quantitative rather than qualitative. On the one hand, this might be an explanation for the great number of quantitative studies designed on classical economics theories: t*he push-pull* and the *gravity model* are among the most used[55] (Beine et al., 2014; Mazzarol & Soutar, 2002; Temgoua, 2018). This '*static'* model contains too many limitations according De Haas and Barbas et al. to be able to explain several empirical regularities and pattern of international mobility. To mention a few, the push-pull model undervalues the analysis of '*migrants' perception'* as well as migrants '*agency and aspirations',* and does not take into account the possibility of a '*return migration'* (de Haas, 2010, p.11).

Qualitative studies, on the other hand, analyze specific flows, often focusing on either a sending country or a receiving country. They usually focus on theories related to the '*human capital theory'* where scholars generally approach students'migration as the highly-skilled migration where the output can be a '*brain drain'* for the sending country (Agrawal et al., 2011; Docquier, 2014; Dodani & LaPorte, 2005; IRES, 2014), a '*brain gain*'- also addressed as 'return migration' when migrants came back after spending time abroad (Bijwaard & Wang, 2016; Boeri, 2012; Buga & Meyer, 2012; Dodani & LaPorte, 2005; Trouillet, 2018; Singh & Krishna, 2015) or as a '*brain circulation*' when these 'brains' keep on moving following job

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[53] For instance, building upon Petersen's list (dating back 1958!) of five classes of migration as a tool for understanding migration patterns (in White, 2016, p. 95) or reading the already mentioned Lee JJ. (2008) Beyond borders: international student pathways to the United States. Journal of Studies in Inter- national Education. 12(3): 308–327) , to apprehend the whole list of questions missing when approaching students' migration under the push-pull model traditional cut.

[54] Han et al (2015, p.13) have highlighted that "person's decision to stay or leave the U.S. upon graduation was dependent on the interaction of professional [...]personal [...] and social/cultural factors [...]" (Ibid.).

[55] The well-known "push-pull model" was built inspired by the 'gravity model' which applied Newton's law and rules of attraction between two bodies to migration patterns. (Barbas et al., 2018; White, 2016). "*Migration is typically perceived as a series of "push and pull" factors with economic principles wherein individuals migrate to increase utility, however defined, though usually understood as the pursuit of higher wages*"·(Bhagwati, 2014 in White, 2016, p.79). NB: *Neo-classical migration theories considered wage differentials as the main cause of international migrations.* " (de Haas, 2010, p. 7)

opportunities (Han et al., 2015; Mahroum, 2000; Singh & Krishna, 2015; Tremblay, 2005; Van Mol & Ekamper, 2016).

All together, recent studies (Baas, 2016; R. King & Raghuram, 2013; Singh & Krishna, 2015) highlight that the key to read international students' spatial movements could be captured by the *brain circulation* theory. This theory responds to a new way of thinking especially at times when brain drain/gain theories are paramount. Besides, the brain circulation theory is nothing but another face of the *cumulative causation theory* of Massey (1993): international students who have experienced an abroad stay for studies are more likely to carry on moving for other studying opportunities that may end up in a job opportunity or in a decision to stay for family reasons (Beine et al., 2014; Douglas S. Massey et al., 1993; Tremblay, 2005). Yet, while these authors are advocating the idea of a human capital movement on the local and global scale, they do not nuance their data with a special regard on a particular nationality (Kim, 2016; Mahroum, 2000; Zaccaria & Garavaglia, 2015). Hence, leaving the *brain*-theoretical considerations aside, this research is also an occasion to grab the challenge launched by Han et al.:

"*Differences among students of different nationalities were not detectable because of the small sample size and future studies should focus on elucidating whether students from different nationalities are influenced by different factors to pursue their studies in the U.S. and in their decisions to stay or return to their home countries*" (*Ibid.,* 2015, p.14, my underlinings).

   o *A specific theory for Indian students'migration?*

My thesis aims at filling the gap identified by Han et al. (2015) bridging a background of reliable quantitative data that enclose the dense qualitative data analysis, characterized by an integrated approach based on the *Grounded Theory Methodology* and on the symbolic interactionism introduced in this chapter . The only fact that scholars have started writing specific reports on the mobility of Asian students like Chinese[56], Indians[57], Vietnamese[58] and Nepalese[59] should be an indicator that these peoples may have specificities partly missed in studies which analyze international students regardless their origins. As my study will reveal,

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[56] See Tan & Hugo, (2017)

[57] See Baas,(from 2006 to 2016); Nair, (2014); Tan & Hugo, (2017)

[58] See Leung, (from 2013 to 2017)

[59] Valentin, (2015)

the migration path of Indian students is quite different from the one of other international students, and certainly there cannot be an ammalgation between EU and NON-EU citizens as the procedures to allow their entrance and stay in Italy are very different.

Indian students, as Baas' study (2013) has underlined, is a particular flow of migration. In fact, he argues against the use of the push-pull model. Additionally, he was insisting on the fact that Indian students are migrants just as any other kind of moving person desiring to go abroad for greater opportunities. Baas worked on Indian students' migration to Australia between 2006 and 2016, acknowledging that Indian students should not be constrained to integrate in Australian society as their 'in-betweeness' position, lead them to feel as 'global citizens'.

"*I will finally argue against hegemonic ideas on integration which still lean heavily on push-pull models for understanding migration, and argue that in order to understand current day migration we need to be open to suggestions that many migrants do not so much seek to integrate themselves in the local but much more into the global. This is a definite shift away from earlier forms of migration*" (Baas, 2013, p.2, my underlinings).

o *Assessment*

In the case of India, if the first decade (1990-2000) may have represented a dramatic 'loss of brains' where according to the *brain drain theory*, many engineers, doctors and highly skilled migrants were driven out of India to U.S., Canada and Australia (see Tremblay, 2005), recent studies regarding the last twenty years have evidenced a reverse-geer with the return of many migrants[60]. Thus, the *brain gain* theory has emerged to counterbalance the brain drain one. Besides, the return-migration flow is increased by the flow of international students's migration trained abroad in prestigious universities[61], who are coming back to work in India as well as foreign companies outsourced from Europe to India activating what is called : a *brain circulation.* Certainly, the *brain circulation* theory, captures the movement of Indian students in a more comprehensive way and can be considered as the most effective one to address the topic under hand. What follows is that Indian students' migration should consider the interaction between subjects and space as Han et al. (2015) and Baas (2012),

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[60] Commonly known as "The NRI -Non Resident in India" (see Varrel, 2012)

[61] Again see Han, Van Mol, Staniscia, Tremblay ,Baas on the attractive role of prestigious universities. The attractiveness of the university of Padova, will be discussed in chapter 5

encourage. Hence, to fully exploit the potentialities of these theories, I will need to deepen the question of system and networks theories in relation with the students' migration flow, riding on the pick of the transnationalist perspective today (Verstappen, 2016).

I.2.3 Assessing the transnational approach to understand Indian Students'migration to Italy.

As reminded by the Italian sociologist, M. Ambrosini, the transnational theory is "*perhaps the main innovation in migration studies which occurred in the two last decades.*" (Ambrosini*,* 2008). The transnational theory is 'an evolution' of the network theories, which investigates migration under a sociological approach at the meso-level.

o *Glick Schiller, the mother of transnationalism*

The genesis of the transnational approach to migration studies covers the period of the nineties, when Glick Schiller, Basch and Szanton-Blanc's book was first published in 1992[62]. The authors tried to define 'transnationalism' and sought to locate it historically and theoretically, using a comparative study (Schiller, 1998). Concurrently, with the encompassing global capitalist system, 'capitalist-dependent countries' exhibit new forms of migration, therefore *"[...] transnational migration [...] is becoming increasingly a global phenomenon as populations in capital-dependent countries are everywhere forced to migrate to centers of capital in order to live.*" (*ibid.*, 1998, x).Thus as Ambrosini affirms (2006) the division between the categories of 'immigrant' and 'emigrant' becomes obsolete (*Ibid.* 2006). Reasoning in terms of transnationalism means to overcome -or at least to '*fluidify'* these two traditional categories- to cease conceiving migration as a process that has a place of origin and a place of destination (See Bauman, 2000, 2011).

One cannot ignore the innovative work offered by Schiller et all. in the 1990s, which was a variant of the transnational social field, community, circuit. A concept which pleaded the idea that contemporary migrations should more opportunely be assumed as "*transmigrations*" (Fitzgerald, 2006; Sinatti, 2008).

o *Social fields for transmigrants*

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[62] The 92s' transnational theory emphase doesn't dig up the causes of migration, instead the funding mothers' theory gives some insights: the idea that distances are reduced, the awareness of an unarresting crossing of borders in both directions, the tendency of keeping together morsels of past identity and habits in the present and future life.

The transmigrant can be defined as a *social actor*, capable of initiatives and promotor of economic, social and cultural alterations (Schiller et al., 1995). Transmigrants' reaction is translated into a participative life in both communities, sometimes in worries, regarding 'those left behind' and the 'new ones', with whom they should be capable of forging long-term social ties. The transmigrant maintain networks, cultures, bounds and habits that on the one hand shape their adaptation to the new environment, on the other hand, draw transformations taking place also in the context of departure. In this vision, transmigrants are those who build new 'social fields' crossing geographical, cultural and political borders that connect the two poles of the migratory movement, maintaining a wide range of social, emotional or instrumental relationships across them (Ambrosini, 2006, 2011, pp. 47–48).

Poles are connected by networks which become institutionalized and are fundamental to allow exchanges in transnational social fields (Ambrosini, 2006; Faist, 2008). Gargano (2009) reminds the definition of the transnational social field as "*an unbounded terrain of interlocking egocentric networks that extends across the borders of two or more nation-states and that incorporates its participants in the day-to- day activities of social reproduction in these various locations*" (Fouron & Schiller, 2001a, p. 544 in Gargano, 2009). Lacroix as well (2018) recommends the use of the concept 'transnational social field' ('*champs sociaux transnationaux*') as it was fitting better with his demonstration of the space production by migrants, where these fields are animated by punctual practices and movements and distance-ties, thus a distinction with the idea of the transmigrant whose lifestyle is like 'trapped' in an unarrested circulation (*ibid*, p.35.). Baumans' tourist-concept sums up both the uncertainty and limited decision in the movement of human beings:

"*The life of men and women of our time is much like that of tourists-through-time: they cannot and would not decide in advance what places they will visit and what the sequence of stations will be; what they know for sure is that they will keep on the move, never sure whether the place they have reached is their final destination. (Bauman, 1995 ,p. 268-269)*" (in Baas, 2013, p.8, my underlinigs).

Where should we locate migrants' agency in transnational movements (Baas, 2013a; de Haas, 2010)? How can we nuance theories of transnationalism through the recognition of dynamic and spatialized practices of student-migrants (Raghuram, 2013; Van Mol &

Ekamper, 2016) ? These are some open questions which would deserve further investigations in the last two paragraphs, as they contribute to refine the theory characterizing Indian students' migration.

   o *Transnationalism performs a social function for individuals.*
First, as literature has evidenced, Indians constitute a community , in a sense it appears as a 'transnational homogenous group' (Gautam, 2013, p.9) however we should keep in mind that India is a hierarchized country where castes, gender and classes (A.Roy in Prem Shankar et al., 2020; Roberts, 2017; Tumbe, 2018) remain central barriers to build the '*multicultural and secular India*' (Shankar et al., 2020, my underlinigs): "*The idea of an Indian Diaspora as a transnational social community/group is based on psychological innate feeling of being Indian and possessing the social values of Indian heritage is the basic requirement.*" 'Indianness' and 'minority model' are also recalled when dealing with this community, especially in studies conducted in the U.S. and Australia (See Baas, 2013b; Cohen, 1996, 2008; Trouillet, 2018; Verstappen, 2016; Voigt-Graf, 2004).

Baas (2013, 2016, 2019) and Tan & Hugo (2017) have both worked on the 'transnational migration' of Indian students. Transnational life is popularly characterized by subject experiencing uprooted and un/disconnected life, they are '*neither here nor there*'. (Baas, 2013). Baas'major critic moves around the fact that this approach tends to erect walls within migration studies, at the expenses of questioning the actual "*[...] newness* [nature] *of the idea of transnationalism.*" (*ibid.,* 2013, p.8). To deconstruct the narrow notions of transnational life and transmigrants, literature has given some hints which should evidence the 'need to clearly identify' the 'new' behavior or 'state of being' related to the contemporary approaches to understand current migrations today. (Baas, 2013a; Fitzgerald, 2006; Gargano, 2009). Baas (2013a, p.6-7) attempted to produce some 'clarity' in the maze of different conceptual ideas and elaborations which have reframed transnationalism with a whole range of specifications from transnational social spaces, -fields, -formations, etc. first, Baas brings back Faist's definition (1999) before moving to the concept of "in-betweenness".

"*Transnational social spaces and the other names we have given these phenomena are characterized by a high density of interstitial ties on informal or formal (institutional) levels*" (Faist, 1999, p.2 in Baas, 2013a, p.6).

Following Faist's logic, Baas dissects the transnationalism approach to observe the way to implement it, with a heavier focus on the individual process of transnationalisation (the locating agency question). "*On the one hand does it seem that people have made very conscious decision to live a particular lifestyle, yet at the same time these decisions seem to be the logical consequence of economic, political and related factors*" (Baas, 2013a, p.8).

Yet, the idea of external factors, namely the existence of transnational strategies of national states to face the 'race for brains' and to address 'the attractiveness' of universities is confirmed by Han& Hugo's paper (2017), by Brooks et al. (2012) and by Staniscia (2011). These elements, together with the discovery of Italian strategic reports to attract international students will be further discussed in chapter 3.

Lastly, Indian students' migration strategies can be conceptualized as having 'trans/national' dimensions due to their variety of locations included in their mobile -individual- trajectory (Baas, 2016, p.2).

- o *Transnationalism designs a spatial function for cities*

In a very similar manner to the one experienced by Baas, especially on the methodological side, Valentin (2015) has explored the meaningfulness of education and educated status where the latter is at stake for people's statement to belong to the middle-class[63] Nepalese society in a transnational context. In order to capture the whole complexity underneath students' transnational migration, she suggests taking into account the historical frame[64] of the sending and receiving country: "*Individual educational trajectories are reflections of and embedded within wider mobility practices that have long been central to the livelihoods of many Nepalese families*" (Valentin, 2015, p.13, my underlinings).

Her interpretation of transnationalism has much to do with Nepalese students' ability to be "*geographically mobile*" (*ibid.,* p.5-6), challenging well-known class-based positions and status. Valentin thus adds a spatial dimension in her conceptualization of transnationalism for students'migration. She eventually calls them: '*transnationally mobile students'*.

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[63] She reminds the exclusiveness of student-migration profile requiring the 'membership' to the transnational middle-class society. 'Membership' is a key element of the Sense of Community model discussed in Section I.3.

[64] I agree with this and followed this methodological advice and extended it to the political context which is another fundamental pillar in the precarious balance between migration, territories and people.

The mobility of students seems obvious at this point, and since mobility determines much of the spatial organization of the city, as the first section has highlighted, we should wonder whatever a common thread ties up transnational mobile students and transnational persons and transnational spaces.

Refering to De Certeau[65,] transnational students are not only social actors or consumers of space, but they are also producers, they participate thus co-create the space in which they live and therefore deserve to be recognized as 'co-producers' of the space (De Certeau. 1984, xii-xv). As Raghuram (2013) argues "*the emergence of theories of transnationalism can be seen as recognition of the spatialities – the co-presence across different countries – of the migrant's family life*" (R. King & Raghuram, 2013, p.10; my underlinings).

   o *Assessment*
In opposition to cross-border education discourses which argue in favor of Schiller's notion of transmigrants (Schiller et al., 1995), some scholars have critically analysed transnationalism and called for a reconceptualization.

Wrapping up, Baas tends to take distances with the 'original' Basch and Schiller's definition and interpretation of transnationalism. Although, he is not entirely refusing it. What emerges from his study is the '*aura of flexibility*' carried out within transnationalism and the hybridity of the student-migrant profile -as already identified in King and Raghuram (2013)- '*multiple identities*'. Baas, in essence, argues that Indian students are: "*(dis)connected*"; they locate half-way between India and the 'imagined' receiveing country: "*in-between; they are neither **here** nor yet **there***" (*Ibid.* p.15, emphasis in original). Yet, Indian students are actually connected with India in many ways (and technology has helped a lot in this as argued by Urry (2002)); but they are also connected with different locations bounded by transnational (social) spaces. Assuming the fact that Indian students are part of the Indian transnational community, I look for a complementary approach which could provide important hints of reflection to the study of Indian students migration and their production of space.

Conclusions to Chapter 1 :

It is now time to conclude. The chapter has been divided in two dense sections reflecting the two tracks I am intertwining in the thesis: the question of the city and the use

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[65] When citing Michel De Certeau, I'm still refering to the edition of 1984.(Certeau & Rendall, 1984).

of space with the scenario of migration of international students, (among which I have selected the Indian students) to discuss the case-study of the city of Padova with an eye on the sociological heritage of the Chicago School. Therefore, the chapter encompasses the two 'tracks' under a highly theoretical perspective (a macro level) which is the reason why certain questions are sketched and then left behind, to keep going on this level of abstraction that serves us as a frame to apprehend the topic of Indian students' migration in Padova with empirical data in the following two parts, starting from Chapter 3 onwards. This does not mean that theories and practice are discussed separately, on the contrary the thesis is organized in way that the reader – you- is invited to join the topic as if he was trailing the students himself, following my prior steps although equipped with background knowledge provided by this chapter and the next two composing the first part.

The first section has opened the discussion on the Chicago's School '*legacy*' (Hart, 2010) exhibiting their '*innovative ventures*' (Acocella, 2010). Three pioneering scholars have transformed the traditional sociological interpretation of the meaning of the urban society and the community : Park and Burgess (1925) and later, Wirth (1938). From the First World War until the 1930s, sociologists from the University of Chicago have conducted a series of studies- based on surveys in their city of origin : Chicago- which were generally recognized "as the first modern urban studies" (Hannerz 1994). As many scholars before me, I have decided to retrace and report some elements of the School of Chicago to understand what has led urban sociologist to investigate the relationship between the city and the people living in it and to assess the validity of their studies in comparison with my study.

Going back to the contents of section I, I started with Park (1925), the founder of the Chicago School, who was convinced that the plurality of the persons in the city were representing "*a mosaic of little words*" (Park et al., 1925, p.40-41) anchoring the analysis of the variation of urban forms to his own idea of human ecology. As I have discussed, Park's familiarity with writers such as Simmel had taught him that the city is in world history, a force capable of shaping and freeing human nature in new forms, an approach that was sometimes criticized (Alihan, 1975; Hannerz, 1983; Walton, 1993; Zukin, 1980) and sometimes even refused (Cognetti et al., 2019[66]; Dematteis & Lanza, 2014; Van Til,

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[66] Discussion during the seminar held at IUAV on 27th of January 2020 with Prof. Cognetti and Grassi.

2019). Second, with Wirth's definition of the city and his analysis plonked on the inhabitants of the city, Wirth - a fellow of Park- marked a turning point among Chicagoans' perspective. As underlined by Hannerz (1983), the essay "*Urbanism as a Way of Life*" (1938) was a reaction against the dominant ecological thought among Chicago sociologists. Hannerz (1983) is one of the scholars who has recovered and unpacked some critical points where theory was left unfilled by Chicagoans. His attention was plonked on the variable nature of relationships in the city that deserves to be studied with more analytical attention. In fact, Wirth had enhanced that collective behavior in cities tend to be unpredictable, an affirmation based on Chicagoans' heritage of Simmel's thought. Simmel (2009) had noted that the fundamental influence of the metropolis on the human psyche was translated into the intensification of nerve stimulation ending in creating *blasé* metropolitan men.

The second pillar inherited by the School of Chicago is Park's sociological approach : the theory of human ecology introduced in 1925 and deeply developed in 1952. As the first section has outlined, beyond the reductive notion of the 'naturalness of human actions' and the artificiality of the city as a product realized and entirely dependent on human actions, there has been an evolution of concepts : cultural areas, social areas… but on the whole, they all described territorial units laid out one with another on the city's map, and the 'natural' concept vanished behind the one of 'area' tout court. Likewise, Tomasi commented that Chicago's scholars's work commonly apprehended the territory in close relation with the economic, town planning and ethnic factors of the areas (Tomasi, 1995).

All in all, although I have evidenced some discrepancies among Park, Burgess, Mc Kenzie and Wirth, building upon Simmel's seminal work, all these Chicagoans have found that some of the significant interactions in cities occur between strangers, introducing the "*cosmopolitanism*" for the individual as a response to overcome the urbanist plans of that time which tended to segregation (socially and spatially). Wirth and Simmel's work are significant since they have shed light on the importance of defining the city following criteria that are applicable in concrete rather than hypothesized/theoretical spaces. Indeed, the first section raised a number of questions (p.8) that will find answers through the example of Indian students in Padova in Part 3, after Chapter 2 would have completed Wirth's definition of "*the city as a community*" (*Ibid.*, 1938), following Fischer's clues (1975) regarding the

multicultural city, composed of '*kaleidoscopic*' 'subcultural' communities (a concept that he borrowed, in turn, to Wirth 1938).

On the Italian side, from the 1930s onwards literature has been often concerned with the condition of man in the city, and the Chicago School remain – for some of them (Acocella, 2010; Ambrosini, 2020; Bagnasco et al., 2010; Borelli, 2012)- a central reference for both urban sociology as well as for urban anthropology as Hannerz (1983) had pointed out, helped by Bagnasco in 1992 with the Italian version. In fact, Bagnasco (1992) followed the footsteps and hints of Chicagoans' scholars as Wirth (1931), even in more recent works when it comes to defining the city as Wirth used to do following the variables of dimension, density and heterogeneity depicting the city as "*a mosaic of social words*" : "a definition accepted in principle**"** (Bagnasco, 1999). The author argued that the city spatially demonstrates the infinite possible ways of society (Bagnasco, 1999), perhaps a glimpse to the city as 'a *universe of discourses'* (Park et al. 1925, p.260) ? Eventually, around the same time, Tomasi's conclusions have stated that it is in the territorial "*permanent interpretative contribution*" that the validity of the approach carried out in Chicago resides. (Tomasi, 1995 p. 4). Moreover, the author argues that, despite the later critics attributed to Chicagoans' tendency of *'spatial determinism'*, they actually never introduced the territory as a fundamental explanatory principle.

In any case, as far as I am concerned, the exploration of literature has clearly enhanced that the Chicagoans' organic view of the city has prevailed in urban sociology as a fundamental part of eighteenth- and nineteenth- century city planning (Fraser, 2009, p. 385). Reading back these pillars of urban sociology I have noticed that some topics and observations made by Park and its 'crew' deserve a place in my argumentation. Of course, as expected, time have changed[67], globalization in the 1990s has certainly played an immense role in leading us to rethink our relationships on different scales. Thus, revisiting the Chicago school's contributions have led me to wonder about the possible applications and/or repplications of Park, Burgess and McKenzie model of 1925 that will be reiterated all along

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[67] Especially with the run for welfare pushed by capitalism a topic that we will not develop (unfortunately) any further but that has certainly contributed to rethink our daily lives individually and as a community (See the discussion engaged by Zukin, 1980).

the thesis, as the '*flower shape*' of Padova's spatial organization (Figure 1.2) compared to the 'concentric Burgess model' (Figure 1.1) and unveiled in the general conclusions.

Lastly, this section has also demonstrated Park's deep attention to fieldwork[68] and his lesson reiterated in many books[69]. For that purpose, I have presented here the interactionist approach as apprehended by Thomas and Znaniecki (1918-20), refusing the one employed by Park suggesting assimilation (1925). Therefore, beyond Blumer's proposition (1976), I have retrieved the symbolic interactionist's perspective of Nauja Kliest (2004). It was convincing as I also aim to specifically delved into Indian individual and community experiences in Italy, having a look at the urban transformations and at the perceptions of
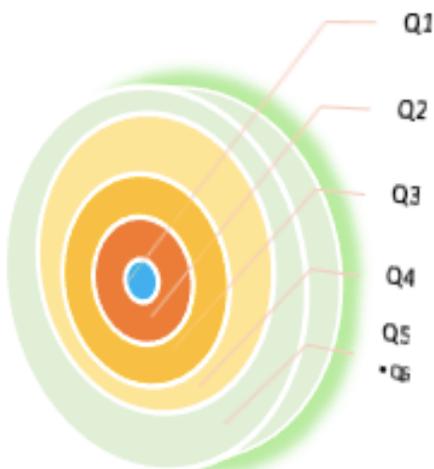

Figure 1.1: Padova's model following Burgess- elaborated by the author 09/2019.
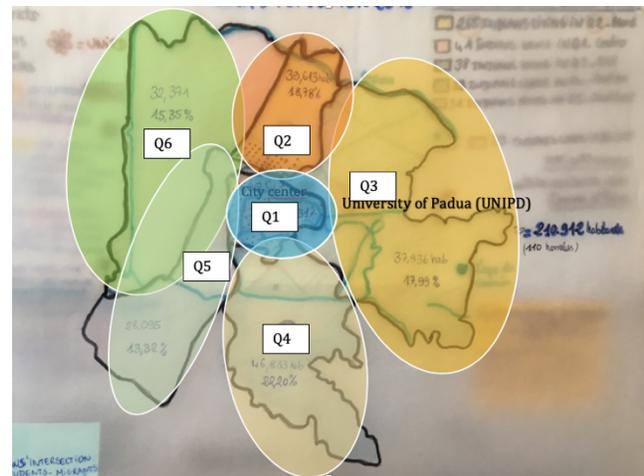
Figure 1.2:Padova by neighborhood to compare with Burgess'model. Elaborated by the author 09/2019.

Padova's institutional actors, medias and population. Yet, following Woods, Thapan and Kliest in their search of information interacting with people, I have conveyed that they are other perspectives of integration of foreigners in the city which go in another direction.

In fact, in more recent years, the dominant research program in the sociology of migration breaks down "assimilation" from "integration" (Bagnasco et al., 2010). Scholars have urged to read the assimilation program under a new light, by disclosing other approaches. As an example, Briata (2014, 2017) and Sandercock (1998-2006) have worked on multicultural urban frames. They put the attention on states' policies to manage cities and

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[68] The invitation to an extended stay on the field and direct listening to the different subjects that define the urban scene has been fully welcomed as methodological options in Chapter 2 (Appendix p.332)

[69] See the quote in Appendix to Chapter 2 p.340: "*getting your hands dirty with real research*" (Park, 1920s, recalled by Becker quoted in John McKiney Constructive Typology and Social Theory (New York : Appleton Century-Crofts, 1966), p.71).

diverse societies. Both give advices to prepare the "*Planners of the twenty-first century*" (Sandercock, 1998, p.222), stretching their work, three major approaches can be deployed by planners for multiethnic cities: assimilation, multiculturalism and interculturalism (Binnie, 2006; Sandercock, 1998b, 2004; Wood & Landry, 2008). This is my connecting point between the two tracks : the cosmopolitan city. Before exploring this concept in the next chapter, I resume the second theoretical track.

While section 1 was oriented towards the urban sociological analysis of the city, section 2 moved to the second theoretical pillar of the thesis: migration studies.

Exploring international migration theories gave me an opportunity to rethink international student's migration theories in an integrated way. From what I have learned on migration theories and from urban theories, it is desirable to have a systemic vision of the phenomenon. The migration system theory as an integrated perspective was more appealing for me, depicting migrants as social actors or as 'agents of development' (Verstappen, 2016). The migrant appears capable of choices and strategies, inserted in networks and social contexts that structure his vision of reality, the constraints and opportunities offered in his mobile pathway, are influencing its decisions and the ability to implement them. (Ambrosini, 2006). The students'migration is considered as a 'spin-off' of the highly-skiled migrants' migration, therefore itterature often overlaps the two categories, and goes straight to the point prompting to use "brain theories". For instance, Gautam (2013) and Jayaram (2014) studied the 'brain drain' [70] while Trouillet (2015) went a step further and introduced the 'brain gain[71]'. However, these theories and studies usually explore the movement of international students'migration in a way that categorises particular flows in one 'brain' box without considering the multiplicity of outcomes related to personal decision factors (Kim, 2016; R. King & Raghuram, 2013; Mahroum, 1999; Raghuram, 2013; Staniscia, 2011), nor the students' origin. To contrast these issues, in the last ten years many scholars have

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[70] Jayaram in 2004 declared: "The large scale and steady emigration of doctors, engineers, scientists, teachers [...] to the industrialized countries of the West [...] of the late 60s and 70s. [...] This pattern of emigration is often described as "brain drain, is essentially voluntary and mostly individual in nature." (Ibid., p22)

[71] This metaphor is taken up again by the observation of Pierre Yves Trouillet in 2015: "*The" diaspora "of Indian engineers is thus not only involved in technology transfer in India, but also in the creation of direct investment and return-migration enterprises, particularly in Bangalore [...] which finally invites us to talk of a "brain gain" to qualify the effects of these migrations.*" (Trouillet, 2015, my translation and underlinings).

reconceptualized the '*brain drain*' as a '*brain gain*' shifting finally to the concept I advocate: "*brain circulation*" (see Agrawal et al., 2011; Chacko, 2007; Singh & Krishna, 2015; Temgoua, 2018). Lastly, a short note on two relevant variables related to Indian's migration. "Migration and gender are interlinked" (Tumbe, 2018, p.214-5). The gendered nature of the brain drain across years in USA and other countries has provided proofs of Tumbe's statement. Beyond gender, in India there is the delicate question of caste and class. Migration for education has been linked to caste when it has presented as a potential "*to narrow down social inequalities [...]*" (Tumbe, 2018, p.208; Valentin, 2019). However, for the sake of sobriety, I will not investigate these variables under a theoretical perspective since empirical data argumentation encompassed by cultural and historical notes will be sufficient to explain the reasons behind the dominance of Indian Hindù brahmin male students in the migratory flow going to Italy.

Indian students'migration is unique in the sense that it questions a variety of aspects such as the heritage of a long migration history ?, the political regulation of sending and receiving countries for university studies, the strategies employed by governments to employ Indians once their studies are over and the changing geopolitic balance which is coming out as a consequence of this migration flow. (Wihtol de Wenden & Benoît-Guyod, 2018). Applying the transnationalism theory for Indian students'migrants thus means analysing their being in-between 'here' and 'there'. This in-betweeness status is very much caracteristic of Indians who are recognised as a diasporic community (Baas, 2013b; Cohen, 2008; Cuche, 2009; Jayaram & Atal, 2004; Khadria, 2003; Siddiqui & Tejada, 2014).[72] Notwithstanding, questions are still pending on how to frame and interpret transmigrants' actions. As evidenced by Lacroix (2018) and Gargano (2019), they are many detractors of the transnationalism[73] and I will especially recover those critics of the ongoing debate related to the 'transmigrant' concept perceived as a '*redundant*' or '*repacked*' version of the immigrant into something new in chapter 2 and 3 (Gargano, 2009).

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[72] Certainly, the Indian diaspora should not be neglected in analyzing this specific flow; nevertheless, we cannot entirely dive into the myriad of studies dealing with this topic, and also about the Sikh diaspora in Italy. (Clini, 2014; Gallo, 2012; Gautam, 2013). Besides, as I understand diaspora as a practice of transnationalism, I will open on a short discussion related to the 3D practices of Indian students in the first chapter of the second Part.

[73] See MigrInter website: https://journals.openedition.org/e-migrinter/1054

In closing, for the scope of my research, due to the divergent opinions on the contemporean morphology, metaphors and contents of the twenty-first century's city, literature contributions display a need to update Fischer's city-definition as well (Fischer, 1975). Leaving behind assimilation for obvious reasons argued before, I will discuss multiculturalism and interculturalism in the following chapter (Chapter 2).

Incidentally, in the following chapter, I will shift from the theoretical frame to move to the conceptual frame I have designed, critically redrawing some corner stones of the Chicago's school fellows. My attention is focused on the multiple nature of relational ties of Indian students in Padova, varying from time to time in intensity, towards the places they left behind (India). Concurently, I will also address the spatialities of migration to take into account the spatialities of knowledge as suggested by Raghuram (2013) and Varna (2019). In a similar manner as Cancellieri (2017) has presented a '*pragmatic approach*' for the management of multicultural societies[74], I felt it was necessary to design an '*integrated approach*' for the specific case under hand. These theoretical insights will give me the chance to extrapolate and remodel Varna's triangular relation- city, people, power- under a sociological perspective in Chapter 2. Indeed, Chapter 2 will shed light on a spatialized reconceptualization of the transnational interplay of Indian students, especially in its relations with transnational social functions, within the city context of Padova.

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[74] The pragmatic approach of Adriano Cancellieri includes ' the patrimony of reserachers', the 'intersectionaity' and the centrality of 'transnationalism and translocalism' and is summarized in Bekemans & Mazzocchin (2017, p.238)

Chapter 2 : <u>Through the urban kaleidoscope : a conceptual frame for Padova-city. (&SoC)</u>

<u>Introduction to Chapter 2</u>

The social and political phenomenon of migration is a core and mainstream point in the current debates in Europe. On the one hand, migrants are qualified as '*people on the move*' (Batsaikhan et al., 2018), on the other hand, scholars enhanced that beyond people, they are '*places on the move*' (Bruslé & Varrel, 2012). In fact, nowadays cities are becoming an intersection of mobility as a universal settlement where migrants can build a social life, a 'temporary home' (Kirk et al., 2017; Rampazi, 2016) inhabiting the physical space of the local territory and remaking it (Ceriani-Sebregondi, 2003; Crosta, 2010; Le Galès, 2011; Mathis Stock, 2003; Tarrius, 1993).

Through the "*urban kaleidoscope"*, this s intended to set up the conceptual framework as the interplay- the space playground- in which the Indian students will be asked to externalize their journey as transnationally mobile subject. Indeed, a kaleidoscope is a tool that brings together "*a changing and enjoyable mixture or pattern*" (Cambridge dictionary online, 2020) in short, a mosaic[75] varriyng in patterns in one unique space. I have borrowed this concept from Dematteis' book (2014) where the cities are apprehended through the '*urban kaleidoscope'*. If we look at the city as in a kaleidoscope, we can observe the flexibility and fluidity of the mosaic just as we rotate the tube[76]; similarly, we can plonk our viewpoint on specific areas and communities. This is what this chapter is meant to do: to shed light on the original position I have adopted to discuss the two tracks presented in Chapter 1 (urban sociology and migration studies). This chapter blends together the previous theoretical positions and presents my syncretic position.

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[75] "The mixture of pattern" corresponds to the 'mosaic' as described by Wirth (1938) and thus represents the '*small social worlds*' living in the city. The concept also sends us back to Fischer's "*kaleidoscopic array of community"* (1975) presented in Chapter 1, p.8, used by Fisher to discuss the multicultural city.

[76] Cambridge dictionary defines it as follow: "a tube-shaped device containing loose pieces of colored glass or plastic and mirrors which reflect changing patterns as the tube is turned."

see: https://dictionary.cambridge.org/it/dizionario/inglese/kaleidoscope, accessed on 23/04/2020.

The chapter is divided into three sections[77]: the first one on the city's spaces production begins with the heritage of the Chicagoans idea of the city as a social laboratory and moves toward the cosmopolitan city and its intercultural spaces. The second one on Indian students practice of spaces reminds the diaspora's heritage of Indians that has contributed to disperse Indian migrants around the world, a relevant presence for the *novice* Indian students landing up in the unknown new city. The third section presents my integrated visual model (&Soc) which bridges the Indian students as part of the Indian community with the spatialization of social practices in their destination city merging the Sense of Community psychological device with some components of the ecological approach (Balducci & Fedeli, 2007; Crosta, 2010; Lobello, 2016; Tarrius, 1993; Trouillet, 2018). The last section depicts the case-study analysis and the visual instruments I have retrieved from geography (maps) and anthropology (photography).

On the whole, by taking back diverse studies on the themes of mobility in university-cities, dispersion and dwelling practices, spatialization of knowledges and of global cultures.... this chapter wants to enhance the centrality of 'place' for international students flowing abroad to prestigious Universities. In the meantime, in combining different theoretical positions, Chapter 2 opens on an integrated conceptual model (&SoC) I have designed to apprehend the topic of Indian students-migrants in the city of Padova with empirical data in Chapter 6.

SECTION 2 .1: The city producing spaces/ spaces producing the city.

As quoted in the previous chapter, "*The city as a social laboratory*" is a concept that dates back 1952 from Park's study (*Ibid.,* p.73). According to Park (1952), urban sociologists should approach the cities as the best appropriate places for a '*controlled experiment*' in which I can assess the '*social progress*' and the '*social problems*' (*Ibid,*p.73-74). Starting from the most widespread and long-lived idea of the '*city as an organism*' discussed in chapter 1, I analyse the further contributions that have developed studies on the city, building upon the ecological metaphor. I start focusing on the city to fully understand the kind of city I am referring to before moving to the space' production in the last part of the section.

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[77] This chapter does not discuss empirical data yet since we are still in the first 'macro' part of the thesis. I remember that this part aimed to shed light on the importance to deal with the topic of international students' migration in European cities while retrieving some discussion made by scholars on the topic of city's space use and migrants encountering locals with a more or less theoretical regard.

2.1.1 The city: a social laboratory

o *The city: shared criteria*

Guido Martinotti (1938-2012) is one of the Italian scholars that has discussed Chicagoans' work. It is precisely from the Chicagoans' sound definitions, concepts, and theories that the author built his narrative on the profound changes of the contemporary city, as he declared himself: "*One of the aspects of our conceptual apparatus that needs fairly radical reconsideration has to do with the implicit or explicit intellectual heritage of social ecology. […] which remains despite all possible criticisms the originator of the most substantial body of empirical knowledge on human settlements* […]" (*Ibid.,* my underlinings).

In 2012, G. Borelli had highlighted the relationship between Park and Martinotti in addressing the theme of the city by studying the relationship between people and spaces :
" *One of the most original and current improvements of ecological theories is assuredly the one offered by Guido Martinotti (1993): the four metropolitan populations. Yet, I am not completely sure that Martinotti would agree with this appearance, because, […], the author takes some distance from social ecology*[...]"(Borelli, 2012, Chapter 2).

Unfortunately, the same year, "*the maestro*" (Vicari Haddock, 2017; Nuvolati, 2013) died '*darkening the urban sociologists*' all around Italy (Marra, 2013). Guido Martinotti was considered "*a pioneer in the field of urban studies*" for his original work on the urbanization process, the quality of life in cities, and the definition of metropolitan populations (Nuvolati 2013). In 2017, Vicari Haddock posthumously published Martinotti's latest book "*Six lessons on the city*". There, the author had investigated the relationship between city and metropolis, and like us, has begun from the definition of Wirth (1938). He declared :

"*Since then, despite numerous attempts, no one has managed to find a better definition [...]. Today, fifty years later, we must note that none of the three parameters is used to define the urban anymore.*"(Ibid. 2017, p.94, my translation).

If it is accurate that Martinotti's study aimed to overcome the theoretical vision of the Chicagoans, it is also clear that the urban sociologist regularly quoted the contributions of Park (1925-1952) and Wirth (1938) in his literature. In fact, the author has operated a "*definitive reversal of the 'social ecology*'"(Martinotti & Vicari Haddock, 2017).

Furthermore and conversely to the Chicagoans, the Italian sociologist is strongly against the idea of defining the city and rather suggests focusing on "*fixing shared criteria*[78]" (Martinotti & Vicari Haddock, 2017, p.24-26). Martinotti was interested in the description and explanation "*of the profound transformation of the city, and the changes in urban experience and practices, connected with the shape of contemporary urbanization*" (*Ibid.*, 2007).

Lastly, the shape of urbanity is a fascinating topic that entails the way in which people conceive their daily'life in the spaces of the city. The French De Certeau (1925-1986) is known as '*the philosopher of everyday life*' (Caves, 2005, p. 166). His analysis of the urban life plonked on the '*importance of the ordinary*' (*Ibid.,* p167) has been of great inspiration for me as well as his theory of the productive and consumptive activity inherent to daily life in urban spaces. As a consequence, my thesis will often refer to his work on urban spaces which has revigorated discussions about the importance of taking into account people's practices of spaces in the city- '*humanising the city*' (*Ibid.,* p167) - above the simple (barren) city-design.

o   *Assessment*

Summing up, Martinotti, with humility and rigor in the use of concepts and history, reminded before his death (5/12/2012) that spatial forms and populations settled in a certain territory should be considered as constantly interacting with each other (Martinotti & Vicari Haddock, 2017). Next, Borelli also recommends paying attention to the multiplicities of the urban population as citizens and institutions: *"In the world, the urban area continues to transform itself and to reveal itself intolerant to attempts to define it precisely. It, therefore, becomes essential for institutions and citizens to question their multiple identities and functions."* (Borelli, 2012, my translation and underlinings). Moreover, Martinotti in 1994 was already observing a forthcoming paradigm shift calling to rethink the metropolis: *"I believe that there is an urgency for a very profound reconceptualization of the intellectual and*

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[78] By saying this, Martinotti meant that we should move beyond Wirth's criteria (1938), since social processes or dynamics have affected the organization of the territory in more contemporary times. In 2011, Martinotti mentioned that there are many factors of changes: "*the border recession, as a combined effect of the technological trajectories of the transport and information; the spread of non-resident populations; the dominance of the media in the public space, which gives rise to a known phenomenon as "double hermeneutics" (Giddens, 1990), which privatizes political information but, at the same time, reprojects it on the media level by sucking the agora physics in the dining room. Almost imperceptibly all these changes they occurred by incomprehensibly obscuring the perception of phenomena and therefore also our ability to interpret and guide them.*" *(Ibid, p.11).*

empirical tools we need for the study of urban social facts and processes." (Martinotti, 1996, my underlinings).

Moreover, following De Certeau (1990; 2013) we have seen that the urban population contributes to produce the city fostering Martinotti's idea that the metropolis would have been influenced by the needs of the new populations of '_consumers_' in the city rather than by those who live and work in the city[79] (Martinotti, 1993; Borelli, 2012). Additionally, in the current XXIst century scholars have grasped the occasion to introduce further theoretical works on the topic of the transforming city and the need to readjust the previous balance between populations and territories (Balducci & Fedeli, 2007; G. Nuvolati, 2002), I place myself among those scholars.

Finally, Martinotti observed that _"globalization, transnationalization and internationalization are the terms used in the literature, but further clarification will be needed because they are not totally synonimous"_ (Martinotti, 1994). The next paragraph faces the evolution of the _heterogeneity_ of the '_late metropolis'_ (Martinotti, 2017, p.94) and the conceptual way to categorise it beyond the "_melting pot_" and the "_social mixing_" policies (Briata, 2014; Martinotti & Vicari Haddock, 2017; Martinelli, 2012).

Reportedly, discussions have arisen concerning how the concepts of the melting-pot and the mosaic have shaped the representation of cities in literature. Souza and Murdoch (2014) have presented a collection of essays dealing with this topic. Close to my interests, their analysis has led them to explore the multifaceted literature written by migrants themselves, also debating on the question of the city and how migrants' spaces embody produce changes (Souza & Murdoch, 2014). Consequently, the next paragraph opens on the cosmopolitan pluralism spreading in today's societies.

2.1.2. From multicultural to intercultural: the cosmopolitan city.

The cosmopolitan city is a fashion and '_commercial_' concept these days to tackle the issue of criminality concentration with '_mixing policies'_ (Ostanel, 2017, p.999). In opposition with the _zonal theory_ advocated by Park and Burgess (1925) to catalyse crime and deviance, the Italian way to apprehend urban regeneration seems to tackle the risks of individual and

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[79] The third section of this chapter will come back on Martinotti's popukation categories, to illustrate how I have mingled them in my case.

collective fear of a society of "*instutionalized anxiety of crime*" (Caves, 2005, p.152), branding instead the image of cities as vibrant spaces fostering people's social and political engagement within the urban public sphere (See Chapter 4).

- o *The cosmopolitan city*
≈ *Etymologies and space*

The term cosmopolitan originated in the mid 19th century was derived from the noun *cosmopolite*, meaning 'citizen of the world' from the Greek 'kosmopolĩtēs'. In Greek., κόσμος (kosmos) means 'world' and πόλις (polis) means at once 'city', 'city-state' and also the typical political model at the time of the ancient Greece, and thus 'people', 'citizenry' (Wood & Landry, 2008). Widely used as a philosophical concept, the use of the term '*cosmopolitan'* in the 19*th* century coincided with the fast expansion of cities worldwide together with the growing industrialization and population gravitating around the metropolis (Beauregard et al., 1999; Binnie, 2006; Skrbis & Woodward, 2013).

For that reason, I see a parallel between Park's definition (1925) (the '*city as a mosaic of small worlds*') and the idea of a cosmopolitan city hosting '*cosmoscapes*' (see Appadurai and Kendall in Skrbis & Woodward, 2013, p.119) as areas characterized by specific social and spatial components which afford cosmopolitan socialization. According to Anderson (2011) we can call such areas '*cosmopolitan canopy'* and "*the peculiar thing about these zones is that people enter them with an expectation of encountering difference* […]" (Anderson in Skrbis & Woodward, 2013, p.119). Therefore, Skrbis and Woodward (2013) emphasized the importance of networks, scale and local involvement nestling cosmopolitan spaces across territories thanks to humans' interaction, relationships and institutions (*ibid.* p.53-4). Moreover, in recent times, and from the 20th century especially, the term *cosmopolitanism* has been used in political rhetoric in opposition to nationalism (Bekemans, 2010; Horvath, 2016; Rovisco & Nowicka, 2011; Skrbis & Woodward, 2013). In fact, the term 'cosmopolitan' is modelled on the word 'metropolitan', referring to the "*sophistication and manners of someone as a result of living in a city (or metropolis)*[80]" (MacMillan Dictionary, 2020).

- o *The (not so) utopic 'Cosmopolis'*

Cosmopolitanism has also been apprehended by urbanists and planners (Beauregard et al., 1999; Binnie, 2006; Werbner, 2014). As a planner, Sandercock's work has contributed

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[80] http://www.macmillandictionaryblog.com/cosmopolitan . (on 25/02/2020)

with an original idea, which in my opinion, deserved to find its place in the argumentation of cities as cosmopolitan, multifaceted places. Sandercock (1998) identifies a paradigm shift 'from metropolis to cosmopolis.' (Ibid.,1998, p.204-206) along with the scale shift- from local to global. She refuses the classic, old-fashioned "modernist planning wisdom" (Ibid, p.22) and advocates the need to move beyond the 'old' planning vision towards planning "multipli/cities" as a concretization of her 'dream', a postmodern utopia she called the cosmopolis (Ibid, 1998,p.1). This *'ideal site of the mind'* (ibid.p.1) she presents, she also argues in favor of new concepts of social justice, citizenship, community and shared interests as the freedom from domination and politics of difference in a similar vein as Sen and Nussbaum have enhanced the centrality of humans' capabilities in all these years (Nussbaum & Mafezzoni, 2011; Sen, 2008). Eventually, such principles hold the city together on matters of "common destiny, a recognition of intertwined fates" (Sandercock p125), thereby it regards any civil society in which multiplicities are coexisting. Hence, this book delivers a strong message for planners of the 21st century: to understand how to plan "the differences" of the global world at a local level taking into account the natural ecological balance of the environment of the city. Such challenges should be answering to everyone's needs, and for this noble scope, politics and residents need to interact one with another (Kligman, 1945; Sandercock, 2000)[81].

From that moment onwards, Sandercock underpinned the multicultural project for the 21st century planners strengthening her argumentation with Cosmopolis II: Mongrel cities (Sandercock & Lyssiotis, 2003). Mongrel Cities are *'cities of difference*[82]*'* (Sandercock in Binnie, 2006, p.38) and to her, the 'audacious' task of new planning imagination is to 'break the rules', to search for the 'city's songlines[83]', in the face of the 'inferno' (Sandercock & Lyssiotis, 2003, p.227-228). On top of this poetical drift : "*Cosmopolitan urbanism: a love song*

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[81] It is precisely the challenge that the city of Padova is experiencing with the decentralization of its power into the district level, in a city where the most populous district is mostly inhabited by foreigners, migrants. (see Part 3).

[82] Sandercock introduced the concept '*cities of difference*' in the multicultural sense given by Fincher and Jacobs (Fincher, Jacobs, 1998). Briata (2012) will do the same when presenting Italian multi-ethnic environments as 'cities of differences': these areas where the majority of the residents are Italian which see newcomers penetrating their environment. The cities of differences is a concept used by many planners to distinguish these areas from the "ethnic enclave" (Tosi, 2000) so defined by urbanists.

[83] Sandercock is alluding to what Aboriginals did in Australia to sustain life during pre-colonial era, performing activities along a ' *labyrinth of invisible pathways*' where they practiced "*song, dance, ariage, exchanges of ideas[...]by agreement rather than force.*" (*Ibid.*2003, p227-228).

to our mongrel cities" (Chap. 2 in Binnie, 2006[84], p.37) came out in 2006 as one of the most recent articles of Leonie Sandercock on her dreamed cosmopolis. In her journey towards cosmopolis, Sandercock first only imagined the possibility of a "togetherness in difference" (*Ibid*.p.199, from Senett 1994), a social, dialogical and dialectical project always under process "*it should always and only be in the making [...] an always unfinished and contested construction site, one characterized above all by its <u>space for difference</u>*" (*Ibid*.p.199, my underlinings). Eventually, she defies planners and urbanists to "*subscribe to a wider democratic and consensual processes of <u>conflict resolution through spaces</u> which can accommodate <u>intercultural dialogue</u>.*" (Binnie, 2006, p.23, my underlinings). A call for a multilayered transnational political project as the Europe has tried to express and that I have briefly reported below.

≈   <u>*Beyond the utopia: cosmopolite Europe, cosmopolitan European cities*</u>
   Hither I'm conferring an overview of the political implications of cosmopolitanism at the scale of Europe. This will help us to understand why certain urban policies have been chosen for Italian cities among the variety of alternative existing in Western countries. First, under a political lens, in 2010, Bekemans discussed the cosmopolitan perspectives of our European countries (*Ibid.*2010*)*. The author's vision is nuanced with critics encompassing threats or 'risk society' -like patriotism and nationalism (*'unsuitable for unifying Europe'* (p.63-4))- to the democratic structure of the European countries. In the meantime, along with a rich argumentation in favor of an integrated European *'open space'* that leaves behind the *'centralized utopia'* of nation-states, Bekemans calls to rethink Europe as a permanently changing *'multi-faced'* space (*Ibid.,* p.64). Quoting D. Archibugi's '*cosmopolitan democracy'* (*ibid*, 2004, in Bekemans, 2010, p.50), Bekemans followed the same line of the '*multi-level governance structure'* focusing on the policy's implications of globalization fostering a cosmopolitan Europe.

   Second, another element to take into account is globalization. The globalization process has indeed much to do with the emphasis of internationalization, interculturalism

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[84] In 2006, Binnie et al. (Binnie, 2006), wrote a book to apprehend cosmopolitanism in its multiple defnitions and various contestations. The books articultated in three parts to seek the possibility of *envisaging cosmopolitan urbanism*, the *consumption of the cosmopolitan city* and the *production the cosmopolitan city.* While keeping the precious hints given by the authors in the background in this first part, the thesis will further discuss the possibilities of applying the planning suggestions of the authors in chapter 6

and cosmopolitanism as its emphasis on people's interaction and cross-borders boundaries and cultures spread. This process is strengthening cosmopolitan values holding an opposed view to ethnic or local fears and concerns (Jain, 1998; Marconi & Ostanel, 2016a; Panichella & Ambrosini, 2018) since globalization is a '*multidimensional process*' which signals a rupture with past developments including profound internal and external consequences[85] (Bekemans 2010, p.56). As Bekemans states: *"A cosmopolitan Europe means simultaneously both difference and integration"*(*Ibid.,*p.57)*.

Thereby, for Bekemans, the cosmopolitan Europe is a "*laboratory of plural democratic forms*" (*Ibid.,*p.57), an expression that can be extended to cities as well; in particular if we couple the political vision of the author on the European scale with the one of Ostanel (2018) on the local scale: "*A cosmopolitan city based on the recognition of belonging, but which succeeds equalizing the differences through concrete actions*" (Ostanel, 2018, p.158, my translation). Eventually, as Briata underlined in 2012, by gazing on the European level, I will draw attention on how much the peculiarities of the Italian settlements - generally characterized by "*the absence of 'pathological' forms of concentration*" (Ibid, p.67)- may be useful to consider them as "*'urban labs' to discover the 'resources' of the 'cities of difference'*"(Briata, 2012, p.68).

To sum up, in a similar vein as Ostanel who focuses on '*neighborhoods*' (Ostanel, 2015,2017,2019) and as Briata (2012, 2014) who described how migrants settle and use urban space stressing the role of neighborhoods as a resource, using the case of Padua as an example of alternative policies to social mix (2012, p.75; 2014, p.100), I'll focus on the *neighborhood* scale as well integrating their rich discussions with the work of other scholars as Cancellieri & Peterle, (2019); Mantovan & Ostanel (2015).

Furthermore, the relation between European guidance and local impacts also appears in the *Eurocities* platform[86]. In 2010, *Eurocities* introduced a booklet containing some guidelines for "*Cities accommodating Diversity*" (Eurocities & Migration Policy Group, 2010) and, a toolkit for *Integrating* cities to engage migrants' communities in local policy making

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[85] Such consequences are engaging an asymmetry between '*the growing extra-territorial nature*' of humans' exchanges and '*the continuing territoriality*' in which the same people practice everyday-life habit moving questions on the new sense of belongingness: '*community, nationality, identity and citizenship*'(Bekemans 2010, p.47).

[86] www.eurocities.eu / www.integratingcities.eu / www.solidaritycities.eu

processes and political participation (Eurocities, 2014): "*Eurocities is committed in working towards a common vision of a democratic, sustainable future in which all citizen can enjoy a good quality of life*" (Eurocities, 2018). It provides us with another hint on the growing attention devolved to the importance to focus on city-level policies and actions to support cities' governments' new needs. As a consequence, cosmopolitanism appears as a response to set in contrast with the perspective of integration as "assimilation"[87] advocating instead an interactive practice to integrate migrants in the cities: interculturalism.

- *From multicultural to intercultural*

Early studies of Dematteis and Bagnasco (Bagnasco et al., 2010; Dematteis & Lanza, 2014), in attempting to give guidelines for further studies in human geography and sociology, have continued promoting the idea of multiculturalism in relation to the integration question as an opposition to segregation and ghettos. Scholars are not the only ones to have proposed different approaches and initiatives for addressing the issues of multiethnic societies; civil servants have apprehended the topic as well. As Briata (2014) has observed, these approaches spanned from repression policies, to assimilationist and finally to multicultural approaches. However, these approaches are often sticking to the mainstream '*social mixing*' policy encouraged by states, institutions and international organizations, and incidentally, may not be a 'panacea' for all the fragile and stigmatized multiethnic neighborhoods in the European urban contexts (Briata, 2014, p.109). The author particularly insists on the actual efficiency of early mixing policies[88] as an instrument to point out the *"weak ties and the problems"*; meanwhile she illustrates a need to "*read-back these territories*" designing "*innovative policies*" in order to provide "*counter narrations*" (*Ibid.*p.110). Her book gathers many examples of the case of Italy, including the empirical analysis of Padova, while calling for an integrated strategic approach (*Ibid.* p.109) as Cancellieri, Scandurra and Ostanel have

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[87] See the discussion in Chapter 1.

[88] Mixing policies are "*policies designed to stimulate social mixing*" (Briata, 2014, p.77). It is a pervasive model that has been progressively extended from places of segregation to be adopted in contexts considered "*fragile*" which in any case were characterized by diversity, a mix of populations, and cultures (Briata, 2014, p.77 -78). In its first sights, these policies aimed at stimulating diversity in social housing estates, in inner-city areas, and fading historical centers… These policies have been shipped in an extensive range of countries "*becoming a sort of mainstream approach to 'problematic' neighbourhoods*" (Mustered et al., 2005 in Briata, 2012b, p.68). Basically, the social mixing approach aims to try to disperse problematic groups by inserting people with different economic, ethnic and social backgrounds in different areas of the city to avoid the phenomenon of urban concentration, which has proven to be a trigger of forms of deviance (Park, 1925; Briata, 2012). "*Mixité policies*" are based on the assumption "*that social mixing is a positive component and that pursuing it leads to a more equitable spatial justice understood as redistribution of opportunities and urban space*" (Ostanel, 2017, p.99).

constantly recalled from 2012 onwards (Cancellieri & Ostanel, 2014; Cancellieri & Scandurra, 2012). They are new possible trajectories for the Italian cities where *ethnicity* becomes '*exotic*', and where '*normalization*[89]' echoes with '*gentrification*[90]' (*Ibid.*p.23; 112). In these areas, British scholars as Brooks, Waters, Varna and Raghuram have started thinking about the role of spaces of education. In Italy the topic remains in the background, Martinelli being one of the few scholars acknowledging that universities' settlements contribute to balance the social transformations occurring in stigmatized neighborhoods (Brooks et al., 2012; Martinelli, 2012; Raghuram, 2013; Varna, 2019; Waters & Brooks, 2011a).

The following chapters will discuss the negotiation and mediation between these two dimensions: ethnicity and normalization of those *spaces* of the city of Padova that most of the time continues representing "*an issue*" in the eyes of the Local administration rather than opportunities to "*regenerate, include and innovate*" in needing-areas of the city (Ostanel, 2017a).

Furthermore, on the topic of multiethnicity, shared spaces, city of differences, scholars have also taken a stand in favor of the term "*intercultural cities*" (Briata, 2017; Marconi & Ostanel, 2016a; Romania & Zamperini, 2009; Wood, 2010). In fact, as newly studies have outlined, there is a crucial conceptual difference between 'multicultural' and 'intercultural' cities. Wood (2010) addresses the topic of 'intercultural cities' in a document of the Council of Europe as an output of early researches started in 2004[91]. Wood is one of the first scholars who has highlighted the problem of multiculturalism as '*a static concept*' discussing its

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[89] Actually, Briata (2014) talks about *"normalià"*- normality, above *"normalizzazione"* normalizzazion (Briata, 2014, p.107). She underlined how the fact of describing a place as 'other' makes it even more difficult to bring that place (and its people) out of the situation of marginality in which they live (p.106). Normalisation instead has been used as 'gentrification', the Italian short-cut for integration branded as "urban regeneration" (See also Ostanel, 2017a). While *"Normality understood also as coexistence, potentially but not necessarily conflictual daily multiculturalism […] does not seem to be contemplated in the development models experimented so far."* (Briata, 2014, p.107).

[90] The urban phenomenon, described in the literature as gentrification, analyzes the process by which poor neighborhoods in the city center or former industrial areas are "rehabilitated" an influx of private capital and middle-class buyers and renters (Manzo, 2016, p.28). Gentrification processes are traditionally explained through the theories of production and consumption, that is, as the result of a mechanism of speculative real estate investment or change of lifestyles and consumption of residents of upper-middle-class ((Manzo, 2016 p.29). In 2016, Gelli underlines how gentrification is nothing else but "spatial segregation"(Busacca & Rubini, 2016)

[91] https://www.coe.int/en/web/interculturalcities/origins-of-the-intercultural-concept Wood's researches from 2004-2007 are available online as power-point presentatiosn, thus the references to such dates in the thesis, automatically sends back to the website. cf : www.philwood.eu

narrow impacts in the UK case with the failure of the British "*community cohesion*" policy (Wood & Landry, 2008; Wood, 2005).

About ten years later, Mazzocchin (2019) also challenges the establish thinking on the shape of future cities and suggests shifting from multiculturalism to interculturalism. In Mazzocchin's work, 'multicultural' is described as a term that can aptly depict the multi-ethnic, multi-linguistic and multi-religious reality of modern cities. However, while she describes this reality, she does not enhance explanations on how this multiplicity is perceived or experienced by its inhabitants. In her argumentation, multiculturalism has disregarded interaction between people and thus scholars and experts have prompted the attempt to provide an alternative way to solve these lacunae with new visions, ideas and approaches which have been encompassed under the name interculturalism.

Actually, the concept of interculturalism has emerged to overcome the limitations of the 'multiculturalism death' (Wood, 2007). In the '*post-multicultural era'* (Kymlicka 2010 in Ostanel, 2018), interculturalism stands as the proper concept for European countries. Interculturalism "*goes beyond equal opportunities and respect for existing cultural differences, to the pluralist transformation of public space, institutions and civic culture [...] cities should promote cross-fertilization across all boundaries, between 'majority' and 'minorities', localities, classes, faiths, disciplines and genres, as the source of cultural, social, civic and economic innovation.*"(Wood, 2007).
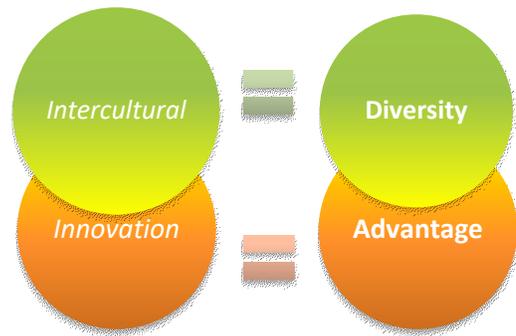
Resumed as an equation (Figure 2.1), Wood (2005) suggests that:

On the whole, I agree with Wood: "*To achieve the diversity advantage we have to be intercultural*"(2010). Therefore, for many of the above-

Figure 2.1 Visualisation of Wood (2005)'s equation (06/2019).

mentioned reasons, S.Mazzocchin, in her thesis, referred to 'intercultural' as "*the ideal objective of creating a city*" (2017). Quoting Kymlicka (2012), Jacobs (1961) and Sandercock (2006b), Mazzocchin built this definition upon myths and utopias of a desired city, together with a political gaze relying on official reports of the European Union and the United Nations. Thus she advocates referring to Bekemans-her mentor, that cities are characterized by the

emergence of a '*urban civitas*[92]' (Bekemans, 2013; Bekemans & Mazzocchin, 2017; Ostanel 2019). As it happens, I assess that: *"[...] the term multicultural is used to describe the reality of modern cities and societies, whereas <u>intercultural is the term that can be used to address the direction to move forward.</u> Multicultural describes the present, and <u>intercultural describe a possible and envisioned future,</u> the direction to go and what to strive for"*(Mazzocchin, 2019, my underlinings).

At the end of the day, maybe what we are striving for are cosmopolitan cities as *Persepolis* or the *ancient Rome* (Wood & Landry, 2008,p.94) ? Or maybe there is a return of this notion as the case of Trieste in Italy has shown ten years ago (Colombino, 2009; Waley, 2009)? In any case, insofar as recent literature about integration in cities has demonstrated that interculturalism take precedence over multiculturalism nowadays, I advocate using an intercultural approach as well in cosmopolitan cities as Padova.

- o *Assessment*

To conclude, the cosmopolitan city's definition I am building in this chapter is thus stratified among a dense literature inherited by the *Cosmopolis* of the 90s (Sandercock, 1998). Following Sandercock's precious insights from literature, my research envisions to investigate in its last part, how the emergence of spaces characterized by multiethnicity and diversity can foster the raise of an intercultural city. Furthermore, closing the circle, with a pun, Sandercock (1998, p.1) had started talking about '*multipli/Cities*' which are more complex, multi- faceted and multi-layered a reflection that merges into the *mongrel cities* in 2006[93] (Bekemans & Mazzocchin, 2017; Cancellieri & Scandurra, 2012). In the same way, C. Perrone uses the term: *DiverCities* (in "*Enigmes for multicultural planning. Is the DiverCity Possible?*" Perrone, p.116 in Cancellieri & Scandurra, 2012). Pun and metaphors perceived as '*urban bards'* would not have suited Martinotti (2011), and I regret it as I admire his work. Nevertheless, to my mind, metaphors are sometimes useful to underline the intrinsic bonds between concepts, almost implicitly encompassed in their own etymology.

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[92] 'Urban civitas' is a society guided by principles of solidarity, human dignity and equality, a society based on inclusion, respect of diversity, dialogue, awareness of the benefits of encounters and respect of human rights. (Bekemans 2013). See Ostanel interview 27/10/2019- "Who does the city ?" on : http://www.innovazione2020.it/elena-ostanel-chi-fa-la-citta-gdb-2019/ and for definitions on civitas, polis and urbs, see : https://aulalettere.scuola.zanichelli.it/il-passato-ci-parla-polis-civitas-urbs/

[93] See : Sandercock, L. (2006a) '"Cosmopolitan Urbanism: A Love Song to Our Mongrel Cities."', in Cosmopolitan urbanism. New York, NY: Routledge, pp. 37–52. And Sandercock, L. (2006b) '"Cosmopolitan Urbanism: A Love Song to Our Mongrel Cities."', in Cosmopolitan urbanism. New York, NY: Routledge, pp. 37–52.

The next and last part of this section gives an incipit to the conceptualization of the places and spaces under investigation, while driving us to the third section of Chapter 2 depicting the city-model's interplay where the 'game' will actively take *place* in Part 3. As for now, let me first unpack the differences between places and spaces in the next paragraph.

2.1.3 Places, trans- national and -local spaces

The relation between spaces, places and migration has been discussed by scholars of geography, sociology and anthropology (Bruslé & Varrel, 2012; Cresswell, 2004; Lefebvre, 1991; Smith & King, 2012). Following these insights, I open on a discussion which weaves together the concepts of space and place, keeping them separated one to another but connected to the migration phenomena. Thus, I shall start definig space and place before moving on to more subtle typologies. According to De Certeau (1984) the space (*espace*) has to be distinguished from the place (*lieu*). Indeed, De Certau (1984) stressed that the "*space is composed of intersection of mobile elements*" actuated by an "*ensemble of movements*" deployed within it (accusative) (*Ibid.,*p.117); on the other hand, the place is "*an instantaneous configuration of positions*", and as such implies an indication of "*stably*" (dative) (*Ibid.,*p.117).

- o *"From space to place and back again"*
As many scholars, Anthony D.King (2004) -following Harvey's line (in Bird, 1993)- called for a "*re-spatialization of the modernity in terms of space as well as time*"(*Ibid.*, p.79) as a readjustment to observe the '*pre-modern*" (*Ibid.*, p.78). One thing is certain, we should reconduct the shift of attention from space to place in urban (and social) studies, to the era of globalization-in the 90s- when Harvey (*Ibid.*, 1989) was arguing in favor of the '*postmodernity*' condition in which we are living, experiencing the process of spatial-temporal "*compression*" intruding and shaping everyday life[94] dynamics (Bird, 1993, p.3; Harvey, 1989, p.240; Urry, 2000, p.124-5). Time and temporalities are thus to be considered on the same level as the space/place we are analysing. At the end of the day the goal is to "*map the futures*" in a balance fashion among local cultures' perseveration and global

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[94] When I mention the everyday life in the thesis, I think about Lefebvre's quote on the rithm and the circulation of people round their habitat: "*Everyday life is simultaneously the site of, the theater for, and what is 'in between', the conflict among indestructible rhythms and processes imposed by the socio-economic organization of production, consumption, circulation and 'habitat'.*" (author's trans., Lefebvre, 2004,p.73).

changes. Meanwhile the same Harvey recommended moving "*from space to place and back again*" (Harvey in Bird, 1993, p. 3-29).

So why are geographers discussing on the difference between *space* and *place* while many scholars are often using these terms as if they were *interchangeable*? Varrel and Bruslé in an introductory session of *Samaj* issue on *"South Asian Migrations through a Spatial Lens"* precisely questioned this need to carefully keep separate both notions (Bruslé & Varrel, 2012). In the mid-nineties, the '*Spatial turn*' appeared as a revolutionary perspective influenced by the seminal works of Lefebvre[95] (1991) and Harvey (1989) that I have mentioned earlier and in Chapter 1. Whereas about twenty years later, scholars have starting bringing back the concept of 'place' at the center of the debate under what Geilis calls the '*Placial* turn' (*Ibid.* 2009 , in Verstappen, 2016). The topic is dense and cannot be entirely encompassed here, as far as I am concerned, I shall drag attention on the city-scale in the following pages.

o *The city, par excellence "the place of observation"*
By changing the geographical definition of "*space and place (e.g. 'to locate', 'to map')*", globalization is presented as a total rethinking of the approach to everyday life (Irigaray, 1983). In geography, an attempt has been made to develop tools that allow me to grasp the complexity of the interactions that take place between space and mobility (Bruslé and Varrel, 2012,p.2)*.

As geographers, Bruslé and Varrel brought back the centrality of these interrelated notions. Their intention was to shed light on the *"[...] 'reconfiguration' of place, landscape and space by transnational flows*" (*Ibid)*. This issue also outlines migrants' contribution in "*space- and place-making*" with different and unexpected outputs (*Ibid.*, 2012; for further discussion see: Bertolani, 2018; Cancellieri & Ostanel, 2015; Eurocities, 2014; Gallo, 2012).

Therefore, in turn, this discussion has oriented me to focus on the role of transnationalism in the medium city of Padova as '*a privileged place*' (Bruslé and Varrel, 2012) connecting spaces and processes with mobile subjects -Indian students- and fostering students'migrants' circulation according three variables deepen by Lacroix (2018)- space,

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[95] "Space as a whole, geographical or historical space, is thus modified, but without any concomitant abolition of its underpinnings - those initial 'points', those first foci or nexuses, those 'places' (localities, regions, countries) lying at different levels of a social space in which nature's space has been replaced by a space-qua-product." (Lefebvre, 1991, p.90, my underlinings).

time and politics. In this way, I can underline migrant's propensity of being part of a broader global network of social and spatial relations nudging transformations of spaces on a local scale. In other words, this is what Faist (2004) calls the '*transnational turn*' as migration studies have mostly embraced the transnational spatialization of migrants' movements and practices of everyday life places and institutions (Faist, 2008).

- o *Transnational spaces*

Referring to Faist (2004) "*Transnationalism requires a consideration of both space and place [...]*"*(* Faist, 2004, p.16 in Povrzanovič & Högskola, 2004). According to Faist (2004), scholars investigating transnationalism should start *"an analysis of the space of flows and the space of places*" (Faist, 2004, p.16 in Povrzanovič & Högskola, 2004). This affirmation immediately sets up the tracks to follow before reaching the conclusion of this section.

Castells (1996) engaged in a discussion about the space of flow and about the space of places, carrying on upon Lefebvre (1974[96]) hints: "*To suggest out of the blue that there is a need for a 'critique of space' [...]*" (Lefebvre, 1991[97], p.92). The '*production of space*' (1984/1991) clearly instilled Castells (1996), who assessed that in any case, the spaces of flows—and its coextensive networks—are the main '*conduits*' for power, whether expressed in economic, symbolic, and/or cultural manifestations. Such flows as '*conduits'* echo to Lefebvre (1991):

"*Urban space*, *[...] continues to ensure that <u>links are properly maintained between the various flows</u>[98] involved: flows of energy and labour, of commodities and capital. The economy may be defined, practically speaking, as <u>the linkage between flows and networks</u>, [...] Each flow is of course defined by its origin, its endpoint, and its path. But, while it may thus be defined separately, <u>a flow is only effective to the extent that it enters into relationship with others</u>; the use of an energy flow, for instance, is 'meaningless without a corresponding flow of raw materials. <u>The coordination of such flows occurs within a space.</u>*" (Lefebvre, 1991, p.347, my underlinings).

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[96] The original French version was written in 1974.

[97] In 1991, the French book was translated into English by Donald Nicholson-Smith. Lefebvre (1974) shaked some rooted assumptions related to the question of the stability of places in a changing/moving context. Taking the example of the house : "*Its image of immobility would then be replaced by an image of a complex of mobilities, a nexus of in and out conduits*" (*Ibid.,* 1991, p.93).

[98] Original version of 1974, p.401: " la correspondance des *flux"* emphasis by Lefebvre.

Moreover, as Castells has underlined, our contemporary society has shifted from a '*society of places*' to a '*society of flows*' (Castells, 1996), hence the author first introduces "*the space of flows*" in the sixth chapter of the book: "*The rise of the network society*". (pp. 407-459) as a "*spatial logic*" and then counterposes it to the logic the "*space of places*" in the last paragraph.

≈ <u>*The space of flows*</u>
On the one hand there is the *space of flows* is described as follows:

"[...] <u>*a new spatial form*</u> <u>*characteristic of social practices*</u> *that dominate and shape the network society: the space of flows.* <u>*The space of flows is the material organization of time-sharing social practices that work through flows.*</u> *By flows I understand purposeful, repetitive, programmable sequences, exchange and interaction between physically disjoined positions held by social actors in the economic, political and symbolic structures of society.*[...]". (Castells, 1996, p.442, my underlinings).

Concretely, the contents of the concept are a combination of three layers of material supports, dominant processes and functions in the informational society: "*a circuit of electronic exchanges*";"*its nodes 'and hubs*"; and "*the spatial organization of the dominant, managerial elites (rather than classes)*" *(Ibid*, p.442-5). Additionally, as in Harvey's study (1993), the time variable has much to do with network and space for Castells (1996).

Furthermore, Castells has employed the metaphor of network, as '*the unit*' (*Ibid.,* 1996, p.198) to capture the intersection of people and objects. In fact, Castells defines a network as "*a set of interconnected nodes*" (*Ibid.,* 1996, p.199), the distance between social positions are shorter where such positions constitute nodes within a network as opposed to whose lie outside the particular network. Thus, networks are to be viewed as "*dynamic open structures*", they produce *communication* effects with new nodes to innovate (Castells, 1996, p. 470-471, my emphasis).

In the end, what I am interested in here, is to evaluate whatever the concept of "*space of flows*", is, at first, still applicable in the contemporary city; and, second, whatever the concept can be applied to the city of Padova, a medium size city (and not a global city as suggested by Castells instead, see Chapter 4). In particular, I will follow Castells' insights on the innovative effects produced by networks -as dynamics open structures- building "*a set of interconnected nodes*" (Castells, 1996, p. 470-471), what he calls '*the unit*' (*Ibid.,* 1996, p.198) able to capture the intersection of people and objects.

≈ _The space of places_

On the other hand, there is the 'space of places'. Castells assumed that: "_The space of flows does not permeate down to the whole realm of human experience in the network society. Indeed, the overwhelming majority of people, in advanced and traditional societies alike, live in places, and so they perceive their space as place-based._" (_Ibid_., p.453, my underlinings). If we bridge it with my research, it opens to the following thought: 'the places' wherein people are living are located on a local place-based level while the 'space' encompasses a broader scale wherein places are represented as 'dots' punctuated cities which employ an area-based approach in their city-planning perspectives.

In our case-study, as the following two parts will reveal[99], the central role of the city _in place-making_[100] fostered by community-based organizations and place-based research, also brings back the idea of scales between local and global[101]. Following this line, it could lead us to investigate the concept of "_Glocal_" (Brenner, 1998). Indeed, building upon the '_glocal culture discussion_[102]_,_ Appadurai (1996) dealt with the "_ethnoscapes_[103]" as "_landscapes of people_" characterized by the restless and fragmented world we live in : tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, foreign workers, and other men and groups who are '_on the move'._ These people and their physical-geographical "_restlessness_" become essential impulses changing domestic and international politics : thus they are aspects of global culture. What follows is that the emerging '_glocal culture's_ are no longer tied to a place or time. They are context-less,

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[99] In Part 3, chapter 6, the discussion about space will continue with an argumentation that links the space of flows with "_Space of Global Culture_" (A. D. King, 2004) and the space of place with the "_Space of Knowledge_"(Raghuram, 2013).

[100] The concept of place-making was introduced by architects and psychologists in the 70s. It found it way in the social sciences in the 90s giving birth to discussions about the way in which spaces acquire meaning in people's daily life activities. (for example see Ostanel in her study of Neighborhoods in Giuliani et al., 2018); for further discussions see: Cancellieri & Ostanel, 2015; aFriedmann, 2008)

[101] Eventually, Verstappen along with the "_placial turn_", also argues in favour of the need to consider a '_scalar turn'_ (Brenner, 2008, p.385 in Verstappen 2016).

[102] Roland Robertson's point of view and theory of "glocal" cultures (1992) is expanded by the Indian anthropologist Arjun Appadurai, who theoretically supports and deepens the relative autonomy of this glocal economy of culture.

[103] Arjun Appadurai (1996) distinguished the ethnoscapes in 4 categories:_(1)Technoscapes_: the movements of technologies that transcend borders, of developed and obsolete technologies, of mechanical and computer technologies; (2) t_he financescapes_: with the currency market, national stock exchanges, speculative operations, a rapid movement of huge sums of money takes place that crosses national borders; (3) _the mediascapes_: the sharing of the possibilities of producing and disseminating electronic images;(4) t_he ideoscapes_: the linked series of images, often placed at the service of ideologies and ideas of the state that have their roots in the Enlightenment.

"*a true mixture of disparate components*", coming from everywhere and nowhere, sprung from the postmodern "*war chariots of the global communication system*" (Appadurai, 1996).

Moving on, I followed what Verstappen (2016) calls the '*global sense of place*[104]' referring to Massey (1994, p.156), which would open another door on a myriad of questions that are not intrinsically related to my topic here. As Cresswell said: *"Places range in scale from the corner of a room to the whole planet"* (Cresswell, 2004, p.9).

o   *Translocal spaces*

It is therefore interesting, to assess the potentialities of the concepts of Appadurai (1996[105]) on '*the translocality of places*' as studied by Brickell & Datta (2011[106]) and subsequently applied by S.Vertstappen: a transnational perspective to study the '*Vohra Gujarati community in its relation with the neighborhood*' in her thesis (Verstappen, 2016) that has been of great inspiration for the discussion under hand. Next to the '*translocal neighborhoods*' as a site of construction for migrants'life, they are the '*translocal homes*' in the private sphere and on a bigger -public scale, the 'translocal cities'. In fact, as per Brickell and Datta (2011) definition's:

*"[...]cities [are] sites of translocality **par excellence** harbouring places of origin, settlement, resettlement and transit. Situated within the intersections between place and displacement, location and mobility, settlement and return, cities are critical to the construction of migrant landscapes and the ways in which they reflect and influence migratory movements, politics, identities, and narratives."* (*Ibid.*, p.16, emphasis in original, my underlinings).

All in all, the literature I have explored, agrees on the fact that places remain central in migrants' construction and appropriation of spaces "*assigning meaning, values and name*" to it. (Cresswell, 2004). While *space* is often connected with the idea of movement, *place* implies a stability. Cities are those stable-*fixed* places, shifting paradigm due to the increasing mobility. Cities are developing a network and connect with each other on a larger scale, impacting on local permanent residents' stories, on identitying feelings and sense of belonging. These shared criteria of the city open a door for newcomers: I called them

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[104] See Brickhell and Datta, (2011, p.6) note on Massey's advice to consider the political nature of places encompassing therein and the interrelations between the production of these places from local/global linkages assigning multiple identities by different social groups that can either be a source of cultural richness or a source of conflict.

[105] Appadurai, Arjun (1996) *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

[106] See Datta and Brickell (2011, p.77) Translocalism under the idea of '*translocal geographies,*' and *"the translocal city"* of London.

migrants in line with Chapter 1. For this reason, I agree with Doreen Massey when she says that places are not threaten by mobility, on the contrary they are reinforced by such processes in the sense that places are *"[....]actively constituted by mobility – particularly the movement of people but also commodities and ideas"* (*Ibid, 1993* in Cresswell, 2004, p.8).

At this point, it became clearer that cities are the *site* where researchers should observe everyday practices of the urban population[107]. Indeed, Bruslé and Varrel reminded: *"places constitute an entry point into migrants' worlds."* (*Ibid.,* 2012, p.7), another element in favor of my choice to analyze Indian students 'spaces' production on the city-level: Padova.

o   *Assessment*
Bruslé and Varrel (2012), Cresswell (2004) and Brickell and Datta (2011) are all keen to demonstrate cities' role in migrants' lives' experiences. In fact, they all assume that "*space is a practiced place"* as De Certeau was asserting in 1984 (*Ibid.* p117). Migrants are identified as "*space-makers*" in this context, where space production -or reproduction- is envisioned in the private (Bruslé, 2012) and public sphere (Brickell & Datta, 2011; Bruslé & Varrel, 2012; Cresswell, 2004; Gallo, 2012; Trouillet, 2018). Bruslé and Varrel's contribution on the topic of the city producing spaces and *vice-versa* has enlightened me while building this first section as an incipit for further discussion in the following empirical parts. Besides, the two French authors challenged me on the topic of spaces' creation and the nature of the spaces in question: "*transnational social spaces"* a "*transnational social field "*or "*migratory spac*es"? (*Ibid.,*p.4-5), which led me to think in similar terms about the case of Padova.

As far as we are concerned now, migrants' space use shall be reviewed in light of their mobile nature and behavior which has a role in defining movement (accusative- spaces) or stability (dative-places) (see M. de Certeau, 2013, p.118). The next section therefore pays attention to individuals' motion between countries, or what Zachary's thesis calls *"a fascinating gallery of successful characters who possess an intriguing mix of "roots" and "wings.""* (*Ibid*, 2003). As evidenced by some scholars such 'mix' is embedded in students' appraisal of space (Bottone, 2000; Schachner, 2019).

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[107] A discussion based on Martinotti four populations (1996) will follow in Section 2.3.

SECTION 2.2: Indian students' *roots*/*routes.* Dwelling practices and the diaspora heritage.

This section revisits literature to foreground the discussion about Indian students' way to settle down in Italy, as part of a transnational community. As previously mentioned, the study of Bruslé and Varrel (2012) stood out how the places of South Asia are the result of ancient and recent global interconnections that see the displacement of populations and mobile capital, activating research on this topic in migration studies. As a consequence, migration scholars should pay attention to the notions of space and place which are approached under three main categories, often overlapping each other: 'diaspora studies', the 'transnational turn' and 'the mobility turn' (Bruslé and Varrel, 2012, p.3).

2.2.1 The Indian diaspora and the Indian students

Following the categories above cited, I have started bringing back diaspora studies. The discussion about Indian diaspora is animated by many trends labelling migrants networks and ethnic groups as '*homogeneous entities'* in studies that placed attention on these "*migrant minorities as pockets of other places or people elsewhere*", outside their '*homeland'* (Haig, 2010, p.31). In my case study, while apprehending everyday-life practices of Indian students in Padova, empirical data have revealed that their "*Indianness remains an important aspect of belonging*" (Haig, 2010, p.303) which manifests in the occasion of cultural/religious celebrations. By the way, as Haig (2010) said: *"what my informants often called their 'Indianness', articulated in academia as 'diaspora' identity*" (Haig, 2010, p.8) are the two distinct social worlds arenas to which the analysis of Indian students'eveydaylife Padova ultimately relates. Indeed, as Chapter 6 will disclose, Indian students maintain a close bond with other Indian migrants dwelling in Padova, precisely with those 'pockets of people elsewhere' (Haig, 2010, p.31) characteristics of "*diasporas'social form"* (Vertovec, 2000, p.141[108]).

o *Indian diaspora's roots.*
Etymologically diaspora comes from the Greek (*dia-* and *sperein*) and means to 'disperse', 'dispersion' (Cohen, 1996). Since the 1980s, there has been an awareness of the

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[108] Vertovec (2000) has provided a review of three meanings of 'diaspora' – social form, type of consciousness, mode of cultural production – each of which feeds into my analysis (*Ibid.*, p.141–159).

growing dispersion of South Asian populations in the world-space, becoming a case study for the application of the notion of diaspora. When I talk about the diaspora, there is an explicit reference to what was the most famous phenomenon of dispersion of people in the world: the Jewish diaspora after the exile in Babylon in 586 BC, and later resumed after the Second World War to describe minorities group who are dispersed in countries different from their 'homeland' (Bruneau, 1994; Gautam, 2013; Jayaram, 2017; Trouillet, 2018).

The expression "*Indian diaspora*" appeared for the first time in 1976 in the academic sphere in a study of Agehananda Bharati, however, she did not give any definition of what she meant by "Indian diaspora" at that time (Trouillet, 2018). Nowadays, the use of the term "Indian Diaspora" corresponds to a situation of dispersion of the Indian population outside its place of origin- India. Along the dispersion, there is a collective consciousness of a shared identity. Concretely, diaspora takes place in a multipolar manner between these groups dispersed internationally and between them and the place of origin, thus I also observe complex multipolar relations. The term diaspora can be used to describe any group of people who are dispersed throughout the world, capable of creating networks and generating communities (Cohen, 2008; Gautam, 2013; Jayaram & Atal, 2004; F. Raj, 2011; Trouillet, 2018).

- o *Routes of the Indian diasporic community*

Yet, beyond networks and identity negotiation, the most significant element for me is the official recognition by the Indian Union of the expression "Indian Diaspora" in 2000 which also sees the creation of a specific commission –'*High Level Committee on Indian Diaspora*[109]'- in charge of monitoring Indians settled in another country and the potential role they could play in national economic development, as evidenced in Trouillet's article (*Ibid.,* 2015). The presence of a Committee on Indian diaspora in my interpretation entails the centrality of the economic development theme in the political orientation adopted by the Indian Sub-continent. Furthermore, the diasporic modality became widespread because of the economic world in transformation that favors the free circulation of consumer goods. In the study of mobility, we see how globalization is the main factor that triggers movement, migration and circulation (Breman & van der Linden, 2014; Singh & Krishna, 2015; Tarrius, 1993). Thus,

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[109] See the website of the Indian Government: https://mea.gov.in/oia-publications.htm

many studies regarding highly skilled Indian migrants have approached this topic dealing with the NRI -Non-Residents in India- policy (D. S. Raj, 2015; F. Raj, 2011; State Bank of India, 2000; Varrel, 2012).

Although I distinguish Indian students from *highly skilled migrants* (See Chapter 3), nevertheless, as other scholars, I welcome the idea of the diaspora of 'brains' when approaching migrants' practices through the diaspora theory. For instance, Gautam (2013) and Jayaram (2014) studied the 'brain drain'[110] while Trouillet (2015) went a step further and introduced the 'brain gain[111]'. Furthermore, Clifford[112] (1997) has help me to complete foregrounding Indian migrants as a group strengthening the fact that Indians belong to a community and to paramount it, constitute a group of transnational people which labelled them as 'diasporic group'. Quoting Clifford (1997): *"Dwelling was understood to be the local ground of collective life, travel a supplement; roots always precede routes"* (*Ibid.*), the author was questioning his protagonist's impulse to move. Similarly, my analysis will lead me in Chapter 5 to question the reasons (*roots)* pushing Indian students on the roads, referring on Cliffords' '*routing'* (1997) to expose the wider set of experiences and emotional tensions afforded by Indian students in Padova. In many ways, this approach has anticipated the notion of diaspora as a site of dual belonging, of transnationalism between 'local and global' (Cohen, 1996; Haig, 2010).

o *Assessment*

To sum up, in the last ten years, many scholars have reconceptualized the '*brain drain'* as a *'brain gain'* shifting finally to the concept I advocate "*brain circulation*" (see Agrawal et al., 2011; Chacko, 2007; Singh & Krishna, 2015; Temgoua, 2018). The circulation of Indian Students[113] mirrors what Clifford (1997) called "*the post-modern primitivist figure of the nomad*" who moves around in complex, constrained travel trajectories, assessing the "*travel*

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[110] Jayaram in 2004 declared: "The large scale and steady emigration of doctors, engineers, scientists, teachers [...] to the industrialized countries of the West [...] of the late 60s and 70s. [...] This pattern of emigration is often described as "brain drain, is essentially voluntary and mostly individual in nature." (Ibid., p22)

[111] This metaphor is taken up again by the observation of Pierre Yves Trouillet in 2015: "*The" diaspora "of Indian engineers is thus not only involved in technology transfer in India, but also in the creation of direct investment and return-migration enterprises, particularly in Bangalore [...] which finally invites us to talk of a "brain gain" to qualify the effects of these migrations.*" (Trouillet, 2015, my underlinings and translation).

[112] Clifford, James. Roots: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century. Cambridge: Harvard U.P., 1997."

[113] Chapter 3 will explain in further details the relationship between Indian students and diaspora in Italy.

theory[114]" discussed in Haig (2010) about Hindus in Zambia and in Pacini (2011). Eventually, I argue that student- migrants are *differently territorialized* rather than 'de-territorialised' (Deleuze and Guattari, 1992 in Urry, 2000; Feuchtwang, 2002; Günzel, 1998). International students are mobile subjects who experience transnationalism, over deterritorialization, since they live *in-between* (Baas, 2006) crossing diasporic community and spaces while keeping their own specificities that would be developed in Part 3.

The next paragraph anticipates Indian students' practices in Padova under a theoretical viewpoint, also enhancing that Indian students-migrants behave as international students in their way to exploit places locally. To support this idea, the contribution of Le Galès (2011) and Crosta (2010) have highlighted that students are 'natural' clients, privileged consumers and recipients of opportunities and advantages of carrying out projects or events taking place in the territory they occupy at a given moment, sometimes even during their journey.

2.2.2 Travelling people, dwelling practices.

For the scope of the on-going theme, I have simply referred to Levitt (2004) considerations which instead of giving a definition of transnational migrants or migratory fields, summarizes the above discussion on humans' contemporary life governed by movement no matter what policies and governments advocates:

"The assumption that people will live their lives in one place, according to one set of national and cultural norms, in countries with impermeable national borders, no longer holds. Rather, in the 21st century, more and more people will belong to two or more societies at the same time. This is what many researchers refer to as transnational migration" (Levitt, 2004, my underlinings).

The *'in-betweeness'*, to which I will return many times, talking about transnationalism, manifests itself in the dialectic of *roots* and *routes* (Clifford, 1997, p.2), assessing the possibility to dwell the movement.

    o *Dwelling the movement*
Urry acknowledged the hypothesis of '*dwelling the movement*' retrieving Heidegger's account of the bridge[115]*: "[...] showing how people dwell in and through being both at home*

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[114]According to Pacini (2011) *"Staying on the road is the only means to pursue the illusion of a space to discover: a space within."*

[115] See Osti, *Sul concetto di abitare: luogo, essere e cosa nello Heidegger degli anni '50* (Rome, 2018)

and away, through the dialectic of roots and routes" (Urry, 2000, p.132-133, my underlinings). Many other authors have taken advantage of the poetical echo of these two notions of the same sound but opposite meaning, like Massey (1993) and Cresswell (2009) pulled up considering places as producers of *routes* rather than *roots*[116]. Similarly, Bruslé and Varrel (2012) while emphasizing the relevance of places in geography resumed their goal glimpsing at that obvious metaphor:

"*We therefore intend to show that even if place manifests long, epitomized group fixity or sedentarity, the place of* **roots** *(Creswell 2008), there is no contradiction between place and migration along fluid and moving lines: places are parts of* **routes** *[Clifford, 1997] or routes themselves*" (*Ibid,* p.5, emphasis in original).

People indeed seems to "*dwell in various mobilities"* as Urry says; they travel hopefully neither being at home nor being away, there is no departure point and no arrival meant as a return point (Urry, 2000). So, people nowadays are dwelling and moving[117], in the words of Clifford they are '*dwelling-in-travel*' (1997, p.2 in Urry, 2000, p.133). Therefore, I agree with Bell Hooks' wisdom: "*home is no longer one place. It is locations*" (*Ibid.,*1991, p.148[118]).

To conclude, Breines, Raghuram and Gunter (2019) allude to this constant motion of migrants as well: "*[...] migration can be frequent and unpredictable and people's attitudes towards dwelling and onward migration are flexible (King 2012) so that migration is neither 'permanent' nor 'constant'*. (*Roos Breines et al.*, 2019, p.486, my underlinings). What follows is the rising hypothesis of flexible and frequent dwelling through concept of *itinerant living* of P.L. Crosta (2011) in order to illustrate the dwelling practice of university Indian students (Crosta, 2010; Rampazi, 2016; Reguiessé, 2018).

   o   *The practice of itinerant Dwelling: general considerations*
 In literature, the attention is often drawn about the dynamics of a social nature affecting the actions and practices of migrants (Balducci & Fedeli, 2007; Cancellieri & Ostanel, 2015b; Crosta, 2010; Mantovan & Ostanel, 2015; Marconi & Ostanel, 2016a; Mathis Stock, 2003; Osti, 2018). Thus, by integrating living in connection to the use of spaces and, the

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[116] In Cresswell: "*Places to Massey are not clearly bounded, rooted in place, or connected to single homogeneous identities but produced through connections to the rest of the world and therefore are more about routes than roots.*" (Ibid,2009, p8)

[117] See the Appendix 3.2, p.390- for a critic of Urry's statements and a discussion about mobility/immobility.

[118] Hooks, B. (1991) Yearning: race, gender and cultural politics, London: Turnaround. Quoted in Urry , 2000, p.157

relationship of students to the places they walk through, I want to give a less static view of contemporary living, where mobility is integrated with a sedentary lifestyle allowing a reading of the dwelling practice as a process in continuous evolution. In the next few lines, I introduce an *unusual*[119] living approach that crosses the places with the policies and helps me to describe how students are dwelling in Italian cities.

First and foremost, this paragraph raises the issue of. P.L Crosta, who often reiterates in his studies that "*the territory, is the use that is made of it*" (Crosta, 2010). The author means that the territories should not be taken for granted: territories are social constructs produced by the uses and by the choice of the person who reside in it. Crosta draws our attention on the fact that people may belong to different territories as he considers the inhabitants as products and components of the metropolitan's transformation (Balducci & Fedeli, 2007; Crosta, 2010). In a world Crosta underlines that the territories of living are plural by definition.

Secondly, let me come to the itinerant metaphor. Tarrius (1993) has influenced Crosta's conceptualization: the itinerant term certainly refers to the notion of itinerary, the journey as a route, a path that can be retraced thanks to the sharing of knowledge, to the collective memory of the migrant populations that have crossed the territory previously (Tarrius, 1993). Then, geographically speaking, *itinerant dwelling* makes it possible to bridge together networks and territories in the same way that globalization has led to dialogue between different scales, going from local to global, regardless of hierarchies.

In this sense, the "*itinerant*" inhabitants have neither a unitary space where they belong to and live in a univocal way; nor a space that they share with "others" - those with whom they interact in their journey (Crosta in Balducci & Fedeli, 2007, p. 78).

Thirdly, according to Pier Luigi Crosta, one of the major Italian planner on this topic (Crosta in Balducci & Fedeli, 2007, p. 76), living as a "*process*[120]" allows to relate the relationship between populations and territory as in continuous becoming, in a relationship that implies mutuality and reciprocity: "a *practice that builds territories and constitutes populations*" (*Ibid.,* 2007, translated by the author). Such consideration assessed the

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[119]in the sense that today being 'rooted' is the major trend of dwelling (Clifford, 1997).

[120] Living as a process emfasises the dynamic mechanism of dwelling for itinerant inhbitants and sets in contradistinction with the static/sedentarist way of life.

hypothesis that student-migrants daily life takes place in a more or less binding social context.

Therefore, Cliffords' idea of '*dwelling-in-travel*' is valid and must be read on an individual and collective scale as the result of an individual choice involving a project and as a producer of skills associated to that project. Students and migrants share the common feature of being 'temporary home' in the city where they study or work, however, despite the short time they spend on that new territory, they are able to develop kinship ties and social practice that make them feel *'home away from home'* (Basco, 2012; Butsch & V S Saravanan, 2018).

     o *Assessment*

This section aims to further explore the role of mobility in the spatialization of migrants on local territory to strengthen the idea previously discussed of the effective role advocated to migrants in the everyday production of urban spaces which manifests primarily within those communities which have inherited of a mobile past. The Indian diasporic community is certainly a good example of this motion/settlement dialectic triggered by India's colonization's past and the subsequent Indian diaspora moving all around the world (Gautam, 2013; Jain, 1998; Jayaram & Atal, 2004; D. S. Raj, 2015; F. Raj, 2011; Siddiqui & Tejada, 2014). In this pattern, mobility studies led me to first hypothesize a return to nomadism, as a metaphor for individuals' daily life growing mobility (Balducci & Fedeli, 2007; Braidotti, 2002). For the same reasons of V.Fedeli (2007, p.225) I was encouraged to combine mobile students' practices with metaphors as their stories were the vehicle which allowed me to assemble the places, their lives in Padova and to make an itinerary.

Moving on, the last section wraps together three variable rotating around the Indian students' category studying and living in Padova: [the city] the spatial dimension; [the university] the structured dimension; and [the people] the perceived dimension.

SECTION 2.3 *&SoC*: An integrated approach for the city of Padova

In the '*Age of Migration*' (Castles and Miller, 1998), the modern nation-state is stretched from all directions to stand for and safeguard its many *'fragments'* while withstanding with the increasing movements of people (Massey et al., 1993).

If we take our Paduan's urban kaleidoscope and rotate it again plonking it on the people who live in the city's spaces, we realize that there is a complex relationship weaving

together the heterogene mix of concepts presented so far. The Indian students are a fragment of these people that will be unpacked in this section. To do it, I start discussing the "Sense of Community" as a device which brings back at the center the notion of community and the impacts upon interaction between groups (Blumer, 1986; Perrenoud, 2017; Thapan, 2006), as well as exclusion and the sense of belonging - that I touched lightly here and there with Ostanel (2012) and Haig (2010). These themes, of community and interaction[121], reverberate throughout my analysis are presented in the &SoC model designed for the thesis'purpose.

II.3.1 The Sense of Community device borrowed to psychology : outlines of the SoC.

o *Outlines of the 'Sense of Community'*
The Sense of Community (SoC) is defined by McMillan V.D and Chavis D.M in 1986[122], who describe the SoC as the "*social fabric of co-creation*". I have taken instead the following definition (2005): "*The Sense of Community is a feeling that members have of belonging, a feeling that members matter to one-another and matter to the group and a shared faith that members' needs will be met through the commitment to be together.*" (McMillan & Chavis, 2005, my underlinings).

Thus according to Chavis and Mc Milan (2005)' model, the Sense of Community (SoC) contains four attributes: membership, influence, integration and fulfilment of needs, and shared emotional connection. (McMillan & Chavis, 2005, p.9). The sense of community is summed up in the drawing I have sketched for a better understanding (Sketch 2.1).

Sketch 2.1:The Sense of Community ky features. Personal visualisation of McMillan and Chavis (2005), on 08/2019.

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[121] See Part 3 where the thesis begins to tackle Indian students' relationships outside the Indian Community group, the analysis turns more avidly towards interaction of this small migrants'community in some areas of the city of Padova.

[122] In referring o the Sense of Community of McMillan & Chavis, I use the version of   2005 (the definition of Spinks comes from this book as well.)

On the center of the lens, the community is built through members of a same *system group* who recognize each other thanks to a set of *symbols*[123]*:* allowing them to determine who is '*in*' and who is '*out*'. The system group is within a *safe*[55] environment, which exerted a perception of *emotional safety*[55] on the members. On the left side, the group is reinforced by the presence of *internal influence*[55] in a mutual exchange between *the sense of belonging*[55] and the *personal investment* of individuals toward the group, a way to show that '*my contribution matters*'. The *status*[55] of the new member has to be *validated*[55] by the members of the system group. The awareness of a *shared journey*[55] is the access door to become a member, the longer time people spend together, stronger the ties will be in the community. On the other side of the lens, *boundaries*[55] as the expression of *external status validation*[55] appear as a wall which divides the system group from the others. The boundaries and the emotional safety bubble are *reinforced by dynamic*[55]*s* dealing with the *intrinsic motivations*[55] of individual, who perceive the fact of entering in the community as a *challenge*[55] they are ready to run for.

"In summary, strong communities are those that offer members positive ways to interact, important events to share and ways to resolve them positively, opportunities to honor members, opportunities to invest in the community, and opportunities to experience a spiritual bond among members" (McMillan & Chavis, 2005, p.14).

The SoC is composed of three drivers which activate the sense of belonging: social inclusion, shared emotional bonds and place attachment (See Figure 2.2).
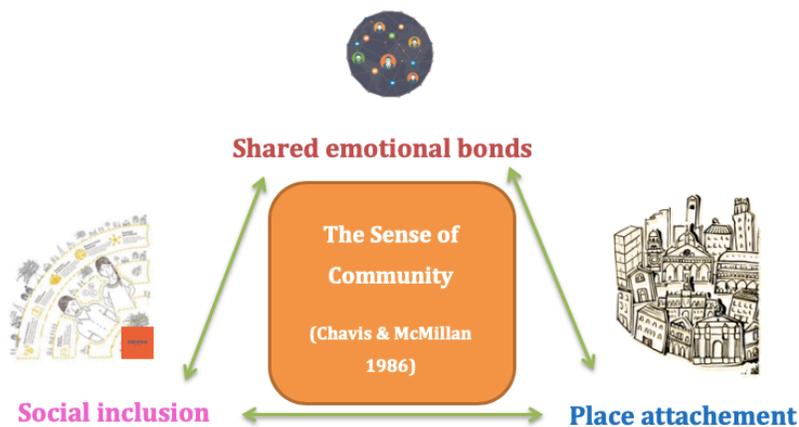
Figure 2.2: Visualisation of The Sense of Community model (Chavis and Mc Millan 1985), three main interactive variables. (08/2019).

[123] The words in italic correspond to those written on the sketch, and at the same time are evidencing the key elements of the psycoogical SoC device.

First, the social inclusion is the structured dimension, since SoC downside dimension tends to be higher between similar people and in homogenous communities (Townley, 2017). Communication and social interaction enable social inclusion: the structured dimension is the one that settles the strength of the relationships within the group due to the importance of a shared history and a shared participation. Second, the shared emotional bonds deal with the perceived or imaginary dimension[124] and are closely related to the theoretical definition given by McMillan & Chavis (2005). Third, the place attachement is the spatial dimension, the exteriorization of the will of planners' aspiration to build communities. These three drivers are the first stone of my model. As represented below, the three dimensions -structured (social inclusion) , perceived (shared emotional bonds), physical (place attachment)- interact one with another.

       To summarize, SoC constitute an interplay in which individuals or group are balanced between the spatial dimension due to place attachment; the structured dimension in which they share emotional bonds; and the perceived dimension wherein social inclusion appears as a mean to enable people's interaction. There are numerous studies in planning which have drawn upon the SoC dimensions, espescially on the spatial one: place attachment (Farharani, and Lozanovska, 2014[125]). Indeed, this dimension activates the urban design and sometimes make a shared urban vision blossom. As the next paragraphe will discuss, different opinions are dividing scholars on the kind of model and tools that can guide researchers to apprehend the city in an integrated way.

    o *An integrated model of spaces for communities*

       Planners and urbanists as Cognetti (2020) do not agree with Borelli's sociological vision of the city. They see the space as an element, a variable of their 'interpretive model' which articulates around the city[126] which includes (1) space; (2) practices and actors; (3)policies and rules; (4)imaginaries. Feeling in-between Borelli's observation on the city and Cognetti's one, I opened a third door on the position to adopt. The analysis of the city of Padova in my case study was requiring an integrated model, to the extent that the relations between spaces and human beings occurred.

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[124] See Baas (2013) and Urry (2000). About imaginary mobility, chapter 5 gives some more details.

[125] Nevertheless, for some reasons, as far as I know, nobody at IUAV University has ever mentioned about the SoC model.

[126] Discussion during the lecture: *La città interdisciplinare*? Prof. Cognetti- Venezia, at IUAV 27/01/2020.

The critics addressed to Park on its spatial determinism may find a loophole, if we confine ourselves to the Lefebvrian analysis of the space as Borelli (2020) has suggested, where the space production is articulated among three variables[127:] the 'spatial practice'; the 'representation of the space' ; and the 'spaces of representation'. These variables emphasize a material and mental dimension of space. In fact, Lefebvre defines the space: "*Space is social morphology: it is to lived experience what form itself is to the living organism, and just as intimately bound up with function and structure.*" (Lefebvre, 1991, p.94). The space in Lefebvre's model is the output of the interaction between practices/actors (1); policies/laws (2); and images/imagination (3).

Coming back to Park's definition of the city (1925), as the intent of this chapter was to complement its approach exposed in Chapter 1, Lefebvre (1974) also expressed his skepticism regarding the 'organic' variable in the social space[128].

As far as I have understood of Henri Lefebvre's- tricky, although complete- '*œuvre*', the production of space is at the end of the day, a social practice, a 'social construct' (Bruslé & Varrel, 2012). Faithful to the Marxist tradition, jumping from Nietzsche to Hegel, "*The production of space*" succeed in its intent to 'fill the gap' of philosophy and astronomy; the book contains many details and descriptions of both human practices and behaviors, and its environment, keeping anchored the distinction of the city and the countryside. It should not be surprising that, instead of reporting a systematized linear paraphrased analysis of Lefebvre main features, I'd better have a glance at what the '*maître*' said on the topic of spaces, through the narration of others contemporary authors paying attention not to fall in the '*spatial turn*' trap, namely the pluralist vision adopted in political sciences (Borelli, 2020[129]). While I have made an extensive use of the word ''*community*" which convey different meanings such as inhabited geographically defined areas or groups of people identified by common interests, values, culture (See Chapter 1); as I have discussed previously, the word "Space" can be extrapolated along different tracks as well.

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[127] Triplicity of Lefebvre, French version , 1974 :p. 49-51 « *vécu, conçu, perçu* » - p43 : 'pratique spatiale', 'représentation de l'espace' et 'espaces de représentation'

[128] "When the city, the state, nature or society itself is no longer dear about what image to present, its representatives' resort to the easy solution of evoking the body, head, limbs, blood or nerves. This physical analogy, the idea of an organic space, is thus called upon only by systems of knowledge or power that are in decline."(Lefebvre, 1991, p. 274)

[129] Discussion during the lecture*: La città interdisciplinare*? Prof. Cognetti- Venezia, at IUAV 27/01/2020

Although I have taken a stand for a third position between Cognetti and Borelli (2020), I couldn't avoid talking about Lefebvre and the *"Production of Space"* (1974) at this point. Lastly, by adopting an integrated model based upon the SoC, I'll reiterate the question of space production (Lefebvre) and space co-production (De Certeau) in the next chapters.

o *Assessment*

To conclude, the Sense of Community's model encompasses features outlined in the intercultural approach employed by urban planners and prompted to argue in favor of its integration with the social ecology unbalanced model. Furthermore, the insertion of the SoC device to improve dialogue, encounters interaction and participation which could inject innovative and creative solutions into the city's agenda so that problems could be solved mutually.

In 2010, Cicognani, Menezes and Nata have assessed the SoC device to investigate University students' sense of belonging related to the hometown, including both natives and temporary residents, furnished another element that convinced me of the necessity to use this model.

I will use an integrated version of the SoC model as an intermediate step in this chapter because it includes and refers to the development of the population under analysis within our specific Italian context that will be expressed in Chapter 5 to 6. In many ways, questions that were similarly central to Park and Burgess in their analysis of the city for the USA- case and of major importance in the Chicago school analysis in general, had to be revisited. Therefore, I have gone beyond Park's reluctancies[130], and will show through the &SoC that people can still share common purposes and interests in a medium city like Padova. We will see in the next parts that urban neighborhoods are the place where people live and so where social inteaction (and innovation ?) should happen, bringing back the attention to neighborhoods in urban studies. The integrated model- &SoC-will be introduced in the following part of this section.

2.3.2 The &SoC interplay: an ecosystem of interacting people and spaces

Talking about an integrated model, as announced in the introduction, I am adopting a syncretic position I have called &SoC (merging the renewed vision of Park's ecological

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[130] Park stated that "*Our political system is founded upon the conviction that people who live in the same locality have common interests […].*" (*Ibid.* 1952, p90). This assumption is usually true for small cities, or for districts but not for the entire medium city aiming to rely on collectives' actions-supposedly those bringing common welfare.

approach with the Sense of Community). The &SoC interplay enables people to achieve a sense of belonging and purpose in their life. Besides, attachment to places entails social relations as well. In particular, as discussed by Cicognani, Menezes and Nata (2010) "*places should be considered as repositories and contexts within which interpersonal, community, and cultural relationships occur, and it is to those social relationships, not just the place qua place, to which people are attached.*" (*Ibid.,*p.34).

o *Place: "a set of spaces"*
Starting with Creswell's paper on '*Place* : an introduction' (2004) and the ongoing debate between the contingent 'place lessness' and 'non-place' (Augé, 2014) metaphors and processes which often accompanied studies on mobility, I acknowledge as others scholars instead that place is not dead yet.

In the words of Urry (2000, p.459): "*people do still live in places*". Varrel and Bruslé (2012) also argue that place is the *lieu,* the loci where people express social relations and where "*spatial meaning are created*" (*Ibid.*, p.2). Next, the authors stressed how migration studies have devolved attention on '*places (re)creation*' on different scales, spanning from the global scale of the diaspora's flows- countries, cities, to the intimate one of everyday practices – houses, rooms (*Ibid.*, p.2).

Moreover, by developing the concept of *sense of place*[131] – or what the SoC device qualifies "*place attachment*", literature has highlighted how commonplaces/everyday life spaces in the city as ethnic shops, restaurants, temples, houses... contribute to migrants' place-making (Brickell & Datta, 2011; Cancellieri, 2013; Madge et al., 2015; McGarrigle & Ascensão, 2018; Tan & Hugo, 2017) where places are designed to be more or less visible[132] (Cancellieri & Ostanel, 2015a.; Montanari, 2018; Saint-Blancat & Cancellieri, 2014; Vuddamalay, 1989) as part of the set of "*multilocal and transscalar migratory spaces*" (Bruslé and Varrel, 2012, p.2). What follows is that place keeps exerting that function of *sense of belonging* which is related to *community-based* actions (Bruslé & Varrel, 2012; Cicognani et al., 2011; Cresswell, 2004; Lucarelli, 2018; Ostanel, 2017b; Williamson, 2016).

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[131] To explore further information on the topic, see Cicocagni et al (2010) who argued that : "A sense of the place in which we live is often related to our sense of personal identity since much of what we are depends upon where we live and the experiences that we have had there" (Ibid, p. 34).

[132] On July 2014, there has been a conference in Portugal, Lisbon on the topic: "*Invisible places, sounding cities*" tackling the challenges of urbanism and sense of place. http://invisibleplaces.org/IP2014.pdf (*Invisible Places. Sounding Cities. Viseu, Portugal*, 2014).

The sense of place and the sense of belonging are senses activating a cultural production of space which send us back again to Harvey and Lefebvre's conceptualization in seeing places as socially produced- while they actually advocated a spatial perspective emphasizing contestation and inequality in the city (Bird, 1993; Harvey, 2013; Lefebvre et al., 2009[133]; Lefebvre, 1991). Thus, beyond spaces' construction or production, migrants *"assign value to spaces"* as described by Gallo (2012) and Bruslé and Varrel (2012). It entails that places play a role in activating the social life's dimension since migrants develop subjective and emotional attachments to city's loci (Bruslé and Varrel, 2012).

Furthermore, Urry claims that networks provide a better understanding about the organization of social life (*Ibid*, 2000, 2002). In Urry's vision, the spatial attributes of the 'social' should be brought into question in the study of 'sociology' rather than assumed to be located within a national 'society' (Urry, 2000). Reading Urry's definition (2000, p.140), places are:

"[...] *a set of spaces* *where ranges of relational networks and flows coalesce*, *interconnec*t and *fragment.*" (*Ibid.*p140).

According to this definition, such social spaces are punctuated by '*nexus between the propinquities*' activated by the '*co-present interaction*' and the extensive networks, as physical or virtual fluxes shrinking distances. Those places are characterized by a '*multiplex*' (Urry, 2000, p.140) due to the multiplicities of spaces (King, 2004). Finally, I acknowledge Urry's definition of place as "*a set of spaces*" and aim to show that cities in general, Padova in particular, represent the materialization of spaces included in a place (Bruslé & Varrel, 2012; Wu, 2016) as an ecosystem.

o *An ecosystem of interrelated concepts*

Based on the human ecological pyramid by Robert Ezra Park (1952, p. 145–164), I introduce my conceptual integrated approach '*&SoC*' that I have applied here as a filter to frame the relations between the Indian Community and the territory in which they are interacting, triggered by a triangular relation similar to the one evidenced by G.Varna (2019). The interrelations and dependencies within this '&*Sense of Community*' model is important for the inherent processes of social and spatial transformations within the spatial framework

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I have adopted. Also, inspired by Appadurai's work (1996), my ecosystem has the ambition to capture the mosaic of Padova to read its transformations through the urban kaleidoscope.

As a consequence, the thesis' research on the city of Padova crosses four disciplines: urban sociology, sociology of education, migration studies and urban planning.

Coming back to Varna's triangle (2019) mentioned in the previous paragraph, I have extrapolated variables and relations from Varna's original model (2019) and visualized them as follow. This shape intersects three variables which are common to the experiences of Indian students: the city of Padova (blue), the University UNIPD (red), and the people (pink), permanent residents, bureaucrats, the Indian community. These three variables can intersect only under the condition of the existence of a suitable political-legal frame (purple).

The political legal frame enabling Indian students' migration to Italy is presented in the second Part of the thesis from a global perspective, while Part 3 will encompass local policies exhibiting a bound between the city of Padova and the University. Besides, the people gravitating around and within the university and the city play an important role for migrants' integration (Indian community, diaspora ties) or exclusion (segregation, discrimination) in everyday life dynamics[134]. My conceptual map 2.1 has the intention to argue in favour of interdisciplinarity.
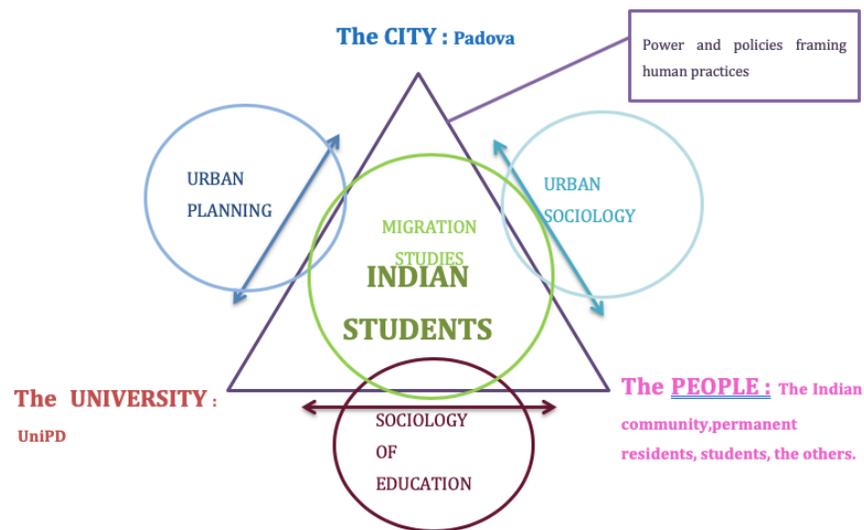
Conceptual map 2.1: the relation between the city, the university and the persons interacting in a balance built of power and spaces. Personal visualisation 07/2019.

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[134] The topic of inclusion/exclusion is apprehended in Chapter 3 while discussing the differences between migrants type, underlining the fact that Indian students-migrants are 'welcome' and 'desirable' (see Ambrosini 2020).

Finally, the triangulation of the variables retrieved from the &SoC model will be then put into relation in the following paragraphe.

o *Assessment*

My personal skills are limited to tie together with in-depth analysis all these approaches at once. In my opinion, if I had decided to explore my topic digging in each discipline as I did for migration studies and urban sociology, it would have added a degree of complexity in the understanding of the topic, which is not what I wanted. Meanwhile, as this discussion has revealed, there is a need to move towards a systemic appraisal of the relations existing between the city, the university and the populations, dwelling, crossing, using the spaces. Additionally, the insights for this work give an outlook of the many ways and disciplines (including my mentors) in which the topic has been apprehended: a urban sociologist (G.Borelli), an expert on migration studies (T.Bruslé), two anthropologists (K.Valentin and J.Breman), a sociologist of education (M.Thapan) and a urban planner (G.Varna). On top of that -despite its expressed multidisciplinary- this thesis had to be rooted in its place of birth: the IUAV university and the track in Urban Planning and regional public policies. Thus, I felt a need to illustrate the relations and disciplines influencing each-other reciprocally, sometimes contradictory, sometimes complementary connecting the three variables of the triangle. Lastly, each triangle's angle and variable, will be analysed one by one in the following paragraph.

2.3.3 People, city and University. A triangulation of variables in the &SoC interplay

Beyond the claim for interdisciplinarity, the conceptual map n°2.1 I have just presented also has the function to be the interplay in which my three main variables – people, city, university- interact with my object: the Indian students. Let's have a closer look now on the nature on each of this variable. The triangulation of these variables constitutes the second stone of the &SoC model, which is presented at the end of this paragraph.

o *The people*

The discussion over the people has been partially developed in the previous paragraphs, where Indian students are considered as part of the transnationally mobile group of abroad students. This category is central to my research and will therefore be

discussed all along the thesis. The people are also the permanent residents and will be also included in the discussion while addressing the question of the perception of the Indian community and of the city of Padova. *"No matter what exact definitions we accept for the new urban form, many of the social problems of contemporary metropolitan societies depend on the coexistence and superimposition of these three "urban layers""* (Martinotti, 1994).

While Park had concentrated on the role of the city's inhabitants, similarly, Martinotti sees the urban population at the center of the study of urban spaces and adds some other three categories. (Park, 1925; Martinotti, 1993).

≈ *The city's urban populations*

In the words of Martinotti: "*I suggest conceptualizing metropolitan development, and the social morphology that is gradually emerging, such as the progressive differentiation of four main populations that today gravitate around the metropolis.*" (Martinotti, 1993, p. 137-138, my translation and underlinings). Martinotti has defined the population based on the modalities of three variables distinguished into four urban populations: *inhabitants* (1); *commuters* (2); *city-users* (3); and *metropolitan businesspersons.* (4).(Martinotti, 1994, 1996[135]).

	LIVE	WORK	CONSUME
A) *Inhabitants*	Y	Y/N	Y
B) *Commuters*	N	Y	(Y)
C) *City users*	N	N	Y
D) *Metro businessmen*	N	Y	Y
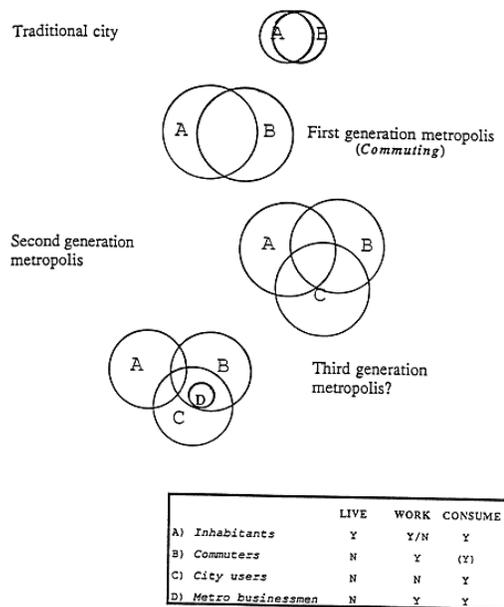
Figure 2.3: Four urban populations visualized by G. Martinotti (1993).

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[135] His essay was first written in 1993 in Italian (Martinotti G. (1993), Metropoli. La nuova morfologia sociale delle città, Il Mulino, Bologna.), subsequently presented at a conference in Wien in 1994, and translated into English in 1996 as a Journal article.

He has represented schematically various types of urban morphologies by using a simple combination *of four populations* in successive phases (See Figure 2.3).

"*The scheme is a simple heuristic device that leaves many problems aside, but I hope that it will be suggestive enough to raise new issues when looking at urban development*" (*Ibid.,* 1996*)*

The fact that I have decided to report these categories in the conceptual framework of the second chapter does not represent any innovation; actually, there have been plenty of sociologists writing about it and in a more developed way than I did here (Balducci & Fedeli, 2007; Borelli, 2012; Cancellieri & Scandurra, 2012). In my case study, such classification keeps its validity but will be integrated with some new names to address the unique specificities of the international students' migration in their relations with the global (international) and local scale (the city of Padova).

(1) City users for " Indian Students-migrants"?

From the above-mentioned categories of Martinotti, perhaps the most attracting one is the one of the "*city users*" as it contains the "*students*" in its essential definition. In 1993, Martinotti described the flow cross-cutting the city as those produced by '*businessmen*, *students* or *tourists'*, a population part of the *users of the city*. The increased mobility of people, the growing welfare - both in terms of economic prosperity and leisure request- and the plurality of services offered by the cities, has attracted the *city-users*. They pass, use transport infrastructures, hotels, restaurants, sometimes supply the public for cultural events and thus contribute to the local economy and the animation of the city, to the use of a part of its equipment (Martinotti, 1994). City users represent the city of second generation and contribute to its image towards the outside, in a positive or negative way (*Ibid.*, 2017.p.117).

This brief summary of the notion illustrates the idea of consumption, a consumption of human relations and spaces. The latter connects perfectly with populations producing social and spatial configurations (referring to De Certeau, 2013) and thus it deserves to be studied in their singularity and their contingency because the space of the city is in constant evolution (Balducci & Fedeli, 2007). "*The type of metropolis that is growing out of the increasing gravitation of city users is the one we are living in nowadays*" (*Ibid.,* 1994). Hence, *city-users* is the category which contains the students but not the migrants in Martinotti's definition. Therefore, the student-migrant category cannot be entirely satisfied by 'the city-users tag' alone, in fact Martinotti's representation illustrate them as if they were dwelling outside from the city, while empirical data

have revealed that Indian students live in the city, in fact the choice of the house is determined by the walking/cycling distance from their house to the university area. The latter in the case of Padova is spreaded across the city as Chapter 4 will illustrate, while Chapter 5 will then dig up the relation between the city and the university in terms of spaces.

(2) "Indian student-migrants" as "Temporary residents"

Literature has underlined how students-migrants are sometimes included in the category of the 'highly-skilled migrants' which shares some common points with the 'metropolitan businessmen' of Martinotti (Martinotti, 1994). In fact, Martinotti also suggests an overlapping of both categories :"*Both the city users and the metropolitan businessmen are a product of the service industry*." (*Ibid.,* 1994). In our case, student-migrants are the result of the "*education industry*" (Baas, 2006b, 2019; Beech, 2018). What is interesting from Martinotti's classification is that he reconducted the emergence of the "metropolitan businessmen" to the internationalization -and standardization- of metropolitan city centers experiencing the presence of "*in-between cities*" persons. In fact, he calls "*the transnational middle-class living not in a city but in cities*" (Martinotti, 1994, emphasis in original), sending us back to the theorization of Baas (2012) in Chapter 1 (Section 1.2) the "*in-betweenness of Indian students*" thus strengthening the idea a population of "*temporary residents*" living in the city for over a *courte-durée*. The Indian-student-migrants experience the city as residents on a limited time scale in which they assume the characteristics of the practice of space under local public policies primarily addressed to *the inhabitants*, sometimes meeting policies advocated by the University, and addressed to the *city-users.*

At the end of the day, my model considers Indian students as temporary residents, they inhabit the city for a short period, *using* the city but also being involved in its social life. However, their practice of itinerant dwelling does not allow me to define them as inhabitants. Conversely, inhabitants are considered here as a pretty much stable group .

(3) Inhabitants as "Local permanent residents"

The description of the inhabitants of Martinotti (1994) seems to reflect a group of 'immobile' persons, rooted within the local territory. In fact, traditionally, inhabitants permanently lived in the city where they worked as well. A short note to remind the reasons of such a categorization. The traditional city was circled by walls and separated by the rest of the surrounding lands ; there was one territory. This medieval model pursued until the industrial revolution. After the WWII, first in the USA, the cities have experienced *"a differentiation of **two***

populations : *inhabitants* and *workers*" (Martinotti, 1994, emphasis in original). Without disrupting the original "*social and ecological structure of the city*" (*Ibid.*, 1994) the early metropolitan development engendered the practice of commuting: *"Namely the development of the most characteristic and widespread circadian experience of the urban dweller of the mid-XX century"* (*Ibid.*, 1994)*.*

Nowadays, the inhabitant of a city assumes many different roles and temporalities as the example of the student-migrants has highlighted. To avoid misunderstandings and confusion, in opposition with the "temporary residents", I will talk about "*Local permanent residents*" when describing that category of 'inhabitants' who lives the city in its daily life and on a *longue-durée* temporality.

Next, the thesis will enhance the understanding of the nature of Indian students (see Part 2) and the implications of a continuous flow of international students for a medium city as Padova (see Chapter 4). On this regard, the university plays a crucial role in this relation between city and people (see Chapter 5).

○ *The university:*

The universities have been mostly studied as 'educational institutions', but in recent times liberalization and economic growth have pushed the demand for secondary studies to such an extent that cities have to plan specific spaces as campuses to welcome all the students (Acuto, 2011; Avni & Alfasi, 2018; Brooks et al., 2012; Goddard & Vallance, 2013; Martinelli, 2012; Romania & Zamperini, 2009; Waters & Brooks, 2011b).

First, cities and universities are involved in an alliance due to the political-space management question that requires sustainable strategies for sustainable cities. As the process of 'studentification' goes on, universities are assigned a role of '*urban institution*' as discussed by Wiewel and Perry (2005[136]) along with Universities' primary educational/knowledge spread function (Brooks et al., 2012; Raghuram, 2013).

Second, complementarily to those functions, Kell & Vogl (2008) see an opportunity for state-nations to adopt transnational education policies and to develop the notion of 'global citizen'(*Ibid* 2012). In this regard, and due to the 'race for knowledge' by both states and students, Raghuram insists on shaping a distinctive space for analyses of students' migrants '*in the panoply of research on migration*' (*Ibid.,*2013, p.11). Moreover, as argued by Brooks et al. (2012),

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[136] Wiewel et al. in Dalton(2008)

'*transnational learning spaces'* strikes a blow for the investigation of spaces of students' migration like "*spaces for knowledge*[137]" (Brooks et al., 2012; Raghuram, 2013; Varna, 2019).

Eventually, Dematteis deals with the expansion of the university-cities as the main driving force behind urban growth and discusses the 'upgrading' of these knowledge centers to adapt to the stereotypes of their promotional image (Boisen et al., 2018; Dematteis & Lanza, 2014; Lucarelli, 2018). All together these explanations lead to a suitable definition of the city to aggregate with those previously mentioned.

o   *The city*

The city is not only the place where social interaction happens, but also a place where people should put together their needs to find out the best opportunities for the majority of them. I will adopt instead a broader definition of the city as a "*place of compromise*"(Patassini, 2019). At the same time, contemporary scholars generally agree on the fact that the social and political transformative nature of cosmopolitanism for medium cities has not waned (Rovisco & Nowicka, 2011). Besides, as underlined by Horwath (2016), the cosmopolitan concept is often use in tandem with the notions of postcolonialism and transnationalism. As I discussed the transnationalism theoretical perspective in the previous Chapter, I have reiterated the idea of transnational spaces crossed by transnationally mobile subjects.

On top of these definitions, for Martinotti, the city is an «intriguing phenomenon»*(Ibid.*2017, p.28). The *city* is a "*product*" (*Ibid.,* 2017, p.16) "*complex and ambiguous object*" (*Ibid.,* 2007-2017)*.* In 2007, he theorized the idea of a body:*"The cities are open"* (*Ibid*., 2017, p.20)* which affects the conditions in which various social groups live urban existence. If on the one hand cities are a place for all, on the other I cannot say that they are equal for all (Martinotti, 2017, p.20; Lefebvre 2009). Coming back to the 'urban kaleidoscope' mentioned in the introduction , it is following the insights of the Chicagoans updated by Martinotti and more contemporary authors that the city of Padova will be observed as a comprehensive space, one shape that includes the mosaic[138]; a poetical concept that perfectly depicts the case study of the Indian students in Padova, as part of the "*mosaic of small words"* characterizing the city. What

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[137] See the conceptualisation and discussion in the conclusions of Chapter 2.

[138] See the visual representation of Tino Brugnotto that captures the essence of this metaphor with colourful drawings of Padova:" *A harmony of facets like a kaleidoscope but orderly, predisposed for interlocking, so that the visions or representations were "immersed" in a stable harmonic liquidity*." See the site accessed on 23/04/20: http://www.cittadipadova.com/2014/09/colori-padova-dipinti-tino-brugnotto/

follows is that the "*city as a place of compromises[139]*" could patch up planners with sociologists as it combines four variables which suit to the contemporary society, generative of a fluid and evolutionary reality (Bauman, 2008).

        o   <u>*Assessment*</u>

The integrated '&SoC' model ties together the three variables – the city, the people and the university- also considering the different elements of diversity and vulnerability that generally characterize individuals and spaces, drawing inspiration among the assorted range of theories presented in this chapter (micro and meso migration theories).

The conceptual map below, visualizes the combination of the triangle (Conceptual map n°2.1) and the SoC device. The creation of an integrated model was meant to enhance the necessity to foster collaboration and synergies among different actors and institutions. The arrows demonstrate the relationship between the space (blue dashed shape) and the human community (green circle). Then the imbrication of circles and doubled- arrays represent the interactions of all the variables in order to share skills and knowledges as stated by the transnational theory. The integrated SoC model associates the social environmental characteristics of place -which corresponds to the city variable, taking into account people's perceptions in relation with the physical and spatial features of the built environment characterizing the city as a variable promoting social inclusion. Eventually, on top of the triangle, the university is set in correspondence of the imaginary experience, as part of the perceived dimension, as it echoes with the discussion about mobility and proximity of Urry (2000) for students being abroad between dreams and disappointments (see Part 3).

Finally, the crosscutting space occupied by the Indian students and illustrated by the purple 'triangle' (see conceptual map n°2.2) reflects the interplay between the Sense of Community components and the ecological dimension experienced by human communities.

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[139] The considerations disclosed in Chapter 2 on the '*city as a place of compromise'*, will bring back the topic of migrants' agency and their transnational place-making capacities in the (re)production of spaces in Padova. Such spaces are visualized on hand-made maps as the output of collective mapping projects involving local permanent residents and Indian students in Part 3.

Conceptual map 2.2: The integrated model &SoC interplay. Personal elaboration on 11/2019

Perceived dimension

Shared emotional bonds

Imaginary experience

Perceived control and empowerment

The human community (Indian)

The space (Padova)

The **UNIVERSITY** :

UniPD

Power and policies framing human practices

INDIAN STUDENTS

The **PEOPLE** : The Indian community, permanent residents, students, the others.

The **CITY** : Padova

Communicative modes   Social interaction

Shared urban visions

Urban design

Structured dimension

Social inclusion

Spatial dimension

Place

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<u>SECTION 2.4. Case study & data reppresentation: a qualitative analysis</u>
<u>grounded in ethnographic work</u>

As mentioned in the introduction of the thesis, in the spirit of the *regressive-progressive* approach[140] (Lefebvre in Hess, 1991), the past 'Chicago method' of the Grounded Theory Methodology (GTM) has been read back in my thesis in light of the *multi-sited contextualization* advocated by Kleist (2004) among others. Moving back and forth between past and future among conceptsdiscussed so far and Chicagoans' indicators based on the Inductive Analysis within the Grounded Theory Methodology, I have used the GTM theory in my research under the constructivist approach, having a glance at the previous works of Park, Thomas and Blumer described in Chapter 1.

This last section of Chapter 2 argues my representation choices to investigate the three central variables represented in the Conceptual map 2.2 : the people, the city and the university tied together in a single case-study analysis for an in-depth discussion about Indian students-migrants daily experiences of spaces in Padova.

2.4.1 The Case study analysis to discuss Indian students-migrants.

Considering the political and economic transformative and fluid frame of our contemporary world, I have given my attention to a specific case study to understand the programmatic and contextual forces influencing the participation in a government-sponsored international student-mobility program : " *[This] method brings existing theory to bear on a particular ethnographic case, <u>enabling complex macro-level questions </u>to <u>be examined through </u>their everyday manifestations in <u>micro-level social settings.</u>*" (Wadham & Warren, 2014, my underlining). Baas was also suggesting adopting in-depth interviews and single case study analysis. "*I usually just go with <u>the case study</u> <u>that I know the most about</u> and/or with which <u>informant I had the deepest connection/relationship"</u> […]*" (Baas, 2019).

In fact, like Baas, I was focusing on the case of Padova exclusively. A way to dig the framework in a meticulous sense that helped me to select 'quality' data. By contrast to classical qualitative methods, the GTM under the Deductive Qualitative Approach, led me to see the production of a wealth of detailed information about much smaller number of people and cases.

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[140] See Appendix to Chapter 2, p.341.

It increased the understanding of the case study however, it also reduced generalizability, but I accepted it.

In terms of representation, the case-study narration appears mostly in the third and last part where Indian students are presented in the three above mentioned categories, discussing their relationship with the city and their mobility in a collection of short stories. Their own stories are interrelated in chapter 6 of the thesis, while discussing Indian students' approaches to human mobility to confirm what I have outlined in Chapter 1.

To interpret the empirical data, I used information from an assortment of sociological tools, including eighty-six interviews and a crafted coding data technique (Appendix 2. p.367). Concretely, I gathered *data*[141] highlighting profiles and trends that led me to reformulate my preliminary hypotheses entailed by direct observation during my fieldwork between 2015 and 2020. Out of this immersive experience on fieldwork, I have learned how prominent is the practical concern to balance the hidden information obtained from different sources (see Table 2.1).

Respondents / Additional Tools	Indian students in Italy	Indian students moving to Italy	Indian students in Padova	Permanent residents	Civil servants/ Institutions
Structured survey	55	23	N.A	24	N.A
Semi structured interview	N.A	10	42	21	13
In-depth interviews	N.A	N.A	20	N.A	N.A
Intensive interviews	N. A	YES	YES	NO	NO
Informal conversation	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Written documents consult.	YES	YES	YES	N. A	YES

Table 2.1: Anaytical tools aggregated (01/2020)- elaborated by me.

Summing up, the thesis precisely focuses the '*pink*' category drawn in Graphic i.1 in the introduction: Indian students-migrants coming for studies in Italy. It deals with a small Indian

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[141] By content analysis, I mean applying a systematic approach to record and evaluate the informationcollected from secondary data as it relates to the study at hand.

Community[142]-448 permanent residents, 3969 in the metropolitan city area of Padova- who has settled in Padova, a medium North-Italian city in Italy (210.912 inhabitants)[143]. It also examines questions that are the core of diverse encounters and interactions with Indian Students (83 students in 2018-19[144]), local institutions, politicians, University officers and governmental authorities, on the *field,* first in New Delhi, and successively in Padova.

o *The involved participation: interaction and relationships.*
Drawing on Woods' work, the examination carried out by Meenakshi Thapan in her ethnographic study untitled "*Life at School*[145], absorbed some of Woods' considerations. (Thapan, 2006)[146]. As she states: *[it] explores the <u>complex relationship between ideas, institutions, and the people</u> in them <u>by examining the case</u> of the Rishi Valley School, […]*" (*Ibid.,* 2006). As a consequence, she also has followed Woods in analyzing participants' perspectives to describe life at school.

In his ethnographic study of a secondary school, Woods thought about himself as an '*involved*' rather than a participant observer (Woods, 2012). Deliberately, he didn't take an existing role in the school, although he occasionally helped with lessons or extra-curricular activities as Thapan did too. Thapan underlines that in ethnographic work, the nature of the researcher's identity might be more fully developed and negotiated (Thapan, 2018). It gives an advantage as the researcher is more able to maintain his or her detachment from the subjects and take an outsider's view (Woods 2012, p.261). In a similar vein as Woods and Thapan, I sought to understand aspects of university's life through becoming '*involved*' not only in its routines but also "*by building relationships"* with Indian students (Woods, 2012a, p. 260). While extrapolating the inputs and instruments given by M. Thapan, it led me to consider the "*involved observer*" research technique (Woods 2012a, p.260) as a method for my own

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[142] data from the municipality on 31/12/2018: http://www.padovanet.it/sites/default/files/attachment/Cap2_Annuario_2018_1.pdf
 and Questura 1/05/2019 – Dirigente Tullia Gallussi: "3969 cittadini indiani presenti sul territorio del Comune di Padova (9432 in tutta la Provincia); 62 studenti indiani presenti nel territorio del Comune di Padova (69 in tutta la Provincia)"

[143] Ibid, data from the municipality on 31/12/2018.

[144] Data from the University of Padova on 20/01/2019- Statistic Office UniPD.

[145] The book Life at school was published in 2006 while Thapan's research actually took place exactly in the middle of the interactionist current, in 1985.

[146] In fact, Thapan's book is actually a revision of her doctoral thesis- 'Education and Ideology: The School.as a Socio-Cultural System'- held at University of Delhi in 1985 and therefore contains in appendix, detailed notes on methodology, theory and also precious fieldworks notes that gave me a strict frame to understand how to deal with my research.

research. Luckily, when I was in Delhi, M. Thapan also advised me on how to conduct an efficient in-depth socio-anthropological analysis[147.] She said that "*everything can be use as information for your research, including informal talks, private conversation [...] the use of the acquired material should be governed by practical, moral and human consideration.*"

o *Some ethical considerations: crossing the line?*

Conscious of the critics that could have been raised on my research linked to the subjectivity of information which people may provide, I argue, as others claimed before me that "*all knowledge is subjective indeed*" (Thomas, Chataway, and Wuyts 1998, p.129).

My objective was to accumulate a large amount of information, much of it forming quite divergent stand points. Chasing people motivations and ambitions linked to my research questions, I have chosen to understand the Indian student's mobility trajectory in their own terms and contexts and in their own favorite way, that supposed : getting to know them, building trust and understanding what was important to them.

While choosing to apply the involved observer technique, I also paid attention to the potential 'suspicion risk' of being involved as a 'friend' within the group I was supposed to observe and analyze. Somehow, the long immersive process was essential to build my role, as a researcher in the Indian community, to erase any misunderstanding. Apparently, it worked, as I was perceived with more enthusiasm rather than suspicion. Moreover, to assess the potential bias, I also established relationships with the institutions and associations mentioned before and thus nuanced my argumentation. Finally, I made a commitment with myself in 'straining the information' that was essential to verify my hypotheses and potentially answered them and kept apart any other detail.

2.4.2 A visual method for an ethnographic qualitative study

o *The use of personal photographs to illustrate the Indian dots in town.*

As ethnography guided my data collection, writing *in* vivo, on the field in my diaries, I have the habit of coupling writings of thought with drawing and polaroid, it was thus impossible to imagine the dissertation, as the final product of a three-year fieldwork research, without any photography. Dealing with humans and spaces, I thought it was clearer to 'show' with images things that sometimes words alone cannot describe like the complicity I have built in some

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[147] Interview- meeting in Delhi on 3/12/2018 during my abroad study period.

special and unique moments with some informants, like the hidden places where Indians gather, like the transforming spaces I am mentioning that many '*are not seen'*.

As argued by Durand et al.,(2018) images can be used as a proper method for social sciences researches; in addition, Frisina, (2016a, 2016b) observes that: "*Internationally, images have been increasingly used as an object of study to understand contemporary culture and as a means of investigating society.*"(*ibid.*). Eventually, A.Frisina works with B.Bertolani to "*A visual and collaborative ethnography with young Italian-Indian Sikhs*" using photographies and story-telling to discuss "*religious diversity, promoting pluralism*"(Frisina & Bertolani 2016a). Another important contribution is the one of my tutor G.Borelli, who also conducted sociological studies coupled with images and photography (*Ibid*. 2012;2015). For me, the image captures a moment in all its details and materialize an undiscussable proof.

o   *The collective mapping with TerrArcella*

The collective mapping of the Indian dots (Sketched map 2.1) is the output of a walking tour in Padova that I have guided for the association "TerrArcella[148]" who works locally on sustainable tourism and aspires to "*make the invisible, visible*" (Sandercock, 1998) with walking experiences in English language as their main target are International students.

Photography 2.1:Patchwork of photography taken during the collective mapping 15/02/2020 with international students members of TerrArcella intercultural Association in Padova.

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[148] See the website: www.terrarcella.com

Before the tour, I have offered this map to the participants asking them where they had noticed "*an Indian presence*" in Padova before, they should have put a 'dot' on the map.
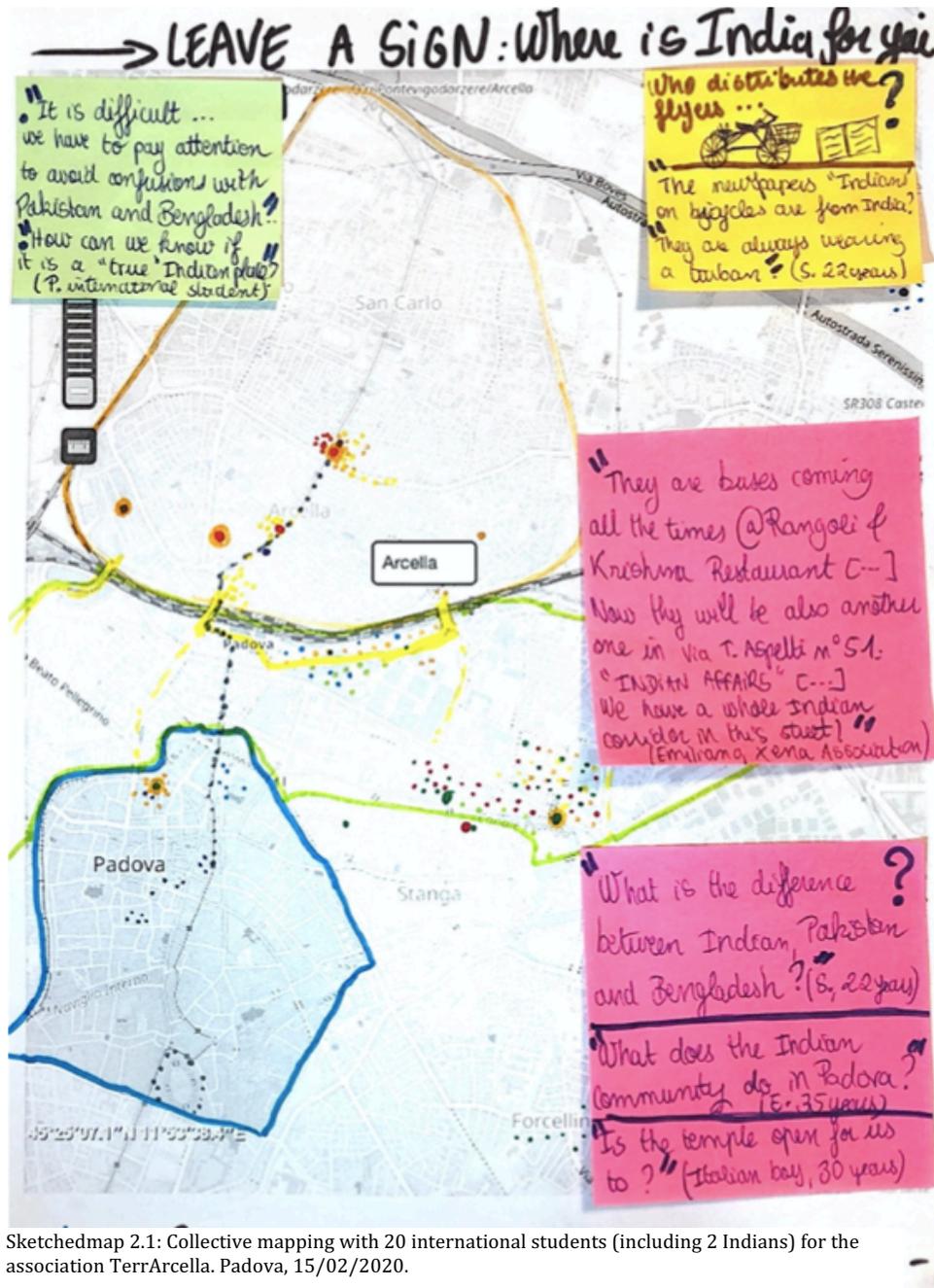
Sketchedmap 2.1: Collective mapping with 20 international students (including 2 Indians) for the association TerrArcella. Padova, 15/02/2020.

After that, we walked along the indicated area to verify if their intuitions were correct and with their help, I have constructed the final visualization of the "*Indian dots in Padova*" that will be presented in Chapter 5 and 6. The walking tour ended with a presentation of my fieldwork

research at ZQ bar in Arcella (to which two Indian students have attended eventually, see Photographs 2.1).

o *Photographs and privacy*
A last methodological note on photography.

The photography used- except in exceptional cases- are personal and have been authorized prior the signature of a privacy agreement between the informant and I, before being published in the thesis. When taken by other people, the author's name of the pictures is systematically mentioned. The main place of investigation is Padova (Italy), for the sake of sobriety, it is not mentioned systematically in the sources, extracts of interviews, photographs. On the other hand, when the place of collection is not Padova, the name is indicated.

2.4.3. Mapping the city: a focus on spaces englobing two neighborhoods

o *Scales of analysis: local and global*
On many occasions the thesis will discuss the city of Padova under a sociological cut which pays attention to spaces and to the people interacting in these spaces. To represent data on two different scales, I have used documents, photos and maps ; as a consequence, the thesis is rich in illustrations. The manual handwork on the spatial representation of Indian students' mobility between India and Italy, and of their movements in the space of Padova has helped me to show in a direct and *simplistic* manner, trends that are usually imperceptible.

Indeed, Durand et al. (2018) suggest to "*capture the invisible by the mean of images*" (*ibid.,* p158-249).The maps are designed 'manually', like in the coding process, I have privileged 'manual handwork' to illustrate the dissertation and have not relied on any software since I was not equipped to use them- neither in terms of software, nor in terms of technological capacities- and personally, I preferred drawing on paper rather on my laptop, in the true spirit of Chicagoans methode. Only itineraries make an exception and have been designed through G*oogleMaps*, online.

In addition, I chose to focus on the field of investigation- the spaces of Q1 and Q2 - by producing an articulated synthesis of descriptions referring to the maps and images of the city of Padova, which are based on a recent documentation and on my observations on the ground.

The maps were then exploited to precisely locate the urban spaces studied and to reveal the logic of relations occurring in natural areas of the city, linking social inclusion, place attachment with shared emotional bonds of the Indian students as a part of the Indians' community and as part of the international students' community.

o *Scale of analysis 1: LOCAL SCALE: CITY and daily spaces of Indian students in the territory of Padova.*

On a local scale, the thesis outlines the idea that the -imperceptible- Indian student's migration could be the occasion to narrate another story of migration: an example of population inclined to be mixed with other citizenships and with permanent residents. The local scale analysis- in Part 3- points out the existence of local policies investing on social inclusion, internationalization and city's regeneration through citizens' participation to the promotion of culture and diversity. The focus on the local scale has underlined the existence of a political will to boost the internationalization of the city under the effect of European funds for cities in this endeavor as well as for Universities. It is thus not surprising that the

University of Padova (UNIPD) and the city of Padova have joined forces for the bigger purpose of creating a pleasant atmosphere in a city hosting a rich diversity, multiethnicity.

Map 2.2.1: template map of Padova neighborhoods used to design all the handmade sketchedmaps. Source : Google image.
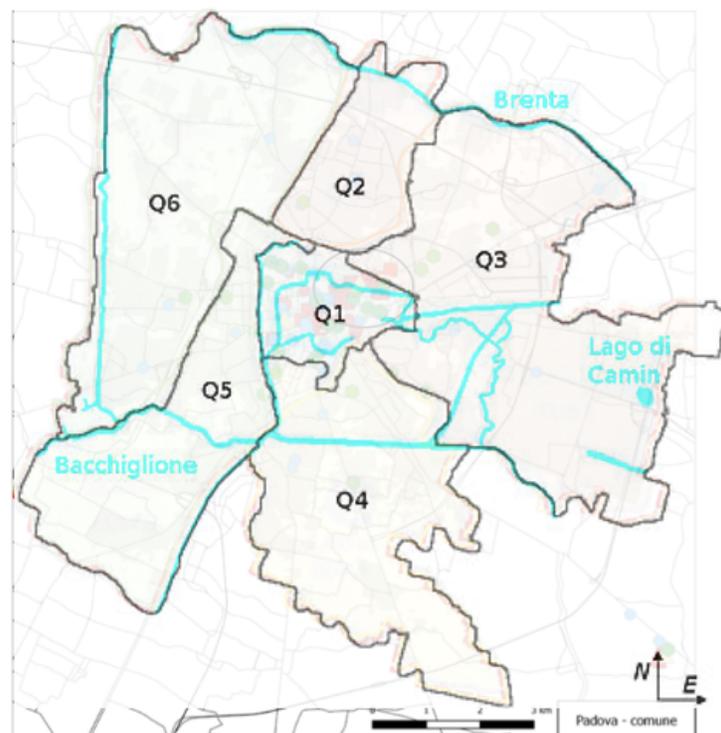
In terms of representation, the local scale will be expressed with maps of Padova's morphology- using the template Map 2.1- under the presence of Indian Community and Indian students, with photos of the precise 'Indian dots' and of some events characterizing the presence of an Indian community in Padova. The map has been designed together with Indian students that placed their own house location on the map during interviews, this is why I called it a 'collective map'.

- *Scale of analysis 2: Global SCALE Tracing the mobility of Indian students from India to Padova.*

In terms of methodology, the global scale is recounted with the same colorful and simplistic manner as the micro one: maps, illustrations, documents and personal stories.

The global perspective will first trace the mobility process and path of Indian students to Italy, it will also be an occasion to discuss the opportunity of experiencing an inclusive urban planning approach to foster interculturalism as a condition of daily life, where the dialogue and shared vision with the University on local territory, is the key to plan an ordinary international city.

 In terms of representation, the global scale will be expressed with maps of the flows of Indian students between India, the city of Padova and potential other destinations (see sketched map n°2.1) and is faced in Part 2 of the thesis.

«Where do students go to study?»
 UIS data on the mobility of International students had shed light on the shifting demand of developing countries to new destinations (UNESCO 2016).

3160 Indian Students have chosen ITALY as a destination for Tertiary studies in 2018
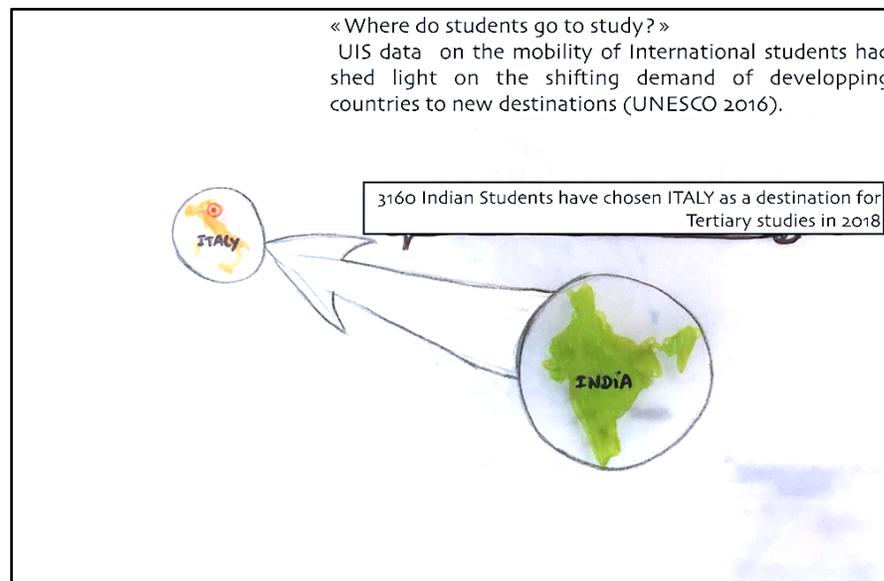
Sketchedmap 2.2:Visualization of the Indian students' flow from India to Italy. The migration of 3160 Indian students to Italy (2018). Source: Own painting (06/19) based on UIS-UNESCO map.

<u>Conclusions to Chapter 2:</u>

At the end of the day, the first two sections of this chapter have intimated that cities are the spatial interplay, the site where people interact. First, the literature review has evidenced that the greatest challenge for urban planners remains at the micro-level, the city where the need for urban policies' implementation is increasing as cities grow spatially and in terms of power (Iremciuc, 2016; Patassini, 2019; Sandercock, 1998; Zannoni, 2015). Next, by collecting information from different sources spanning from the early Chicago's proposition of assimilation, to newly integrated literature on multiethnic urban communities, our focus tapped into the intercultural cities-to-be (Cancellieri & Scandurra, 2012; Marconi & Ostanel, 2016a). In this pattern I have picked up the 'cosmopolitan' paradigm as the approach to depict the current construction of the 'brand' new Padova (see Chapter 8). As mentioned in the first section, Martinotti's sociological studies have always aimed to offer hints on the transformations of metropolitan areas and on the quality of life of those who live there. According to him, the city is a large body that rejects any attempt intended to lock it up in a rigid and unitary theory and therefore we shoud look at the city as a complex and extremely "*plastic and adaptable system*" (*Ibid.,* 2017, p.16).

Then, my explanation has led me to question how we can then define students' spatial practices and presence on the territory? Living or circulating? Referring to Crosta (2010) and Tarrius(1993) I have underlined that the majority of Indian students are carrying a specific form of living in connection with their inherited diasporic practice[149]. It is then clear that transnationally mobile students are circulating and contribute to transform the city-territory by adopting 'itinerant dwelling' practices and by nudging the appearance of '*disjunctive spaces*' (Ashutosh, 2019). Reportedly, these spaces are the expression of transnationalism migration theories advocating '*in-between spaces*' (Baas, 2006). Summing up, cosmopolitan cities are the places where 'a set of spaces' materializes. Those spaces are likely to become *transnational spaces.* Assuming that city's spaces have diverse nature from Castell's '*space of flows*' (1996) to Appadurais' '*cosmoscapes*' (1996), university on the other hand, does not make an exception and garners city with '*transnational spaces of education*' (Goddard &

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[149] Data from fieldwork, see Chapter 5.

Vallance, 2013; Waters & Brooks, 2011b) also called '*spaces of knowledge*' (Raghuram 2013; Martinelli, 2012-2019) (See Chapter 5).

To conclude, it is through the metaphors disclosed by our urban kaleidoscope[150], that I have enhanced the importance of building integrated interdisciplinary models to apprehend the spatial practices garnered by transnationally mobile students in the contemporary city. I recall the attention here on the statement expressed by UNESCO: "*learning to live together*", embracing the development of a '*sense of community*' and '*common belonging*' under an intercultural perspective , as expressed by UNESCO (2014) with the program 'learning to live together[151]' which gave me some hints to introduce the Sense of Community device. I have assessed a systemic vision to encompass the Indian students' relationship with city-spaces called "&SoC model". Due to its flexible and comprehensive nature &SoC suggests looking at all challenges and shortcomings through the urban kaleidoscope[152]. &SoC model is conceived on hypotheses for the Padova to-be[153] which gives a political dimension to the spatialization of knowledge and the internationalization of the city, where the multiplicities of cultural diversities are emerging as drops in the broader city setting under construction.

The last section of this chapter eventually sets a 'break' in the stream of theories and concepts introduced so far and yields the reader with the instruments and methodological techniques I have employed to collect and analyze the empirical data of Indian students from India to Padova. To lighten the discussion, more details on methodology are explained in the Appendix of the thesis (p. 400) as the iterative nature of the GTM (see Frisina, 2016a; Gilgun, 2014; Willig, 2013). In large part, I suppose that the 'survival' of the traditions of sociology is possible since the ideas contained in the GTM are flexible, open-ended, and subject to revision, giving the chance to further modifications and implementations from Chicagoans' initial methods: to go into the field "*to observe ordinary human beings*" ' conduct and elicit

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[150] Chapter 5 will retrieve this concept while discussing the 'beauty of the city' as a political asset to brand the city.
[151] http://www.unesco.org/new/en/kingston/learning-to-live-together/
[152] Chapter 3 will use this framework to test its efficiency for the case under analysis.
[153] Padova 2020 onwards, as a *European* and multicultural city experiencing a transition in its spatial and social organisation(Sandercock 1998, 2000.). See the discussion in chapter 6

information about their "*ordinary experiences*" (Certeau & Rendall, 1984; Park, 1952; Shils, 1996).

All in all, this chapter has evidenced the production of spaces in a medium multiethnic city as Padova which entails the analysis of the practice of everyday life (1), the modification of spaces in the city (2), the national strategies on international students' mobility and the regional public policies (3), and the imagined/desired migration of students (4).

<p align="center">***</p>

Now that I have outlined the theoretical, the conceptual and the methodological frameworks, I continue to describe the empirical findings of the research.

In line with my Grounded Theory Methodology which aim is to develop specific theories for new contexts, the discussion on migration from the global to the local scale will follow through the case-study of Indian students moving from India to Padova. In the following two parts, the thesis explores which ideas have emerged among scholars and which practice should tackle the challenging issues of our society in the increasingly diverse, interconnected, multifaceted realities of our contemporary cosmopolitan cities. Indeed, in the current case, I aim to disclose a couple of theories regarding human's mobility in the urban context of a medium city as Padova. Some of these theories have been exposed in Chapters 1 and 2 and will be further deepen in the second part which uses some metaphors to apprehend the social and spatial practices of the Indian students and to re-think their motion in/to the urban space of Padova (Chapter 3 and 6).

For clarity, I repeat the research question outlined earlier in the introduction: ***To what extent the Indian students'migration contributes to narrate a different story of migration in Italy while updating the School of Chicago's approach to the study of a specific migrant-community?***

PART 2: GLOBAL AND LOCAL STAKES OF THE ATTRACTION OF INDIAN STUDENTS-MIGRANTS TO ITALY.

Introduction Part 2:

The previous chapters had conveyed the idea that Indians are mobile subjects. As Wihtol de Wenden assessed, time/space transformations have led to observe that "*the world moves and the instruments that regulate it are no longer adapted to these changes*" (Wihtol de Wenden & Benoît-Guyod, 2018). A similar assumption was made earlier by the Chicago School's fellows; in fact, the urban ecology had the goal to complete knowledges on cities beyond the geographical perspectives (Park, 1952, p.14). Thus, Chicagoans were exploring the links and relationships between ecosystems along the temporal and spatial diversity matrix contained within the heterogeneous landscapes of cities (Anderson & Elmqvist, 2012) having a look at economic units as well (Park, 1952, p.14). Thereby, since I have outlined that notions of space and places are, to a large extent, shaped by individual's experiences of travel and mobility, the thesis now looks closer at the multiple facets of the migration's phenomenon in Italy nowadays, to apprehend, later, the implications of Indian students'practices in their processes of interaction in Padova's spaces our '*city par excellence*' (Pizzorno in Park, 1967, XIII) in Part 3.

Thus, Part 2 is an intermediary level of my research, it discusses the major features which present the state of art of research on the topic of Indian's migration from India to Italy in one Chapter of three sections and answers to the question: "*To what extent the migration of Indian students – as part of the international students'flow- should be extensively aggregated within migration studies in Italy ?*"

Chapter 3 : <u>Italy as a 'receiving country' for Indian migrants.</u>

<u>Introduction to Chapter 3</u>

First, the discussion focuses on Italy's migration profile - a '*receiving country'*- and the '*Italian way'* to face migration flows. Then, it points out the inherited historical ties of a quite long history between India and Italy (Leucci et al., 2018; Thapan & Deka, 2011). Meanwhile, it reminds that Indians are part of the Indian Diaspora and places Italy among the favorite destination countries for Indian migrants.

Next, the state of art of literature on international students' migration distinguishes the countries in two categories: those who *send* students abroad -'*Inbound*'- and those who *receive* international students- '*Outbound*'. In this pattern, the Section III.2 aims to seal off previous research gaps on international students'migration (Beine et al., 2014; Findlay, 2011; King & Raghuram, 2013; Madge et al., 2015; Staniscia, 2011) including Indian students migrating to Italy in the corpus of litterature. The motion of Indian students is conceptualized as *migration* and I describe them as '*students-migrants'* to distinguish them from the other categories of more or less 'skilled migrants'.

Finally, based on data collected during my fieldwork in New Delhi, Section III.3 reveals that Italy has invested in strategies (Ambasciata d'Italia - India, 2015; European Commission, 2018) and bodies (Uni-Italia Centers abroad) to attract highly skilled profiles: the Indian talented 'brains', thus following the International Labour Organisation (2006) guidances: "*Many countries, developed as well as developing, have designed <u>policies and programmes to attract talented people as students</u>, temporary workers and immigrants".* (*Ibid.* my underlinings).

On the whole, this chapter offers a foundation for comprehensive historical and political understanding about the unicity of the Indian students-migration's case while wrapping up the state of art of migration in Italy, including the international students' migrants'flow in the discussion.

SECTION 3.1: STATE OF ART OF THE INDIAN PRESENCE IN ITALY: A SILENT BUT SALIENT MIGRATION.

Among other scholars, Thapan and Deka (2011) have brilliantly demonstrated that India and Europe have connected each other through a historical tie: colonialism (*Ibid.,* p.6-9). The heritage of this bond is strong and sound in the memory of Indians. According to the authors, the memory of colonialism has been left behind in India through the architecture – '*the shape of the buildings' (Ibid.*, p.7)- the '*circulation of multiple images about Europe' (Ibid.*, p.7), and the habit to undertake this '*journey'* alone (*Ibid.,* p.19). Let us briefly reconstruct the historical-social framework of the context of the Indian immigration's origins to Europe (Thapan & Deka, 2011), through the case of Italy (Garha, 2020; Lum, 2012, 2012; Olam, 2015). As we will see, the immigration of Indians to Italy took place at various moments which have been resumed into four phases by Garha (2020). The historical background of India's migration to Italy is essential to understand the current migratory flows.

This first section presents the migration landscape of Italy, focusing on Indian migrants' diversity and especially on the Indian '*students-migrants'.* Next, it reminds the old bound tying Italy with India, a '*relationship punctuated by eclipses*' with more ruptures than continuities.

3.1.1 The multiple facets of the migration's phenomenon in Italy nowadays.

Nowadays, talking about Italy and migration, people usually think about the immigrants massively coming to Italy in the first place, while Italy has been for years a country of emigrants instead (Caritas, 2017; Lum, 2012). This statement may sound trivial but it has its relevance instead when it comes to the perception of migration in Italy, which suffers of many stereotyped images- between '*fear and acceptance*'- as reminded by Ambrosini and other scholars in many occasions (Ambrosini, 2011b; Ambrosini & Panichella, 2016; Panichella & Ambrosini, 2018). These assumptions generally blur Italian's capacities to portray the multiple facets of the migration phenomenon; therefore, I have first briefly reported some key features of its heterogeneity in this paragraphe, to then focus on the Indian migrants exclusively.

o   *"The Italian way". Migration policies between ethnicization and in/visibility ?*

Italian scholars (Borin, 2018; Briata, 2014; Caponio, 2009; Marconi et al., 2014; Ostanel, 2014) have stressed in many occasions the absence of policies for immigrants- or rather of policies which pay attention to the government of territorial integration of migrants in Italian cities. This mismatch between the national and local level coincides with a strong delegation of practical competences to the local government. In short, the treatment of the problems inherent to the social inclusion of migrants at the local level in an adaptive way was tailored to each territorial context without having common guidance.

The apparent difficulties of Italy to face the migratory flows has been further undermined by the unprecedented limitation of the migratory phenomenon in more recent years due to the economic constraints (Ambrosini & Panichella, 2016; Breman & van der Linden, 2014; Caponio & Cappiali, 2017.; Garha, 2020), combined with the historic presence of the third sector in the public debate related to the migration question (Caponio, 2009) and the '*fear*' of Italians to loose their job positions (Panichella & Ambrosini, 2018; Thapan, 2013b, p. 6).

At the end of the day, as literature often deplores, Italy does not have an organic system for all components of the migratory supply chain, in particular, migration is characterized in negative terms due to the structural lack of organic policies regarding real integration (Mazzochin, 2017). On the local scale, this situation is mirrored by the lack of effective measures to supplement the insertion of migrants into the social and economic fabric of the country (Chapter 4 will discuss this phenomenon as an urben issue through the example of the Indian community).

All together these elements have been broadly called the "*Italian way*" (Briata, 2014) which means handling the migration question with 'security measures' which are nothing but "*policies of repression*" or "*politiche di ordinanze*" (Briata, 2014, p. 19 see also the case of Verona and p.77; Romania & Zamperini, 2009).

As Silvia Mazzocchin (2017) rightly summed up:

"The present setting of most Italian cities exhibits some specificities that differentiate them from other cities in Europe and in the Western world. This seems necessary to be outlined in order to understand the issue) at stake when talking about the management of diversity in the Italian urban environments. "(Mazzochin, 2017, p.99).

Using the data of 2017-2018 provided by Caritas and Migrantes (RICM)(*Ibid.,* 2017), Italy counts **5.144.440 migrants**[154] **residing in Italy**, which means that 8,5% of its total population are migrants. The three major immigrant communities in Italy are Romanians (1.190.091), Albanians (440.465) and Moroccans (416.531), followed by Chinese, Ukrainians, Filipinos and Indians, according to 2019 Istat (*The National Institute of Statistics in Italy*[155]).
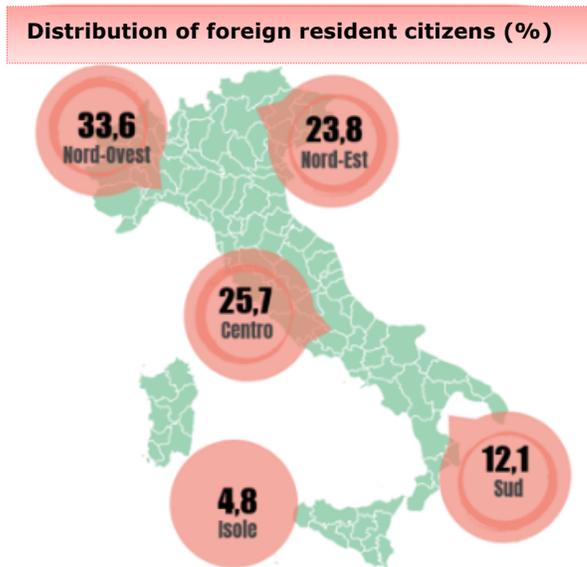
Map 3.3.1: Spatial distribution of foreign citizens in Italy in percentage (%). Source: Caritas and Migrantes, 2017.

As described by the map above (Map n°3.1), the majority of migrants concentrates in the North-west (e.g Lombardia) and North-East (e.g Veneto) of Italy as these two geographical areas are considered the most productive one and are able to respond to migrants'expectations of job opportunities (Caritas, 2017). However, the main reason of migrants' entrance in Italy is not occupation anymore but family which represent 45% of the cases in 2016 (Caritas, 2017).

Within this general Italian landscape, where can we locate the Indian migrants ?

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[154] To define a migrant, Italy refers to the European Glossary 2.0 : (2018)
https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/networks/european_migration_network/docs/emn-glossary-it-version.pdf
See the Italian Government link below about Italy's migration policies: https://www.interno.gov.it/it/temi/immigrazione-e-asilo/politiche-migratorie
[155] See Tavola, 3.2 p.130 - (ISTAT, 2019).

3.1.2 Indian migrants attracted by Italy

To begin with, I will locate on the time-line when and why Indians[156] have started moving abroad (Tumbe, 2018), focusing on Europe. A change in the dynamics of migration from India to Europe occurred in the twentiethcentury, especially following India's independence. In that time-lapse, the migratory phenomenon widened and consolidated in other European countries, especially in those that shared a past with the colonial settlements in the Subcontinent (UK, France, Portugal, the Netherlands and Denmark). When talking about the migration of Indian citizens on a global scale, we cannot avoid tapping into the topic of the Indian diaspora. We wonder next, where does Italy find a place within the Indian diaspora ? Thus, this paragraph will first highlight some of the main characteristics of India's migration case-study -as the diaspora new destinations ('*hotspots'*), followed by a discussion about Indian students' migration to Europe and Italy.

- o *Locating the Indian migrants building the Indian diaspora: from the 'spices routes' to the diaspora in Europe.*

As ILO reports have demonstrated, India is a major country of origin and transit, as well as a popular destination for workers across international borders (ILO, 2018). In 2019, India was the first country of origin of international migrants, with **17.5 million persons** living abroad in the world (IOM, 2019): India is the first over ten diasporic communities abroad in 2019 (World Migration Report 2020). Within the EU-28 region, Indian nationals were the third largest group of non-EU immigrants in 2018[157] after Morocco and China: Indian immigrants in **Europe** are **2.2 million** (MEA data 2020[158]).

Following Binod Khadria (2006, p.30), in the 1990s the Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi gave way to the Indian "*brain-bank*" in opposition with the political perception of the "*brain-drain*" towards USA at that time. The 'brain bank' assessment is nothing else than the 'brain stock' mentioned in the previous section which provides another argument in favor of

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[156] In this chapter, unless it is specified, when I'm talking about 'Indian migrants' or 'Indian migration', I will be referring to all the others categories of migrants (workers, family members etc) and not about the category of Indian students'migrants as internationally mobile students.

[157] See the website: https://www.nriol.com/indiandiaspora/statistics-indians-abroad.asp

[158] There are 2 265 640   Indians in Europe. Data calculated from the Indian Overseas Population data available online on 15/05/2020 "Indians in Europe": https://www.nriol.com/indiandiaspora/statistics-indians-abroad.asp

the tendency of brains to spread, to migrate across the world. Again, it is not a coincidence if we look at the Indian case.

As Garha and Domingo (2019) have stressed, India's long history of migration which led to the spread of Indian migrants in many countries[159]. To enhance this spread of migrants from India, the authors have stand out the early origins of the Indian diaspora abroad. Following Garha and Domingo (2019), there are three migration waves: first, the colonial period (1833–1947) ; then, the post-independence period (1947–1990) and finally India's neoliberal shift (1990s onwards). The last wave is the one which has brought the majority of unskilled labour migrants to the UAE countries and to Italy and Spain in Europe (Garha and Domingo 2017). Meanwhile, skilled labour migrants (Khadria, 2006) and students-migrants had started to migrate to the USA, the UK, Canada, Australia and New Zealand (Baas, 2006a; Tan & Hugo, 2017).
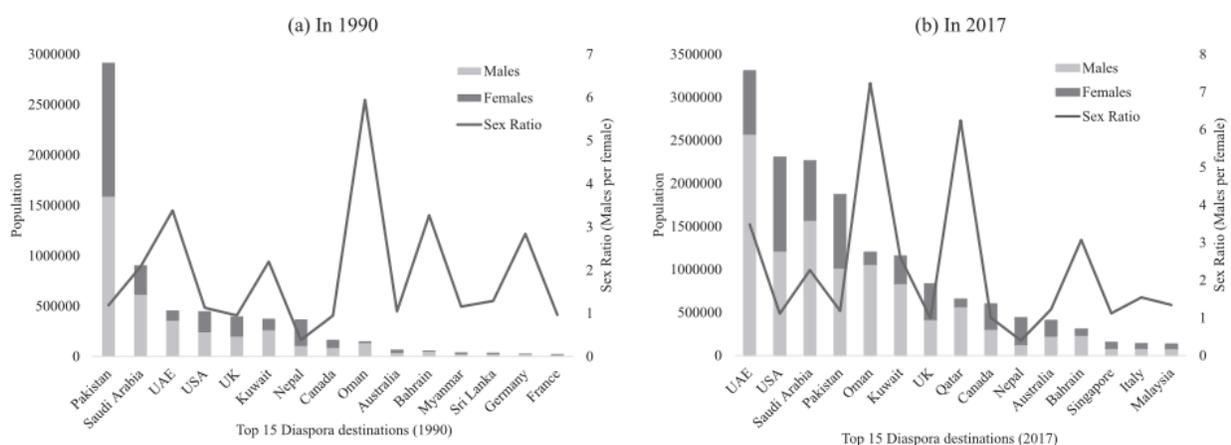
Figure 3.1: Top 15 destinations of Indian diaspora based on UN-IOM database 1990 and 1997. Source: Garha and Domingo (2019).

As Figure n°3.1 shows, in 2017, USA was the second destination of the Indian diaspora after UAE countries (ofen called 'Gulf countries'). Next, we notice a majority of Eastern countries (South Arabia, Pakistan Oman, Kuwait, Qatar, Bahrain,Nepal, Singapore and Malaysia); while Canada and Australia maintained - more or less- their 'historical' position (see the 1990 Graphic (a) in figure n°3.1) as well as UK.

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[159] Go back to Chapter 2 for a definition of the Indian diaspora.

Coming back to the migration of students witnessed in the 1990s by Garha et al. (2019), one should keep in mind that India often continues to be perceived as a country with a low level of 'educated citizens' mostly due to the 'poor conditions' of this developping country (Roberts, 2017; Tumbe, 2018). Nowadays, UNESCO 2019 report reveals new trends and new 'hot-spots' destinations for Indian students migrating abroad for studies.

o *New diaspora 'hotspots' for the Indians moving*

In a recent book- "*India moving*", Tumbe (2018), has brought together the old and new migrations of Indian citizens who are living outside India and have contributed to build a strong network worldwide magnifying the Indian diaspora. Tumbe calls these new destinations *'diaspora hot-spots'* (2018) due to the impressive attraction capacity they are demonstrating. From the map reported below (n°3.2), we notice that only two European countries appear: UK and Italy, confirming my intuituion about the creation of new diaspora '*hot-spots'* for the Indian migrants. It might be surprising though. However, looking back at India's diaspora in 1990 and in 2017, one can see that France and Germany as destination countries in 1990 have left the floor to Italy in 2017.
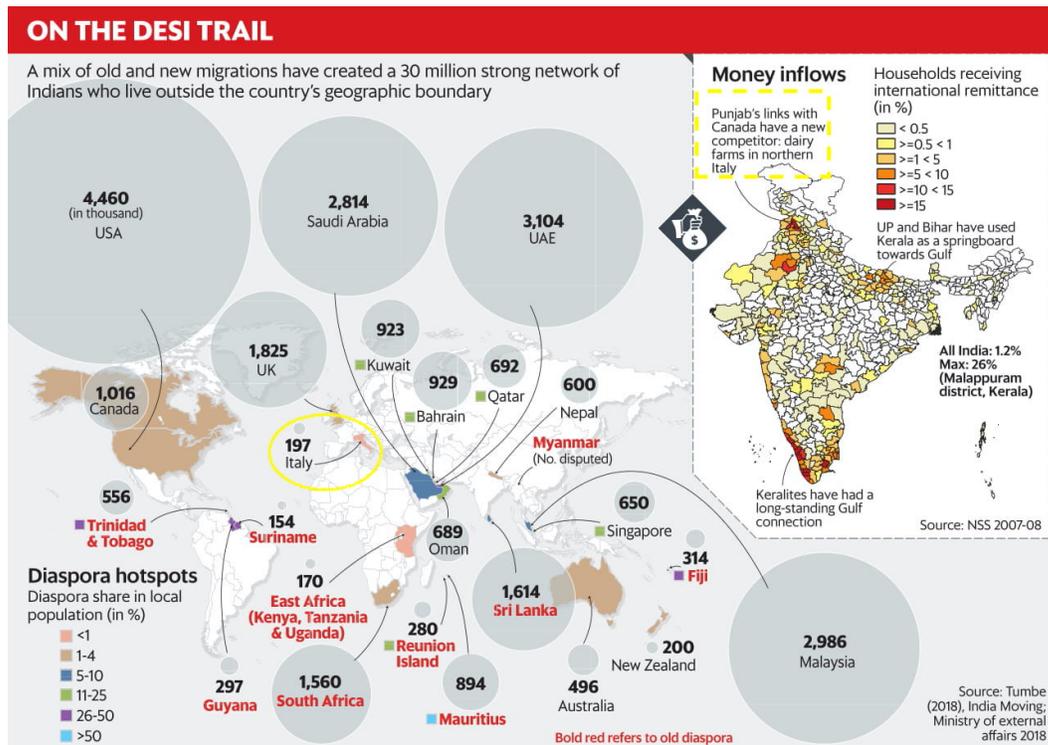
Map .3.2: The Indian diaspora new hot spots in 2018. Source: Tumbe (2018) ad MAE (2018).

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Eventually, as Tumbe (2018) has emphasized about Indian diasporas worldwide: "*more than Spain or any other country in continental Europe, it is Italy which has attracted the maximum of Indian migrants in the past three decades*" (*Ibid.*, p138, my underlinings).

This assessment is extremely important for our discussion that follows in the next chapter about Italy as a destination country. As far as we are concerned now, it was essential to geographically locate the spatialistaion and spread of the Indian diaspora in recent times.

Next, it should be seen whatever these new diaspora '*hot-spots'* (Tumbe, 2018) coincide with the destination countries chosen by Indian student-migrants; while it should also be assessed *to what extent the presence of a diaspora network in the destination country is relevant for the Indian students* (See the forthcoming discussion in Part 3 based on empirical data).

o *Indian migrants to Italy: an odd destination ?*

First and foremost, among the large number of publications about Indian diaspora in Italy and, given the most diverse nature of immigration flows in Italy, as Vaira and Beggiora (2013) before me, I witnessed that very few sources in Italian language have focused exclusively on the Indian immigration to this South European country. There are some exceptions in the panorama of sources in Italian, though.

It is an unexpected fate to note that among all the Europeans, Italians can praise the first place in the establishment of the oldest relationship with India (Leucci et al., 2018). There are old evidences from the Roman Empire era, and closer to our times, the republican merchants from Genes and Venice in the XIIth Century have triggered the path to the 'spice route' between Europe and India (Leucci et al., 2018; Trouillet, 2018). All in all, before the 19th century, internal and external migrations from Europe - for trade, merchants, artists, pilgrims, slaves etc.- had created 'an amalgamation of cultures' as Tumbe's first chapter argues; while, the past century and a half has critically been 'reshaped by diversities' (Tumbe, 2018, pp. 1-37).

Next, as we will see successively, greater attention has been devolved to the Sikh diaspora, both in Europe and in Italy thanks to the contributions of Domenica Denti, Mauro Ferrari and Fabio Perocco on Sikh immigration to Italy since 2005. Later, Sikh immigration in Italy was also approached by Barbara Bertolani (first in Jacobsen & Myrvold, 2011; then Bertolani et

al., 2013, 2014 and Bertolani, 2015, 2018) and by Ester Gallo (Gallo, 2012; Goreau-Ponceaud & Gallo, 2015), a researcher who focused mainly on the spatialization of migration from Punjab and from South India (mostly Kerala) to the areas of Rome and Latina. Gallo's attention on the spatial dimension of the Indian's migration to Italy (2012), provided me some insights to encompass the case of the Indian community in Padova when it came to the spatial analysis in Part 3. But for now, let us come to the above-cited 'pioneer' studies that have discussed the migration of Indians to Italy.

Of course, among the diverse migration trajectories of Indians, scholars observed that they are not homogene neither within the sikh community (Bertolani, 2018) nor within Indians ((Bertolani et al., 2014; Garha, 2020; Lum, 2012; Sahai & Lum, 2013; Tumbe, 2018). Lum (2012) registered differences among migrants flows from India in terms of demographic characteristics (age, gender, spatial distribution, and socioeconomic profiles (occupational, caste) which are mirrored in her study with Sahai in 2013 which was summing up the Indian migration to Italy in three historical moments. Recently, in 2020, Garha has integrated the 2013 pattern summing up the migration typologies of Indians to Italy in four phases that I have reported in the figure (n°3.2).
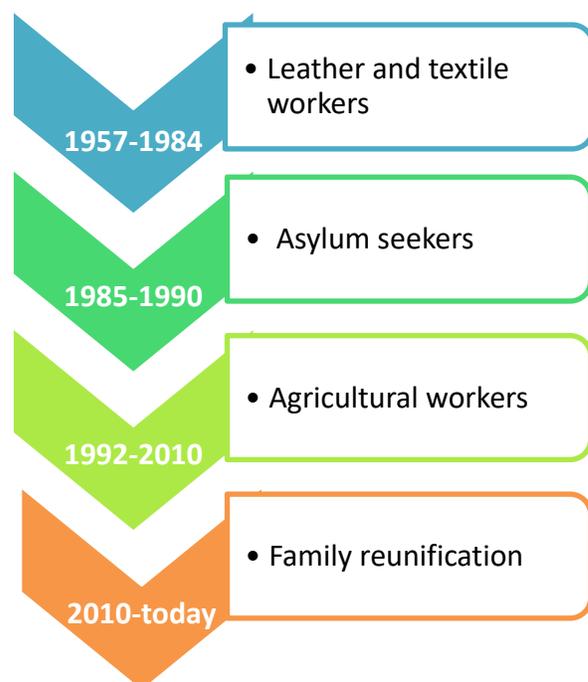
Figure 3.2: The four phases of the Indian immigration to Italy. Source: Garha (2020), personal visualisation 05/20.

In the aftermath of WWII and India's Independence (Phase 1)

The period immediately **following World War II**[160], also coincides with India's independence (on 15/08/1947) and was characterized in Europe by a migration from the southern states (Greece, Italy, Spain and Portugal) towards the north of the continent. In the same period, Western and Northern Europe received migrations from Southern Europe, but they also experienced migratory flows from Africa, from the Caribbean and Asian countries included India (Vaira & Beggiora, 2013). The presence of Indian migrants in Europe, mostly in the United Kingdom (as Chapter 3 has recalled), in connection with the historical events of the Indian State, means that examples of immigration from India to 'the old continent' since the early days of British colonial rule were still occurring as discussed in Chapter 3. In the same way, albeit in a numerically lesser fashion, also Holland, France, and Portugal- countries with colonial possessions on the Subcontinent's territories- had experienced a type of migration similar to that of the United Kingdom. Generally, literature underlines that the first migrants who reached Italy – **"the pioneers"-** arrived in the city of Rome around **1960s**[161] (Gallo, 2012; Beggiora 2013). Indeed, Rome represented the 'ideal destination' for Indians who were found of theology to get a chance to study in the Vatican City (Lum and Sahai, 2013; Garha, 2020). As underlined by scholars (*Ibidem)*, these Indian migrants were coming mostly from Kerala, a State which records a large number of Catholic Christians.

Next, within the global migratory pattern wich followed WWII and India's independance, I shall recall the impacts of British colonialism on Indian local social structures, which eventually, have divided the region 'Punjab' between India and Pakistan in 1947 engendering a massive migration (Denti et al., 2005). Most parts of the Sikh and Hindu population who lived there, moved into the Indian 'side', otherwise, they chose the way out: emigration (Astalli, 2019). It is about this contingent of emigrants that we will be talking about; not about those who migrate prior the Independence, whereas about the Indians who decided to move after for different reasons presented in the forthcoming pages.

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[160] The colors refer to the figure 3.2: The four phases of the Indian immigration to Italy. Source: Garha (2020), personal visualisation 05/20..

[161] The colors refer to the figure 3.2: The four phases of the Indian immigration to Italy. Source: Garha (2020), personal visualisation 05/20..

The boom of Indian Punjabi moving to Italy **(Phase 2)**

At a time when other European countries restrained immigration policies as an outcome of the 1974 oil crisis (Jacobsen & Myrvold, 2011, p. 167; Lum, 2012), Italy instead was lacking of immigration controls and of a legal framework to deal with the growing influx of immigrants both regular and irregular (Ambrosini, 2011a; Gallo, 2012; Lum, 2012). Indeed, in 1980s Italy was following the principle of *"economic legitimation of immigration"* depicting migrants as "*economic factors*" primarily (Caponio & Graziano, 2011,p.106). The two Italian authors have revealed in a study of 2011 that southern European countries as Spain, Portugal, Greece and Italy were "*more open*" to the unskilled migrants category in order to answer to a need of workforce that was increasingly left aside by native Italian workers who were engaged "*in less harnessing works"* (*Ibid.*).

As a result of these events, since 1970, many Indians have left India to move to Italy[162], a number that grew **after Indira Gandhi's assassination in 1984**[163] and the '*anti-Sikh riots in New Delhi and other parts of India"* (Jacobsen & Myrvold, 2011, p. 308; Gallo; 2012, p.3). Hence, these Indian migrants were first coming mainly from the agricultural region of Punjab as asylum seekers and were mostly *Sikhs*[164]. Slowly, sikhs migrants left the 'big' Italian cities shifting to smaller one, in '*semi-rural areas*' (Gallo, 2012, p.8).

Next, Part 3 will provide the discussion about the individual choice of the destination's place (the city), and the role of space in the journey and settlement of the Indian migrants looking the case of Padova which has different characteristics.

But before that, let me make a short note on the 'odd' Italian case. As conveyed in this chapter, Italy is a destination which is now appealing but that came out for reasons that may sound un-cleared when comparing with the above cited countries: no colonial attach, no

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[162] As underlined by Lum and Sahai (2013): "Italy is reported to have admitted 32,000 asylum seekers during the period 1985-90." (Ibid. p.4).

[163] The colors refer to the figure 3.2: The four phases of the Indian immigration to Italy. Source: Garha (2020), personal visualisation 05/20..

[164] The word Sikh derives from the Sanskrit shishya and means "disciple". Sikh means Student. Sikhism evolved in a time of tyranny (XV century). It is not an organic religion of India, it was created as a response. When they were persecuted for their culture they adopted the teachings of Guru Nanak. See: https://www.bbc.co.uk/religion/religions/sikhism/people/nanak.shtml.

English language... The question at this point remains: *why Indians moved and are moving to Italy?*

<u>2000s: social sciences meet the Indians, Sikhs first.</u>(Phase 3)

As we said, the first empirical studies[165] about the presence of Indian immigrants in some Italian regions (Emilia-Romagna, Friuli, Lombardy, Veneto) focused on Sikhs migrants (Perocco,Denti and Ferrari, 2005). At the beginning of the flow (1970s-1980s), it was commonly agreed in media narrations that Punjabi Sikhs migrants were *'non disturbing turbans'* (*'turbanti che non turbano'*[166]) (Lum and Sahai 2013, p.16). In fact, about ten years later, as Bertolani has reminded **in 1990s**[167]: "*sikhs embody the 'ideal' of well-integrated immigrants'* (*Ibid.*, 2015). Besides, generally even today, Sikhs are still perceived as "*a supportive and cohesive community of good and pacific workers, immersed in a religious dimension of life*" (Bertolani et al. 2011). As a result, Sikhs have built a positive stereotype which has been enlarged towards Indians migrants in general, in the Italians collective imagination (Bertolani, 2015; Lum, 2012). An interview with Mr. Phoenix[168] confirms this statement I'm making (Indian migrants = Sikhs). In my interview with Mr Phoenix, it is clear that the 'ideal' characteristics of Sikh workers in an Italian company- "*assertive, quiet and reliable*"[169]- are well disclosed:

"'*Singh' are really good at work. […] Indians workers are serious persons and show a real commitment in their duty. They are young (22-29 years, we have 4 of them) and they are specialized and well prepared in the field of mechanical engineering and machines. […] As far as we are concerned, our enterprise promotes an anti-discrimination policy, so we are not preferring Indians to Italians or any other citizenship.[…] We pay attention to the work*

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[165] The first study is a Report in 2002 on the sociological research of Indian immigrants in collaboration with Denti and Ferrari of the University of Padova, in Cremona (Gardani et al., 2002).

[166] See the report of Gardani et al.,(2002).

[167] The colors refer to to the figure 3.2: The four phases of the Indian immigration to Italy. Source: Garha (2020), personal visualisation 05/20..

[168] Name has been changed to protect the identity of the informant. At the moment of the Interview in March 2019, they were 4 Indians Sikhs working in the production line in Vicenza over 30 workers, by June my informant noticed me they became 6. On the whole the industry hosted 120 persons among workers and office labors.

[169] See Thapan & Deka, (2011). An assessment that Meenakshi underlined again in our conversations in Delhi in Nvember 2018.

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commitment, mutual respect and education within the team of workers, with the managers and the enterprise in general."

(MrPhoenix, Recruitment Manager of a Northern Italian Company, Interview: PD260319- my underlinings).

Beyond this positive glimpse, as the 2005 research already sketched, Indian immigrants working in the dairy sector and agriculture -which traditionaly employ them in India as well- often faced hard work-conditions, harassment, discrimination[170] and social segregation (Bertolani, 2018; Denti et al., 2005; Gallo, 2012). As a consequence, this ambivalence between the common perception and the reality of Indian migrants' everyday life condition became an interesting starting point to delve into further studies and eventually, the reason that led me to investigate on the topic of Indian's migrants as a whole and not only on the student category.

In the 2000s Indian migrants religious public image in everyday life has sometimes created suspiscion and hostility towards Sikhs who put their identity forefront (Bertolani et al.,2011, p.139). On this topic, Lum (2012) and Gallo (2012) have adressed the role of worship places for Indians integration in Italian cities and sub-rural areas and their perception by Italians, adding food for thought on the scale-analysis relevance to frame the Indian migration in Italy and in Padova in Part 3. In addition, as Bertolani et al. (2011), Lum (2012), Gallo (2012), and other scholars have enhanced, the wave of sikhs' migration was male-dominated in the 1990s while in more recent years Indian immigration has seen an increasing of family reunification requests leading to other challenges such as women isolation as Thapan states (2013).

On the whole, reading these studies, it became clear that **until 2010s**[171], Italian scholars have generally devolved more attention on the '**low-skilled' Indian migrants** -on the "Sikhs migrants", on the "youth" (the second generation of migrants)- rather than considering the differences among the broader Indian migrants community, as it has been

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[170] See : *FRONTIERE. Sikh, indiani padani*, 2011; *I Sikh in Italia, storie di ordinaria discriminazione*, 2011; *Operosa e rispettosa, ma discriminata. È la comunità Sikh in Italia*, 2013(http://www.migrantitorino.it/?p=28317).

[171] The colors refer to to the figure 3.2: The four phases of the Indian immigration to Italy. Source: Garha (2020), personal visualisation 05/20..

done elsewhere. Actually, some scholars were aware of this limit: "*The actual distribution of the Indian community in Italy is not homogeneous and can be described as having a 'leopard stain' pattern of settlements*" (Bertolani et al. 2011, my underlinings). Following this direction, the next paragraph makes a further step on Indians' migration to Italy, showing that 'Indians migrants' does not necessarily entail 'Sikhs migrants' anymore.

Indian migrants in Italy are not only Sikhs ! **(Phase 4)**

As evidenced by Bertolani, Ferraris, Perocco (in Jacobsen & Myrvold, 2011), Lum, (2012) and Leucci et al. (2018) the Indian community in Italy is characterised by a great diversity . While the greatest share - 80%- comes from Punjab working in Center and North-Italy[172] in the dairy sector, the culture of rice and wheat fields, tanning leather in Veneto (Bertolani et al. p.81) ; another small part comes from Kerala (Lum, 2012). In fact, Malayalees (from Kerala) represent the remaining 20% of Indian migrants in Italy, they are Roman Catholic Christian and are working in the domestic service sector taking care of elderly Italian people (for more information of this category, see : Lum, 2012; Tumbe, 2018).

I spend a few words on the fourth phase since it is the one, we are currently living in : *How are Indians perceived by Italians in Italy nowadays* ? Valentina Ierna has a precise idea and even provided an example which is in line with some considerations made by otehr scholars (Bertolani, 2015; Lum, 2012) about the Indian migration to Italy : "*In general, the Italian collective imagination perceives Indian immigration well, which it imagines as negative is limited to isolated cases of violence detected when an Indian daughter establishes a love relationship with an Italian boy and is discovered by her father, who kills her. Apart from this, according to Valentina, Indians are not incorporated into the stereotypes that afflict migrants from other origins "thieves" "violent" "unreliable". On the contrary, (laughs) paradoxically, they convey an image of a committed and assiduous workforce.*" (Valentina Ierna, IN112718).

It would be interested to have some feedbacks of the Paduan permanent dwellers in the last chapter of the thesis to complement Valentina Ierna declarations.

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[172] Nowadays, the Sikh community in Italy has about 60,000 members and they are present in the north (in Mantua, Turin and in the province of Cremona, in Pessina Cremonese (Astalli, 2019)).

So far, the first three phases have been investigated in details while the last one started in 2010 should be more explored (Garha, 2020). Thus, I have focused the discussion on this last phase .

     o   *Assessment*

Basically, it is commonly said that India is a country of migration as the sub-continent has witnessed some of the world largest episodes of voluntary and involuntary migration like the partition with Pakistan in 1947[173] (Tumbe, 2018, p.34); the independence claims of Kashmir which continues displacing people in 2020 (Prem Shankar et al., 2020, p.147); or the migration for work among different states and the footloose migrants of Breman (1996) which are still a boiling topic in the 'COVID-19 era', when hundred thousand of migrant-workers left the cities to go back to their villages all over India (Venkatasubramanian, Ferry, et al. ,2020).

With this short overview of Indian migration/mobility history, I wanted to underline, once again, how the Indian diaspora[174] is relevant in this discussion since it clearly started its spread all around the world a long time ago (in Middle Age). As mentioned, at that time, Italy was the first destination for trading spices (Leucci et al., 2018, pp. 11–12) but with the passage of time, the relationship between Italy and India has changed, adding complexity to the image -the representation- of Indian migrants in scholars'minds and in Italians' minds, as well. Considering this background: *where are the Indian migrants located on the Italian territory nowadays* ?

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[173] Among the large bibliography on the topic, the reader may find an overview of the partition between India in Pakistan in the British-Indian movie : "*Viceroy's House*", 2017 directed by Gurinder Chadha.

[174] See the discussion in the previous Chapter (2)Here , I remind that Cohen (1997, pp. X- XI.) distinguished five different types of diasporic movement: (1) "Victims diaspora", such as that of Africans and Armenians; (2)"Labor diaspora" or "workforce diaspora", such as that of Indian contract workers (3) "Imperial diaspora", such as the British one; (4) "Trade diasporas", such as Chinese and Lebanese; (5) "cultural diasporas", such as the Caribbean diasporas.

3.1.3 Geographical and social organisation of the Indian migration in Italy nowadays.

In 2019, Italian online census[175] counted **157.965 Indians residing in Italy** gaining 36 929 persons in less than ten years[176]. In 2018, India was the **6th largest migrants community** in Italy in size among the non-EU citizens (Ministero del Lavoro & ANPAL, 2018, p.5[177]). The Indian community is a rapidly growing immigrant group which is composed by more than **3%** of the total foreign population in Italy with a legal residency permit (Caritas 2017, Istat
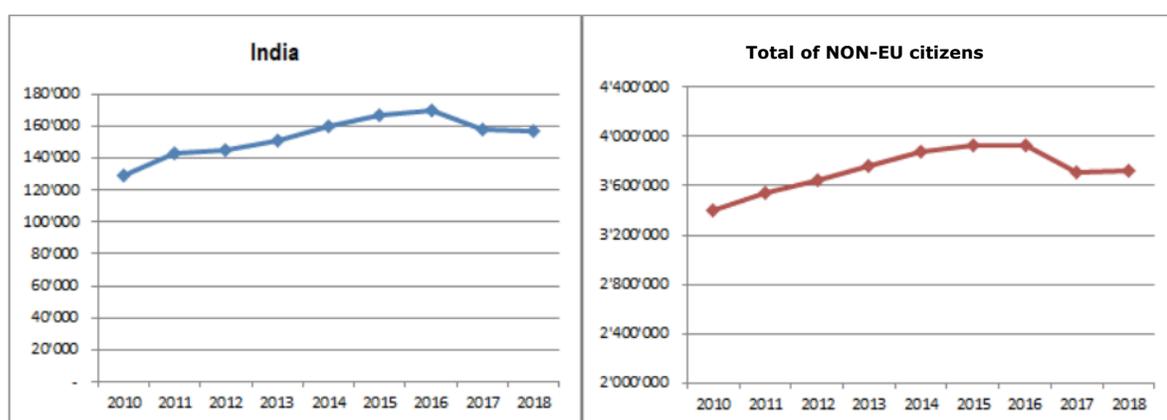
Graphic 3.1: Historical evolution of the Indian community in Italy compared to the medium of foreign citizens (non-EU) regularly residing in ITaly (2010-2018). Source: ANPAL (2018)

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[175] Data from ISTAT 2019 https://www.tuttitalia.it/statistiche/cittadini-stranieri/india/. Irregular migrants should be added to this number according Lum, 2012.

[176] In 2011, they were 121 036 (Lum, 2012).

[177] With the 2018 edition of the *National Reports on the presence in Italy of the main foreign communities,* the Italian Ministry of Labour and Social Policies confirms its support for a publishing project maturely thought through and original in nature, also in view of the manner in which it complements the *Rapporto nazionale sui migranti nel Mercato del lavoro* (national report on migrants in the labour market) (eighth edition) and *the Rapporti sulla presenza dei migranti nelle 14 città metropolitane italiane* (reports on the presence of migrants in the 14 metropolitan cities of Italy) (third edition). These reports deal with, historically speaking, the largest national communities in numerical terms present in Italy - Moroccans, Albanians, the Chinese, Ukrainians, Indians, Filipinos, Egyptians, Bangladeshis, Moldovans, Pakistanis, Tunisians, the Senegalese, Sri Lankans, Nigerians, Peruvians and Ecuadorians. It analyses the specificities of, and similarities among, these groupings and the significant differences that characterize them within the overall context of the foreign population of Italy. The full series of national and territorial reports on the presence of foreigners in Italy, editions 2012 - 2018, can be accessed – in Italian and in the main foreign languages – in the areas "*Paesi di origine e comunità*" (countries of origin and communities) and "*Rapporti di ricerca sull'immigrazione*" (immigration research reports) on the institutional portal, www.integrazionemigranti.gov.it

online 2019) and continues to increase year by year apart from a slowdown in 2016 under the new migration policies recommended by the EU[178] (See the graph below n°3.1).

As disclosed by Graphic n°3.1 the line that marks the trend of the presence of citizens of the community in question is entirely comparable to that of the total of non-EU citizens which represent all the other foreign groups residing in Italy (ANPAL 2018).

- o *Key demographic data about Indians*

First, a few comments on Indians demographic features. Significant differences are noted in the employment rates of the male and female components (79.5% and 19.3%, respectively). The lack of women in the sphere of employment contributes to the overall lower rate, in mean terms, vs non-EU persons as a whole (55.3%), on the meantime, the gender gap between the number of male and female in employment, mirrors the one of the greatest numbers of Indian migrants in Italy. As ANPAL 2018 displays, the male component is markedly prevalent within this community (59.7% of the community in Italy). Regarding the population's age, 42% of citizens of Indian origin are under 30s (see the orange rettangle below in Graphic n°3.2). My population under examination- Indian Students- is recorded within this 'young' share however they are not systematically recorded among the residents.
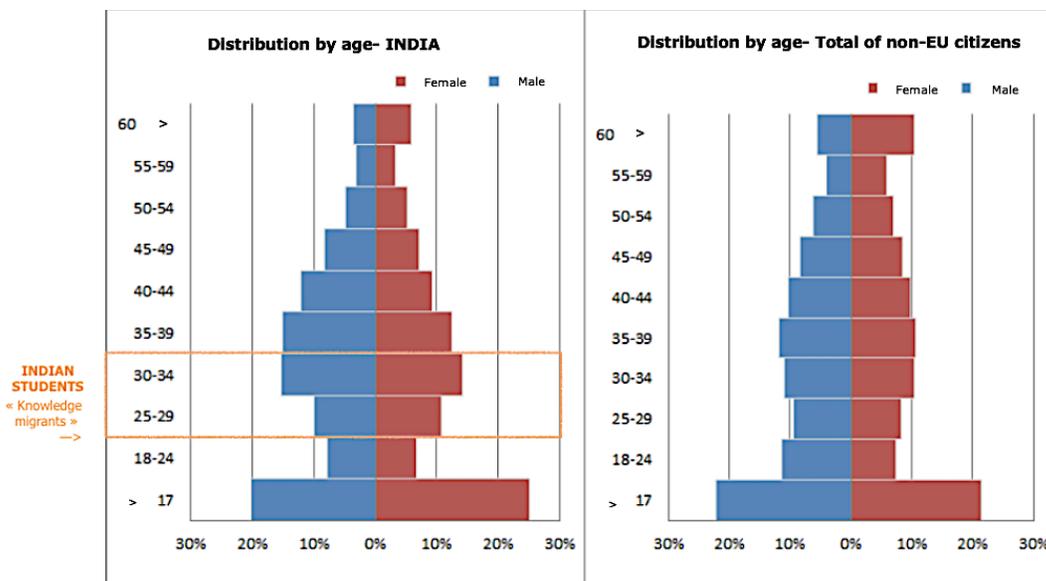
Graphic 3.2: Age distribution of regularly Indian resident in Italy compared to the total of non-EU citizens. Data source: ANPAL (2018),

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[178] See the status related to border control of the 14/09/2016 : https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/IT/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:32016R1624&from=EN

As we will see in the following pages, the Indian students 'compete' in a separate category which is the reason why I have separated them from the 'highly skilled migrants' category.

On top of this demographic particuliarities, in the Italian context, the legal framework (residency permit, citizenship access) and the sociocultural variables have a role in the integration of the Indian population on local territories. As underlined by Graha and Paparusso in 2018, *"The almost total denial and neglect of irregular immigrants in Italy (with the exception of urgent medical cares and children's education, as regulated by the Turco-Napolitano law in 1999) has contributed to the isolation and the marginalisation of Indian immigrants"* (*Ibid.* p.23). Indeed, as revealed by the authors:*"very few studies have considered the integration of Indian communities into host societies"* (*Ibid,* 2018). Lum 2012 is one of the few examples. .

o   *The mosaic of Indian migrants in Italy beyond the agricultural workers*

Given its quite recent history as a migrant group, the part of long-term residents attains 59% of the whole number of Indian migrants in Italy (ANPAL, 2018[179]). In line with the national trends, the main motivations for the presence of Indian citizens with a residence permit subject to renewal, are linked to **family reasons: 45.2%**[180] (over the term permits
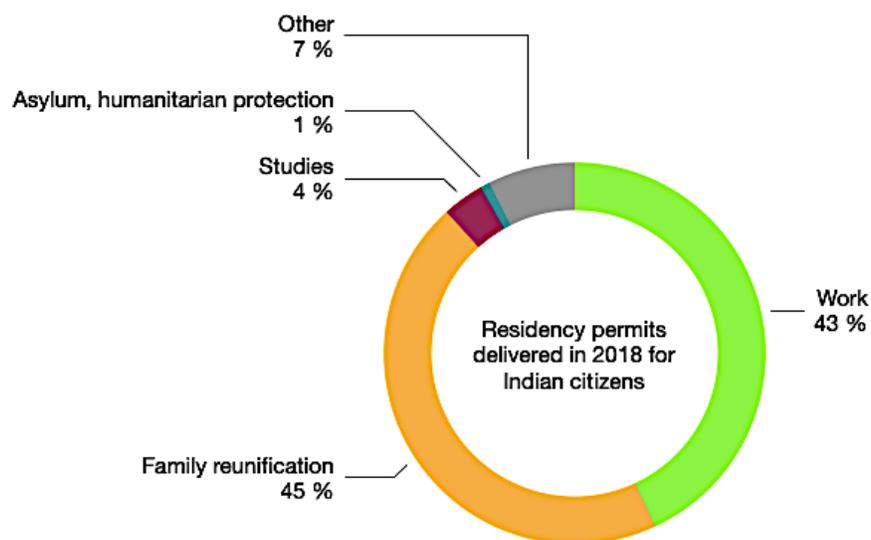
Graphic 3.3: Residency permits delivered by the Italian Government for Indian citizens by reasons of entrance in 2018. Data source: ANPAL (2018), own elaboration of "Tabella 2.2.2" data resumed - 05/20.

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[179] Data are those collected until the 1st January 2018.

[180] The orange color refers to the four phases figure 3.2 and to graphic n°3.2, Data source: ANPAL 2018, "Tabella 2.2.2".

for migrants belonging to this community). The permits issued for **work reasons** amount to **43%**.

Although my primary interest remains **Indian students (3,5%)**[181] migrating to Italy, since literature often report this category among the 'highly skilled workers' (Kirk et al., 2017; Kõu & Bailey, 2014; Neidhardt, 2013; Wiesbrock & Hercog, 2012), I have reported the differences among the work categories in which Indians are involved to point out in the next section the specificities of Indian students (See graphic n°3.3).

Now, taking into account data from different sources, this paragraph aims to offer an image of the working categories (and conditions) of the Indian community in Italy which allow us to frame the work environment from a different perspective (ANPAL 2018). Literature generally refers to the Indian migrants as an example of the "*workforce diasporas*[182]" (Cohen, 2008[183]), but they also have one long commercial and mercantile history that could see them inserted, together with Chinese and Lebanese, in "*trade diasporas*" (*Ibid.*). On that note, let's have a closer look at the data collected by the Ministry of Work and social policies in Italy in 2018.
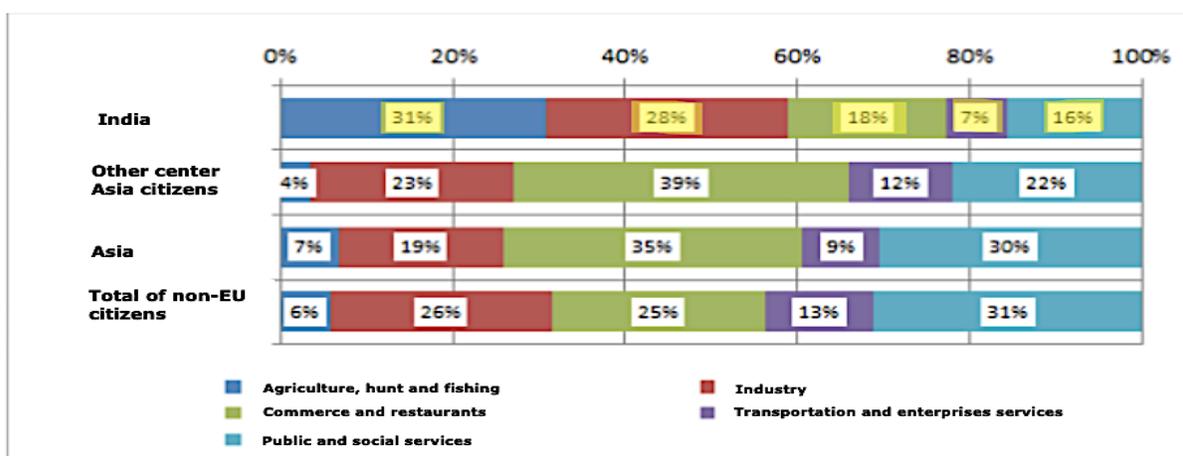
Graphic 3.4: Workers employed by economic sector in Italy (age: from 15). Comparison of India with "other center Asian citizens"; "Asia"; "Total of non-EU citizens". Source: ANPAL (2017). Personal revisitation in English.

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[181] It means that they are 5.530 Indian students from all study levels (primary and secondary (= 2270) and tertiary). Later we will see that Tertiary students are only 3.160.

[182] As an example of a "workforce diaspora", Cohen then examines the movement of Indian contract workers specifying however that- in the same way as the other diaspora's types- there is no exclusive and nor mandatory connection between the ethnic group and the category in which the group is inserted.

[183] The original version of the text is of 1997: Cohen, Global Diasporas - an Introduction, Routledge, London and New York, 1997, p. IX.; William Safran, Ajaya Kumar Sahoo, Brij V. Lal (eds.), Transnational Migrations – The Indian Diaspora, Routledge, New Delhi and Abingdon, 2008, p. VIII.

The distribution of employees of Indian origins among the sectors of economic activity (See Graphic 3.4) is characterized by considerable involvement in the **Primary Sector**(dark blu), which is the prevailing employment sector for Indian migrants, welcoming a third of the Indians employed in Italy as a whole (**31%**). This quotient is much higher than the one noted among workers in the comparison groups. (4% of those coming from the rest of Central and Southern Asia work in this ambit; 7% of Asians; and 6% of non-EU citizens as a whole). As scholars have previously underlined (Perocco, Bertolani, Gallo etc), the Italian report of 2018, underlines that "*this community is characterized by its marked role in the _agricultural sector_, displaying _instances of excellence and high levels of skills_ in the field of animal husbandry*." (ANPAL, 2018, p.7 my underlinings). The reasons outlined are generally two : Indian punjabi migrants have a long tradition of agricultural work and a sense of care of the livestock herds (Denti et al., 2005; Jacobsen & Myrvold, 2016; Thapan & Deka, 2011); on the meantime, Italian lacks of 'low-skilled' workers – '*braccianti*[184]' and was riscking to see the world famous industry of *Parmiggiano* and *Grana* shutting down (see Appendix n°3.1, p.386 and Lum, 2013.-a; Pinotti, 2019; Sahai & Lum, 2013).

The quotient of Indian workers employed in **Industry** (in red) is also quite relevant, vs the comparison groups, is also significant: **28%** of the employed members of this community (vs 23% of those employed from the rest of Central and Southern Asia; vs 19% of the Asians employed; and vs 26% of non-EU citizens as a whole).

Then, regarding the varieties of jobs' profiles, the prevalence among the Indian workers is **unskilled manual labor (unskilled migrants) (45%)** (vs 38% for non-EU citizens as a whole). The number of members of the community employed **as skilled manual workers follows (33%)** , a value higher than for the other countries of Central and Southern Asia (24%), and non-EU workers as a whole (27%). This rate is markedly higher than the incidence of workers coming from Asia (19%).

Next, **18%** of Indian workers are employed as **Sales and Personal Services Employees (semi-skilled workers)** .

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[184] *I Braccianti Sikh Dell'Agropontino: Il Khalistan è Ancora Lontano / Notizie / Home - Unimondo*, (2019)

Finally, the incidence of **intellectual and technical managers and professionals (Highly skilled workers)** stands at 4% (See Graphic n°3.5).

As reported by ANPAL (2018), the inactivity rate among the Indian community stands at 38.3% while the unemployment rate stands at 10.4%. Finally, the number of entries in 2017 for seasonal reasons (1,111 new entries) is also worth noting. With an incidence of 30% of the total of non-EU citizens, India ranks first as country of origin for migrants entering for reasons of '*seasonal work '(*ANPAL, 2018, p.27). Seasonal work in Italy coincides with agricultural work and hospitality and tourism; both are short-time assignments.

Finally, the data disclosed in the graphic n°3.5 are in line with the national migration data placing Italy as a country which is triying "*to create a stable system by a strong need of social amd political cooperation* " (EMN, 2012, p.16) to tackle migration's effects after the ' *atmosphere of emergency*' (*Ibid.*). Acording to Biffl's data in 2012, Italy was one of the countries that hosted a big slice of unskilled migrants in it's workforce: 45, 2% leading to the common assumption that "*Italy is a country of migrants*" (Thapan p.51 in Jacobsen & Myrvold, 2016).
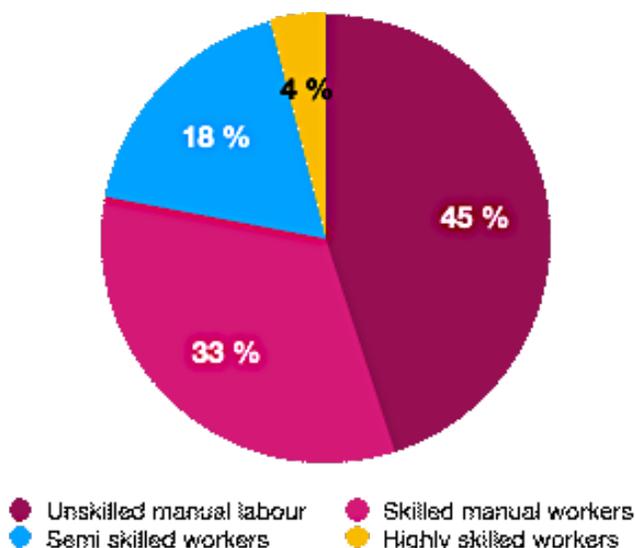
Graphic 3.5: The mosaic of Indian migrants in Italy by 'skilled' category. Data source: ANPAL (2018), own elaboration 05/2020.

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o   *Spatial distribution of the Indian migrants in Italy*

From the map 3.3 aside, the *Lazio* Region hosts an above- average number of Indians (more than 20%) which is probably the reason why Gallo (2012) has focused on that era. 12.6% of Indians reside In Southern Italy (Campania, alone, hosts 5% of the members of this community). 6/10 of Indian citizens reside in Northern Italy.
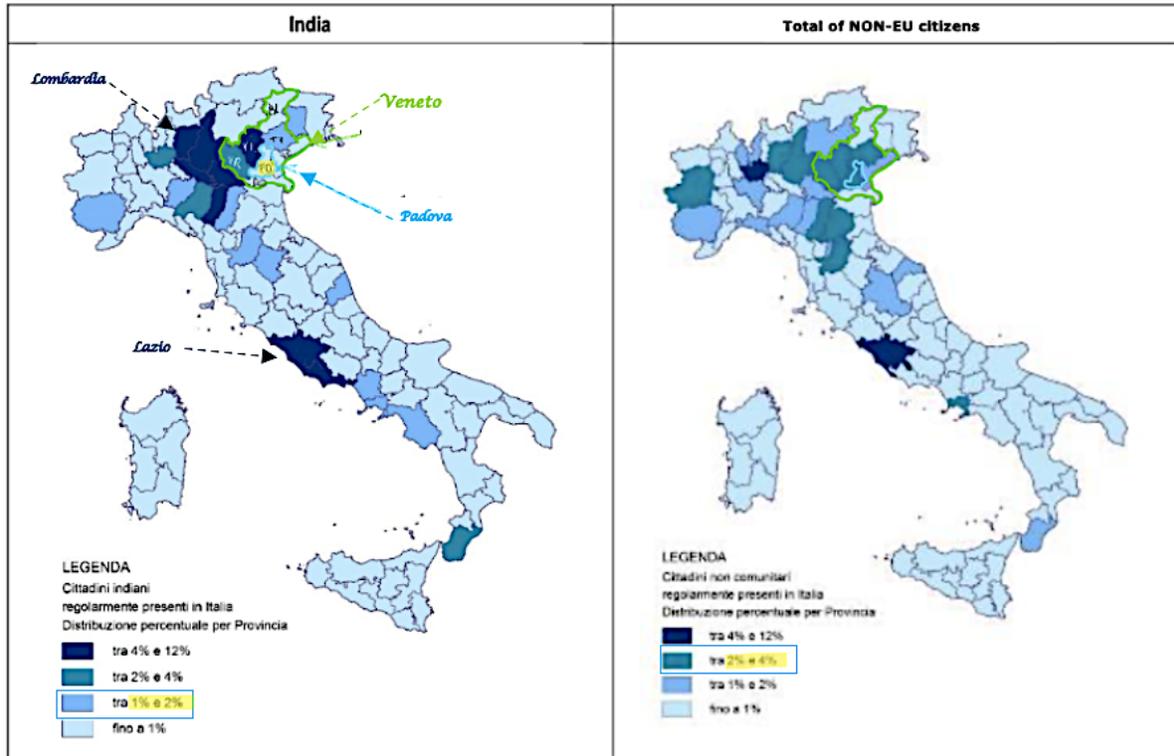
Map 3.3: Spatial distribution of non-EU citizens regularly residing in Italy. Comparing Indians with the total of non-EU citizens among territorial areas in %. Source: ANPAL (2018), personal revisitation highlighting Veneto (green) and Padova's territory (light blu).

Lombardia ranks first as destination of choice. However, I focused on the *Veneto* **Region** which hosted **15.658 Indians** in 2019 i.e., **the 9,91%** of the total of Indian migrants which represents about 1,28% of Padova's (in yellow) non-EU citizens residing on local territory[185]. As Beggiora et al. (2013) based on the assumption that the spatial distriution of Indian migrants in Italy, as a diasporic community, is characterized by phenomena of concentration in certain geographical areas, when I have started my fieldwork in Padova chasing the Indian students, I have first looked for 'Indian traces' in the city (See Part 3). My hypothesis was the

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[185] The next Chapter, n° 4, focuses of the local scale and on the city of Padova.

following: "*Indian students prefer selecting the city where they study if the latter hosts a branch of the Indian diaspora locally ('a safety net').*"

        o   *Assessment*

At the end of the day, we can say that the number of Indians in Italy is *''silently but slightly'* growing (Thapan, 2013; 2019). On another viewpoint, literature has revealed that Italy attracts Indian migrants as the procedures to enter into Italy are not that severe compared to other EU countries (Lum, 2012; Thapan & Deka, 2011). Focusing on the University's student figures, I have chosen to observe migration under an alternative form: the Indian students-migrants in Italy. It is now time to turn into the international students-migrants as a category garnering migrations'flows.

<div align="center">

SECTION 3.2: STATE OF ART OF THE INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS'MIGRATION.

</div>

So far, assessing literature works, I have conceptualised international students' motion as *migration*[186] where students are defined '*transnationally mobile subjects*' (UNESCO 2019; Chapter 1) . Somehow, I have taken for granted that students benefit people's universal right to move all around the world (The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, art 13, 1948). Here, I discuss the conceptualization of Indian students-migrants in general terms to operate a distinction among the diverse typologies of Indian migrants (low and highly skilled migrants) flowing to Italy. Usually, scholars who approach international students'migration under a quantitative, statistical perspective, rely on OECD data and UNESCO data, so did I to contribute to knowledge's production.

3.2.1 The first sights of international students migration

Although the 'scientific' attention on the migration of international students has grown in the past thirty years (King & Raghuram, 2013; Reinold, 2017; Riaño & Piguet, 2016), the migration of students for study purposes abroad is not a new phenomenon.

By delving into the migration of students on a global scale, I have highlighted that the international student's migration is not a recent phenomenon -dating it back to the pre-

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[186] As mentioned in Chapter 1, I have decided to use the term migration to talk about Indian students' flow moving to Europe. In order to keep the discussion fluid and focused on the topic, eventually I haven't exposed the reasons in this chapter, however, you can find a short discussion on the mobility/migration debate in Appendix n°3.2, p.390.

colonial era before 1600s (Lee,2015). What is new instead, is the scholar's attention on this migration typology (Madge et al., 2015; Piguet et al., 2017; Riaño et al., 2016). Beyond the historical flows of students moving during colonialism, we noticed a period of rapid expansion during the 2000s that increased progressively although punctuated by fits and starts.

o *The '90s turning point*

In the 1990s, the development of advancing technology, infrastructure, and communication (ICT) induced coutries to develop a strong interest in attracting highly skilled workers.

As a consequence, from 1990s to 2000s, national governments encouraged universities to enter within the international student migration '*competition for talents*'- *i.e.* of international students in tertiary education[187]. Next, building on the fourth historical's phase events, Choudaha (2017) identified three waves of international students' mobility between 1999 and 2020 which are convincing. As Figure 3.3 illustrates the 'waves' coincide with historical events that have influenced the flows of international students abroad. The first two waves (I and II) correspond with 9/11 terrorist attacks and the global financial recession of 2007-2008. The third wave (III) takes into account a combination of three events- namely: the slowdown of the Chinese economy, the 2016 UK referendum to leave the European Union, and the 2016 American presidential election (Choudaha, 2017, p.8).
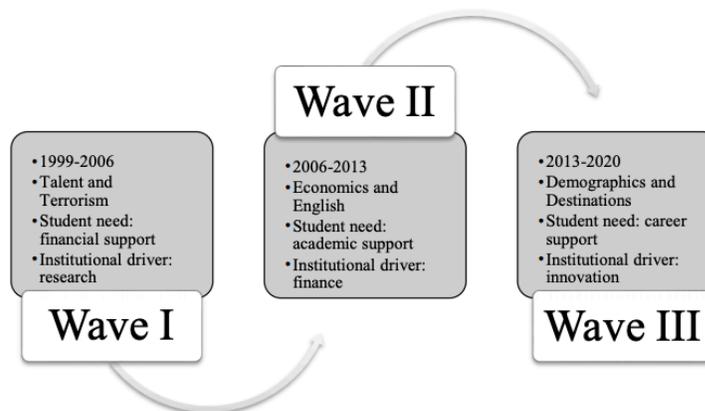
Figure 3.3: Three waves of International students mobility modelled by Ph.D Rahul Choudaha (2017).

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[187] On the 'competition' for education, see next paragraph in this section. The competition for talents coincides with OECD demands to attract "highly skilled workers" in the 1990s.

o _A global overview of data on International students migration worldwide_

International organization reports such as OECD illustrating the small flow of student migrants- comparing to others- seem to date back 1990s[188]. Generally, OECD reports refer to the historical evolution of international students worldwide starting from 1975 (OECD, 2011) when the number of International students migrating abroad for studies has started to silently increase (see Figure n°3.4).

INTERNATIONALLY MOBILE STUDENTS, GLOBAL, 2011-2017

3.961.200 — 2011
4.046.274 — 2012
4.179.757 — 2013
4.412.980 — 2014
4.697.229 — 2015
4.854.346 — 2016

Source: IOM's GMDAC based on UNESCO 2018

© IOM's GMDAC 2018
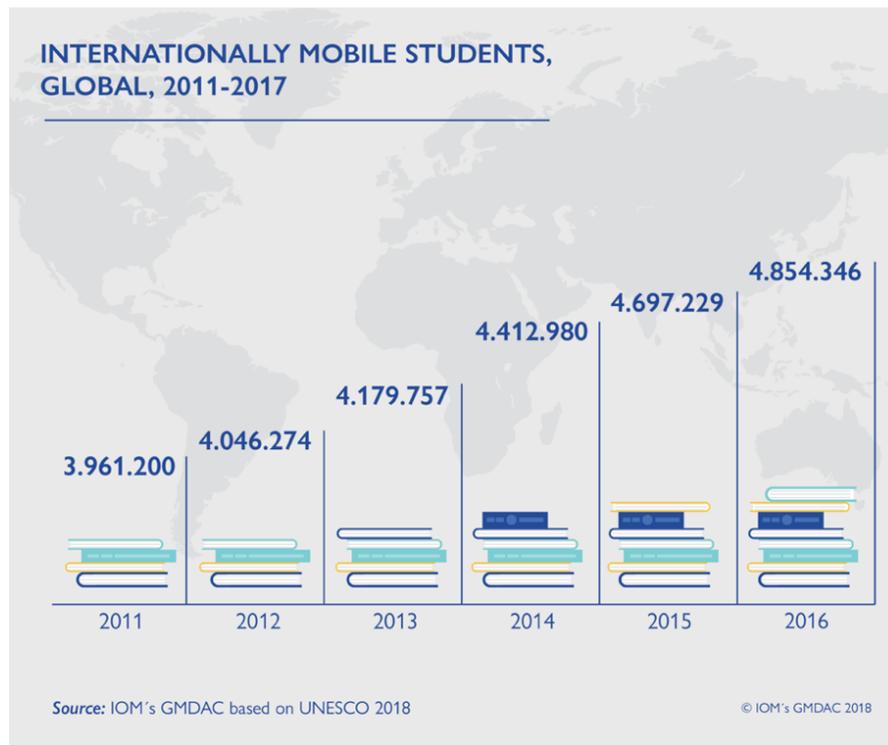
Figure 3.4: International students migration evolution from 1975 to 2013. Source: UNESCO-UIS, 06 2015.

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[188] Up to the end of the 1990s, the OECD's comparisons of education outcomes were mainly based on measures of years of schooling, which are not reliable indicators of what people actually know and can do. In 2000, the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) has changed it. PISA 2018 online report :
http://www.oecd.org/pisa/PISA%202018%20Insights%20and%20Interpretations%20FINAL%20PDF.pdf

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In 2000, there were 2 million of tnternational students (IOM &UNESCO, 2018). In 2016, there were over 4.8 million international students (IOM & UNESCO 2018, see Figure n° 3.5 below).

Figure 1.4: **Long-term growth of tertiary-level international students worldwide, 1975–2013**

0.8m ··· 1.1m ··· 1.7m ··· 2.8m ··· 4.1m
1975   1985   1995   2005   2013

Source: UNESCO Institute for Statistics, June 2015
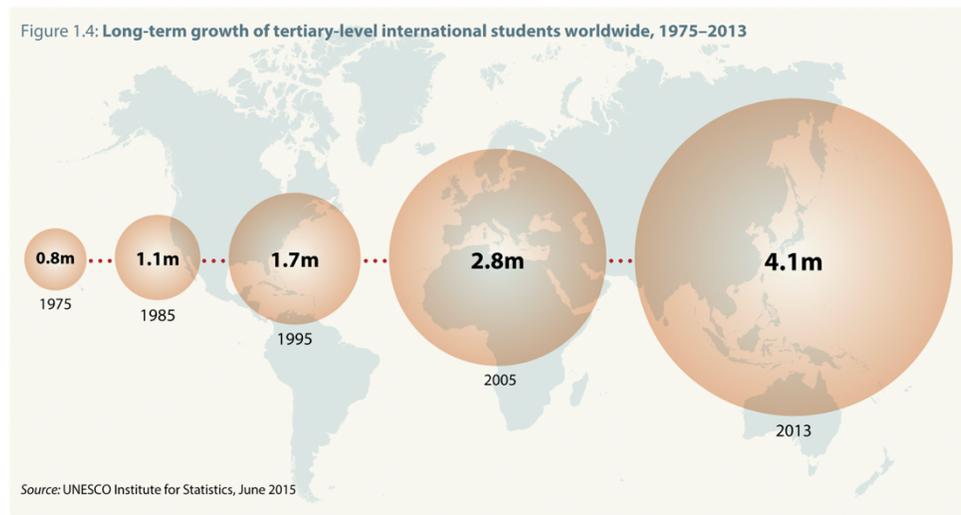
Figure 3.5:Number of international students migrants worldwide from 2011 to 2016. Source: IOM, Unesco 2018.

Most recent data of UNESCO (2019) and OECD (2019) account **5.3 milion international students migrants in 2017**. According to UNESCO (2019) data, prominent **sending countries** of international students include China, **India**, Germany, South Korea, Nigeria, France, Saudi Arabia and several Central Asian countries (*Ibid.).* On the whole, **Asians account for 56% of all students** studying **abroad** worldwide (OECD, 2019, p.228) and represent the largest group of international students enrolled in tertiary education programmes at all levels (bachelor, masters and Ph.D.)

o *Geo-spatial distribution of International students worldwide: Italy far behind*
 On the other side, according to UNESCO (2019), more than half of the total 5.3 milion share of international students were enrolled in educational programmes in six receiving/destination countries**:** The United States of America, the United Kingdom, Australia, France, Germany and the Russian Federation (See picture 4.1, Atlas 2019).

As far as we are concerned for the scope of the thesis, we notice that Italy does not systematically appear on such classification given that the country has not adhere to some macro-data projects collection as "Project Atlas"[189] (Picture 3.1) on which many quantitative scholars rely on to model international students'migration trends.

  o *Assessment*

In 2009 Asian students represented 52% of all international students. Ten years later, OECD (2019) has accounted an increase of +4% of students from Asia arguing in favor of an increase of this distinct migrant population. We can assess that the number of international students from Eastern Asia, particularly at the tertiary level, has escalated rapidly in recent years. Driven by the prospect of better-quality education (Waters & Brooks, 2011b), a high number of international students from Eastern Asia, study in destinations such as mentioned above: the USA, Canada and the UK. On the whole OECD countries attract 70% of all students enrolled abroad which put the European Union at the forefront as a key geographical area for
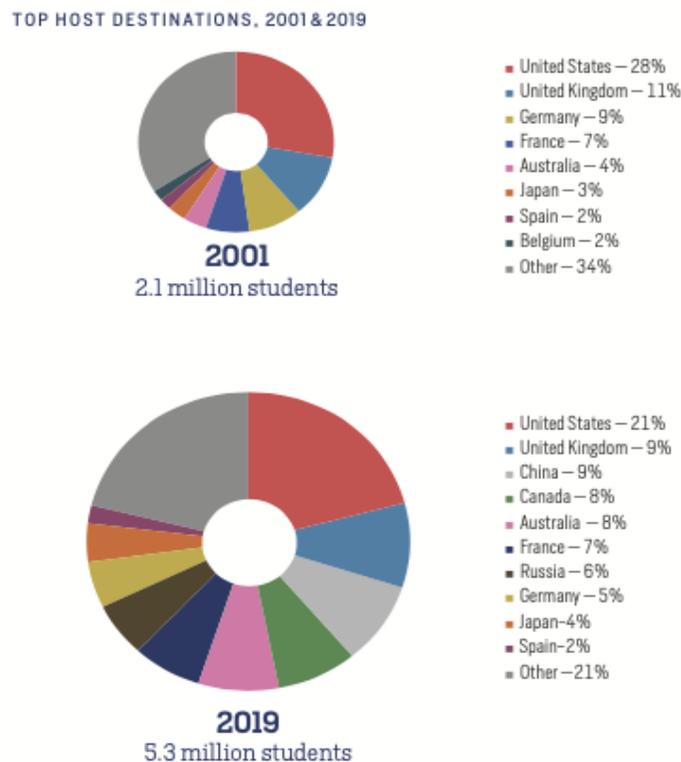
Picture 3.1: Receiving countries for international mobile students in tertiary education. Elaboration by Project Atlas (2019).

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[189] Project Atlas gathers a network of scholars spreaded on more than twenty countries worldwide. The project is encompassed by the Institute of International Education (IIE)   https://www.iie.org/research-and-insights/Project-Atlas

inward mobility. Meanwhile, China persists as a major sending country of international students globally in 2018, with over half a million of its students leaving abroad for further studies (World Migration Report 2020, p.80).

3.2.2 The unicity of the Indian students-migration

The magnitude and scope of Indian international migration is one of the main reasons that have inspired my research. As far as we are concerned, OECD (2019) data underlined that 1% of all Indian citizens residing in India (*i.e.* about 1, 3 billion) are enrolled abroad for studies in foreign universities. As stated by Tejada & Bhattacharya (2014):*"Within the field of migration and its linkages to development, India is a relevant case for a number of reasons that are related to the specificities of the migration process from the subcontinent and its characteristics."* (*Ibid.,*p.9,my underlinings.). Although the topic would deserve a larger space for discussion, my intention here is to give details about the current spatial distribution of Indian migrants while assessing the possible overlapping of diaspora's destination's hotspots and Indian students'one.

o   *Indians students migrating abroad: the second biggest flow worldwide*
Reportedly, India has evolved considerably in terms of its supplying to the international students market and is the second most important source country after China (32% outbound students Institute of International Education.org data 2017). **Indians represent the 14, 19%** of all international students embarking on a study journey abroad. In 2016, more than a quarter million Indian students studied internationally, compared with only 44,766 (UNESCO UIS 2018) students who arrived in India from abroad (see Graphic n°3.6).

India's Inbound and Outbound Students

■ Inbound   ■ Outbound

Year	Inbound	Outbound
2011	27,531	205,650
2012	28,335	192,100
2013	34,419	190,560
2014	38,992	215,103
2015	41,993	256,101
2016	44,766	277,387
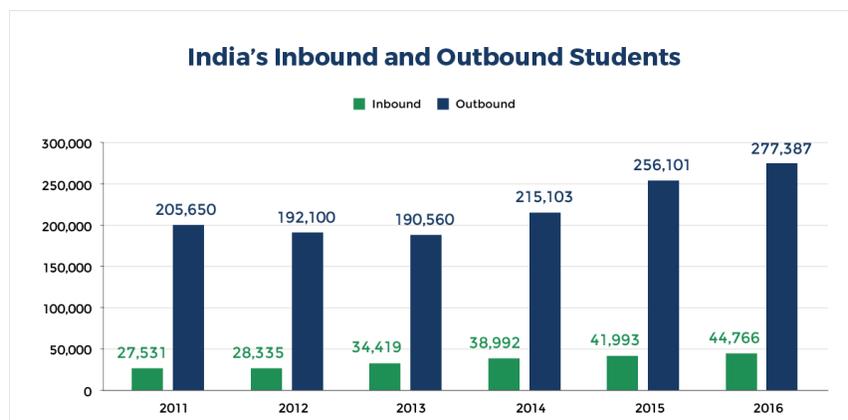
Graphic 3.6: India's inbound/outbound students based on UNESCO 2018 data. Source World education Service, 2018.

As we can see from the graphic above, the number of both outbound (Indians going abroad) and inbound (international students going to India) students hasvesteadily increased since 2000, except for a momentaneaous dip in Indian students going abroad from 2011 to 2013. The number of Indian outbound students has continued raising and has more than **doubled from 2016** (277.387) **to 2019** (752.275). For the sake of clarity among the numerous data circulating online without precised sources[190], I have reported in a table (3.1) some quantitative data retrieved from the analysis of official reports and of OECD online statistics platform[191], to build the frame of the number of Indian students abroad on different scales.

Scale	Number of Indian students abroad	% of Indian students abroad
Worldwide *(Indian Ministry of External Affairs data 2018- among 86 countries*[192]*)*	752.275	**14, 19%** *of the total of international students worldwide.*
In OECD countries *(data from OECD, 2017)*	290.611	**38%** *of the total of Indian students*
In European Countries [EU-28]. *(data from OECD 2017)*	47.777	**6.3%** *of the total of Indian students*

Table .3.1: Distribution of Indian students abroad on different scales. Personal elaboration (05/2020).

From the data in table n°3.1, the Indian students studying abroad statistics of **2019,** released by the Indian Ministry of External Affairs[193] points out the importance of India as a 'source'

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[190] (Detailed Stats of Indian Students Studying Abroad [with Graphs], 2019; The 2020 Trend for Indian Students Studying Abroad, 2020;) (See the related websites in Bibliography)

[191] https://stats.oecd.org Data on 7/05/20.

[192] See APPENDIX 3.3.p.394 and see the complete list of Indian tertiary students abroad by GOI in Appendix n°3.4, p.399.

[193] See Appendix 3.5 p.401 Graphs related to MAE 2017 data193 over 86 countries: https://mea.gov.in/indian-students-abroad.htm https://www.mea.gov.in/rajya-sabha.htm?dtl/32512/question+no202+students+opting+to+study+abroad

country of students**: 752.275 Indian students** were studying in universities abroad over the 5.3 million already mentioned (estimation on 18/07/2018). From **14.19% of worldwide students**, the number of Indian students abroad is expected to increase.

Furthermore, we notice a discrepancy between the number of Indian students **in OECD countries** (**38%**) and in Europe which can be easily explained by the fact that **42%** of Indian students chose **USA** as a destination for studies in 2017 (OECD, 2019). Finally, while the importance of the Indian students' flows worldwide among the international migration one is quite impressive (14,2%), the number of Indian students coming to **Europe** for studies is still limited (about **6%**).

Finally, from the Graphic n°3.7 above, we can conclude that the number of Indian migrants in Europe is still small (2.2 milion) compared to the whole Indian dispora worldwide (17,5 milion).

Graphic 3.7: Change in Indian Student mobility by receiving country 2005-2015. Source : WES, 2017.

Resuming our data in this concluding section related to the numbers of Indian students in perspective, we obtain the following landscape in the table below n°3.2.

Categories/ Scale	International students	Indian students	Indian migrants
Worldwide	5.3 million	752.275	17.5 million
Europe	1.6 million	32.317	2.2 million

Table 3.2: Summary of relevant data extrapolated in this Chapter 3 data from 2017-2018. Own elaboration, 05/20.

o *Assessment*

As I have outlined in this section, the migration of international students is not a new phenomenon, so is the case of Indian students (remember Gandhi studying in UK). Summing up, today, USA remains the main destination country for Indian students (OECD, 2019) prefered for the well-known education quality- which access is facilitated by the English language lessons for Indian students (Mazzarol & Soutar, 2002; Phukan, 2015); and for the subsequent possibilities of job opportunities, especially in light of the great Indian diaspora community settled in the USA (Trouillet, 2018).

Besides, if we compare the new 'hot-spots' in Europe and the relevance of Italy as the second destination of the Indian diaspora, we can identify a mismatch between the diaspora destinations and the study-destination selected (Figure n°3.6).

Yet, as expected, the UK remains on the top of both flows. We can hyporthesise that more than a diasporic heritage bound, the relevance of the English language in the education system instead guides students' spatialisation. The language variable could explain why Italy was not yet considered as a 'relevant destination' in 2019 within UNESCO classification under Project Atlas. Conversely, according to the data collected by 'StudyPortal[194]' (an example of online platform branding education abroad), the "*top 5 destinations for studies in 2019*" were "*Canada, Germany, Australia, the USA and Italy*".
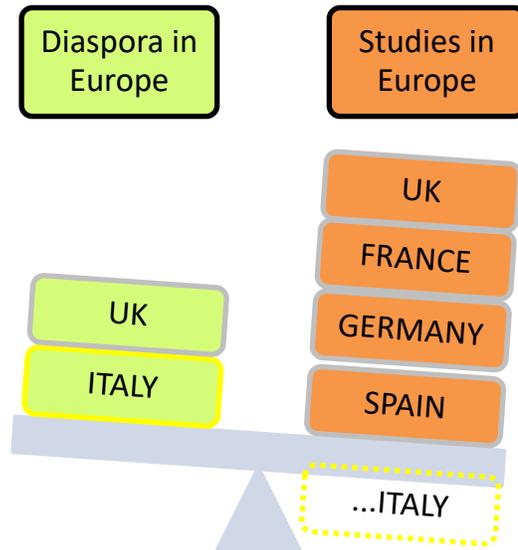
Figure 3.6: Hotspots destinations in Europe. Data source for 'diaspora': Garha et al. (2019); data source for 'studies': Project Atlas 2019. Own rapresentation, 05/2020.

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[194] https://www.mastersportal.com/articles/2252/top-5-destinations-for-indian-students-who-plan-to-study-abroad.html

Moreover, as I have previously demonstrated in more recent years, -although the numbers are still 'low'- Indian students have started to develop interest towards European countries[195]. Considering these premises, the questions should be now, what are Italy's strategies to attract Indian students? Among many factors presented by Mazzarol & Soutar (2002), certainly, in the case of Indian students, EU-India policies have played a fundamental role[196].

In closing Chapter 3, the third section (3.3) explains Italy's run for "*talents*"[197] as a national strategy promoted by the Ministry of External Affairs and International Cooperation, together with the Italian Ministry of Education resuming data from my fieldwork in India.

SECTION 3.3 THE ITALIAN RACE FOR INDIAN TALENTS

My fieldwork in Delhi[198] has provided me further confirmations on what I had started to suspect: a national strategy to attract Indians in Italy since 2015 onwards. Observing and questioning both embassy civil servants and Indian professors who had worked on the topic of India-Italy migration (Meenakshi Thapan, Rupa Chanda and Binod Khadria), it became clear that Italy had a strategy part of the "*challenges and good practices to attract international students in Italy*"- ("*Sfide e buone pratiche per attrarre studenti internazionali*")- (EMN 2018, p.25), the strategy scope is actually even broader and aims at attracting 'talents' from abroad.

3.3.1 The attraction of Indian students- migrants to Italy

o *An analysis based on my fieldwork in New Delhi*
During my fieldwork in India, Pietro Sfera Carini (the Minister'councellor of the Italian Embassy in Delhi) had scheduled a meeting for me with Chiara Petracca, Head of Press and

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[195] Beyond UK, which remains a 'top destination' with 5% of Indian students in 2017 according to OECD (2019).

[196] A sound topic that won't be approached in its entireness here, since it is not part of the thesis'objective. However, you can find a discussion about "*policies and agreements to welcome Indian students in Italy*" in the Appendix (n° 3.3, p.394).

[197] See APPENDIX n° 3.11, p.408. This word alludes to the grant "Invest your Talent in Italy" promoted by the Italian Government in India. See the website: https://investyourtalentapplication.esteri.it/SitoInvestYourTalentApplication/progetto.asp

[198]On the question: *Why could you not get this information in Italy*? I will answer honestly: being abroad makes the bonds stronger within the community (Italy in my case). I cannot tell why my e-mail to the Italian Embassy has had a direct answer and mine to Rome did not. What I have felt when I was in New Delhi, is that I was part of this priviledged group of 'Italian' people who was dealing with studies on India with the same passion as they did and that was enough to devolve time to my work.

Cultural Councellor at the Italian Embassy of New Delhi in 2018[199]. Among her duties, following the visit of the Italian Premier Conte (30/10/2018- see table below), Chiara Petracca was assigned the task of working on the "*attraction of students in Italy*". The fact that the Italian government has attributed this function directly in India was an interesting hint for me.

This meeting has opened a door on a myriad of complex political weaves which evoqued me back my studies in International relationship and human rights and therefore, I had started collecting official documents from the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation (MAECI) and from the Ministry of Education, University Studies and Research (MIUR)[200]. The short declaration I am reporting below, resumed all my doubts and questions:

"The internationalization of higher education is, in fact, a <u>driving force for change</u> and <u>innovation</u> and for the country's economic development, as well as being an effective <u>instrument of diplomacy and foreign policy</u>. [...] In particular, the ability<u> to attract foreign students increasingly represents an element of strength</u> and <u>a priority for a university system</u> that aims at a full and <u>effective external projection</u>, in a rapidly changing world context." (Minister Angelino Alfano, MAECI, 2017, underlined by the author).

At the end of the day, the strategic guidances promoted by MAECI, MIUR and MI constitute a sort of informal diplomacy that proceeds thanks to the knowledge and quality of international students. The latter, together with the Italian researchers, bring scientific knowledge, creativity, and beauty spreading everywhere abroad these pillars of Italy. In 2019, the twentieth anniversary of the *Bologna Process* had occurred, strengthening the commitment beforehand, taken within the European Higher Education Area.

As the prior Minister of Education had stated in 2017:

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[199] See Interview IN271118.1. A brief note on Chiara Petracca: she was very keen and available; we even shared a lunch in the Italian 'Diva' restaurant of the Embassy and invited me to join her presentation of Italy's *extraordinary* vision on architecture in November 2018. When I came back in Delhi one year after (2019), Valentina Ierna told me that she has never really coped with the Indian system and has asked to be re-assigned somewhere else, hence she was not in charge anymore and nobody was available then to talk with me.

[200] See the table in Appendix p.394.

" *I am sure that the time that separates us from that date [2019], uniting the two ends of the journey started with the foundation of the first modern university in Europe in Bologna, will be the best test for the <u>new international strategy of Italian higher education from here to 2020 that serves the growth of our country</u> and at the same <u>time the development of a Europe that is sustainable,</u> of profound <u>quality and real inclusion</u>.*" (Minister Valeria Fedeli, MIUR, 2017, my underlinings). Following these statements, the map n°3.4 below highlights the areas in which Italy is interested to 'invest' by establishing agreements to attract students from the red countries, with an emphasis on India (yellow).

o *MIUR data's analysis*

Next, to complete my personal landscape of information among institutions and statistical data collection, I have written an e-mail to the MIUR directly on 20/11/2018. Maria Antonietta Scalera[201] has answered me providing me the data resumed in the following table (n°3.3) , confirming my hypothesis of an increasing number of Indian students choosing Italy for

Indian students moving to Italy

Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Bosnia-Erzegovina, Brasile, Camerun, Cile, Cina, Colombia, Corea del Sud, Egitto, Etiopia, Giordania, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israele. Kosovo. Libia. Macedonia. Marocco. Messico. Montenegro. Mozambico. Oman. Russia. Serbia. Stati Uniti. Tunisia. Turchia. Vietnam.
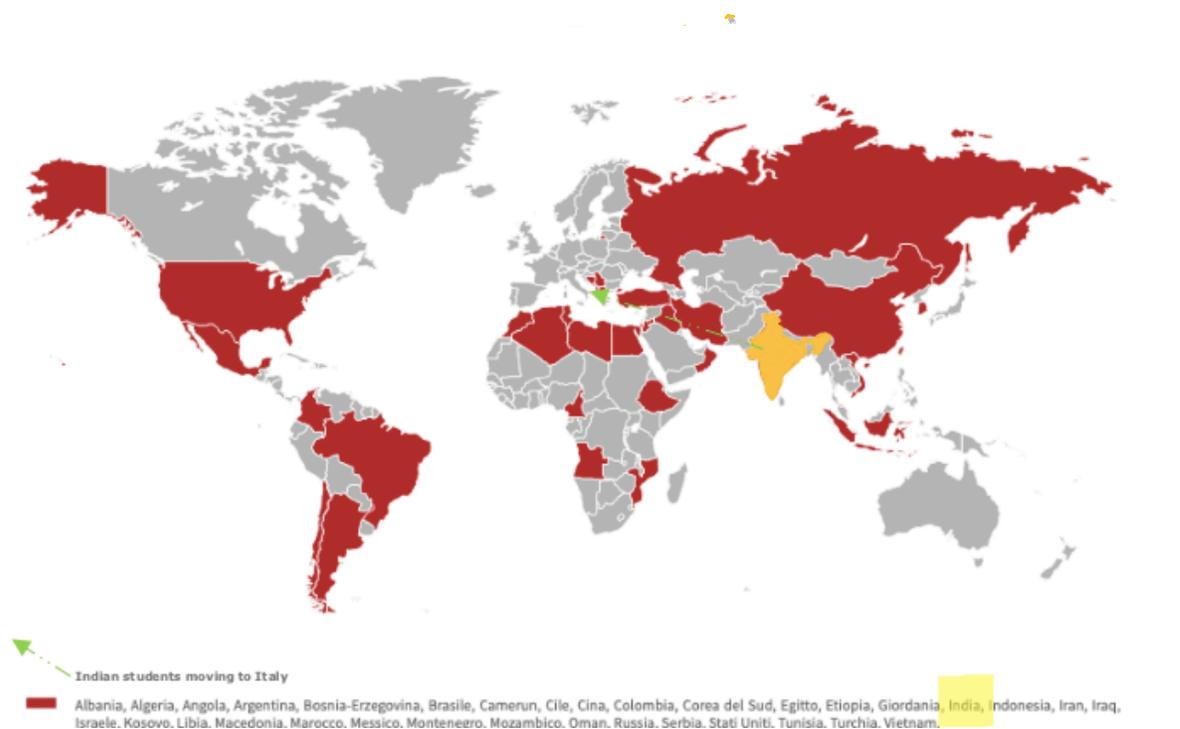
Map 3.4: Geographic primary areas relevant for Italy's highest education development. Source: MIUR 2017,personal revisitation on 2020 (with a yellow emphasis on India and the green arrow).

studies.

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[201] mariaantonietta.scalera@miur.it

From 2007 to 2017, the number of students is nearly ten times increased. As expected between 2011 and 2014, there is a slowdown due to the Marò Crisis [light blu] when Italy has gained only 21 Indian students between 2012/2013, nearly half of what the country gained the year before. Then, suddenly the number raised in 2014/2015 with +320 students. As far as we are concerned, the period that has interested me is the one higlighted in [yellow] the academic years 2016/2017 and in [dark orange]-2017/2018 with some additional insights provided by fieldwork interviews in 2018/2019. On the whole, despite the 2012 diplomatic crisis, during the past 10 years, the number of Indian students has always been positive.

Academic year	Tertiary education			Gain from the year before
	TOTAL	Male	Female	
2007-2008	372	144	228	-
2008-2009	395	183	212	+23
2009-2010	445	212	233	+50
2010-2011	539	271	268	+94
2011-2012	583	308	275	+44
2012-2013	604	302	302	+21
2013-2014	830	494	336	+226
2014-2015	1.150	743	407	+320
2015-2016	1.647	1.145	502	+497
2016-2017	2.255	1.640	615	+608
2017-2018 *	3.160	2.310	850	+905

Table .3.3:Indian students studying in Italy from 2007 to 2018. Elaboration by the author 7/04/2020. Source: MIUR,* 28/11/2018

At the end of the day, it seems that Italy has managed to find its way in the 'to destination countries' with about three thousand one hundred Indian students matriculated in Italian Universities. The number highlighted in [dark orange] will be the one I will refer to, when comparing data with our case study in Padova as it is the most recent and reliable data I managed to find.

o   _Assessment_

Resuming the conspiscious amount of statistical data.

Categories/ Scale	Total of migrants	Indian migrants	Indian students	Total of International students	Total of University students
Italy	5.144.440	157.965	**3.160**	83.925	1.606.909

Table .3.4: Summary of relevant data extrapolated in this Chapter 5, data from 2017-2018. Own elaboration, 05/20 .

Table n°3.4 resumes the most relevant data for our study, that should be read together with table n° 3.2, as reported at page n°129 of this chapter .

In 2018, there were **more than 3.160 Indian** students spreaded among the 127 Italian University institutions (public and private)[202] which means about 25 Indian students in each University. On the whole, USTAT[203] data (2018) accounts that **1,8% of all students in Italian universities are Indians** (See Graphic 3.8).

1,8%

95 %

● India   ● Cina   ● Other Nations   ● Italy
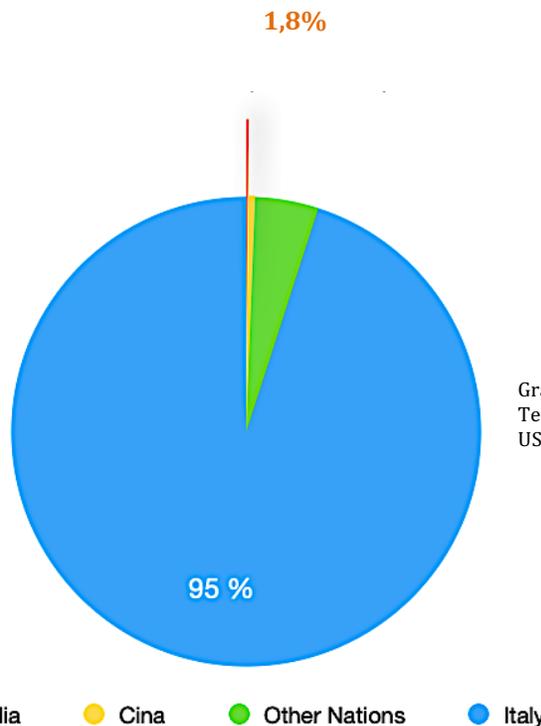
Graphic 3.8: Proportion of Indian students in the Italian Tertiary education : 1,8%. Personal elaboration based on USTAT data (2018).

[202] https://www.miur.gov.it/istituzioni-universitarie-accreditate-.

[203]See the website: http://ustat.miur.it/dati/didattica/italia/atenei NB: a note regarding the graphics. While data are correct, the graphics representing the international students in Italian universities (both public and private) are wrong: data are duplicated, therefore I had to re-elaborate the graphs my self as follow in the next page. 7/05/2020. Data available from MIUR USTAT reflect account from 2017/2018.

Over 1 690 834 students (Italian and international students), in Italian universities, namely **4,96% are international Students** (Graphc n° 3.9).
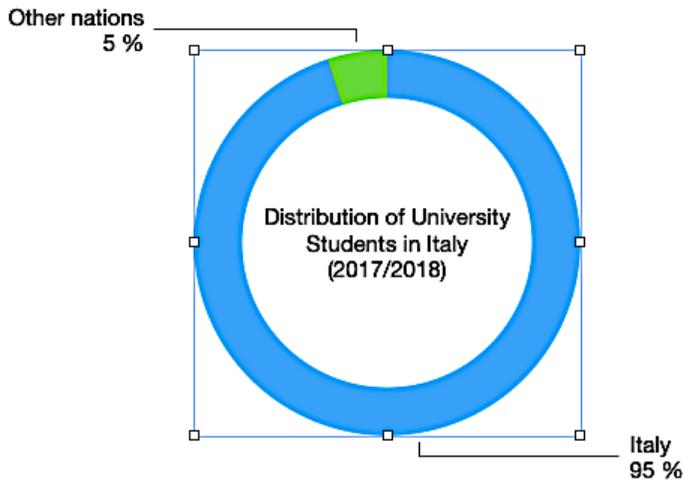
Graphic 3.9: Number of International students in Italian Universities compared with International students (other nations). Personal elaboration, source: USTAT (2018).

Among these International students the three major flows come from: Albania (9.527), Romania (9.012) and China (7.408). **India ranks 4th as a sending country** with 3.160 students i.e <u>**4% of all international student**</u> (Graphic n°3.10).
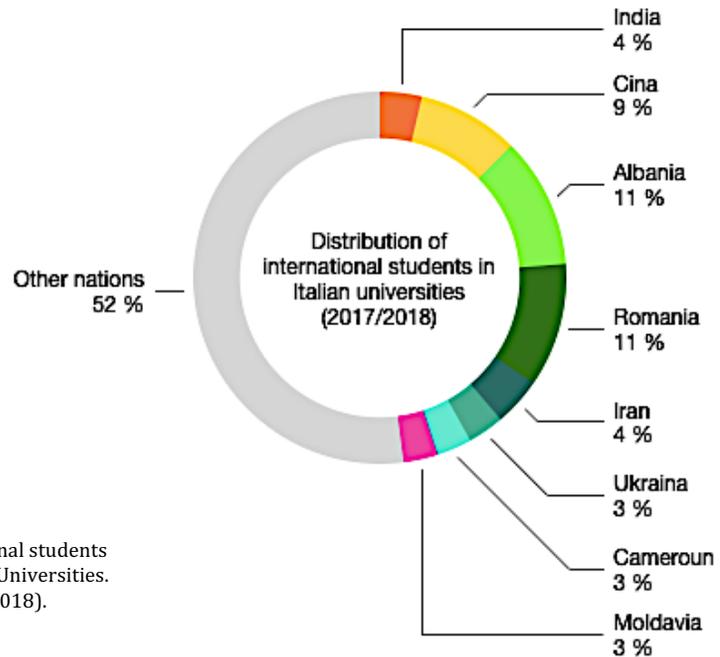
Graphic 3.10: Distribution of International students according to their nationality in Italian Universities. Personal elbaoration, Source: USTAT (2018).

Lastly, the graphic n°3.11 below resumes this unbalance of flows between Indian migrants of different 'skills' profiles and Indian students. This unbalance will certainly have consequences on Indian migrants' visibility in Italy: one of the core topics of this thesis.

Total of Indian migrants and of Indian Students in Italy (2019)
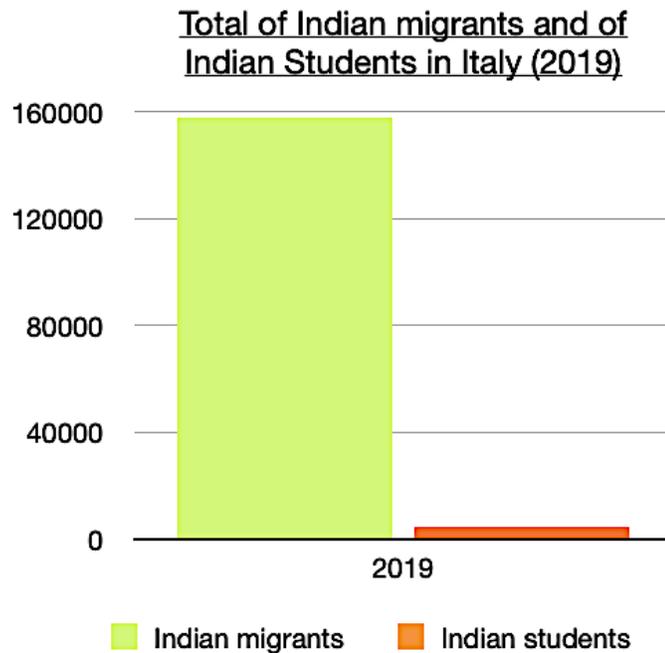
Graphic 3.11: Total of Indian migrants compared with the Indian students in Italy in 2019. Own elaboration 5/20.

o *Assessment*

To conclude the immersion into statistical data in the last two paragraphs has further underlined Italy's political position (and will) to assume a more relevant role as educational hub for foreign countries, especially for those presenting economic advantages for the future[204]. This is the case of India, and one of the reasons why many countries '*cajole*' Indian students to attract them into their Universities[205].

I will now describe in detail the work of UNI-Italia[206], a representative body which promotes higher education in Italy as I could spend some time in their Indian Headquarters during my fieldwork in New Delhi (11/2018 and 11/2019).

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[204] See the Minerva Hub in Appendix 3.6, p.402

[205] Chapter 6 will then delve into the bureaucratic process at individual level boosting Indian students' choice towards Italy these days.

[206] UNI-Italia is the Italian equivalent to '*Campus France*' presented in Mukherjee and Chanda, 2013.

3.3.2 The attraction of Indian students to Italian Universities.

To fulfill the 'attraction' scope, Mrs Chiara Petracca cited above, worked together with Valentina Ierna, head of UNI-Italia in India. Her work consists of "*promoting Italian education through events*" (Open Days or Roadshows) addressed to the 'selected Indian students'; it also deals with the awareness of university structures and the implementation of existing initiatives like *"Italy is waiting for you[207]"*. Mrs Petracca explained that they had also started a promotional video project with 30-minutes commercials interviews[208] where Indian students talk about their experience in Italy (three videos are available on the relative FB page: two in Bologna and one in Padova[209]). Regarding the structure and governance of the national higher education system in Italy, there is a public body responsible for international students: Uni-Italia which has a central function in connecting the network of actors[210] roaming around the migration of Indian students towards italian Universities.

- o *Uni-Italia fostering Indian students migration to Italy*

As an answer to OCSE's recommendations, Italy has adopted special policies and instruments to attract talents presented here. Next, my fieldwork at the Italian Embassy of New Delhi has revealed that Italy's strategy for higher education internationalization is encompassed by the office "Uni-Italia". In addition to its headquarters in Rome (at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation), Uni-Italia centers[211] are located within the offices at Italian Embassies and Consulates abroad in the following countries: India (New Delhi, Mumbai, Kolkata), China (Beijing, Shanghai, Canton, Chongqing), Indonesia, Iran, Vietnam.

- o *Uni-Italia centers: an Italian body for higher education's promotion*

Uni-Italia centers are administrative bodies promoting Italian higher Education and the mobility of foreign students and researchers towards Italian universities abroad. Uni-Italia's final scope is to boost academic collaboration and to foster cooperation in the field of

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[207] Watch also the video *"Italy is waiting for you"* https://www.facebook.com/1880644868918683/videos/2309584912632808/

[208] They relied on an external private agency: Video Columns Agency.

[209] Watch the video: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4UtKUNpny_8

[210] See Appendix 3.12, p.409 and the discussion following at p.410-411.

[211] See Appendix 3.6, p.402 & http://www.uni-italia.it/en/analysis-and-figures

education between Italy and foreign countries. These bodies have been created around the same time France has endowed Campus France[212] (Mukherjee and Rupa, 2013); both play a similar role reflecting their appropriate engagement in following OCSE (2009) suggestions. Indeed, the Uni-Italia centers were founded on 30th of July 2010 jointly by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation (MAECI), the Ministry of Education, University and Research (MIUR), and the Ministry of Interior (MI). As a result, Uni-Italia works closely with Italian diplomatic offices abroad. Generally, these Centres cooperate with the '*Italian Cultural Institutes'* (ICC) especially in supporting Italian higher education programs, selecting and assisting students with their first inquiries made in their own countries. Uni-Italia also helps students when they arrive in Italy and provide distance- support during their stay intending to facilitate their integration into the new social, academic and cultural environment. The headquarter office is in Delhi where Valentina Ierna[213] coordinates the work of all the three offices (New Delhi, Calcutta and Mumbai) is located within the embassy buildings (Photography n°3.1;3.2).

Photography 3.2: Embassy Pass for my fieldwork interviews, New Delhi, 27/11/2018.

Photography 3.1: Embassy entrance in New Delhi, picture from Fieldwork. 20/11/2019

[212] See the website: https://www.campusfrance.org/en foundation date: 27/07/2010

[213] Valentina Ierna is the first to fulfill the role of director of Uni-ITALIA in India. As an Indologist, she carried out her university's studies at the University of Sapienza (Rome). Previously she worked at the Italian Embassy in New Delhi. Today, her work consists of an orientation, support for students' questions and analysis of their applications. She receives many students in her refined office in the Embassy quarters. In the meantime, she contributes to the promotion of education in Italy, also on the occasion of events such as fairs and Roadshows. On 28/11/18, the day after our first interview, she told me about a presentation of Italy at the JMI University; one of the few universities in Delhi that offers Italian classes and promotes Italy in general as a historical and cultural place (CF interview: IN271118.2 & IN181119).

In short, **Uni-Italia** bodies constitute a network of centers and India is one of them. However, Uni-Italia India was only created on February 7th, 2017, hence seven years after the Association foundation. Next, '*Italy has invested on initiatives*'[214] to catch up this 'delay[215]' in the international run for talents.

        o *Uni-Italia missions: focus on the Indian Case.*

The centers carry out a wide range of ventures to develop these objectives and promote qualified student mobility towards Italy along with three main strategies.

(1) Italian higher education promotion (Photography 3.3).

(2)Networking and conferences

(3)Assistance and services for international students

Photography 3.3 : Commercial Items of Uni-Italia to promote Italy for Indian Students. Picture from the official FB page Uni Italia-India, 1/12/2019.

Finally, Uni-Italia offers Assistance and Services[216] for International Students abroad and in Italy, a significant support system for student mobility which includes:

- Orientation to the choice of the study path in Italy,

- Support to enhance the bureaucratic's paperwork required for the pre-enrollment in the Italian University and for the Visa application,

- Promotion of the study of the Italian language in collaboration with the Italian Institutes of Culture abroad,

- Organization of events in Italy (Welcoming Day), to introduce students to their new life in Italy, and to tie relationship between institutions and universities (See Photographs 3.4 to 3.6 below and Advertisement 3.1 below).

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[214] Data from Interview: IN271118.1 . In that regard I talked with Chiara Petracca (Press & Cultural Counsellor, Italian Embassy, New Delhi) who has joined the staff of the embassy in closer contact with UNI-ITALIA to work on *'Indian students attraction with Valentina Ierna of Uni Italia in 2017'*. Watch: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=b50mEISiCuo

[215] Why? Mostly, for the diplomatic reasons reported in the Appendix n°3.3, p.394 " The Marò diplomatic case, freezing diplomay".

[216] A note on the fees. The orientation service provided by Uni-Italia is not free and charges a (non-refundable) payment of INR 11.000 (i.e about 134 € on 04/20 with 1€= 82INR) which needs to be made by bank transfer on Uni-Italia Bank Account.

Advertisement 3.1: EDUEXPO 2019, a roadshow joined by Uni Italia India from the 1/04/2019.

Photography 3.4:Mrs Ierna with Jack and Olivia(FPP EDU MEDIA delegates), in the first FPP India tour 12/4/19. Picture from the official FB page of UNi Italia-India.

Photography 3.6: Mrs Petracca and Ierna opening a presentation in and Indian School with a traditional welcoming ritual (20/2/19)- Picture from the official FB Uni Italia-India page.

Photography 3.5: Mrs. Petracca and Ierna @ Amity University Noida on 21/2/19 during the INBUSH ERA WORLD SUMMIT 2019. .Picture from the official FB Uni Italia-India page.

Photography 3.7 : Picture from Fieldwork in Delhi with the JMI students to introduce Italy during the Exhibition: "Extraordinary visions"- ICC New Delhi- 30/11/2018

Photography 3.8: Seminar on Italy at the Italian Embassy (18/3/2019)- Picture from the official FB Uni Italia-India page.

My first meeting at the embassy (25/11/2018) ended with the scheduled UNI-ITALIA Fair, where the embassy intends to participate forefront more and more, inserting itself in this advertising framework favorable to promote the image of the country[217]. The Indian Embassy in Delhi has also started a promotional video project with 30-minutes commercials interviews where Indian students talk about their experience in Italy (three videos are available on the FB page: two in Bologna and one in Padova[218]) and often invites Indian universities hosting Italian classes to have 'a bite of Italy' at the Italian Culture Center as Photographs 3.7 and 3.8 illustrate.

All of this points to the fact that Uni-Italia has become a platform for actions which garners the Indian students mobility to Italy[219].

   o *Assessment*

This section is mainly composed of a mixed data from the interviews held in New Delhi and official reports available online by the Italian government three main institutions the Internal ministry (MI), the Eductaion ministry (MIUR) and the external affairs ministry (MAECI). While the Italian Embassy in New Delhi mirrors the MAECI in India and as such is the institution in charge of executing the international agreements: the UNI_ITALIA Center has the function of executing educational policies in accordance with the international agreements. Hence, the Uni-Italia body endorses a central role in the process enabling a discussion between institutions that generally hardly communicate one with another (Universities and MAECI – Data from fieldwork).

Up to this point my aim was first to disclose the rich complexity of local and global stakes working in the background of international students mobility to allow Indian students to be part of the 'race', to invest their talents in Italy. Now let us come to "migration's selectivity" (White et al. 2016[220]) and stigmatization (read discrimination) to answer the main question of this chapter: *To what extent the migration of Indian students should be aggregated within migration studies ?*

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[217] Mrs Ierna further underlined how much Italy has to work on this especially in light of the past diplomatic incidents already uncovered (the *Marò case*).

[218] Watch the video for Padova's promotion: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4UtKUNpny_8

[219] In Appendix p.410, a discussion on actors and policies put the accent on further specific programs and instruments gravitating around Uni-Italia's actions leading Indian students-migrants to Italy.

[220] White et al. (2016) reminded that "*Selectivity in migration has been recognized from the earliest times.*" (*Ibid.,*p.37) and quoted Ravenstein (1885) differenciating migrants from the average of UK residents. See also Ambrosini (2011, 2020) and Fratesi & Percoco (2014)

3.3.3 Selected Indian migrants: the international students on the move

Baas' inspiring researches have recently tapped into the sound topic of migrations'drivers related to the abroad-education's question with a more critical look (Baas, 2019; Baas & Yeoh, 2019). Baas and Yeoh (2019) seek to understand migration and non-migration in the 21st century drawing back the attention on the questions of "'*who' is able to migrate,* under '*what conditions*'", and '*how* 'discussions in receiving nations tend to polarize on national "*neoliberal notions of economic nationalism"* (Baas & Yeoh, 2019, p.3). In other words, it means reasoning on what are those benefits available through the instrumentalization of categories of migrants generating a positive outcome able to valorize the receiving country and justifying the selection of migrants according to their backgrounds[221].

While moving is a fundamental right[222], we observe an unbalance trend in human mobility which outlines the idea that migrants are selected. I argue how education in this pattern has become *a conduit* to select certain type of migrants: highly skilled (Watt, 2009). Therefore, I have relyied on Professor Ambrosini advices on migration as a "*selective process*" (Ambrosini, 2011, p.39; 2020[223]).

o *Migration is a 'selective' process*
First, Ambrosini advocates that migration is divided into many categories and some of them are perceived as 'positive'- house helpers ('*badanti*') low skilled migrants working in industries and agriculture ('*braccianti*'), highly skilled migrants working in ITC from Asia- while some are connoted as 'negative migrants'- refugees, asylum seekers, migrants form Africa (Ibid., 2011b; 2019[224]; 2020). What follows is that 'migration' echoes with the mainstream '*negative migrants'* "*invading Europe and Italy"* (Camilli, 2018) while 'mobility' is a label to smooth and by-pass the negative categorization of foreigners arriving in Italy and give an image of 'postive migrants' (Ambrosini, 2020).

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[221] In depth, Chapter 6 will deal with the Indian students' reasons for moving and what are their subsequent experiences in Italy, in Padova and after.

[222] Besides, one should also consider that the international students'migration is based on the assumption that people are free to migrate wherever they want. However, as some scholars have discussed (Baas & Yeoh, 2019, Raghuram, 2015), if mobility increases in one hand, on the other it entails the immobility of other students, a topic that would deserve more attention in the future.

[223] In 2020, Prof Ambrosini has pubblished an updated version of his book. The editor 'Il mulino' has introduced it online on *Webinar* on 18/03/2020, as a consequence of Covid-19 lockdown. ID webinar: 336-691-011 (Ambrosini, 2020).

[224] Summer school of Sociology of Territory held in Venice: Overtourism, host and guest. Final section discussed by Professor Ambrosini on 19/09/2019 at Iuav University of Venice.

Conversely, dealing with international students'migrants, Raghuram (2013) resumed: "*The predominance of <u>skills as a criterion for identifying desirable migrants</u> has meant that skilling is an important element of all migrants' lives. […]fun, excitement, and escape from the familiar are important reasons for student mobility. Hence, the tropes that characterise tourism have become meaningful in explaining student migration.*" Raghuram's assessment is sound : there are migrants who are desired even if we barely hear about them in daily mass-media comments.

- *<u>"Desirable but not welcomed".</u>*

Beyond the prejudices and phobies of those mobile subjects flowing to our cities, Ambrosini enhanced a crucial difference between the tourist and the migrant (Ambrosini, 2019). The tourist benefits from a positive public image continuously sustained by local and national policies which give consense to tourism as it brings money into the city; on the other hand, migration is publicly represented as a 'negative', 'hostile' process, systematically depicted as 'detrimental' denying the positive aspects. Ambrosini declares: "*Migrants as tourists are desirable but not welcomed*" (*Ibid.* 2019[225]).

Lastly, I recall Ambrosini's analogy between the flows of tourists and students: both '*desired mobile subjects*' (*Ibid.,* 2019). In some cities, the promotion of either a historical university or of a unique art gallery or museum, ends up in direct consequences on the delicate balance of the city. For instance, the costs of property and life are rising if there is the warantee that houses will be occupied either by students (renting beds) or by tourists ; so, the normal inhabitants "*permanent resident*" end up moving to the surroundings (Lucchesi, 2020), while the massive influx of visitors - students in our case - can endanger the conservation of monuments and spaces in the city[226] (Dematteis & Lanza, 2014, p.26-27).

- *A selection of Indian migrants in Padova?*

Chasing the Indians in Padova during my fieldwork, has revealed that the small Indian Community remains slightly invisible compared to other international students from China for instance, or Erasmus students in Padova.

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[225] Summer school of Sociology of Territory held in Venice: Overtourism, host and guest. Final section discussed by Professor Ambrosini on 19/09/2019 at Iuav University of Venice.

[226] Venice is the typical emblem of these critical issues as we have discussed in the Summer School "Overtourism: Host and Guests" September 2019 ,@IUAV University of Venice.

First, in order to avoid misunderstandings, I will define the *invisible migration.* The concept 'invisible' immediately outlines the challenge: it means to look at <u>what is hidden behind the evidence</u> and <u>to capture what 'escapes' us</u>.

       o   *<u>Assessment: my definition of 'invisible migration'</u>*

Looking for literature support on this topic I had to face the fact that I was not entirely innovative in adopting this concept for students (and was relieved).

First, as Matznetter (2010) outlined: *"[...] <u>studying abroad is regarded a marginal and volatile form of mainly temporary migration.</u> Labour migration is centre-stage in much of the migration literature, and other forms of migration related to it, such retirement migration or dependents' migration*[227](*Ibid.,* my underlinings*)"*.

Then, Kell and Vogl (2012) before me have framed International students as "*the invisible subjects of global mobility"* (*Ibid.)*. The book chapter[228] underlines that students are '*depersonalized'* and as a consequence "*invisibility"* is associated with *"the actual lived experience of international students" (Ibid*).

Besides, in a similar manner as Iexposed here, the authors have identified several gaps in dealing with international students migration form research and literature side. Piguet et al. (2016) also evidenced this *quasi*-absence: "*Unfortunately, <u>despite their importance as a distinct migrant population</u>, and also in terms of the topic's potential for enriching our understanding of contemporary forms of mobility<u>, there has been relatively little research on international student mobility (ISM) in comparison to other forms of migration.</u>"* (Riaño & Piguet, 2016, p. 1).

To tackle this gap, Vogl and Kell (2012) have critically analysed scholars'usual habit to capture the human dimensions of mobility, cultural interaction and the complexities of being an international student assigning them "*a passive and dependent role"* without questioning "*the inequalities and risks for students that characterise market outcomes".* According to them the literature, is often biased towards "*instrumental and positivist"* research that constructs a systematic 'market'. On the other hand, as they argue instead, literature and research on international students and transnational education should be oriented "*towards macrolevel studies, country studies and market analysis"*

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[227] For further discussion, see Wihtol de Wenden & Benoît-Guyod (2018)

[228] See the book: "Education in the Asia-Pacific Region: Issues, Concerns and Prospects", EDAP , vol. 17 (2012)

(Ibid). Despite the short room I have left to the economic issue, I hope that it is even clearer now how much transnational education is interlinked with market features. In the end, Kell and Vogl have given me hints to evidence how international students are often dismissed and forgotten as part of the migrants' flow arriving in Italy (Ambrosini, 2006).

<u>Conclusion to Chapter 3:</u>

The chapter reveals that higher education becomes a driving force for migrants' new flows arriving to Italy. At the same time, it shows a revival in the perception of the MIUR and the MAECI (authors of these flows of international students) which are attracting 'talented brains' using higher education as an instrument for spreading those ideals of democracy, social equity, and peace: the foundations of the Italian Republic. The latter should be then carried forward in the context of a united Europe and the international assembly of nations. Indeed, Italy has adopted many instruments to encompass its policy of 'talents' attraction' accordingly, as the example of the UNI-Italia Office in New Delhi has illustrated.

Furthermore, as migration's regulation remains a boiling topic for the Italian Government- especially in the years I considered for my research (2017-2018), when the Right-hand party ('*Lega Nord*') eyes were plonked over limitating migration flows, the chapter dealt with the issue of 'migration selectivity' and introduces a discussion about Italians' perception of migration (which will follow in Part 3, using interviews led in Padova). Under such political circumstances, as one can expect, not all typologies of migration were (and are!) '*welcomed*' (Ambrosini, 2019). Indeed, looking closer to the issue under hand: the migration of Indian students to Italy, clearly the body Uni-Italia- along with its attraction of international students' function- has been created as a '*filtering*' door to **select** migrants, since the Ministry of Internal Affairs (at that time held by Minister Matteo Salvini 2018) financed its creation and was the body in charge of delivering the relative visas. All these elements finally lead to observe that conversely to other migration flows extremely visible and stigmatized as 'not desirable' in Italy, the one of Indian students is barely visible to the extent of becoming invisible[229].

<center>***</center>

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[229] The last chapter will reiterate the question of migrants' selectivity focusing on the case study of Padova leading us to answer the central question of Indian students-migrants 'desirability in Italy: *Are they desirable only if they are invisible?*

Considering these different hints from Chapter 3 which have placed the migration of Indians to Italy answering to the questions: **WHEN Indians'diaspora to Italy has started and HOW it has evolved over time including the flow of Indian students-migrants?**

In the following part, the migration phenomenon is apprehended through the *&SoC model* using the variables of the city, the university and the people to answer the following questions: **WHERE does the case-study take place? [***Where do the Indian students-migrants live and how do they live their day-to-day life in an Italian city? Does the city has witnessed this 'invisible presence' part of the Indian visible community*? Padova-city has developed narrow historical bonds with the University: *Who governs it and how*?**]; WHO are the Indian students in Padova***? **[***Do they constitute migrants in the eyes of permanent residents and media*? *Are-they integrated, assimilated, or perhaps discriminated as some Sikh-migrants had reported*?**]; WHY is it interesting to analyse the migration question adding the University (and the international students) as urban actors contributing to shape new spaces in the city ? [***Could the City-University's relationship be a facet of the Italian strategy to attract students or does it undisclosed another goal? How Indian students manage their everyday life in this pattern*?**]**

All these questions will be tackled in Part 3 which expressively focuses on my Fieldwork analysis in Padova (2015, 2017-2019/20).

PART 3:
SPACES UNDER CONSTRUCTION,
INTERNATIONALISATION AT THE CROSSROAD.
Case-study analysis : Indian students -migrants in Padova.

Introduction Part 3

The evidence disclosed in Part 2 have outlined the condition under which Indian students-migrants access Italy departing from India under a planned migratory strategy regulated by precise policies on the global scale which eventually impact on the local scale. The attraction of talented Indians as a work-resource for Italy should also be read on the city-scale. Indeed, according to Rossetto (2015) "*The cities, as compared to nation-states, are revivified for their greater ability to face global processes and multicultural societies*" (Rossetto, 2015, p.165). Besides, quoting Appadurai and Holston (1996), I remind that: " *[...]the city [is] this <u>dense and heterogeneous lived space</u>. Immigrants typically congregate and work in cities [...] Moreover, immigrants tend to rely on previous <u>networks of knowledge</u> [...] Thus, <u>the politics of immigration is closely tied to the politics of cities</u> [...]*" (Appadurai and Holston,1996, p.196, my underlining). I share Appadurai and Holston's view and integrated it within my &SoC model. In this manner, building upon the transnational theory discussed in Chapter 1, I have highlighted the kaleidoscopic facets of the city as the *loci* of lived diversity, sharing, dynamism, vibrancy, and encounters (Bruslé & Varrel, 2012; Dematteis & Lanza, 2014; Rossetto, 2015). Although distant in time, but in a similar vein, Park et al. (1952) were also interested in underlining the '*attraction of the metropolis*' (*Ibid.,* p.47) focusing on local studies (Ibid.,p.75) and on the '*neighborhood'* scale (*Ibid* p.18).

This last part of the discussion presents my case-study analysis in Padova. Indeed, Part 3 will follow Park's suggestions (1952) again. The part is divided into three chapters, following the three variables of my model: the city, the university and the people. Part 3 mostly relies upon fieldwork data to answer the main research question: "*To what extent the Indian students'migration contributes to narrate a different story of migration while updating the School of Chicago's approach to the study of a specific foreign community?*"

Chapter 4 presents the city, Padova, as a key site for students'migration, where Indian students are the example through which we will apprehend the former statement. The chapter describes some geographical and historical features of the city first, and then moves

to the neighborhood scale and the description of the spaces in which the Indian community is located using an assortment of maps.

Chapter 5 follows with a focus on the university location and history first. Together with the University of Padova's presentation of its policies and strategies to incarnate the image of an international space and I will evidence the existence of strong bonds between the city and the University of Padova these days (Lucchesi & Romania, 2019).

In Chapter 6, I have reported the stories of some Indian students to understand their migration 'pathways': their routes and trajectories in the city of Padova to assess the traces they may have left behind in crossing the city's spaces. Next, the stories will reveal how their decision to stay, circulate or return after their short stay in Padova is subordinated to external and personal factors (recalling to the transnational theory) and not to the output of their abroad adventure.

Eventually, the relationship between the university and the city outlined in this Part will be apprehended in terms of co-production of spaces: spaces of places and spaces of flows (Castells, 1996), respectively described as "*space of knowledges*" (Raghuram 2013, Martinelli 2012) and "*space of global cultures*" (King, 2012) in the conclusions. These spaces will be unveiled by mapping the ordinary experiences sites crossed by Indian students *every day* (Certeau & Rendall, 1984; Durand et al., 2018; Javeau, 1982.). The simplified maps of Padova -as "*a set of spaces*" (Urry, 2000) will display the materialization of spaces included in one place (Bruslé & Varrel, 2012; Wu, 2016), the city of Padova .

These empirical chapters will lead us back to theory across the three dimensions evidenced by the revisited ecological model of Park et al. (1925) merged with the Sense of Community (&SoC): structured, spatial and perceived (See Chapter 2) materializing an ecosystem illustrated by the &SoC in the general conclusions of the dissertation. On the whole, these three chapters want to reproduce the journey of Park (1952) in connecting the urban population (Indian students and the other categories presented in chapter 2) with the spatial organization of the city of Padova sketched in Chapter 1. The ultimate goal of this part is to wrap up a number of general assumptions made in the previous chapters and in literature, as the one of Raghuram (2013) who asserted that "*knowledge has become a hallmark of the desirable migrant subject as knowledgeable migrants have come to be seen as economically, socially, and culturally integrable*" (*Ibid.,*2013, my underlining).

Chapter 4 : <u>The city of Padova and the Indian community, a mosaic of small worlds.</u>

<u>Introduction to Chapter 4</u>

First and foremost, Chapter 4 locates Padova on the Italian map in order to encompass its territory in the Veneto Region as a province- '*Provincia-*' and then as a city itself, while assessing the spatial features of this medium city (Section VI.1). In Section VI.2 I will interweave the city framework with some considerations retrieved from the Chicagoans, following the premises of the analysis of the city of Padova started in Chapter I and focus on Padova as 'the city of neighborhoods' (Comune di Padova, 2017). In this section I will also remind some political features adopted by Padova's Municipal Council highlighting its radical changes over the past years [Zanonato[230] (PD, Partito Democratico- Center left), Bitonci (Lega Nord-center Right)], and lastly the coalition of Giordani (PD-center left) and Lorenzoni (Coalizione civica-center left][231].-Finally, Section VI.3 will focus on the Indian dots disseminated on the city map, conveying the idea of city's areas and spaces wherein migrants gather. My intention is to provide the evidence that will allow us to encompass the Indian migrants residing in the city of Padova as an 'urban community' in Italy, building on the terms of Chicagoans (Park, 1952). Indeed, as Park (1952) had pointed out: "*The urban community is [...] <u>the melting pot of races and cultures</u>, the region in which new institutions emerge, as earlier ones decline, are modified and disappear*" (*Ibid.*, p.84, my underlining).

This Chapter's argumentation gives the bases to encompass the city of Padova as a '*laboratory*' (Messina, 2019; Park, 1952) – or perhaps '*a controlled experiment*' (Park, 1952, p.73). In any case, we will point out that this medium city is a place likely to assess the transformations of this urban environment towards a "*cosmopolitan Padova*" (Poli, 2019)(Section 4.1). Next, I will assess some Chicagoans hints to nuance the use in literature of the idea of immigrant's concentration in 'ethnic areas' in Padova, while presenting Padova as a 'city of neighborhoods' (Section 4.2). In this context, I will recall

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[230] According to Caponio (2009), the representation of policies for immigrants in Padova appears a little more conflictual, at least until 2009, although the initiatives of the Department of immigration policies has tried to tackle the negative vibes around migration in those years. In this context, the presence of very strong personalities should be remembered medically effective, such as that of the mayor Flavio Zanonato and the councillor for policies immigration Daniela Ruffini whose voices, on several occasions, had animated the city debate.

[231] See box n° 3 in the Appendix n°4.1, p.412 to have the list of Padova's mayor from 1947 to nowadays 2020.

(in Section VI.3) the discussion previously engaged in Chapter 2 which introduced the &SoC model layering the city of Padova as an intercultural space under construction (Bekemans & Mazzocchin, 2017; Cancellieri & Ostanel, 2015a; Delugan, 2010; Marconi & Ostanel, 2016; Mazzocchin, 2019; Sandercock, 1998).

SECTION 4.1. GEOGRAPHICAL AND SPATIAL LANDMARKS OF THE CITY OF PADOVA

The first section presents the city of Padova looking at its geographical landmarks as a medium city part of a network of cities of similar sizes which constitute the characteristics of the region Veneto. Inasmuch as the city of Padova is part of the 'Land of Venice', we are starting the discussion retrieving some spatial and demographic information from the Province scale, narrowing slowly until the city-one. Years of political shifts – especially on the way to tackle immigration as an urban issue- have entailed socio-political transformations in the city. Up until recent years, the city has faced issues of migrants stigmatization and segregation that are still rooted in natives' minds (e.g. *the Wall of Via Anelli*[232]). Since 2017, the urban planning has started approaching the city as 'a city of neighborhoods' (Ostanel, 2017), in other words an '*ecosystem*' of diversity in which some '*Islands of differences*' (Briata, 2012; Ostanel, 2017; Ambrosini, 2019[233]) became more visible to the eyes of permanent dwellers.

4.1.1 Padova: a province and a city

o *Padova city in the 'Land of Venice'*

Padova is located in the North-East part of Italy, the closest city to Venice, inside the region "*Veneto*", renamed recently : '*The land of Venice'* in 2019[234]. Padova is strategically located on the corridor between Verona-Vicenza-Bologna and Venice.

With a population of around 210.000 inhabitants, to add to this number they are about 57.000 University students, Padova is included, together with Venice, in the Padova-Treviso-Venice Metropolitan area which altogether has a population of about 2,600,000 inhabitants (see Map 4.1).

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[232] See the Appendix n°4.1, p.412 for more details box n°4.

[233] Summer school of Sociology of Territory held in Venice: Overtourism, host and guest. Final section discussed by Professor Ambrosini on 19/09/2019 at Iuav University of Venice.

[234] Summer school of Sociology of Territory held in Venice: Overtourism, host and guest. Final section discussed by Professor Ambrosini on 19/09/2019 at Iuav University of Venice.

The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD, 2015) has underlined that the Venice metropolitan region is one of the largest Italian economies and one of the most successful areas in the world for tourism, and it boasts a traditional export-oriented manufacturing vocation (OECD, 2015, p.13). The strength of the Padova-Treviso-Venice region is a high concentration of Small Medium Enterprises (SME) and a successful network of industrial clusters[235] (OECD, 2010, p.13, 2015, p.22).
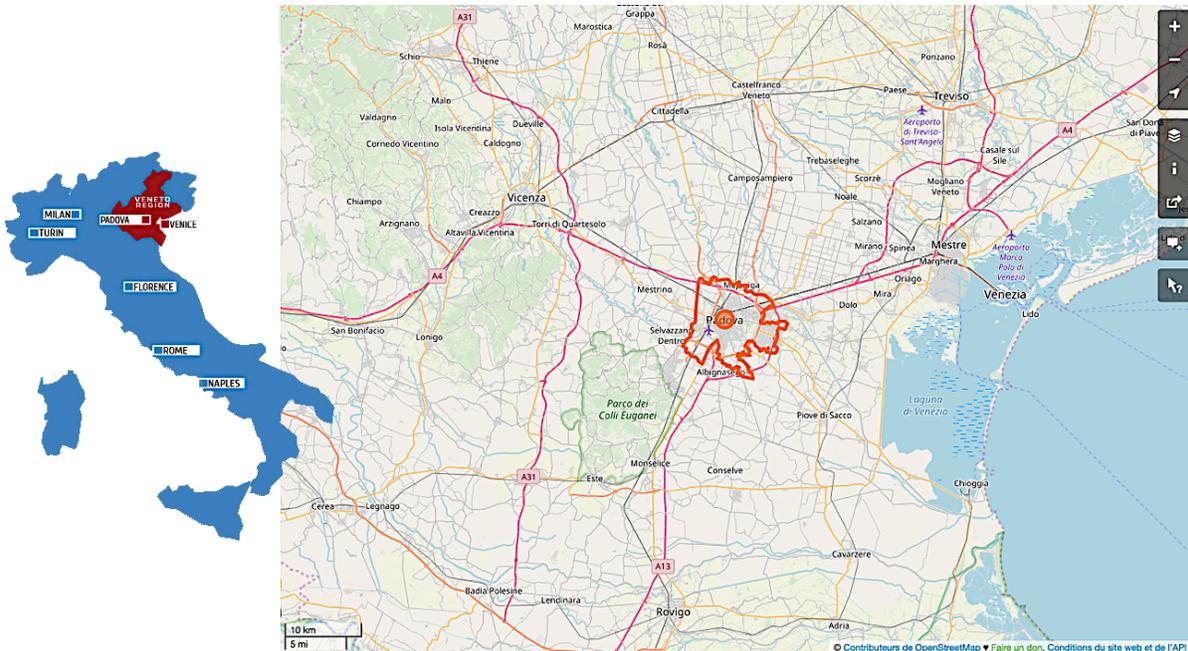
Map 4.1: Padova's city's territory among the region scale from GoogleMaps.(09/2019).

It is precisely this favorable geographical position and closeness to Bologna and Venice, which first fostered new opportunities for Padova beyond the rich religious heritage of the city that has contributed to roughly call it "*La città del Santo*" – The Saints' city (referring to the Saint Antony Church, a famous worship place for Christians from all over the world)(Ronconi, 2007).

Moreover, Padova is an important commercial and communications crossroad for the whole region. On top of these features, besides being a remarkable economic center in Northern Italy, it is also a renowned cultural center rich in valued history sights[236].

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[235] See the Box n° 2 in Appendix n° 4.1, p.412

[236] As we will see in the next chapter (n°5) its University is the second oldest University in Italy: here taught Galileo Galilei and got her degree the first graduated woman in the world, Elena Lucrezia Cornaro Piscopia, in 1678.

The population of the region[237] is of 4.905.584 inhabitants for a territory of 18.345,35 km²; <u>Padova is the biggest Province in terms of population with 937.908 inhabitants</u> and 102 cities and a territory's size of 2.144,15 km².

As we mentioned in Chapter IV, the Region Veneto is an important destination for migrants. According to the latest population census (2011), Veneto is <u>the second Italian region</u>, after Lombardy, by the absolute number of foreign residents. Veneto is the fourth region by a percentage of foreigners (**10,2% in 2019**) of the total number of residents. As a result, the Veneto region is one of the main attractions of foreign immigration in Italy.

Recently, Marconi, Cancellieri, and Tonin (2014) have explored the relationship between Veneto territory and the migration flows. Migration flows in Veneto were strongly fueled mainly by local manufacturing systems, as well as by the aging of the population and the decrease in the economically active one, which generated a high demand for domestic work (the same characteristics highlighted in Chapters IV and V)[238]. In 2019, according to Veneto region statistics, the population is growing again due to the effect of migration.

The territorial distribution of the foreign population in Veneto witnesses at the same time a concentration and delocalization of the migrants' flows. In 2019, the populations' concentration occurred in the provinces with a greater demand for manufacturing work, i.e. Treviso (5.577 entrances), followed by Venice (4.873 entrances) and Verona (4.754 entrances) (Veneto statistical data, 2019[239]). On the other hand, there are the provinces of Vicenza and Padova which also have a high incidence. <u>The Province of Padova counts 97.085 foreign residents</u> which represent about **10,4%** of the whole population, a data which is in line with the Region medium of the same year (2019).

The numbers are more relevant instead of looking at Padova city, which is the capital city of the Province (See Figure 4.1) The city of Padova accounts **16,4%** of foreign residents

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[237] See the website https://www.tuttitalia.it/veneto/38-province/densita/

[238] Since 2018, Veneto has lost 22,559 inhabitants. In 2019, Padova has registered a reverse-gear thanks to the migration presence on the territory. „In Veneto the population starts to grow again, after three years of decline: in 2018 the demographic counter marked 5 thousand more inhabitants, bringing the population of residents to 4 million and 910 thousand residents. The statistics against the national demographic trend (90 thousand less residents in a year in the peninsula) reported the Statistics Office of the Veneto Region, with the latest issue of Flash Statistics. " See box n°1 in Appendix 4.1, p.412.
See the article: http://www.padovaoggi.it/cronaca/veneto-popolazione-crescita-padova-27-giugno-2019.html

[239] http://statistica.regione.veneto.it/pubblicazioni_statistiche_flash.jsp

Foreign population residing in Padova on the 1st of January 2019.
'Foreigners' are those persons whose citizenship is not Italian and are residing stably in Italy.
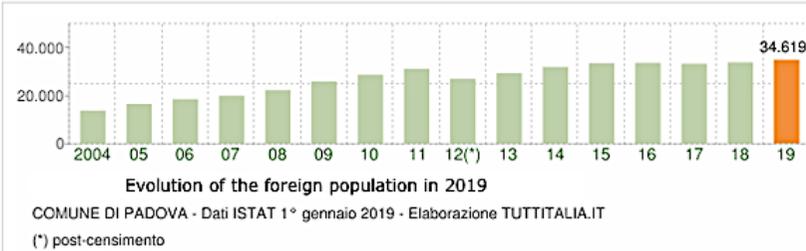
Evolution of the foreign population in 2019
COMUNE DI PADOVA - Dati ISTAT 1° gennaio 2019 - Elaborazione TUTTITALIA.IT
(*) post-censimento

Foreign population residing in Veneto on the 1st of January 2019.

Evolution of the foreign population in 2019
VENETO - Dati ISTAT 1° gennaio 2019 - Elaborazione TUTTITALIA.IT
(*) post-censimento

Distribution of citizenships by geographical area
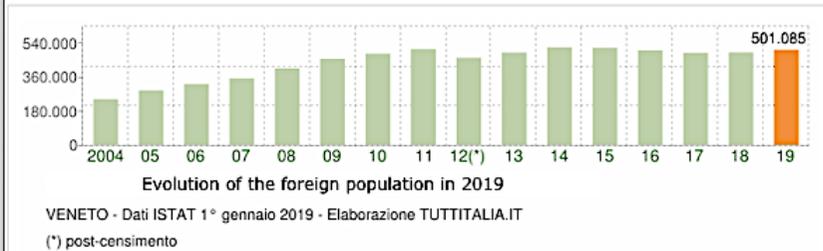
Distribution of citizenships by geographical area

Foreign population residing in Padova on the 1st of January 2019.
'Foreigners' were 34.619 and as such represented 16,4% of the whole resident population

Foreign population residing in Veneto on the 1st of January 2019.
'Foreigners' were 501.085 and as such represented 10,2% of the whole resident population
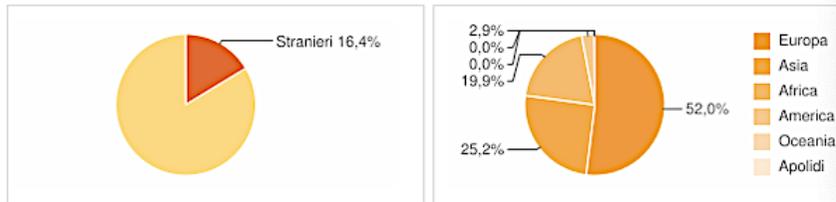
The largest foreign communities in Padova come from: Romania (26,8%), Moldova (11,6%) and China (8,3%). Indians are 1,29% of the whole foreign population.
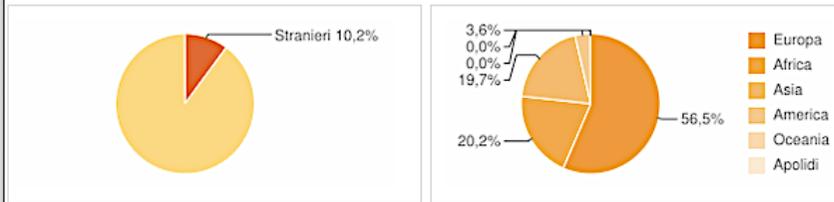
The largest foreign communities in Veneto come from: Romania (25,3%), Morocco (9,1%) and China (7,1%). Indians are 3,1% of the whole foreign population.
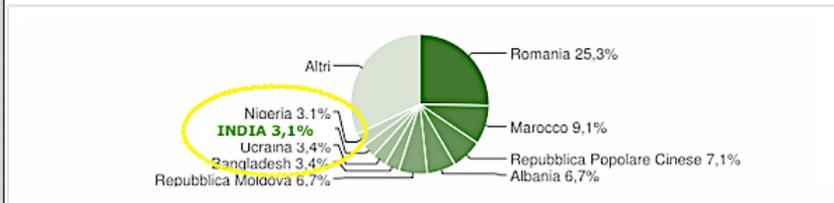
Figure 4.1: Comparing data from Padova City (left) and Veneto Region (right) in 2019. Personal elaboration on ISTAT data 2019.

o *Assessment*

On the whole, as Cancellieri (2014) has argued, the migration presence in Veneto was immediately characterized by relative stability: "The steady increase in foreign populations' flows have been accompanied by a progressive stabilization in the territory" (Marconi et al. 2014, p.8). Indeed, studies have shown that most immigrants have found employment in industrial districts, in particular in small or very small businesses linked to the *'Made in Italy'*- fashion sector or, in metal-mechanical sectors (See Tonin 2014, for considerations related to migration related to economy). As we have discussed in Chapter 3, these are mostly companies that require low-skill, intensive, and low-paid jobs (Paba and Murat, 2006, p.1).

These elements contribute to underline the profound changes which are taking place in contemporary societies as the Italian one, leading us to rethink the characteristics of the city's life in a new way to describe and perceive human's new habits and attitudes. Indeed, according to the Chicagoans, the city tolerates a multiplicity of models through which it provides the stimuli and conditions that tend to bring out those psychological and temperamental qualities (Park et al., Italian version, 1967, p.196). To apprehend these conditions, Chicagoans have recommended defining the city's size first.

4.1.2 How to define Padova's size?

In 1967, Alessandro Pizzorno has reminded that urban sociologists identified three successive stages of an increasingly vast area of inter-relationships and influences in the related concepts of towns, cities, and metropolises.

o *Town/ City/metropolis*

The town is the product of limited communicative means and constitutes a more or less self-sufficient economic unit. It represents an easy aggregate because it is local and intimately linked to an area limited by a rather narrow rural suburb.

The city is a highly specialized unit compared to the town, and consequently, it is part of a wider area of relationships. The social unit of the city is the professional group rather than the geographical area.

Finally, the metropolis tends to become a cosmopolitan unit based on a relatively high degree of development of its communicative means. On the whole, these three urban types, in addition to differentiating themselves by the number of inhabitants and occupied areas, are distinguished by their social organization and attitudes.

As in the USA, in Italy, there is a tendency to divide the territory into provinces according to the area of influence of the larger metropolitan units. Padova is in fact not only a Province but also a city delimited by borders (see Picture 4.1).

Picture 4.1: Padova city from the sky. Data source: Urbanlife blog, from Landsat copernicus, 2017- the transparent shape illustrates the city walls which are still partially surrounding the city-center and match with the current Neighborhood Q1 delimitation. Personal elaboration.

In order to avoid biases while presenting the city I have been living in for ten years, I have interview randomly some permanent residents of Padova in the streets of Padova. The interviews occurred in the city-center, nearby the *Piazza Cavour* where the exhibition "*Un'Idea di India*" was taking place from 2/04 to 28/04/2019. Even though my initial goal was to collect opinions about the 'locals 'perception of India in Padova', I took a chance to ask them how they apprehended the city in terms of spaces (Form survey PD#3). For the majority, the city appears as a medium one (58,6%).

o *Padova, a medium city.*

Compared to the whole province described above, **Padova city** is not such a big city indeed, rather a medium one with **210.912 inhabitants** in 2019 and a territory of **93.03km²**. As the picture n° 1 below illustrates, the city hosts a high density of population.

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The urbanization process in Padova has been studied by diverse authors (Cancellieri, 2020; Cancellieri et al., 2020; Cancellieri & Ostanel, 2014, 2015b; Cancellieri & Peterle, 2019; Lironi, 2016; Mantovan & Ostanel, 2015; Marconi et al., 2014; Ostanel, 2013). What is striking for urbanists is the sprawl of the city from its inner "walls" center to the outskirts[240] (Condotta & Spigai, 2013).

On this topic, the IUAV University has elaborated a range of reports and proposals aiming at giving suggestions on how to regenerate the city by keeping an eye on its heritage (Balbo & Ciacci, 2015; Condotta & Spigai, 2013; Fregolent, 2020; Tosi & Marcon, 2012).

As far as I am concerned, I would like to apprehend the city of Padova in a similar manner as my IUAV colleague, Elena Ostanel[241], recommends: at the neighborhood scale (Mantovan & Ostanel, 2015; Ostanel, 2017).

   o *Assessment*
To conclude, the geographical and spatial landmarks of Padova as a city, have led us to frame it as a medium city. As one informant has well-resumed, Padova "*[...]* is still a medium-sized Italian city and not a metropolis" (Italian woman, 34 years old). Besides, this comment is sound if we read this statement in light of the considerations made by the Chicagoans above: metropolises are more likely to become cosmopolitan units. Now that I have presented the city in terms of spaces, it is also important to read the urban policies and those related to migration, in light of the local political ruling parties (Caponio, 2009b; Marconi et al., 2014).

4.1.3 Governing the migration question as an urban issue in Padova

One can wonder why am I now handling a local-political issue in a discussion plonked on spaces? The reason is that in Italy, migration policies are handled with a certain autonomy at local level. Therefore, we cannot understand the migration question as an urban issue if we don't have the political context in which the policies were adopted. There are several factors that have become the *"hallmark of urban policies in Italian cities"* (Mazzochin, 2017, p.100): *security policies, hyper-visibility* and *the city of differences* are the strongest aspects.

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[240] http://www.parcomurapadova.it/

[241] Elena Ostanel is a Ph.D in Urban Planning and currently a Marie Currie Fellow from IUAV UNiversity. See her website: https://www.elenaostanel.com/. She works on the project "Neighbourchange" since 2017.

o *2009-Security policies. Padova as a model of institutional localism.*

First, I recall the migratory phenomenon in Padova relying upon literature which considers the case of Padova's migration policies as being "*between security measures and the perception of degrado*" (i.e. urban blight, decay) (Romania and Zamperini, 2009) in the first decade of the 2000s. The '*degrado*' has been a powerful weapon in political and public discourse during elections campaigns.

The case of Padova is well known by national media especially in light of the close relationship between media and institutions under the Mayor Zanonato's mandate (Caponio, 2009). Until 2009, when Flavio Zanonato was in charge, the city seemed to be trapped into a 'fake' integration policy, similar to the assimilationist one discussed earlier in Chapter I (Borin, 2018; Caponio, 2009b; Marconi et al., 2014). The policies adopted by the Town hall of Padova[242] related to migration were mostly 'security policies[243]' to tackle the urban decay discussed by Romania & Zamperini (2009) in order to control the "*décor*" in urban environments and to limit the behaviors of people were perceived as a threat to it, such as drug dealers, prostitutes, beggars and drunk people (Mazzocchin, 2017, p.100). Moreover, the most impressive example of these policies has been highlighted by the work of Elena Ostanel (2013) who reminded the '*Wall of Padova*' (Wood, 2009*)* , Via Anelli, as an example of failed interculturalism and failed inclusion of migrants in the city of Padova (Cancellieri et al., 2020; Lironi, 2016; Tosi & Marcon, 2012).

Later, in line with these perspectives, Mazzocchin (2017) brought some examples of 'restrictive policies against migrants'; she declared that " *[...]mayor Massimo Bitonci (Lega Nord, 2014-2016) [with]* a harshly debated mayor's ordinance *was the one that got the nickname of "anti-kebab ordinance", issued by the mayor in April 2015.* The ordinance forced the commercial activities in the area of the station *(concerning also a part of Arcella) to close down their activities not later than 8 pm. [...] The ordinance was widely criticized by the shop-owners of the area."* (*Ibid.* p.100, my underlining).

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[242] I remind that the responsibility and competence for governing security in cities belonged to the Italian central government until 2008, when the Ministry of Interior (Maroni) issued an administrative order on "*Public safety and urban security: definition and fields of application"* (Ministry of Interior, Decreto 5 August 2008). https://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/eli/id/2008/08/09/08A05777/sg

[243] A common result – while assessing the state of art of Italian cities related to migration policies- was highlighted by Caponio in 2009. She has demonstrated that Padova -as Turin and Bologna- has a scarce articulation of urban **security policies** closely linked to immigration are ending up in *'messy practices'* at the local level.

Eventually, the repressive behavior of Massimo Bitonci, has led scholars to categorize him among the "*sheriff-mayors*" (Briata, 2014) those who did "*gain visibility in the public discourse*" through repressive policies (Caponio, 2009 ; Romania and Zamperini 2009).

At the end of the day, some authors (Balbo, 2009; Borin, 2018; Briata, 2014; Cancellieri et al., 2020; Caponio, 2009; Lironi, 2016; Mantovan & Ostanel, 2015; Marconi et al., 2014; Ostanel, 2014) have critically examined the policies that had been put into place in Padova under the excuse to discourage processes of spatial segregation, urban poverty, and emphasizing instead a gap between political intentions of a faded '*mixité*' (Briata, 2014) and ghettos areas bubbling at the urban scale of Padova. In the words of Caponio (2009):

"*Padova [...], presents a <u>very strong and rooted model of institutional localism</u> which translates into often <u>assimilationist public policies</u>, which recognize the value of the foreign citizen only if he works, does he integrate and abandon his cultural specificities as much as possible.*" (Caponio 2009, p.17, my underlining).

Among the cities studied by Caponio in 2009, the author stresses that perhaps Padova offers a greater example in indicating a tangle of problems (immigrants, drug use and drug dealing, insecurity, prostitution) to which the local authorities had first responded with '*wider maneuvers'* to the migration phenomenon (Caponio, 2009, p.6). Caponio also denounced the tendency of previous town mayors to excessively rely upon media to enhance visible public policies: "*Six years of public discourse: the chronology of the visibility of public policies*" (*Ibid.,* 2009, p.16). Coming back to what we outlined I Chapter 3, let's see how does the'*Italian way'* (Briata, 2014) impact at the city-level.

o *2009-2015- The hypervisibility of migrants in Padova*

The case of Padova related to migration as an urban issue was apprehended by those IUAV scholars I have previously mentioned: Adriano Cancellieri and Elena Ostanel (among others). Interestingly for my personal considerations about the migration phenomenon of invisible migrants in Padova, Cancellieri and Ostanel have highlighted migrants situation in Padova, stressing their "*hypervisibility*" instead (Cancellieri & Ostanel, 2015).

The two 'local authors' who have intensively worked on the case of Padova for years, have demonstrated how the use of space by foreigners is often regarded by permanent residents as "socio-geographical transgression" since it questions the taken for granted

spatial order and the established behavioral conventions (Cancellieri and Ostanel, 2015, p.8).

Quoting Simonsen (2010, p.174), Cancellieri reminds us that bodies in space constitute "*a practice-sensory realm in which space is perceived also through sight, smells, tastes, and hearing. It produces a space that is both biomorphic and anthropological*" (Ibid., Cancellieri and Ostanel 2015, p.6).

From my observations, in Padova, urban spaces are reshaped by the non-standard presence and the new uses made by foreigners and newcomers, in a process that approaches them as "*spatial actors in that they try continuously to use and re-signify urban spaces in order to search out symbolic as well as material resources*" (Cancellieri 2013, p.116). Their hyper-visibility is bolstered by the fact that frequently they begin using spaces that have been abandoned or less used by Italians (Romania and Zamperini 2009), to the extent that some permanent residents would have the misleading impression of '*invisible segregation*'(see Park et al., 1925) or a feeling of being *"invaded"* (Camilli, 2018; Marconi et al., 2014).

Following Caponio (2009), Cancellieri and Ostanel (2015) have also pointed out the role of media in fueling the feeling that foreigners represent a threat to the appropriate use of urban space, generating 'moral panic', which "*may lost its short-lived feature for becoming a long-term atmosphere of continuous 'moral panic' [Cohen, 1973] characterized by the circulation of a stereotyped image of migrants as a risk factor*" (Lupton, 1999, in Ibid., 2015,p.7). In line with the prior discussion, media representations of migrants as criminals are supra-visible (Paola Briata, 2014a; Caponio, 2009b), in this way media have managed to generate some forms of moral panic selectively focused on actors deemed to be representative of moral minorities (Briata, 2014). In this sense, I agree with Brighenti (2017): "*Clearly, one's positioning behind or beyond the thresholds of fair visibility raises the problem of the management of one's social image in one's own terms*" (Brighenti, 2017, p.330). The negative emphasis of media on migration tells us only one side of the complete story, the one that suits better to politicians' narrations (Caponio, 2009b).

Nevertheless, in comparison to Cancellieri & Ostanel (2015) and Saint-Blancat & Cancellieri case studies on migrants' right to visibility in Padova (2014); and to Montanari (2018) and Piazzoni (2019) who dealt with Bengladeshi migrants' visibility rights in Rome, I won't frame invisibility within a right-based perspective, and would rather adopt

the concept to distinguish Indian students' migration from others[244]. In fact, studies have enhanced that out of the negative image enhanced by public discourses (Caponio, 2009b), the perception of migration and of the city is affected by medias' comments (Colombino, 2009; Lovigi, 2013; Rossetto, 2015).

The references cited have sent us back to the depressive picture of Padova (often depicted in newspapers and instrumentalized by politicians) that was widespread about ten years ago (before I moved to the city). I remind that family' s friends had recommended me to '*avoid renting a house in Via Anelli or in Arcella*' , that the city was '*dangerous*' and I should have been careful of migrants when coming back home alone at night (on this topic see the discussion of Panichella & Ambrosini, 2018). Similar comments appeared during my interviews in the streets of Padova (2019) asking about the most striking urban transformations in Padova according to her experience[245], a woman declared :

"If I think about Padova ten years ago, there was the whole situation in via Anelli. In ten years, the area of the station has also changed. The Arcella area has also changed. I think the distribution of foreigners in the city area has changed. But I could not indicate exactly which cultures have moved to and where in the city" (Italian women, Q1, 30 years).

o *2017: a turning point, towards the city of differences?*

What the quote above reports is right: in about ten years the city has experienced an important political twist in a historical moment in which the central government in Italy was turning Right (with the Election of Matteo Salvini as Interior Affairs Minister in 2018[246]) (see Galbo, 2019), the city of Padova instead was mingling left and center parties in 2017[247].

Indeed, since 2017, the city seems to have been on a reverse trend compared to the national policies dictated by the Right-Hand Party of the '*Lega Nord*'- 'Northern League' (see the discussion of Marconi et al., 2014, pp. 27–36 ; Thapan, 2013, p. 6 on the impacts of migrants'perception on local territories). Conversely, Padova has begun an

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[244] See Appendix 3.2, p.390

[245] See Appendix n° 2.6, p.384: "Interview form PD#/3 "Question n°7: Territory planning and social inclusion. *How does it manifest itself in Padua? Are there any innovative aspects?*

[246] https://www.interno.gov.it/it/matteo-salvini-0

[247] See: http://www.padovaoggi.it/politica/elezioni/amministrative-padova-2017-lettera-giordani-lorenzoni-9-marzo-2017.html

experiment of co-administration to be closer to all citizens' needs and aspirations. Therefore, after winning the elections (2017), Sergio Giordani called the opposition party on the last election round[248], Arturo Lorenzoni, as the Vice-mayor of the city[249]:

"*Some things divide us dear Arturo, but <u>the desire to build a lively and modern Padova</u> does not divide us, more attentive to the last and more respectful of the environment. For this reason, I know that <u>together we can make an important contribution to this city</u>. And to win the most important challenge : the one of the future.*" (Letter from Sergio Giordani, 9/03/2017[250].).

Together they declared to share a vision for the city that is focused on '*care, share and love of the city*[251]' and subsequently, on 30/10/2018, they have taken position against the central migration policy proposed by Minister Salvini, adding the city of Padova to the map of the 'Rebel Italian Cities[252]'.

In this turning point for Padova, working on the interculturalism topic, Mazzochin (2017) has reinvigorated Briata's considerations (2012) acknowledging that: "*In Italy, it is possible to observe an absence of ethnic concentration because usually <u>settlements are deeply multi-ethnic</u> and they are not conceived as ethnic enclaves, but as 'cities of difference'*" (Briata 2012)" (*Ibid., 2017, p.100*). Hence the city's *areas* or neighborhoods where a large concentration of foreigners has been witnessed, are characterized by 'multi-ethnic' settlements (Mazzochchin, 2017, p.99), conversely to other countries as the USA (see Park et all. 1925). In this 'multi-ethnic' frame, these areas cannot be conceived as 'ethnic enclaves' whereas as '*cities of difference*' (Briata 2012). This assessment sends us back to Giordani's guideline for the Padova to be (2017-2022): *"a city of cities"* echoing with the *'mosaic of small worlds'* cherished by the Chicagoans.

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[248] https://www.corriere.it/amministrative-2017/elezioni-comunali-giugno-padova-PD.shtml

[249] http://www.padovaoggi.it/politica/elezioni/comunali-2017/padova-ballottaggio-intesa-giordani-lorenzoni.html

[250] See: http://www.padovaoggi.it/politica/elezioni/amministrative-padova-2017-lettera-giordani-lorenzoni-9-marzo-2017.html

[251] Cf: Interview with Andrea Micalizzi, alderman to urban policies in Padua: #SOCIAL- #COSMOPOLITISM -#OPEN-#LIVABLE - #ACCESSIBLE -#BEAUTIFUL

From the website for administrative elections campaign on 11/06/2017 "My love for Padua […] led me to be involved on different fronts […] .

Then on 14/03/2019: Inaugural speech for the photographical Exhibition "Senza Confini" in Palazzo Moroni, Town Hall's home: "Padova is an open city, a European city that works around social, livable and inclusive standards. We are trying to change Padova to improve the social and cultural quality of life for all citizens. I work with smart aldermen and women. I am very happy and positive about the results obtained after these two years; we still have 3 years to continue our commitment with you."

[252] "rebel city mayors" against the Salvini "security decree" 2018. A map designed by Cristina del Biaggio. http://umap.openstreetmap.fr/it/map/resistances-locales-au-decret-salvini-resistenze-l_279671#7/39.614/12.206

These last affirmations have given me food for thought and have led me to unpack the city of Padova similarly as Mc Kenzie (1925) to discuss the Padova of differences having a look on the neighborhood scale.

  o *Assessment*

To conclude, we have seen has some events and policies that have shaken the city of Padova, have led scholars to encompass the migration question in the city of Padova as an urban issue.

Lastly, instead of moving to a higher nation-scale (Rossetto 2012), my argumentation will lead us on a smaller one: 'a *proximity* scale' (Ostanel, 2017, p.68). In light of the theoretical insights given in Chapter 2, I recall what van Kempen (2007) said about the city-space: *"Cities consist, almost by definition, of various neighbourhoods, each with its own function, nature, architectural style, attraction, and advantages and disadvantages for various residents and visitors"* (van Kempen, 2007, p.14-15, my underlining). Indeed Ostanel (2017) acknowledged that: *"The city cannot be read as a single container because instead a series of spatial orders are produced, localized sets with different characteristics, which allow reading the city as a whole but at the same time neglect many facets* (Latour , 1998)." (*Ibidem,* p.67-68). Are we moving towards a *city of differences* ?

The next section taps into the neighborhood scale and presents the structure of Padova as a "*city of cities*"(see Padova's guideline report of 2017, p.4).

<u>SECTION 4.2 The City of Neighborhoods through the Chicagoan kaleidoscope</u>

The political guidelines of the city of Padova under the Town mayor Giordani's assignment for 2017-2022, is to work on "*Le città*"- *'the cities'*- as the city of Padova is '*plural*' (Giuliani et al., 2018), it is 'a city of neighborhoods -"*La città dei quartieri*" (see The guideline report of 2017[253]). Before turning to the political and social implications of the spaces' organization on the city-scale, first we have a look on the neighborhoods in terms of spaces.

4.2.1 "Neighbourhoods are moving objects" (Ostanel, 2017, p.73)

As argued by Elena Ostanel (2017), it is almost impossible to give *a* definition of '*neighborhood'.* For the scope of my research, I have first relied on the definition given by Cambridge dictionary online[254]: "<u>the area</u> of a town that surrounds someone's home, or <u>the people</u> who live in this area" *(09/06/2020, my underlining). Reading back this definition in light of the theoretical insights provided by the Chicagoans (see Chapter 1), as Ostanel (2015; 2017) and Mantovan (2015) we agree that this micro-local unit should be stressed by combining the social aspects of '*the people who live in'- *in terms of composition and interactions- and '*the area of the town'- *in terms of morphing spaces and borders- to assess the fact that neighborhoods are '*moving objects' *that are rapidly changing (Ostanel, 2017, p. 73).* To do that, I followed Wirth three criteria : <u>the dimension, the density and the heterogeneity.</u>

       o *Padova's six main neighborhoods*

The entire city is divided into six neighborhoods. A neighborhood in Italian is called "*Quartiere*", in the thesis they will be shorten "Q1", "Q2".... and so on. (see Burgess in Park 1925, p.142-155).

On the next page, the neighborhoods are listed (1 to 6) and contain the name of the main '*Rioni*', which is an Italian way to divide the neighborhood territory in smaller areas forming micro-local territories (see Mazzocchin, 2017). The Map n°4.2 captures the spatiality of each neighborhood and its populations' density referring to the Table n°4.1 attached.

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[253] See the report: LE CITTÀ DI PADOVA 2017-2022., (2017)

[254] https://dictionary.cambridge.org/it/dizionario/inglese/neighbourhood
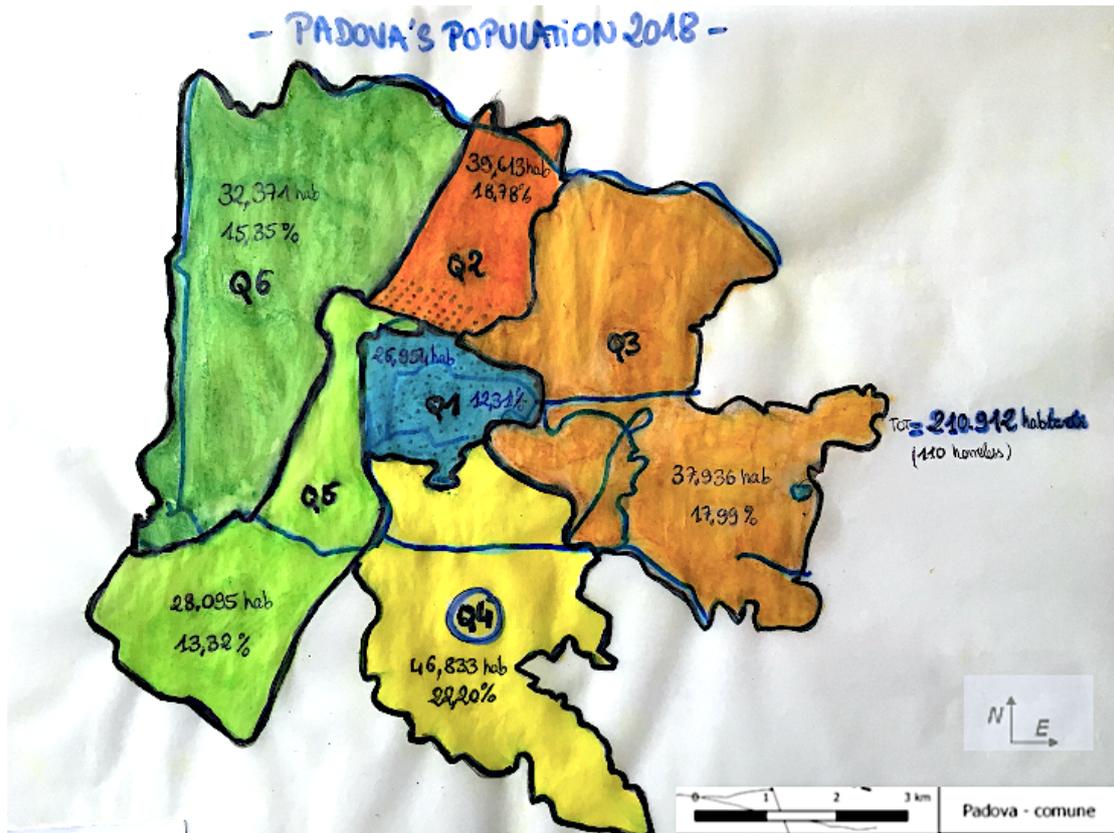
Map 4.2: Padova city by neighborhoods. Source: esri-Cartografia online Comune di Padova 2020.
Personal visualization (02/2020)

Neighbourhood 1- Center: Piazze, Savonarola, Santo, Portello, Prato della Valle, Stazione Ferroviaria **(Q1)- 5,2 km²**

Neighbourhood 2- Nord: Arcella, San Lorenzo, Sam Carlo, Buon Pastore, Santissima Trinità, San Bellino, San Filippo Neri, San Gregorio, Ponte Vigodarzere **(Q2)- 6,71 km²**

Neighbourhood 3- East: Fiera, Stanga, Mortise, Torre, San Lazzaro, Ponte di Brenta, Zona Industriale, Isola di Terranegra, Camin, Granze **(Q3)- 28, 02 km²**

Neighbourhood 4- South-East: Santa Croce, città Giardino, Sant'Osvaldo, Madonna Pellegrina, Voltabarozzo, SS Crocefisso, Salboro, Guizza. **(Q4)- 17, 58 km²**

Neighbourhood 5- South-West: Sacra Famiglia, San Giuseppe, Porta Trento Sud, Porta Trento Nord, Mandria, Paltana **(Q5)- 14, 05 km²**

Neighbourhood 6- West: Brusegana, Cave, Brentelle, Sant'Ignazio, Montà, Ponterotto, Sacro Cuore, Sacro Cuore, Altichiero. **(Q6)- 21, 88 km²**

√ *In terms of dimensions:*
   o *Demographic data*

Then, I have reported a table of the population of Padova by neighborhoods, highlighting the two neighborhoods I will focus on in the next few pages (Table n°6.1).

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Neighborhood	**2015**	**2016**	**2017**	31.12.2018
Q1 Center	25.962	25.835	25.960	**25.954**
Q2 Nord	39.145	39.066	39.253	**39.613**
Q3 East	38.132	37.899	37.916	37.936
Q4 South-East	47.003	46.923	46.837	46.833
Q5 South- West	28.008	27.955	28.043	28.095
Q6 West	32.096	32.095	32.358	32.371
Homeless	55	56	73	110
Total :	210.401	209.829	210.440	**210.912**

Table 4.1: Total of permanent residents of Padova by neighborhood. Source: "Settore Programmazione Controllo e statistica"-Padova's Town hall statistic data office. Data updated on 3/10/2019.

We can see from the table 6.1 that the population has increased from 2015 to 2018. The whole report of Padova's population in available on the town hall website (Comune di Padova, 2019[255]). What follows is an analysis of the population with a glimpse at the Chicagoans method.

4.2.2 The Chicagoan approach applied to the Paduan population

Following McKenzie (in Park, 1925 p. 62-78) from Seattle to Padova, although cities have different dimensions and spatial characteristics, we recover from the Chicagoan scholar his method of "population-sifting":

"*This process of population-sifting produces not only increasing mobility with approach from the periphery to the center of the formation, but also different cultural areas representing different mores, attitudes, and degrees of civic interest.*" (Ibid., *1925, p.78).*

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[255] See the report -
https://www.padovanet.it/sites/default/files/attachment/%5bWEB%5d%20Annuario%202019%20Capitolo2%2020200331.pdf

In this pattern, the groupings of people and areas are the result of development and a continuous process of sieving and dislocation: each of these areas of the city has its character and produces its particular type of inhabitant.

√   *In terms of density:*

Q1 and **Q2** due to their small dimensions compared to the other four neighborhoods have a high concentration of population, however it is Q4 (circled on map n°6.2) which is the most populated neighborhood with 46.833 inhabitants. In Q4, there is the greatest density of population, since the neighborhood is strategically located[256] on an access point of the city (highway Bologna-Abano), crossing the hospital area and two well-known high schools (Highschools Cornaro and Don Bosco).

√   *In terms of heterogeneity:*

If we have a look at the gender ratio, in the city of Padova, which has an average composition of 99,747 males and 111,165 females out of 210,912 inhabitants in 2019, the male-female ratio is fairly homogeneous in all the residential neighborhoods and suburbs of the city. **Q4** is the neighborhood where women outnumber males by 0.6%. The neighborhood where women largely exceed men is **Q1** with 12.79% of women against 11.79% of men, or 1% of women over men.

In **Q2** this ratio is reversed: for 19.4% of men, there are 18.25% of women or 1.15% of males above women. These numbers are not surprising given that they include the resident population of Italian and foreign citizenship. **Q2** is known as an *"ethnic"* neighborhood (Paola Briata, 2014a), there is a greater concentration of foreigners from North Africa and Bangladesh in this area (601 out of 1,366 emigrants) who are mainly men.

Overall, the most stable type of population are young married couples and children as the Chicago School taught us, and Padova does not derogate from the rule. The neighborhoods in which the most stable type of population resides with the prevalence of women and children (Q4) are the custodians of local customs and play a stabilizing and repressive function. According to Chicagoans, married couples and children '*naturally*'

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[256] Housing agencies emphasized this point and recommend this area of the city to live in permanently:
https://blog.mioaffitto.it/2014/top-quartieri/i-migliori-quartieri-dove-vivere-a-padova/#:~:text=Il%20quartiere%20EST%3A,trova%20la%20nota%20via%20Anelli.

come from the city center, historic and free of gardens and parking lots, to be distributed in the peripheral/adjacent neighborhoods surrounding **Q1**.

On the other hand, adults and students without family ties are more mobile and flexible to the idea of living in a "Bike-city" where the cars will gradually disappear and therefore choose to settle on the borders of **Q1**, all around it and in particular to the east and north of Q1.

In the center of the city (Q1) and in the neighborhoods of Padova as **Q6**, and especially in those located in the south (**Q4** and **Q5**), we can witness the elements of the population that McKenzie would define as "*conservative, law-abiding and endowed with deep civic awareness*" (Ibid., 1925, p.79). Someone here calls it *'la Padova bene'*- "great Paduans": the wealthy class. In the neighborhoods to the east (**Q3**, generally industrial area) and in particular to the north **Q2** (ethnic neighborhood) they are inhabited by a humbler population class but also according to McKenzie *"more mobile where customs and attitudes are more changeable"* and fluid, malleable, sometimes even "*more radical*"(when it comes to voting by repressive law against foreign communities by the small fringe of the permanent resident population that has settled in these areas- See Section VI.2).

Neighborhoods located on the outskirts of cities generally present a range of critical conditions and elements, in terms of spaces and identity (Mazzocchin, 2017). Admittedly, they are often areas of recent construction and development compared to the historical city center. However, unlike the historical centers of other similar Italian cities, it is generally agreed that neighborhoods do not have developed a rooted micro-local identity yet (at least not related to big historical events or historical places as it happened in city-centres). Padova does not escape to this tendency[257].

Therefore, following the theoretical hints given by Burgess (1925) on the way cities were changing during the industrialization push in the thirties, we can recover some elements that would help us to understand the '*flower shape'* of Padova.

The outcome of years of urbanization in Padova has led to the city expansion on the outskirts absorbing the latter as 'neighborhoods' in a period when more space was

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[257] Silvia Mazzocchin (2017) has recently investigated the identity relationship that Paduan people and foreigners disclose towards the city of Padova, focusing on their daily practices to rejuvenate the image of Arcella (Q2). "For these reasons, this kind of neighborhoods in the suburbs are the places of a city that most would favor from the implementation of an integrated, interconnected, multidirectional and intertwined approach, based on intercultural dialogue."

needed for industries (e.g ex Saimp, Arcella) and housing. As a consequence, this unbridled sprawl of the city was characterized by '*chaotic planning*' (Spagna & Bon, 2018) that did not take into account 'esthetical' variables (Alderman Micalizzi, 2019).

Moreover, with the passage of time and under the globalization effects of the nineties, these areas have often become the place where migrants tend to concentrate, given the affordability of housing[258], or due to the opportunities to start their private businesses often as shopkeepers offering 'ethnic' products (grocery, garments, etc.) from their native countries.

o   *Assessment*

Bringing back some theoretical tracks of Chapter I, I have used what McKenzie (1925) called the "*population sifting process*": the process of population displacement and massing in areas close to the heart of the community. This process has been of great help to analyze Padova's data. The *sifting process* not only produces an increase in mobility by approaching the periphery from the center of training, but also differentiated cultural areas. The differentiated cultural areas represent different customs and attitudes as well as different degrees of interest in the life of the community.

To conclude, I underline that the case of Padova is emblematic in the Italian literature for its attempts to deal with the diversity question in different spaces of the city (Via Anelli, Arcella, Train station area[259)], especially in those 'strife neighborhoods'- "*quartieri contesi*" (in original Mantovan & Ostanel, 2015)- where the use of the space has to be negotiated between the urban populations and the top-down local policies (Ostanel, 2017). The neighborhood scale in this pattern appears as the closest one to the population (subsidiarity principle); this scale could enable the dialogue between the local institutions and the urban population that Claudia Mantovan and Elena Ostanel are striving for.

In the next paragraph, my attention focuses on two over the six neighborhoods as they are those in which a larger number of Indian migrants has been registered as Section 4.3 will display in the last part of this chapter.

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[258] According to the Chicago's urban sociology group, argued that "the point <u>where the value of the land i</u>s <u>highest represents the</u> <u>center</u> or the heart of the formation (not necessarily the geographical center, but the economic or cultural center), while the points where the land has the lowest values representing the periphery of the formation or the border between two adjacent formations. " (Park et al. 1962; McKenzie p.71-72)

[259] See the works of: Briata, 2014; Cancellieri & Ostanel, 2015a, 2015b; Cancellieri & Scandurra, 2012; Mantovan & Ostanel, (2015); Ostanel, 2013.

4.2.3 Case study on two neighborhoods: Q1 and Q2

In my argumentation, I have focused on two neighborhoods which are presented here below (Q1 and Q2 see Map 4.3). My choice was informed by the fieldwork findings which interviews to Indian students have evidenced a concentration of their houses in Padova in these two areas, for reasons that we will start to explain in Section 4.3.3.
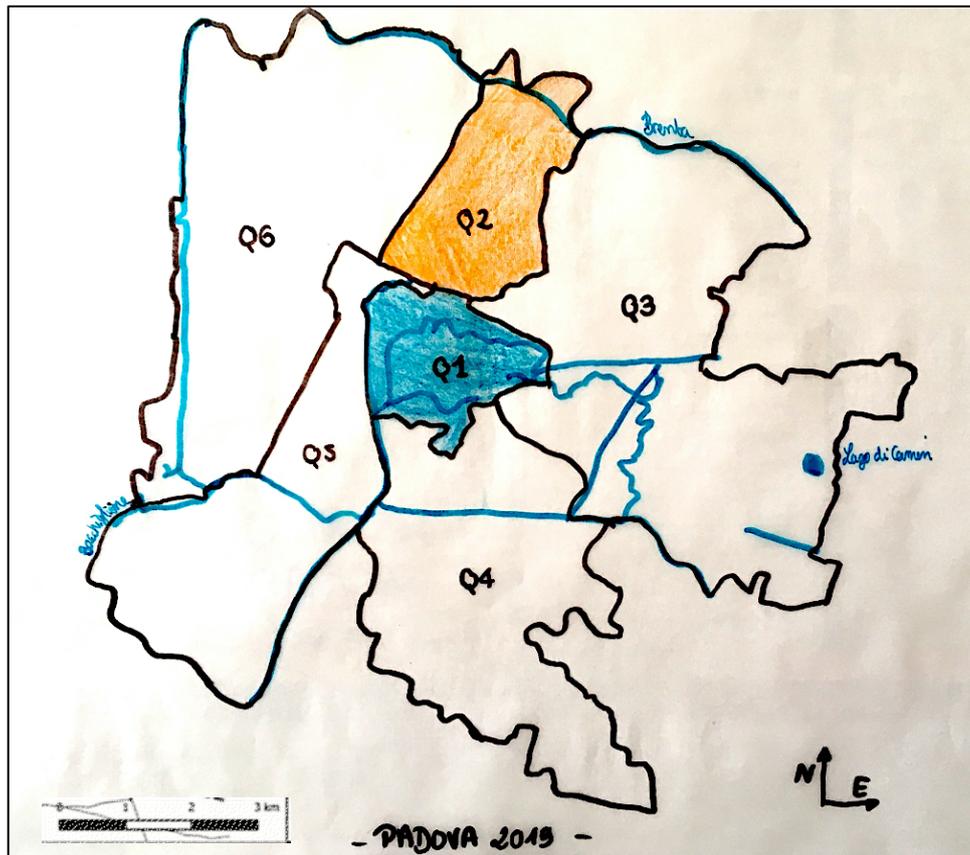
Map 4.3: Areas of Padova object of my study: 'Q1' (blue) and 'Q2' (orange). Source: Google map Personal visualisation 02/20.

o *(Q1)- City Center*

'Centro' is the name generally attributed to the historical centers of Italian cities. As it often happens, the historical center is located in the center of the city; in this way, the cities were built around this first spatial unit, adding areas – districts- as pieces of a puzzle around the center, growing progressively in district with a wider space and, as a consequence, with more and more inhabitants. We have seen this in Chapter 1, illustrating Padova's shape modifying the traditional concentric circle model of Burgess. The area measures about **5,2 km²** .The population of the city- center has the smallest density of permanent **inhabitants**: **25.954** in 2018 according data census, however this number should be discussed in perspective with the number of students inhabiting rented houses and flats, and not necessarily registered as resident in the city of Padova. The center continues to play an important role of coordination and administration: The Hometown, the *Questura* (Police headquarter), the *Palazzo della provincia* (Civil-servants Department), primary institutions for the city governance are located in this first administrative district. The University's historical heart is also rooted in Q1, from Galileo's time – 1493, and continues to be the home of the Rectorate and the School of law. Many other offices of the university are in Q1, which is one of the reasons why many students settle in this area: to be close to their Schools and University departments. The city center remains a core place in the memory of permanent residents: the market on the old squares – *Piazza dei signori (*photo 4.3) *Piazza della frutta* and *Piazza delle Erbe-*, the Sunday walk in *Prato della Valle* (one of the largest square in Europe) close to Sant'Antony

Photography 4.2: Piazza dei Signori di Padova. Photo credit: Muhammad Ahmed Ihsan

Photography 4.3: Sant'Antonio di Padova. Photo credit: Muhammad Ahmed Ihsan

church (photo 4.2), the enjoyable *Giardini dell'arena*, recently requalified by the local administration, are a few examples of the gems of Padova, which make both residents, students and tourist '*in love*' with the city (Giordani, 2017).

Questioning randomly Sundays' *flânneurs*, around Christmas 2019, a thirty-years-old woman declared: "*Padova's city center is a treasure chest with pebbles, stalls, gentle smiles, calm people and hurried people, bars and tables, young and Spritz, squares, stars, voices and laughter.*" A couple from Ferrara (woman 32 years old, man 26 years old) who moved to the city two years ago said: "*Padova center echoes to me with markets, shops and crowds; reachable only by bike / tram / bus.*" Generally, people employ positive comments when talking about this neighborhood.

- *(Q2)- Nord, broadly called "Arcella"*

On the other side, at the North of Q1, 'Arcella'- arcĕlla(m) 'small arch[260]'- is the name of one of the most contested micro-scale areas of Padova. Arcella (Q2) is part of the second administrative neighborhood called *Arcella- San Carlo- Pontevigodarzere* and corresponding to the northern sector of the city. Until 1999 Arcella constituted an autonomous neighborhood. After that, in that same year, it was unified with San Carlo - Pontevigodarzere. Starting in the fifties, the neighborhood was characterized by a continuous spontaneous building expansion – without any master plan- which, somehow helped to unify the various parts of this territory making the border between the mentioned zones, imperceptible. In the common use, the toponym *Arcella* is often used to indicate the entire northern quadrant of Padova, although this area is composed of several neighborhoods that have developed in different periods and with their own peculiarities. The population of the entire constituency has about 40.000 **inhabitants** (**39.613** in 2018 according data census) and Arcella is the southernmost part of the neighborhood, standing close to the railway line that connects Venice to Milan. The area measures about **6,71 km²** and has almost the double of Q1's population, thus it is a neighborhood characterized by a high density of housing units.

As we have discussed earlier, Q2 has suffered a lot of the '*chaotic planning*' (Bon, 2019) in the transitory face between the beginning of the industrialization, the after II world war re-building process and eventually the industrial buildings exportation to the

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[260] Etymology: https://www.garzantilinguistica.it/ricerca/?q=arcella

ZIP in the 80's (Industrial Zone of Padova) (Lironi, 2016). Across the years, with the sprawl of the city, 'Arcella' became a popular '*Rione*' (the smallest Italian district's unit) of the neighborhood Q2 and has started hosting mostly workers and foreigners (Cancellieri, 2013). Inevitably, with the massive arrival of immigrants coupled with the growing fear on this new and unknown population, the district started to be tagged as '*the ghetto of Padova', a* space that was "[...] *not well-kept, run-down or abandoned, and that favor the insurgence of illegal activities in public spaces, such as drug dealing" (*Mazzocchin, 2017, p.83). The most common image is the one of a '*dangerous place'* where '*criminality'* (Lucchin & Morbiato, 2019; Mantovan & Ostanel, 2015; Mazzocchin, 2019) was rampant constraining residents to escape from this 'hell'*.*

If it is true that the multicultural district standing out the horizon has pushed away out some permanent Italian dwellers due to many deterioration episodes; it should be also mentioned that a small nucleus of permanent residents has resisted (See the Facebook Community "*Arcellatown",* 2019). Indeed, the Sant'Antonino church in which saint Antony died in 1231 is located in what has been described as "*one of the most multi-ethic streets in Italy*" (Peterle, 2020): Viale Arcella (Photo 4.4).

Q2 has been studied among years by many scholars of all over Italy, many of them were precisely ex-students of the University IUAV of Venice like Elena Ostanel, Adriano Cancellieri, Paola Briata, Giovanna Marconi, Lucio Rubini and many others. In spite of the critics and skepticisms of some academics, politicians, and -still- many residents of Padova and surroundings towns, it cannot be ignored that this neighborhood has experienced important transformations in the last ten years. A *bottom-up* movement has started from the resistance nucleus- e.g Mille e Un'Arcella, ArcellaTown etc.-, in order to requalify and to bring back a positive image of the district (Bekemans & Mazzocchin, 2017). We can be in favor or against these

Photography 4.4: Chiesa di Sant'Antonino, Viale dell'Arcella-. Photo credit: Muhammad Ahmed Ihsan

associations, it does not really matter, what matters are the facts, and looking at them and at scholars' studies, Arcella has clearly undertaken the path to transformation (Cancellieri et al., 2020; Cancellieri & Peterle, 2019; Fregolent, 2020). Talking about physical transformations, I report the interview conducted with the Alderman in charge of public constructions and infrastructures :

"*Arcella is a delimited space: by definition, it is cut off from the railway tracks. This is why there are three bridges to connect it to the city: the Borgomagno overpass, the Dalmatian overpass, and the Ponte dell'Unità d'Italia.[*Me: "an urban mending?" A:*"it's just a bridge"].* *[...]Arcella is often referred to as a "border district", but we must be careful of the meaning that is nowadays heavily exploited in particular when talking about migration. Arcella is not a periphery-neighborhood like those 'banlieue' and neither a neighborhood where the image of peaceful coexistence between migrants and Italians materializes.*" (Micalizzi ,vice-mayor of Padova since the 21/07/2020- PD150219).

Marta Nalin, alderwoman to social policies has carried on the discussion on multiculturalism with these terms:

" Arcella is undoubtedly the representation of multiculturalism, mixing and diversity in Padova. This neighborhood has had the ability over the years to deal with migration channelling it with positive results. It has had an autonomous growth in this sense, with a great commitment from civil society" (Marta Nalin, PD180419) .

As the interviews with city's alderman have underlined, this multicultural district is "l*earning to live together*" (Sossai, 2017) building bridges – physically and metaphorically- between its past and historical population and, the newcomers. The goals of the associations -as *Mille e Una Arcella*- sponsored and supported by local government is to activate participation from the people of the district itself, through convivial community events. *ArcellaTown,* another important community group defending the requalification and regeneration of Q2, ironized on Facebook: "*Closed between Mordor and the Borgomagno flyover, Arcellatown is a valley populated by mythological creatures such as elves, bats and tribes of native arcellans*".

Last but not least, the TownHall itself has recognized the positive impact of the actions promoted by these associations and has started describing Arcella as '*a model' of city's urban regeneration'*, a district that has learned to be '*autonomous*', following the

decentralization policy desired by the current administrators (See A.Micalizzi interview; and B. Maculan Interview in appendix 3.1 , for a critic see: Fregolent, 2020).

   o *Assessment*

To conclude, Q1 is that area of the city where all its dwellers- either permanent, commuters or itinerants- convey on the aspect of the beauty and on the importance of preserving the history and memory of the city's founding fathers. On the other hand, Q2 continues to divide Padova's dwellers opinions nowadays, the criminality and the negative vision is extremely exacerbated by the media[261] – and was also exploited by the Town Mayor Bitonci in 2015/2016. The current administration has an opposite image of the potentialities reresented by this neighborhood : " *Arcella is a "neighborhood ahead" of the others, it is already a small city within the city, it has its function and a certain autonomy; what we are trying to increase in the other neighborhoods*" (Micalizzi, vice-mayor of Padova since the 21/07/2020- PD150219). In short, the multicultural neighborhood has become an example, a goal to strive for.

4.2.4 Assessing the Chicagoans' intuitions: a neighborhood study

In Chicagoans studies related to urban communities in the city, another important element to take into account is the one of 'concentration'. The subdivision of the community into selective, reduced and functional formations would have been constitute as " *natural areas*[262]" (Park et al., 1962, p.71) by Chicagoans, a unity of community life which includes sub-formations or associations, as an organic part of the neighborhood or of the community as a whole. I acknowledged these considerations and went back on the field to assess whatever in Padova the process of immigration has been paired to a process of increasing *'residential segregation'* (Ambrosini, 2020; Borelli, 2012, 2016; Martinotti, 1994, 2002; Verstappen, 2017).

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[261] Arcella is the area where I live so it has been sometimes difficult for me to analyze this area with a detached eye. Thus, to be as much impartial as possible, I suggest you this small exercise: write on Google "Arcella Padova", and I guess it would be sufficient to give you an overview of the mix of feelings between what media narrate and what residents experience on this district.

[262] Within Park et al. study of 1925, the coincidence of natural cultural areas with the natural physical areas of the city was a product of the processes of segregation and cultural selection which makes for the spatial distribution of homogeneous groups. "*From the mobile competing stream of the city's population each natural area of the city tends to collect the particular individuals predestined to it.*" (*Ibid;* Zorbaugh). In Chicagoans views, natural groups tent to give the city the character of a complex of communities or neighborhoods each with its own distinct psycho-social manifestations. Within this pattern, the community gave each individual a place and role in the impersonal enormity of the city, and thus its value cannot be overemphasized.

o *Areas and concentration in Padova*

First, let's come back to Padova's way to apprehend urban planning and diversity in the past years. As scholars have recently reminded, in the case of Padova, to avoid the 'concentration' effect[263] that potentially generates '*criminality*[264]' (Park et al. 1925), the urban policies in 1990's Padova had first limited the construction of spaces of aggregation as squares (G.Peterle, 21/02/2020), and local policies had restrained services and cultural opportunities in the neighborhoods leading the inhabitants to use these 'outskirts' spaces just as dormitories, forcing them to commute to the city center (2000s)(Cancellieri et al., 2020; Cancellieri & Ostanel, 2015c; Mazzocchin, 2019; Ostanel, 2013, 2017).

To check the 'concentration' hypothesis, let's have a look at the data provided by the Town Hall (31/12/2018[265]).

As the Graph n°4.1 discloses, it seems that the spatial distribution of immigrants in the city of Padova, tends to concentrate in the North area of the city: in neighborhood Q2 with 8.743 foreign citizens[266].

Next, similarly, to Caponio's study about ten years earlier in Padova[267]: Romania (9.331), Moldova (4.009),

Distribution of foreign permanent dwellers by neighborhood in Padova (Source: Town hall, 31.12.2018)

11 % Q1
32 % Q2
18 % Q3
14 % Q6
17 % Q4
9 % Q5

● Q1 ● Q2 ● Q3 ● Q6 ● Q4 ● Q5
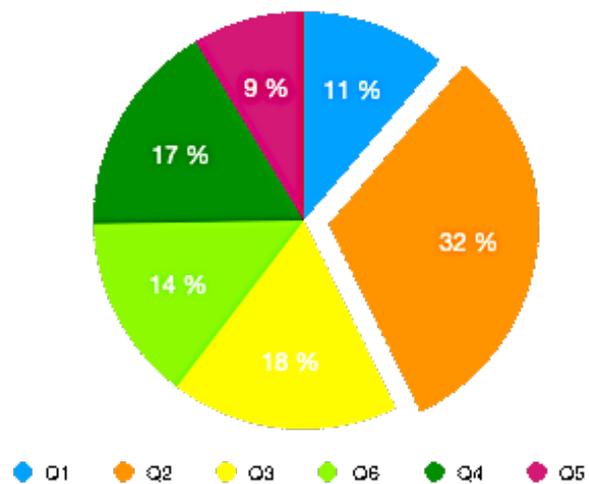
Graphic 4.1:Distribution of foreign permanent dwellers by neighborhood in Padova (Source: Town hall, 31.12.2018, tav.2.72)

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[263] This topic was approach in relation with the general climate of urban insecurity and fear has been widespread and has accommodate factors of separation/segregation in different Italian cities. Many scholars have tapped into this sound topic, from Park's early studies on deviance in urban contexts (1925) to more recent studies Bekemans & Mazzocchin (2017),Clemente & De Vita (2008) and Cognetti et al. (2019).

[264] Conversely, we won't approach the topic of criminality for two reasons. First, in Padova, criminality exercised by Indians has been recorded in very rare occasions. In fact, during my fieldwork it happened one negative experience of extreme violence between two Indian migrants in Arcella district on 11/02/2019 (Lucchin & Morbiato, 2019; Pistore, 2019). The other reason is that we haven't recorded any violence episode among Indian students, rather some jealousy* from time to time.

*[During the coronavirus airlifting mission operated by Indian Government where some students were left behind in Italy and arguing on social media with those 'idiots' who have left for India spreading the virus. (comments of Anand and Parvaati 3/04/2020 on Facebook to Lalit Kumar).]

[265] See the website:

https://www.padovanet.it/sites/default/files/attachment/%5bWEB%5d%20Annuario%202019%20Capitolo2%2020200331.pdf

[266] See Tav2.72 of the Town hall in the Appendix n°4.2, p.415.

[267] My visualisation was inspired by the work of Caponio (2009, p.72).

Cina (2.872), Nigeria (2.620) and Philippines (1.876) constitute the five first foreign citizenships resident in the city of Padova which had a total of <u>34.619 foreign permanent dwellers</u> on 31.12.2018.

On the sketchedmap n°4.1, I have illustrated the Indian population (%[268]) in each neighborhood in comparison with Bangladeshi and Pakistani since the respondents to my interviews and the participants to the walking experience had both expressed '*difficulties in distinguishing Indians from Bangladeshi and Pakistani'*. **India is ranked 13th** among the more than 17 citizenships under analysis in the Town hall report, with **447 Indians**[269] . On the other hand, Bangladeshi is ranked 8th with 1.338 permanent dwellers in Padova and Pakistani is ranked 12th with 483 permanent dwellers.
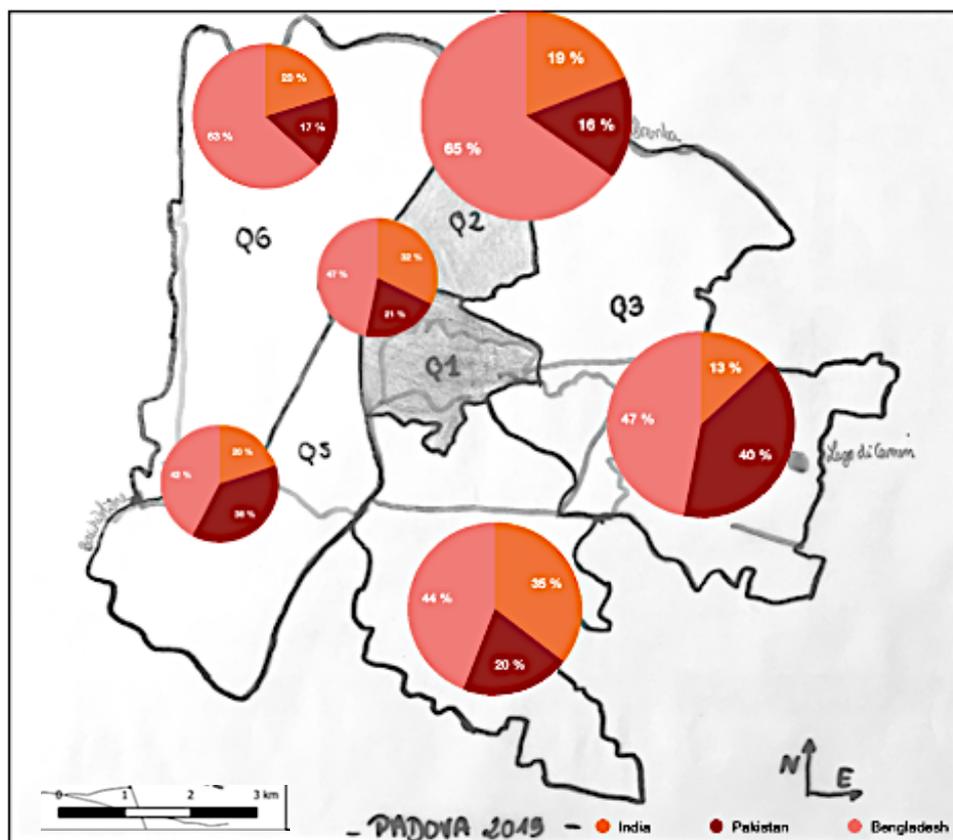
Sketchedmap 4.1:Indian, Bangladeshi and Pakistani migrants by neighborhoods in Padova. Personal elaboration of Townhall data on 31.12.2018, tav.2.70.

On the whole, Indian migrants in Padova as 'permanent dwellers' account to 1.3% of the foreign population and to 0,21% of the total population residing permanently in Padova

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[268] NB: the size of the graphics illustrates the broader flow of migrants residing in each neighbourhood in line with the proportion of Graphic n° 4.1 Q2 is the neighbourhood with the bigger number of migrants and Q5 the one with the smaller number of migrants on 31.12.2018.

[269] See Appendix n° 4.3, p.416.

until 31/12/2018. Certainly, these small number contribute to the invisibility of the community compared to others (Bangladeshi for example) and even despite the visible dots evidenced previously. Nevertheless, as the walking experience results had conveyed, conversely to the observations of Chicagoans, further examinations on the field have not evidence patterns of social 'clustering' in residential neighborhoods on the basis of origins nor on the basis of occupation (Verstappen, 2017, p.85).

o *Assessment*

Finally, looking at the Sketchedmap n°4.2 as an output provided by fieldwork evidence and Townhall data, we can notice that in the process of the settlement's development of the Indian community in Padova, Indian permanent dwellers[270] tend to deviate from the centralized- concentrated model (Burgess, 1925), in favor of a greater homogeneous dispersion of the Indian population in various areas of neighborhood Q2, neighborhood Q1 (and in other neighborhoods, albeit to a lesser extent).
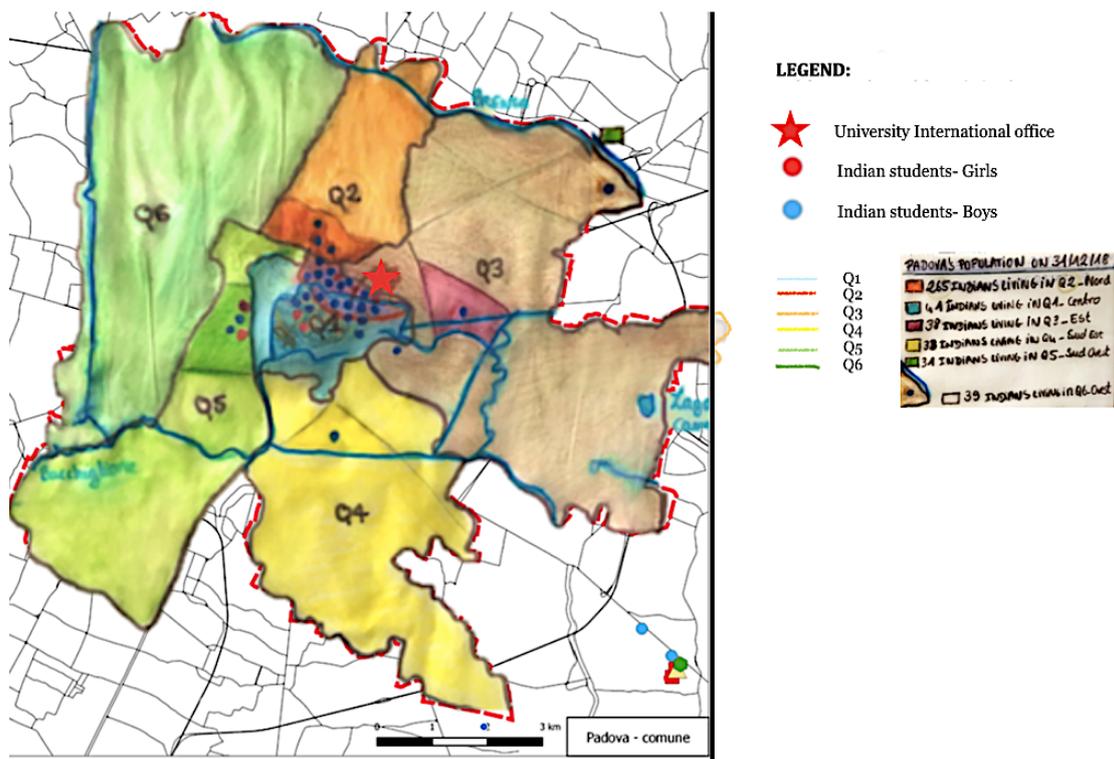
Sketchedmap 4.2:Distribution of the Indian Community members in the city of Padova by neighborhood. Personal elaboration based on Town Hall data on 31.12.2018.

Now let us come to how Indian migrants apprehend the space on the city level in Padova.

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[270] Chapter 5 will evidence that the same pattern has been observed for students.

<u>SECTION 4.3. The visible indians in padova, mapping their traces.</u>

Following the discussion opened in the previous Chapter(3) about Italian's migration policies and the case of India, this chapter investigates *how Italy governs migration flows locally in Padova focusing on the spaces and places where the Indian migrants live?* Thereby, I applied the &SoC model to investigate the Indian community following two steps. First let's introduce the community under analysis, and then let's locate the Indians on the city-map.

4.3.1 The Indian community in Padova

While doing fieldwork, chasing Indian students all around the city of Padova, I first tapped into the Indian community, as they were the 'most visible' so that I could understand the phenomena of the Indian migration to Padova better.

○ *Two groups of Indians, one community?*

My fieldwork in Padova has evidenced that we should divide Indians in Padova into two major groups that are not excluding each-other. I have represented these groups into Table n°6.2.

The first group (Group 1- **green**) is made of 'permanent dwellers' Indians. In this group, we can find many Indians that came as the result of the diaspora effects cited in chapter 2 and 3. A part of them, is working in Padova in restaurants, shops, and enterprises.

The *Questura*[271] di Padova (Dirigente Tullia Galliussi, 1/05/2019) has registered 3.969 Indian citizens on the territory of Padova while the Province has 9.432 Indian citizens.

Unfortunately, the data of the Questura did not match with those provided by the Townhall. According to the statistic of the Townhall on 31/12/2018, there are 447 Indians permanently residing in Padova in such a discreet way that it has been quite difficult to uncover them. This mismatch between data can be explained by the fact that Indians have first registered in Padova and then have moved to other cities without changing the residence[272].

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[271] The police central office who takes care of migration issues (among others) is the '*Questura*'; this body is directly related to the Ministry of Internal Affairs (See Actors map in Appendix 3.12, p.409 and the discussion p.410-411).
[272] See the website:
https://www.padovanet.it/sites/default/files/attachment/%5bWEB%5d%20Annuario%202019%20Capitolo2%2020200331.pdf

The second group (Group 2- **orange**) is made of Indian students. The *Questura* di Padova (Director Tullia Galliussi, 1/05/2019) accounts 62 Indian students in the city of Padova while they are 69 in the Province[273].

Categories/ Scale	Indian migrants registered by the Questura (2019)	Indian migrants registered by the Townhall (31/12/2018)	Indian students registered by the Questura (2019)
Padova City	3.969	447	62
Padova Province	9.432	NA	69

Table 4.2: Number of Indian migrants in Padova and Province by the Questura (1/05/2019) and the townhall (31/12/2018)

In short, the data (Table n°4.2)of the *Questura* provide us a broader overview of the numbers of Indians part of the Veneto flow. However, since these data mirrors the first step of the Indians pathway (the place where they register when they arrive to stay legally in Italy) we would rather rely on the data of the Townhall which accounts the number of Indian people physically dwelling in Padova on 31/12/2018 (**light green** column). *Now imagine distinguishing the Indian students from the Indian permanent dwellers* [274]?

Inasmuch as the Indian community is quite small (447 dwellers), I needed help to find them. By chance, I tapped into a person which has turned out to be a central person within the Indian Community: Krishna (man, 38 years old).

o *Krishna, a community builder*

I met Krishna in 2015 when his wife was ending a Ph.D. in business at Padova University. He followed her in Padova where he took a chance to enroll for a 1-year master program in "ICT for internet and multimedia" .

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[273] The Questura only registers those who enter in the city of Padova through the Questura of Padova. With the passage of time, other Indian migrants have moved to Padova but may have enter from the Questura of Vicenza or Venezia or anywhere else in Italy and could have simply asked to tranfer the residence in the city of Padova: this explains the difference of numbers.

[274] I won't go in further details here, since Chapter 5 will exclusively focus on the student group relying upon the data of the university of Padova which are slightly different from those of the *Questura* due to the usual bureaucratic timings required to provide the 'Permesso di soggiorno'- Residency permit (See Chapter 5, Section 5.2).

Today, she works in a bank and helps many newcomers with the bank accounts creation when they arrive. Meanwhile Krishna is busy "*building the Indian community in Padova*" (interview on 22/01/2019). How does he manage this huge task ? Krishna has created the FB Page 'Indians in Padua[275]' and is one of the many people running it. He is also animating the pages related to 'Indian entertainment Italy'[276] promoting Indian movies with Italian subtitles in two cinemas of Padova in the city center and in Arcella (see the collage of pictures below n° 4.1).
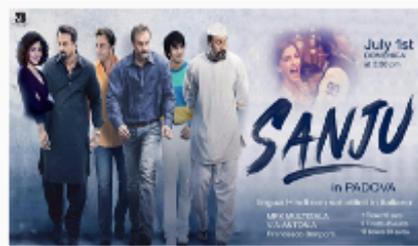
Advertisement 2: Padova's advertisement promoting the bollywood movie 'Sanju' with Italian subtitles in Cinema PioX, Padova on 1/7/2018.

Picture 4: Cinema ticket of teh movies aside- Fieldwork proof.

← Advertisement 1: Padova's advertisement promoting the bollywood movie 'Padmaavat' with Italian subtitles in Cinema PioX, Padova on 27/01/2018.

Besides, Krishna often organizes events to celebrate the Indian Community national days through the page '*Indian event planner*[36].'

https://www.facebook.com/promemrridha2

Picture 5: Pongal festival with the Indian community and students in Padova, Arcella. (12/01/20).

Picture 4.1: A collage of the activities organised by Krishna: cinema and Pongal party as examples. Personal visualisation, 09/20.

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[275] https://www.facebook.com/groups/118285018258274
[276] https://www.facebook.com/indianentertainmentsitaly/photos

Within this pattern Krishna acts as a bridge between the 'people', the Indian students and the city, bringing together all of them in the same space to celebrate Indian traditions.

Lastly, Krishna also participates to the community events of the neighborhood organized by local associations as the event '*live in Borgomagno*[277]' which occurred on 16/09/2018 on the street where the Indian shop is located (see the Photography n°4.5 and advert 2).

Photography 4.5: 'Sapori del mondo' - 'Tastes from the world': an event organised by the Association 'Mimosa' on 16/09/2019 to promote exchanges and diversity. Photo Source: 'Luoghi non-Luoghi FB page'

Advertisement 2: Live in Borgomagno sponsored by Associazione Mimosa, to merge urban regeneration with community'open events.

I attended all the above-cited events, which represent only an overview of the whole offer of community-events that Krishna sponsors. Among these canvas, one event has been very special at the beginning of my research. On 7/11/2018, I joined the Indian community with the Indian students at *Gandhi Restaurant* through the invitation of Krishna and Sareena. We were only four non-Indians invited for *Diwali* (Advertisement n°3).

That evening in 2018, I met Lalit, the India's consultant/referent person for International students Council (ISC). The ISC is an informal bottom-up organization, partly supported by the University of Padova, opening up a linked chain of groups fostering
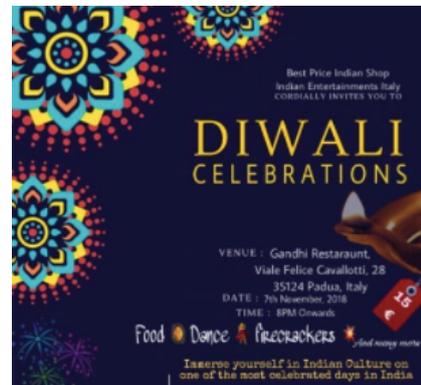
Advertisement 3: Diwali celebration, "immerse yourself in Indian culture on one of the most celebrated days in India" - Flyer made by Krishna * (2018)

[277] https://www.facebook.com/events/associazione-mimosa/live-in-borgomagno/294208957976837/

internationalism. ISC is in charge of Indian Students management and adaptation, integration in Padova.

One year later, in 2019, Krishna was in India and could not manage organizing Diwali, so he delegated the task to me, and together with Sharma from Gandhi restaurant, we planned a dinner in Ponte di Brenta (a neighborhood on the outskirts of the city Q3). In the occasion of Diwali, many other Indian students went to Bologna, Milan and Turin, to celebrate with relatives and/or Indian friends. The event was a success so, as we managed gathering about 200 people, and some Italian participated as well. Sharma (Gandhi Padova) and Krishna (BPIS) were so enthusiastic that they invited me to the inauguration[278] of the first Hindu temple they are creating in Padova: the *Shree Salasar Mandir* (See the purple shape on map n°6.5), in Via Bernina, in Q2, Arcella (as it was predictable).

o *Assessment*

This first paragraph has pointed out the existence of an Indian community made of two groups in the city of Padova which sometimes meet each other (See Chapter 4). Despite the small numbers, the community affirms itself in the city of Padova patching its traditions through festivals in the new context where they live.

Next, insofar the community study analysis in the spirit of the Chicagoans invite us to have a look at the spatialization of the Indian community on the local territory of the city of Padova, an experience '*on the ground* 'was mandatory (Ashutosh, 2019; Cancellieri & Scandurra, 2012; Ostanel, 2017). This led me back to the &SoC model presented in Chapter 2. which combines the spatial aspects with the community one to encompass the phenomena with a scientific regard.

4.3.2 The Sense Of Community's spatial dimension for Indians in Padova

As Bottini (2015) has evidenced, the major factor that determines the participation to the urban design in neighborhoods is strongly related to the time variable: if a community resides in one place over a long-time period, the latter will be more likely to feel involved in local policies. As an example, during the last municipal elections, the forty-year-old businessman of Indian origins, Raghvir Singh Chauhan[279] was among the candidates of the

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[278] The inauguration was supposed to take place in the first week of April 2020. Due to the Covid-19 emergency, the temple has openend in July 2020.

[279] Chauhan has set up Rara Group Spa, a tourist agency specializing both in travel to India and the Far East, and in the management of hotel rooms with low cost methods.

civic area of Barbara Degani and Maurizio Saia, who announced to support the candidate: Sergio Giordani (the current Town mayor of Padova 2017-2020).

As I said, once the Indian community has started to establish over a longer period of time, the 'Sense of Community' (through the '*place attachment variable*) is expected to impact on the Indian students vision of the urban space. Concretely, these two variables- urban design and shared urban visions- can be observed on the city map in terms of places where the Indian community is likely to 'cross' (i.e to meet) the Indian students.

In this sense, as illustrated by the Conceptual map n°4.1 , the city of Padova seems to benefit of a balanced (socio-demographic) population which undertakes practices in the everyday-city's spaces to such an extent that it co-design some features of the urban spaces. Meanwhile, as Costa et al. (2019) argued these elements create "*a robust and resilient sense of community among members*" (*Ibidem*).
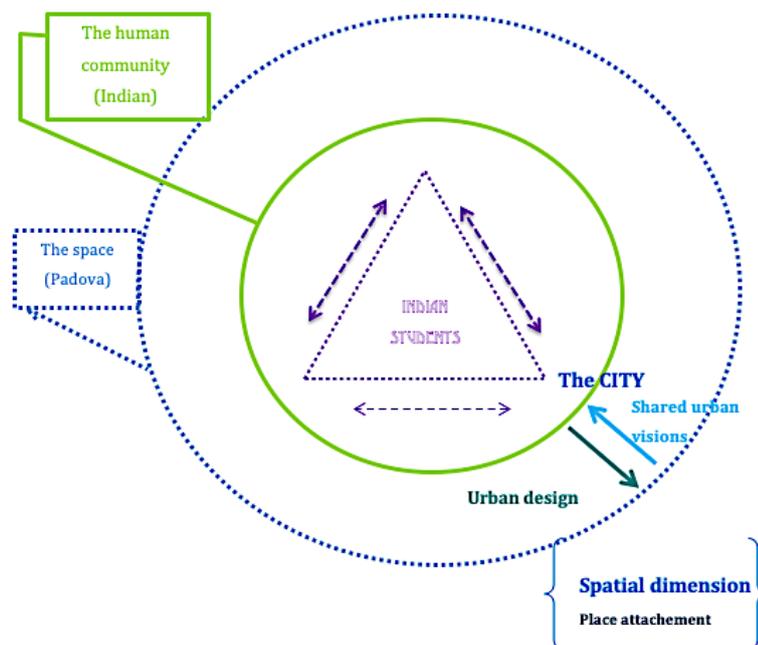
Conceptual map 4.1: The spatial dimension to the study of the Indian community in Padova, excerpt from the &SoC model. Personal elaboration 06/20

The entrepreneur has lived in Italy for over 20 years and is also president of the Paduan federation of cricket (http://crickitalia.org/it/squadre/padova-cricket-club)

Summing up, following the considerations made earlier, society consists nowadays in three main components: communities, individuals and physical environments (Costa et al., 2019). Approaching the city as an urban sociologist who took the steps of the Chicagoans, it became clear that a large portion of human experience and social interaction happen in communities and in the urban environments where they live. Therefore, the community is where the individuals learn to interact, communicate, exchange interests and issues, the place where they learn how to behave when they enter in a new environment. Within the community, the two groups under analysis ('dwellers' and students) share and form cultural and social norms which can help them connecting with the Italian and the Paduan society (Chavis & Wandersman, 1990b; Costa et al., 2019).

o *The &SoC in practice: the major role of the spatial dimension*

Taking back the theoretical hints from Chapter 2, Chavis and Wadersman (1990) instead, identified the positive relationship between the "*sense of community*" and people's propensity to participate[280] in the city where they live (Ambrosini, 2020). There has recently been a strong focus on the issue of place attachment as a positive predictor of collective participation processes in the neighborhood (Boersma, 2013; Bottini & Nuvolati, 2015; Ostanel, 2017). In Padova, this topic has been addressed by some scholars like Cancellieri & Peterle (2019); Mantovan & Ostanel (2015). Building on this literature framework, I have first collected qualitative data talking with permanent residents and then I have designed my own city-maps.

As I mentioned in Chapter 2, Bruslé and Varrel (2012) conveyed the fact that the 'migration space' takes shape in two ways: '*circulation*' and '*localized places*' created thanks to the production of social interactions as well as financial resources. Thusly, trailing Indian students' steps in the city of Padova was the occasion to wonder on the kind of spaces they were shaping (or reshaping).

o *Assessment*

In dealing with a community study, I used the &SoC model to apprehend the Indian community's spatial dimension alone in this chapter. As we have seen, the Indian

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[280] See also Mannarini, T. (2004). Comunità e partecipazione. Prospettive psicosociali. Milano: Franco Angeli. & Mannarini, T. (2009). La cittadinanza attiva. Psicologia Sociale della partecipazione pubblica. Bologna: Il Mulino.

community is organized as a network on the local territory and has started spreading around more and more visible actions (as the events promoted by Krishna) and places. On this regard, as Balan & Sturzoiu (2018) have reminded, it is likely that migrants find other members of the family or their ethnic or cultural group in the urban environment of the city. Indeed, the studies performed by various international bodies (European Union, 2015; UNESCO, 2014; Unesco, 2019) have pointed out a marked trend of the new migrants to live for a time in the pre-existing areas in the cities in which they arrive, those neighborhoods where they can find traces of their community. These elements provide the newcomers a community and social support, higher availability of ethnic products and food, worship places and other community institutions (Bǎlan , and Sturzoiu, 2018, p.152).Moving on, it could be interesting to consider the spatial variable in its multidimensionality[281] connecting the relationships of the Indian migrant community with the Indian students arriving in Padova using all the two other variables of the &Soc (the university and the people) in the next chapter.

4.3.2 "India in Padova", bottom up considerations from permanent residents

First, having a look at the semi-structured interviews PD#.../3 conducted between February and August 2019, I have managed to identify repeating patterns while coding permanent residents *Image of India in Padova*. The figure n°6.2 below, reports the elements 'seen' by my respondents[282]. First of all, many of my respondents were not able to find an answer to my question: "*Thinking about India/Indians in Padova, what does come to your mind?*". For those who answered, the images of India in Padova is characterized by: The spicy food of Indian restaurants; "Newspaper sellers/rose and gadget sellers" low paid and isolated; the closed and exclusive Indian community; the close group of Indian students "scientists"; the creepy/ wired Indian shops in Arcella.

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[281] On the topic of multidiemnsion, for an indepth-analysis, see Galster, G. (2001). On the Nature of Neighbourhood. Urban Studies, 38(12), 2111–2124. http://doi.org/10.1080/00420980120087072

[282] As I said in Appendix Chapter 2 (p.332) , due to the little availability of permanent residents (21 responses) for my interviews, I have implemented my data collection with an anonymous online structured survey (24 responses). The figure here pictures a mix of these two data collection tracks.
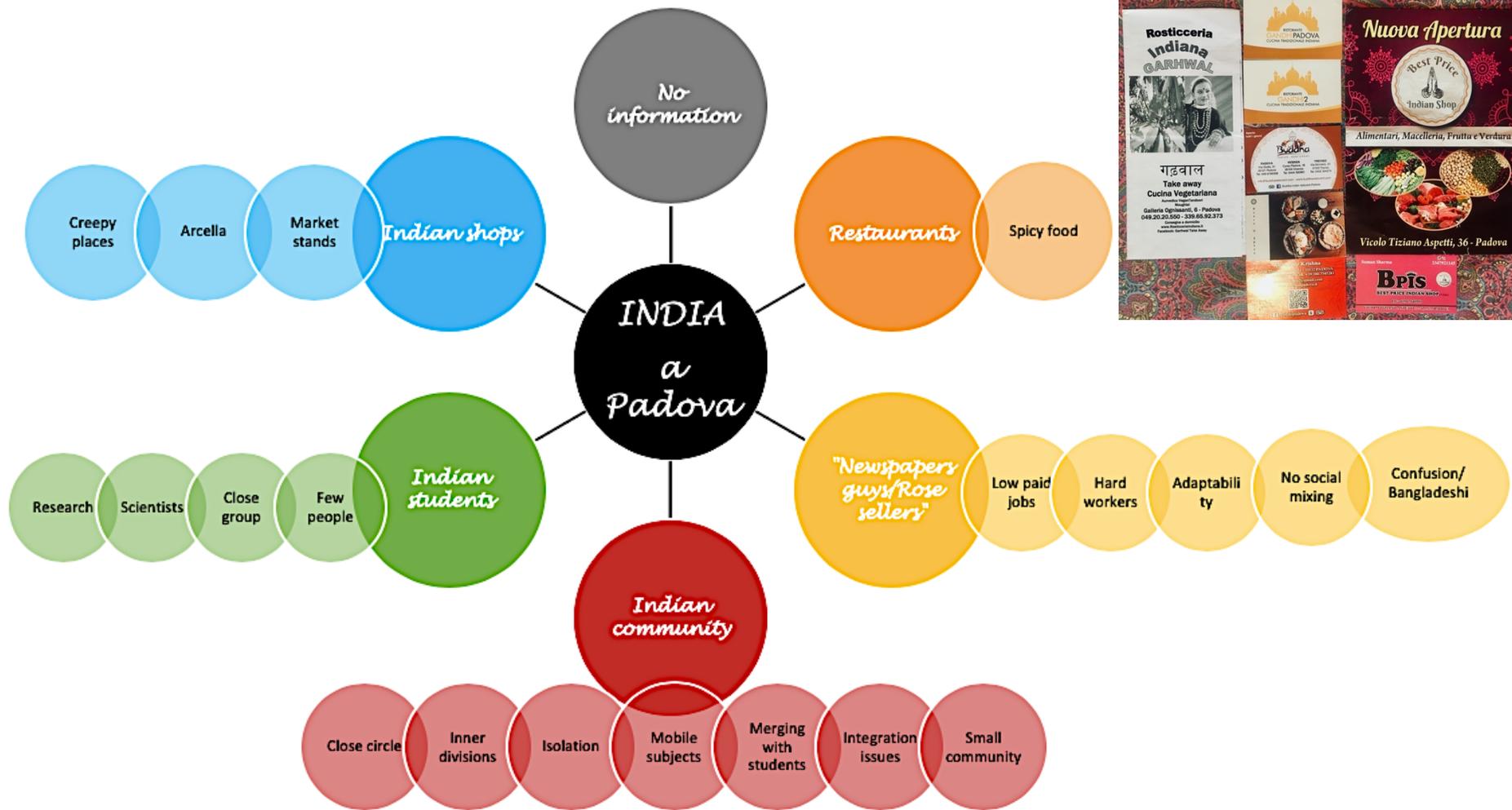
Figure 4.2: "What immediately comes to your mind when you think about India in Padova?" Results from PD#.../3. Personal visualisation 08/20.

The elements enhanced in Figure 4.2, together with my previous experiences among the community members, have provided me a strong basis to start my investigation on the spatialization of Indians in Padova.

o *Locating the Indian traces on the map*

In Padova there are many *'Indians islands*.' P.Y Trouillet (2018) called it *"Little India"* talking about the Indian diaspora in Canada, faraway from such an evident dynamic, as I mentioned, the presence of Indians in Padova is hidden, so first I just looked for traces, signs, *footsteps* to recall the study of Bagnasco *"Footsteps of Community"*[283] (Bagnasco, 1999).

Fieldwork in Padova has evidenced that there are not less than nine Indian restaurants in Padova run by Indians: (1) the Garhwal Rosticceria (Portello- University area); (2)the Gandhi (Bassanello); (3) the Gandhi2 (Ponte di Brenta); (4)the Samrat (Ponte di Brenta); (5) the Buddha (City center); (6) the Indian take out sas (City Center);(7) the Raj Darbar (Stanga); (8) the Indian Affair (Arcella) and (9) the Rangoli (Arcella) (See map n°4.4).

Map 4.4: Indian restaurants in Padova (02/20). Personal elaboration; Source: Google

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[283] A. Bagnasco, (1999), Tracce di comunità. Temi derivati da un concetto ingombrante Ed il Mulino Intersezioni.

In May 2018, '*The Indian Shop*' (BPIS) opened its doors in Vicolo Aspetti n°36, Arcella (Q2). The shop is managed by a bunch of Indian friends part of the Group 1, one of them, told me with proud in September 2018; "*All Indian restaurants are buying their products here*" (Sunam, woman,42 years old) (See the orange shape on Map n°4.5).
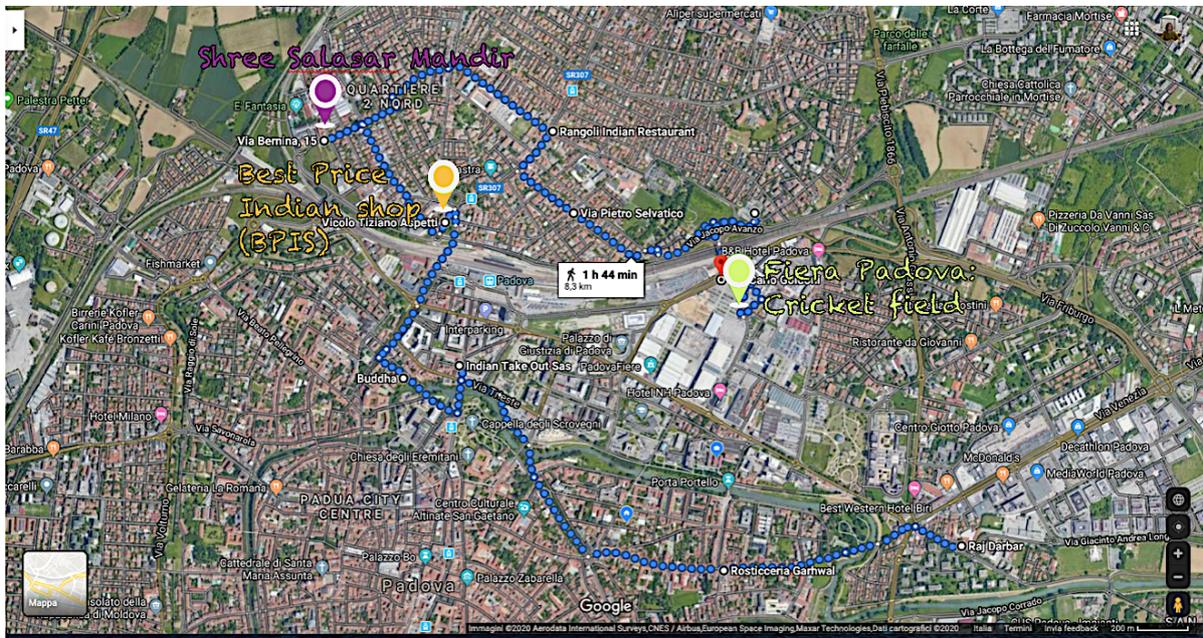
Map 4.5: Indian dots in the city: a shop, a Hindu temple and a Cricket playground. (02/2020).Personal elaboration; Source: Google Map.

Next, during summers 2017 and 2018, I have observed that young Indians are playing cricket under the bridge called "*Unità d'Italia*". The bridge is also an important symbol according to Micalizzi (PD150219) because, at the time it was planned (2009-2011) it has been defined "*an intervention of urban mending for the city of Padua*[284]". Besides the chance to talk with these young Indians in July 2018, it came out that they are living around the Portello area for some of them, those who are students living in residences, others are living right in front of the bridge, on the Arcella side, Via Avanzo.

Further fieldwork explorations conducted in the area of Via Avanzo, led me to identify some buildings where Indians' residents are concentrated (Via Avanzo-Sant'Antonino Area). I wasn't surprised about this finding as the two restaurants in Arcella are located nearby, so I guess that it is also a strategic choice for work reason.

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[284] https://www.net-italia.com/selezione-progetti/ponte-unita-ditalia-padova/

Next, to apprehend to what extent the Indian community was visible in the city, I needed a confrontation with residents *(bottom up)*. Through personal contacts, I was invited by a locally involved association -"*TerrArcella*[285]"- working in the city to promote its cosmopolitan image, to introduce to a group of International students the *Indian* dots in Padova through a '*walking experiences* 'throughout the city, guided in English (See Chapter 2).

o   *A walking experience among the Indian dots around the city*

When preparing my presentation to the heterogeneous group of International and Italian students part of the '*Padova Travelers Community':* a 'spin-off' group born from the Association 'TerrArcella', I was asked by Luider Vasquez Lopez (the founder) to present India and the 'Indian islands in Padova' in a participative manner rather than in a scholar one. Since the association main activity is the one of 'walking experiences' I combined both projects in one: locating the Indian presence in Padova, while walking around the city to '*make visible, the invisible*' (Sandercock, 1998).

We started with a meeting in Arcella (Q bar) where the participants have started thinking where they could have 'spotted' Indians/Indian places in Padova (See Chapter 2). Almost immediately, the restaurants dots showed up on the map, then the Indian shop (and the Bengali shops), the areas around the Exhibition hall, some park squares; the

SketchedMap 4.6: Mapping the 'Indian dots' places where Indian students live their daily life in Padova. Source: interviews PD#2, Fieldwork 15/02/20, personal sketch on a Google Map.

See the website: https://terrarcella.com/

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immigration office; and lastly, the University '*Piovego Campus*' and the Palazzo Bò (University central office).

To this Sketchedmap (which was already well furnished), I added my personal findings as 'bonus places' they would have discovered for the first time (the Shree Salasar Mandir; the Mosque-' Islamic center of Padova' (largely attended by the Bengladeshi community); the Stupa of the Buddhists community (largely attended by a tiny group of Sri Lankans). As the sketched map n°6.7 shows, the main concentration of Indian dots is in Q1 and Q2. Due to time restrictions, we have not reached the 'decentered' dots (Restaurants n°2,3, 4 on map n°6.4) and focused on the two neighborhoods described in the previous section for a two-hours walk. Then we went back to Arcella at Q Bar and have completed the initial map.

o *Assessment*

Wrapping up, the walking experience made on 15/02/2020 has been deeply enriching to obtain confirmations about the effective places where the Indian dots were located after two years from my first investigation on one hand. On the other hand, the collective mapping that has followed has clearly disclosed the fact that to the eyes of permanent dwellers and students, the presence of the Indian community in Padova is largely associated with the restaurants which are visible points. This last assessment is in line with the results of Figure 4.2 about 'locals' perception of India in Padova.

All in all, it seems that 'India in Padova' is still associated with two elements. First, the 'exotic' /ethnic stereotype which make visible the restaurants and shops above the people who live the city every day. Second, the idea that India persists in being:

"*A country characterized by an immense geographical extension, with a culture certainly very different from the Italian one, also linked to a socio-economic history of colonial people, but with its mythology and very strong cultural and religious history.*" (Woman, 26 years old, student) as this young Italian woman has well resumed looking at all the answers to *"Question n°10: What comes to your mind thinking about India?"*[286]

Next, let's detail these Indian islands sketched on the map 4.6.

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[286] See APPENDIX n° 4.4, p.417, "What immediately comes to your mind about India? PD#.../3" the visual representation exhibited from my respondents' answers to question 10.

4.3.4 The Indian presence reshaping spaces in the city: Indian's co-production of spaces

According to the evidence collected on the ground, I can say that public spaces are likely to provide the opportunity for the Indian community, the Indian students and the permanent dwellers.

≈ *Cricket spontaneous playgrounds*

A good example of public spaces which have turned to collectively build the soul of the Indian community are the Parking of the Exhibition hall, the parking of the Supermarket IN's in via Perosi (Q2) (Picture n°4.2) and the Parco Morandi (Q2) (Photo n°4.6) where Indians meet to play either cricket or Badminton. On June 13th in 2020, there has been a cricket tournament in Parco Morandi in Q2.
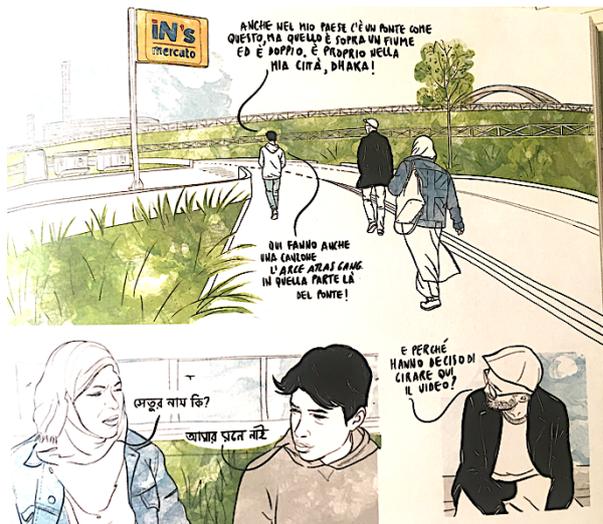
Photography 4.6: Children learning to play cricket with a member of the Indian community in Parco Morandi. Source: Padova Cricket Club Facebook page; 13/06/20.

Picture 4.2: Ilustration of the 'In's parking area' in via Perosi, Q2. Source: Giada Petterle's illustration in the book 'Quartieri' (Cancellieri and Petterle, 2019).

On the other side of the train tracks, an Indian student (Anand) of the University Residence Copernico in Q1 is creating a group of Badminton players to be added to the ASD Badminton Padova group with open air matches (in *Residenza Copernico*, there are 5 to 10 Indian students residing there every year since 2015 at least).

These examples illustrate well what Elena Ostanel has recently discussed in the post Covid-19 Lockdown in Italy: *"If during the Covid-19 [Italian] quarantine the domestic space*

was the only one to be perceived as safe, the adaptation strategies for phase two demonstrate how important the outdoor space, the public space, is." (Ostanel, 2020[287]).

≈ <u>*Yoga in Prato della Valle*</u>

Moreover, the post-lockdown phase has provided me another example in favor of my argumentation related to the question of the city's space transformation.

I had the opportunity to assist to one 'outdoor event' during the Yoga International day on the 21st of June 2020 self-organized by an Indian student "*Fullmoon Karmakar*" (See photo n°4.7).

On the occasion of the Yoga day, *Prato della Valle* (a center-historical and symbolic public place of the city) the green square has been used to practice one hour and a half free session yoga to which a group of about 20 people has attend. On one hand, the example is sound since it represents again how a public

Photography 4.7: Yoga practice in Prato della Valle organised by Fullmoon Karmakar, an Indian student. Source: Facebook 'Fullmoon Karmakar Yoga'

space with a function can be turned into something else: in this case, a corner of Prato della Valle, has become a 'Yoga interplay' for the time of the class.

During the lockdown (15th March to 3rd May 2020), Anand has been 'trapped' in the almost empty University'Residence with severe rules and had started practicing Yoga again after five years: *"I used to practice 30 minutes a day with my father in India"* he texted me. So, when they freed us and we slowly went back to a normal life, Anand asked me to join him for the International Yoga day open air session in Prato della Valle on the 21st of June 2020

As we have learned from De Certeau (1990), co-production occurs when citizen participate in delivering and designing practices , services they receive; within this

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[287] See the article on : "La nuova normalità delle città soffre le disuguaglianze e vive di mutuo aiuto"
 https://www.che-fare.com/ostanel-citta-post-emergenza-covid/?fbclid=IwAR0LexQtxX0MfBIRVG3zqfJ_mUC88IHn1r52sPgTjJjdfS7DhbeSBxgZni8

pattern, the Yoga event in Prato can be considered as an exhibition of a space co-production. On the other hand, it is interesting to note that while we were practicing, some people who were sunbathing nearby, have joined us spontaneously.

Lastly, I drag attention on a new Indian space in town.

o _The first Hindu temple in Padova: Shree Salasar Mandir_

On the 29th July 2020 the hindu temple for Hanuman god has openend in Padova: Shree Salasar Mandir in Q2 neighborhood (Photo n°4.8 and 4.9).

The religious ceremony led by the _Pandit_ (Hindu priest of the temple) to celebrate the opening of the temple has continued until the 3rd of August (see Photo n° 4.8) when they unveiled the 'face of the god' at 1pm.

The creation of a place of worship for the Indian community in Padova was driven by the will of the community to have a place where religious and social community life can mingle.

Photography 4.8: Pandit Ji standing close to the Shree Balaji statue symbolising the Hanuman temple of Padova, 3/08/20.

Photography 4.9: Shree Salasar Mandir opening day celebration on 29/07/2020. Photo by Andrea Berton, authorized reproduction

Like Gallo, (2012) has demonstrated with her study about the Gurdwara (Sikhs' temples in the region of Rome) : *"Various authors have recognized how temples, churches, mosques or gurdwaras constitute <u>important migratory places in which a sense of community</u> is reproduced away from home, and through which 'a confident assertion of negotiated belonging' to the new context is promoted (Peach & Gale 2003: 487, Ansari 2002, Henkel & Knippenberg 2005)" (ibid.,*p.1, my underlining) .

As a community-builder, Krishna managed inviting the Consulte of India from Milan[288] to install a 'Consular Camp' where a diplomatic official support for passports and visa issue was provided (See Advertisement n°4).

Advertisement 4: Consulate camps in the Indian temple organised by Krishna on 1/08/20.

As Esther Gallo had argue, the temples are a "*space of collective sociability that provides room for the emergence of novel and contextual purposes in relation to community needs.*" (2012, p.5). Indeed, while visiting the temple with Krishna, he told me: "*We needed a place like this! You see when students will arrive now, and they will have issues in finding a house, at least for the first weeks they could stay here [in the temple]*" (29/07/20).

In terms of location, albeit some community's members have criticized the choice of the place of the temple in the so called "*Area funghi"- "Mushroom area",* the choice of the neighborhood Arcella (Q2) where most the community lives, was certainly the best to access it .

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[288] http://www.cgimilan.gov.in/

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Personally, I could not imagine another place for the temple in Padova if not in an intercultural space as this one. The area includes a Mosque, an African center called

Photography 4.10: The 'mushroom'area coexistng multi ethical places. Personal elaboration 08/20

'*Maisha'* on the left of the entrance of the temple, located on the first floor of Via Bernina, n°20, int.52.

There is a Chinese center for Tai-Chi and a Risto-pub as well (see Photo n°4.10). All these places are of propriety of the Town hall. It is an ex-industrial building composed of many ex-warehouse rooms. All of these warehouse rooms have been transformed by minor communities and association into their current vocational scope. The one in which the temple is located is wide and composed of four rooms: a large prayer room, the dining room, the kitchen and the bathroom (see Photo n°4.11).

There is a bad note though, in the last years this place has been highly contexted by permanent residents who perceive the mix of international influences in one place as a source of danger[289].

Photography 4.11: The stairs leading to the temple on the first floor of the 'Maisha african center'. 29/07/20

Perhaps due to the numerous critics on the 'mushroom area' in local newspapers, the Indian community has preferred remaining quiet

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[289] https://movimentodelbuonsenso.org/tag/area-funghi/

on divulgating the news of the temple opening. Eventually, a part Andrea Berton[290], the opening remained silent in the local media. Two policemen from the Questura have attended the opening ceremony, though. Sharma (the owner of Gandhi's restaurant) had made clear that he wanted everything to be "*legal and in order. If they see what we are doing, and that we are not disturbing, then we will not have problems in the future*" (29/07/2020). On the other hand, while avoiding public visibility in Italy, the news of the opening has been largely spread by the community in India (See pictures n° 4.3 and 4.4).

Picture 4.3: Indian newspaper 'Dainik Navajyoti' from Jaipur (Rajasthan) comunicating the opening of the Shree Salasar Mandir in Padova. 31/07/20.

Picture 4.4: Indian newspaper 'Dhainik Bhaskar' from Bhopal (MP) comunicating the opening of the Shree Salasar Mandir in Padova. 30/07/20

o *Assessment*

Through these examples we can apprehend how public spaces do not solely promote or create a sense of community among a pre-defined group, but can also open new opportunities for non-member, to meet and join a community (Costa et al., 2019; McMillan & Chavis, 2005). Eventually, I have evidenced the capacity of these subjects to shade light on what De Certeau (1984) has defined a 'co-production of space'. The impacts of the presence of the temple would need more time to be appreciated by both the Indian community and the permanent dwellers (still unaware of this space since it was not advertised in any manner outside of the 'Indian community' group).

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[290] See the article of Andrea Berton and the Interview with Pankaj Sharma: : https://www.qdpnews.it/veneto/39233-inaugurato-un-nuovo-tempio-induista-in-veneto-pankaj-ogni-anno-arrivano-a-venezia-400-mila-turisti-indiani?fbclid=IwAR2yu6vNso_kRe6HWUr34-mWUcox7IXrMcLIbrwNfR4EuYsDy8jMrHf4-q8 .

<u>Conclusions to Chapter 4</u>

As the first chapter analyzing the empirical data collected in the city of Padova, I opened the first section (4.1) with context's elements including an overview of the geographical landmarks of the city. As I have discussed here, apart from its spatial advantages as a medium city, Padova had to deal with the rooted Right-Hand party governing the Veneto region for years (Marconi et al., 2014, pp. 27–36). Indeed, the political pattern occurring in Padova has raised a number of questions about the interethnic social relations spanning from public order and security, to housing issues (e.g. Via Anelli) (see Caponio (2009), Romania and Zampierini (2009), Ostanel (2013) and Borin (2018)). Considering this evidence, I could define Padova a '*rebel city*' in light of the tumultuous episodes that occurred in the past ten years (Harvey, 2013) and the 'rebellious' position of Mayor Giordani against the central policy ("Security decree" of 30/10/2018). Besides, the discussion has also shown how migration data at local level must be read carefully to understand who is 'in' and 'out' in the city of Padova when using the data from the institutions.

In section 4.2, the early studies of Chicagoans on the Human ecology have led me to consider a neighborhood study to apprehend the case of Padova with a more accurate research in the influence of urban life on behavior patterns. Indeed, both Park and Burgess (1925) sought to have the neighborhood as a basis for scientific work and study. Burgess went so far as to say: "*Surely the work of the neighborhood center must now be conceived and planned in terms of its relationship to the entire life of the city.*" [The work of the neighborhood] "*must increasingly be placed upon the basis of the scientific study of the social forces with which they have to deal*" (Park et al. V.I. 1962, p. 154).

Then, following Elena Ostanel's steps (2012-2020), I have decided to use the neighborhood scale as a privileged territorial focus: a way to encompass those places which suit better to my case in light of the many details[291] it provided (Q1 and Q2 especially).

Finally, in Section 4.3, I have drawn attention on the Indian permanent dwellers which constitute the 8th most numerous foreign communities residing in Padova. Due to the small size of the Indian community in Padova, and the existing confusion of the latter with Bangladeshi and Pakistani, I explored on the ground the city's area where the community was

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[291] These considerations will become even more evident in the next two chapters looking at the relationships between Indian migrants, Indian students and permanent residents in their general processes of social inclusion, especially in the production and reproduction of social dynamics, stressing the agency capacity of migrants in the broader landscape of today's policy intervention.

likely to gather. Besides, to determine the spatial distribution of the Indian community, I used a range of instruments- interviews and collective mapping- which allowed me to locate '*traces of the community*' (Bagnasco, 1999) in two neighborhoods: Q1 and Q2. Nevertheless, the concentration in these areas slightly differs from the Chicagoans considerations. In short, the example of Padova copes with Park's metaphor (1925): "*a mosaic of small worlds*", and it is through the urban kaleidoscope (Chapter 2) that we will read all these pieces, these 'dots', 'islands', 'small worlds' together, as an ecosystem (&SoC) in concluding this third part.

Wrapping up, a second output of my discussion is that '*the city of differences*' (P. Briata, 2020; Ostanel, 2015) seems the only efficient political approach to tackle migration as an urban issue in Italian cities. As Silvia Mazzocchin (2017), has warned the readers, if cities do not manage to find ways to identify and manage the contemporary challenges of interculturalism in cities, '*visible and invisible lines of demarcation*' (Ibid, p.26), will continue to appear on the city's maps[292]. The next chapter discuss this statement referring to the case of Indian student-migrants spatialization in the city of Padova.

Although Padova seems to have lost its 'wall' (Ostanel, 2013), there are still many invisible lines; those could be used to build bridges instead, exactly as Unesco (2019) has requested in a recent report "*Migration, displacement and education: BUILDING BRIDGES, NOT WALLS*". The next chapter will focus on the University of Padova whose role in attracting Indian students -within the international flow of talents arriving in Padova, could lead us to reconsider migration as an urban issue from a different angle. This approach will help us to map the Indian students' experiences within the city of Padova and to assess the validity of the Chicagoans model in dealing with this topic in the conclusions.

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[292] She also adds: "In the most extreme cases, this led to the emergence of urban parallel worlds inhabited by different people that seldom get in touch with each other or cross their ways during their daily lives. Physically, this turns into the creation of ghettos or ethnic enclaves where migrants are concentrated, or to gated communities, where native residents think to protect themselves from "contamination" with others" (Ibid., p.26).

Chapter 5 : <u>The University of Padova and its international influence on the city.</u>

<u>Introduction to Chapter 5</u>

Chapter 5 presents the University of Padova as an institutional local actor, focusing on its international value-assets and tools to attract and recruit international students, having a look at the University's 800 years history and on its location within the city of Padova. As I discussed in Part 2, migration is one of the key positive mobilizing forces in the contemporary human history and development[293]. Within this global vision, universities are encouraged to recruit International Students (IS) to diversify their student's body and to improve their global ranking[294].

What is the University of Padova's approach to spur the flow of international students in Padova? To what extent UNIPD's strategy to attract and recruit talents could lead us to consider the migration of foreigner as an urban issue from a different angle? Reportedly, the answers to these questions will lead us to depict the University of Padova as a 'space of knowledges' (King, 2017) likely to stimulate the development of new policies and spaces in the city of Padova. This chapter also wants to highlight the city-university relations aspiring to a certain internationalization influential position on a European and global scale. The recruitment of international students, such as Indians, is one aspect of this relationship I called "*UniverCity*".

The chapter is divided into three sections. First, section 5.1 will describe UNIPD's '*going global'*[295] and its efforts to promote its assets to be appealing to the eyes of Indian students. Next, Section 5.2 reminds the migration procedures that Indian students are requested to follow to reach Italian Universities. Finally, Section 5.3 reports the outcomes of the interviews conducted with aldermen Nalin and Micalizzi stressing some political and

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[293] Following the Global compacts of UNESCO on migration as a result of the 2016 Declaration for Refugees and Migrants held in New York, 193 UN member states have renewed their commitment in working together to encourage "safe, orderly and regular migration" (UNESCO, 2019, p.1). In this occasion, education entered in the migration agenda for the first time underlining the need of a strategy and a systematic approach to capture the complexity, the diversity of migration for studies in order to transform this flow as an opportunity (see Unesco 2019 reports Objectives 15 to 17). Of course, this commitment should also be accomplished with the goal to fulfil #SDG4 "To ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and to promote lifelong learning opportunities for all".

[294] I remind that, beyond this noble internationalization cause, the main driver of many universities worldwide is income-raising (UNESCO, 2019, p. 95).

[295] see UNIPD website page: https://www.unipd.it/en/going-global (15/07/2020)

spatial features of the "*UniverCity*" challenging the internationalization process in the city of Padova.

SECTION 5.1: The University of Padova, beyond the 'place of excellence'.

In students'minds, the reputation of the city of Padova is often associated with the age of the University. As the student PD#22/2 resumed: *"I chose the University of Padova because it hosts the oldest and Well-known University in Italy and Europe"* and the age echoes with the quality. Is this heritage enough to make the University of Padova a welcoming place for Indian students? How does Indian students experience it on a daily basis?

5.1.1 The heritage of the 797 years old Università degli studi di Padova[296]

o *Unipd, a milestone in Italian higher education institutions*
The motto of the University of Padova is "*Universa Universis Patavina Libertas"*, literally "*Paduan freedom is universal for everyone*". It refers to the fact that freedom of thought (of teaching, research, religious belief, political ideas...) has always been a distinctive feature of the University since its foundation in 1222 when some students migrated from the university of Bologna, whose Municipality increasingly carried out checks and pressure on student corporations. Somehow this revolutionary and innovative spirit that has accompanied the funding and evolution of the University of Padova has never stop growing.

As the University of Padova advertises on its website[297], between the 16th and 17th centuries, Padova became a "*workshop of ideas"* and the home to personalities who have transformed the cultural and scientific history of humanity (e.g Andrea Vesalio, who founded modern anatomy, as well as the astronomer Copernicus, and Galileo Galilei). Besides, Padova also vaunts the world's first university botanical garden- a UNESCO Worlf Heritage Site- and a permanent anatomical theatre, which was built by Girolamo Fabrici d'Acquapendente (William Harvey, who became famous for describing the circulation of the blood, studied in Padova). Finally, the University of Padova is proud to be the first one in the world which has conferred a university degree to a woman, Elena Lucrezia Cornaro Piscopia, back in 1678.

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[296] https://www.unipd.it/en/history
[297] Ibidem.

For centuries the University of Padova has been depicted as a home of excellences and today (about eight centuries later) continues to vaunt its unicity and innovation as a multidisciplinary institution with 8 schools and 32 departments offering a substantial diverse portfolio of courses[298].

The university's advertisement to recruit International students insists on the fact that "*A qualification from the University of Padua is a symbol of having achieved an ambitious objective, one that is recognised and coveted by both students and employers alike.*[299]"

As we will see in the next section of this chapter both variable (reputation and quality) are central in determining the university choice for Indian students migrating to Padova.

o   *The university of Padova is "Going global"[300]*

The recruitment of International students by the university of Padova is carried on by the *'Global Engagement Team (GET)'* working within the international office. Since March 2019, the office has massively invested on promotional activities and dissemination of information through online channels such as platforms (FindAmaster,

Study portal etc) and Social media networks (on Facebook with videos and on Instagram with live interacting presentations) acting as showcases for UNIPD's promotion of its education offer (as well as its facilitated immigration procedure).

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[298] https://www.unipd.it/en/courses/catalog?ss360Query=*

[299] https://www.unipd.it/en/university-padua

[300] https://www.unipd.it/en/going-global (15/07/2020)

The University of Padova participates to the national campaign '*Study in Italy*' in a networked action with agencies (e.g. ICEF[301]) and with the Embassy's offices as Uni-Italia[302]. In 2019, the international office has updated its offer in a brochure gathering the main 'appealing' factors to attract international students (See picture n°5.1).

The contents put the accent on the history of the University and the "*student-friendly city*"; the Italian High Education Institutions system and the enrollment procedure; the fees; the services provided to students in order to make their experience unique, with a look at international students' specific facilities; a short description of the courses portfolio which includes 72 English-taught courses[303] in 12 main disciplines (See picture n°5.2).

AGRICULTURAL, FORESTRY AND FOOD SCIENCES	⌄
ECONOMICS, FINANCE, BU~~SINESS MANAGEMENT~~	⌄
ENGINEERING	⌄
HUMANISTIC AND LITERARY STUDIES	⌄
MEDICINE AND SURGERY	⌄
PHARMACY	⌄
POLITICAL SCIENCE, INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS	⌄
PSYCHOLOGY	⌄
SCIENCE	⌄
SOCIOLOGY	⌄
STATISTICS	⌄
VETERINARY MEDICINE AND ANIMAL WELFARE	⌄

Picture 5.1: 'Study with Us' brochure of UNIPD, 2019 edition.

Picture 5.2: Classes subjects available in English. Screen shot from UNIPD's website 03/07/20.

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[301] https://www.icef.com

[302] See the discussion in Appendix 3.3, p.394; Appendix 3.6, p.402.

[303] Among this number: 30 degrees are held in English https://www.unipd.it/en/english-degrees + the Erasmus Mundus programs https://www.unipd.it/en/studying-padova/courses-held-english/erasmus-mundus-master-courses

5.1.2 Indian students among UNIPD's international students

o *About 3.000 international students in UNIPD*
        The University of Padova in line with the national strategies to attract and retain talents within the national Italian borders has demonstrated major improvements in the last ten years. In 2020 the university is hosting about 60.000[304] enrolled students with more than 1.400 incoming international students every year and over 2.800 international students enrolled. The data synthetized in the graphic below represent the major international students flow who enrolled in the University of Padova in 2018 Graphic n°5.1).
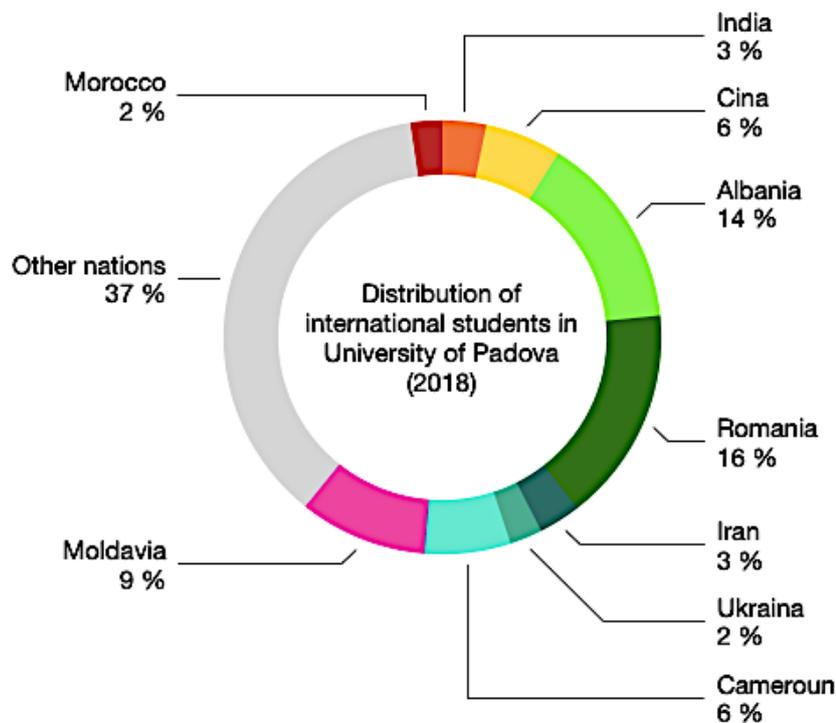
 Graphic 5.1: Distribution of international students in the University of Padova(2018). Own elaboration based on MIUR statistical data website.

The '*proximity variable*' (OECD, 2019, p.230) which encourage students from geographically and culturally closer countries – Albania, Romania, Moldavia- to study in

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[304] In 2017, official data from UNIPD account 59.279 registered students. Besides, they are more than 5,000 postgraduate students. 12,778 graduates annually. 2,140 professors & researchers. 2,290 technical & administrative staff. The budget devolved to the university today is 603 million euros, which means 60 million euros pro year invested in research. Data provided by Francesca da Porto, Pro-rector of Construction and Security, University of Padova (25/05/2019), during the conference held in Orto Botanico.

Italy is verified in the University of Padova. On the whole, the countries represented reflects the national ISM trends.

o *3% of Indian students in the University of Padova*

As far as we are concerned, from the data evidenced, we can see that there is still a small portion of Indian students enrolling in UNIPD (83 students) compared to the numbers of Indian students accounted in Italy's European direct competitors (France and Germany) and the international trends of this flows (previously cited in Chapter 3).

Anyway, there is no doubt that the strategies previously described in Chapter 3, integrated with added facilities on arrival as SAOS and buddy, have a role in making the University an international pool of talents, however so far, it seems that these services are working for Erasmus students only. With regards to the flow of Indian students, the University of Padova is far behind the '*Politecnico of Milan*' -which stands first especially due to the renew of this important metropolis in Italy, the '*Italian fashion capital[305]*' , with only **2,62 %** of the Italian share of Indian students' migrants[306].

o *Indian students registered and enrolled in UNIPD*

The data provided by the statistical office (CLA) of the University of Padova on the 20th of January 2019 accounted **#83 Indian students** regularly registered in a course of the University in the academic year 2018-2019. It also gives information about those who were enrolled for a course at UNIPD in 2018-2019: #44 Indian students. The office has provided me the data from 2015 to 2020 where the years are following the academic time lapses (September to September) and not the actual years.
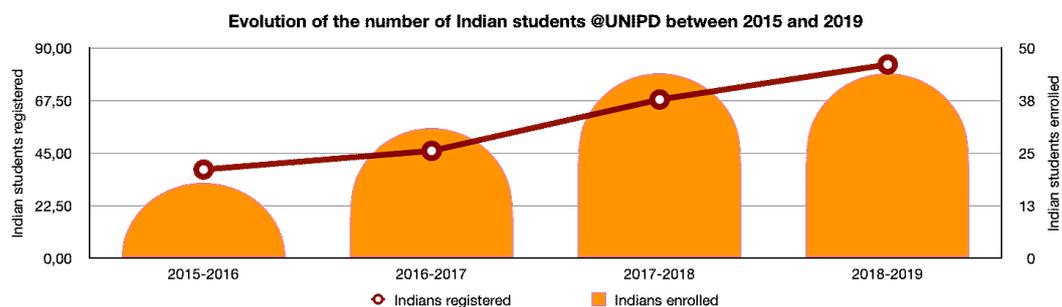
Graphic 5.2: Trend of the Indian students attending UNIPD classes between 2015 and 2019. Own elaboration based on CLA data, 07/2020.

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[305] See Appendix 3.8, p.405

[306] The data was calculated based on previous chapters' data: 3160 Indian students in Italy (2018) and 83 in Unipd.

I have extrapolated the data[307] to understand the evolution of the flow of Indian students coming to the University of Padova (graphic n°5.2), focusing especially on the differences between the registered numbers and the enrollment one which suggest that the number of Indian students who stay in Padova for 1 year or less is quite high.

On the whole, the majority of Indian students who has attended a course in the University of Padova in the last 4 years has studied Engineering related disciplines (21%) as the graphic n°5.3 shows the highest percentage in dark red[308].
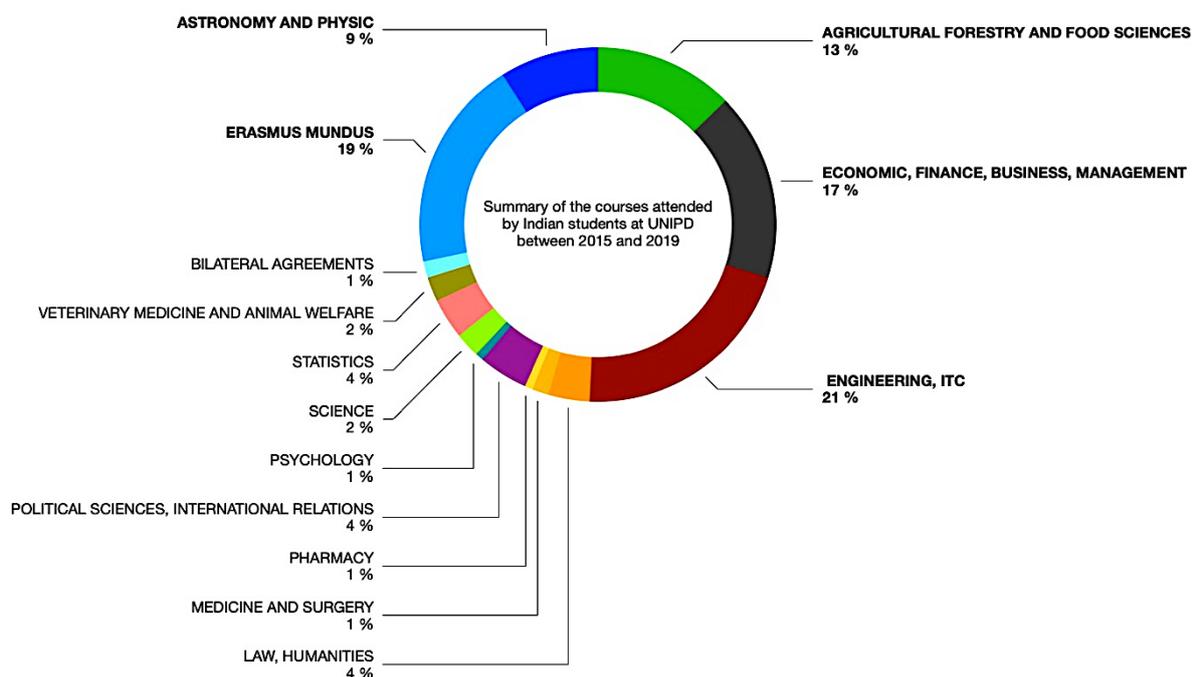
Graphic 5.3: Breakdown of Indian students @UNIPD by subject area (2015-2019).Own elaboration based on CLA data (83 Indian students); 07/2020.

Apart from the Erasmus Mundus program[309,] I want to make a note on the second highest trend Economic, finance, business and management where the course named "*business and management - MBM: industry specific fragrance and cosmetic sector*" has registered #19 students from 2015 to 2019 out of which 8 registered in 2018-2019 which is the course hosting the highest number of Indian students in one class. In my sample, I

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[307] The data provided do not take into account the gender for the registered students. The data related to the enrolment instead, do a distinction where Indian boys enrolled in 2018-2019 were 31 while Indian girls in 2018-2019 were 13 (over the #44 enrolment applications).

[308] The University did also provide the list of courses/studying field attended by the Indian students between 2015 and 2019. In the Appendix 6.2, p.419, you will find the tables and more detailed data for your convenience.

[309] https://www.unipd.it/en/studying-padova/courses-held-english/erasmus-mundus-master-courses

have one student who is part of the 13% students in agricultural forestry and food sciences as the case of Laxmi Kartik.

    o *Assessment*

The choice of the study career is very important for the student but also for the interests that it triggers for the Italian government chasing brains (as Chapter 3 has earlier discussed) and on the city-scale, for the impacts it may have on the city. Moving on, the descriptive features of the University's services need to be evaluated in light of the practical experiences of the Indian students.

5.1.3 Merging Unipd facilities with Indian students experiences

    o *Welcome to UNIPD! Facilities and added value for international students?*

In the attraction strategies recommended by European Migration Network Report of 2018, universities should have appealing incentives for international students (Ibid. p.24): "*Initiatives and measures upon arrival".* The universities in Italy have all adopted strategies to show their magnificence to international students on arrival. The university of Padova has introduced a welcoming system investing on the human factor: volunteers and civil servants.

→ **BUDDY**

Among these facilities, it has been recognised the key role in "*Induction and orientation support*" led by "*buddy"* as mentor/support persons introducing the new environment of the University and the city to new students. The University of Padova has adopted this central figure to welcome international students. However, none of the Indian students I have met have heard about it. It seems that this service is mostly devolved to Erasmus students.

In addition, as other universities, UNIPD has an office in charge of assistance on immigration-related procedures (visa, residence permit, health insurance etc.): the SAOS networking with the Police and the Municipality of Padova.

→ **SAOS (Servizio Accoglienza Ospiti Stranieri)**

As reported on the University of Padova website: "*SAOS (Welcome service for foreign guests) is a welcome desk which assists incoming international students and scholars (researchers, visiting professors, experts) in organising and completing the most important procedures for their legal stay in Italy:*

- entry and stay in Italy

- residence permit: first application, renewal and transfer/conversion

- family reunification

- public health assistance"

The university has tied a special agreement with the *Questura* (Immigration Office of the local Police Station) where Doctor Antonio Arena[310] works in direct contact with SAOS. Indeed, SAOS offices provides support during the application process for residence permit (or whenever students may need to renew the permit) and acts as a bridge between the international students and the *Questura di Padova* by booking an appointment with Doctor Arena and by mailing all the due documents to provide (see picture n°5.3).

Picture 5.3: Email of Saos to Kavita related to the residency permit issue during lockdown Covid-19. Screenshot made by Kavita.

Indeed, SAOS is also supposed to provide general information on public and private services offered by the city and the University and keeps in touch with the local Employment Department and the *"Sportello Unico/UTG"* Padova, where foreign workers can submit the required papers once their mobility path is over to settle their working status.

o *Behind the University's office scenes: the experiences of Indian students*

Notwithstanding the above listed facilities put into place in the University of Padova, my research has evidenced that Indian students often complain about the very few indications they have on arrival which means that the International office work is not visible enough and may be not harmoniously connected with the other offices like SAOS (Sportello Accoglienza Ospiti Stranieri). To illustrate this statement, I have reported here some testimony of Indian students.

Anand a 31 years-old-boy from a wealthy family in New Delhi had a previous abroad experience in Washington DC (USA) in 2018-2019. When asked about the

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[310] The name is authentic. Information collected during fieldwork.

international office, he instinctively compared the 'welcoming services' of the University of Padova with its previous experience as being *"very residual, they have not organized celebrative events to make international students meet each other, no welcoming party, no city-visit... nothing! I was not informed about any of these at least, maybe they occurred before my arrival in October 2019. I think they should work on this aspect more... they are just expecting people to meet on their own, but it is tough, very tough actually"* (PD#42/2, on 23/01/2019).

Despite these inconveniences on arrival, Anand has declared that its experience in Padova was quite good. The beginning was tough for him since he felt 'not welcomed' nor supported in any manner by the University administration.

The testimony of **Amitab** outlines other issues related to my questions on its experience with the education in Padova, which have deeply undermined its perception of the University of Padova in general. When I asked Amitab- a 25 years-old-student coming from a humble family in Kolkata in West Bengal about its experience as an international student in the University of Padova, he said: *"I guess I was little unlucky to meet some people so that I got some negative experiences. But still I am hopeful that things are changing in Italy and may be in next few years people will not meet those situations.[...] Italy is a really beautiful country, but it needs better funding and proper administration to solve the problems"*(Phone call on 30/03/20).

Amitab's considerations should be smoothed as its speech was full of rage the first time we talked (12/12/2018). Nevertheless, probably most of the Indian students I have interviewed would agree with its last affirmation, and so do I: currently what the University of Padova needs is a more coordinated welcoming system which is able to accompany all its students in their daily life procedures with the local administration.

From the interviews it came out that often Indian students fear being alone in the *Questura* where policemen speak mostly Italian without any support to help them understanding the language. This is indeed how I came into the Questura: SAOS recommends to the international students ' *to bring a friend who can translate for them'*... of course when students arrive, they do not have friends, so this suggestion is useless. Yet, SAOS do not have '*linguistic mediators'* within its staff who can accompany the Indian

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students (and all the International Students who need a residency permit) to the *Questura* appointments*.* On the other hand, they are the 'buddies' who are volunteers. Generally, they are students who have been abroad for a short stay and who generally speak quite good English. I would recommend SAOS to start working in a networking manner within its university offices and figure out how to ensure that the experience of international students on arrival is satisfying.

- o *Assessment*

To conclude, it is important to remind these personal experiences of Indian students in order to apprehend the efficiency of the services provided by the University of Padova. Indeed, the perception of these 'welcoming services' has been identified as central in literature (Baas, 2014; Hercog & van de Laar, 2017; Kirk et al., 2017) and reports (EMN, 2018; OECD, 2019; O'Hagan & UNESCO, 2019) as it contributes to the broader positive (or negative) perception of the host country abroad.

Eventually, I want to draw attention on the fact that the actual needs of the international students in general does not seem fulfilled yet by the current university's policies and actions. These needs include: a social support against isolation; a legal support led by a person who will accompany them to some elementary procedures on arrival spanning from finding a house to going to the central police headquarters for the residency permit. Following this, the next section precisely deals with the bureaucratic elements challenging the Indian students to enter and enroll in the University of Padova.

SECTION 5.2 The bureaucratic odyssey from India to the University of Padova

This section presents the procedure that Indian students are requested to follow in order to be enrolled in the University of Padova. As per the Ministry of education, "*Ministero dell'Istruzione, dell'Università e della Ricerca (MIUR)*" guidelines the "*Procedures for entry, residency and enrolment at higher education institutions for students requiring visas for higher*

Figure 5.1: The immigration procedure for Indian (and international) students who apply for a study- Visa in Italy. Own elaboration, 07/20

education courses in Italy, for the academic year 2020-2021"(MIUR, 2020)- the entrance in Italy is a bureaucratic -mostly online- procedure in various steps (See figure n° 5.1).

The following documentation and procedures are applicable to all international students, and therefore to Indian students as well (MIUR, 2020) [311].

After selecting the University of Padova, it is time to start the visa procedure to reach Italy. The next paragraphs explain the immigration and enrollment mechanism which are a central (and "*stressful part*)" of the Indian students migrant's journey to Italy.

5.2.1 Before departure: the application procedure to register in the University of Padova

o *The D- Visa*
   Indian students require a national visa for studies to enroll in an Italian Higher Education Institutions (Universities or AFAM). As the "*Procedures for entry, residency and enrolment at higher education institutions for students requiring visas for higher education courses in Italy, for the academic year 2019-2020*[312]"(MIUR, 2020) have established, Indian students can ask for a 'D-VISA' if they are applying for a course which does not require an admission test. In this case, the visa is issued for 1 year (365 days) and might be renewed only if the student has proved to have fulfilled the due number of courses' credits (CFU) established by the University. The maximum duration of a D-Visa for studies is of 3 years. Whenever Indian students need to take an admission test for Medicine and veterinary courses for instance, they may first ask for a VSU (Visa Schengen Uniform) which is valid for 90 days maximum. The visa is issued by the Embassy or Consulate of Italy in India after the veracity and authenticity of the documentation[313] has been accurately checked to avoid the 'migratory risk' (MIUR, 2020, paragraph 4 p.19).

   I have resumed the whole application procedure for the D-VISA issue in the figure n°5.2, which has been designed together with Valentina Ierna- the head of Uni-Italia in New Delhi during my interviews at the Embassy of Italy in New Delhi in November 2018 and 2019. As one can immediately see, the procedure to access Italian High Education Institutions is long and laborious. The double-check system put into place by the Embassy and the Italian

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[311] NB: The procedure presents no exception in the evaluation and documentation that should be provided for international students, in the case of Indian students, unless if the applicant is part of an exchange programme (e.g Erasmus Mundus).

[312] The Procedures for entrance, residency and enrolment at the University of Padova follows the national Italian rules which are updated every year on MUR's website.

[313] The checklist of the mandatory documents to apply for a D-Visa is available in the Appendix n°6.1, p.418.

universities is meant to select accurately the applications of motivated and talented students on the one hand, and to avoid the 'importation' of migrants who are hiding behind a '*student visa but are actually coming for work purposes*'. This is what Valentina Ierna means when she mentioned the 'genuine applications' and the 'migratory risks' to tackle:

"Indian students application for Italian universities would be declined by the Italian embassy when we identify them as "dubious / non-genuine applications"; that is, if they present false certificates or incoherent speeches. For example: how to study in English in Milan when the student speaks only the mother tongue / regional language?- in this case, for instance, the linguistic prerequisites do not exist, and the application becomes 'dubious'. This kind of dubious application presents what you qualify as "Migration Risk" (i.e. a migration which can end up becoming illegal) and both Uni-Italia and the embassy should work to limit it " (Valentina Ierna IN271118.2 & IN181119).

In addition, Valentina generalized the profile of the students who generally turns out presenting 'non genuine applications': *"Mainly it is the middle / upper class for "genuine" cases. If the applications come from the lower class, they are non-genuine ones as they are often associated with prior studies, not in English. Since the essential linguistic parameter to access Italian education is the knowledge of either English or Italian, most of those who access them have had previous education in the language English. The middle class prefers to leave with the scholarship. The INVEST YOUR TALENT scholarship is often requested by the middle / lower classes, which is why there is a careful selection which was made through a mandatory interview in 2018 and now through a motivational video (since 2019)"* (Valentina Ierna IN271118.2 & IN181119).

ITALIAN EMBASSY's PROCEDURE TO ENTER IN ITALY WITH A "VISA FOR STUDIES"- VISA type 'D'
(Updated on 18/11/2019)

THE STUDENT KNOWS WHERE HE/SHE WANTS TO GO IN ITALY

THE STUDENT DOESN'T KNOW WHERE TO GO IN ITALY

ONLINE DIRECT APPLICATION TO THE ITALIAN UNIVERSITY MANDATORY DOCUMENTS TO SUBMIT : ID, STUDIES CERTIFICATION...

UNI-ITALIA PROVIDES **ORIENTATION** CONSULANCY

PRE-ENROLLEMENT IS MADE BY THE STUDENT ALONE **ONLINE APPLICATION**

THE ITALIAN UNIVERSITY DOES A '**PRE-SCREENING**' OF THE APPLICATION

✓ THE DEMAND WAS CORRECTLY FULFILLED
THE UNIVERSITY ACCEPT THE APPLICATION 'WITH RESERVES' :
« **LETTERA DI PRE-ACCETAZIONE** »
⇔
« **PRE-IMMATRICOLAZIONE** »

THE DEMAND WAS UNCOMPLETED : APPLICATION DENIED ✗

THE STUDENT CAN APPLY AGAIN.
IT IS RECCOMANDED TO HAVE ALL THE MANDATORY DOCUMENTS BEFORE SUBMITTING THE NEW APPLICATION

STEP 1

AS PER **MAECI** ORDERS : THE CLOSEST ITALIAN CONSOLATE OR EMBASSY FROM THE STUDENT RESIDENCE'S PLACE WILL BE IN CHARGE OF THE PRE-ENROLLMENT APPLICATION

✓ **DOV** (DECLARATION OF VALUE) IS RELEASED

« **PRE-ISCRIZIONE** »
ONLINE TEMPLATE TO DOWNLOAD AND TO CAREFULLY COMPLETE

THE STUDIES CERTIFICATE HAS TO BE LEGALLY CONFIRMED

TRANSLATED STUDIES CERTIFICATE IS CHECKED
- 12th requested for *Laurea Triennale/Bachelor*
- Bachelor is requested for *Laurea Magistrale/masters*

« **APPOSTILLE** » ARE REQUIRED FOR THE STUDIES' ATTESTATION

✗ *IF THE DOCUMENTATION PROVIDED SHOWS SOME « DOUBTS »
→ NON-GENUINE IT WOULD BE DENIED IN THIS PART*

THE STUDIES CERTIFICATE HAS TO BE TRANSLATED INTO ITALIAN through A CERTIFIED TRANSLATOR

STEP 2

✓ THE PRE-ENROLMENT'S REQUEST IS APPROVED BY THE CONSOLATE OR EMBASSY WITH AN OFFICIAL SEAL FOLLOWING A PRE ESTABLISHED DEAD-LINE FIXED BY THE MIUR (16/02-27/07)
[NB: the deadline changes every year]

THE EMBASSY OR CONSOLATE SEND THE LIST OF « GENUINE » APPLICATIONS IN EACH UNIVERSITY (ONE BY ONE) WHERE THE STUDENTS HAVE BEEN PREVIOUSLY « PRE-IMMATRICOLATI »

STEP 3

THE UNIVERSITY OPERATES THROUGH A 'DOUBLE-CHECK' APPROACH : CHECKING BOTH THE « PRE-IMMATRICOLAZIONE » AND THE « PRE-ENROLLMENT » APPLICATIONS TO SEE IF IT MATCHES AND SEND IT BACK TO THE CONSOLATE OR EMBASSY IN INDIA

THE EMBASSY OR CONSOLATE SEND THE CONFIRM of « PRE-ENROLLMENT » APPLICATION TO THE STUDENTS. ✓

THE STUDENT CAN START ITS VISA APPLICATION FOR « STUDY » TO THE EMBASSY OR CONSOLATE
VISA TYPE 'D'- "LONG-TERM"

STEP 4

THE VISA's APPLICATION FOR « STUDY » SHOULD CONTAIN 'FINANCIAL GUARANTEES'.
PARENTS ARE ASKED TO GIVE A FINANCIAL SUPPORT TO THE STUDENT AS 'SPONSORS'

THE VISA SECTION MIGHT ASK FOR AN INTERVIEW WITH THE STUDENT TO CLARIFY SOME DOUBTS. ✓

STEP 5

✓ THE VISA IS RELEASED.
TIMINGS ARE VARIABLE. THE FEES TO PAY ARE UPDATED ACCORDING THE RATIO EUROS-RUPIES EVERY 3 MONTHS. (around 150€)

Figure 5.2: The procedure to apply for a D-visa allowing Indian students to access Italian Universities. Procedure described by Valentina Ierna (Uni Italia) and visualised by me after her supervision (18/11/19), New Delhi.

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On the other hand, as far as students are concerned, these techniques of selection remain veiled. The Embassy limits itself in sending a letter ticking the reasons why visa has not been released. On the picture attached (Picture n°5.4), the application was declined by General Consulate of Italy in Mumbai as "*8- the information submitted regarding the justification for the purpose and conditions of the intended stay are not reliable*". A student sent it to me as he was astonished of this and of course I could not tell him that he may have fooled the system. This is the only example of rejection I have since I have mostly interviewed students on arrival in Italy who succeeded in this first step.

Picture 5.4: Visa denied, original student-copy photographed and sent through Messenger to me in February 2019.

The visa office of the Italian Embassy has never answered to my requested about the number of visas released, compared to those denied for students and neither Valentina Ierna nor Chiara Petracca or Pietro Sfera Carini could provide me information about it. The most recent data I have find on this regard are those published by Rugge (in the CRUI 2018 report p.24-25) in which 2.224 visa were released for Indian students over 45.820 international students, in 2015, however there are no additional data. If we match these data with the "R*apporto Comunità Indiana in Italia* of 2016 (*ibid.*p.35), we witness that there were 1.615 Indian students enrolled in the academic year 2015/2016, hence over the 2.224 visa applications announced by the Ministry of External Affairs (Ministero degli Affari Esteri e della Cooperazione Internazionale- MAECI), 609 visa applications have been declined i.e about 3 students out of 10 will fail in this step.

o   *Indian students feedbacks on the visa procedure*

Over the 10 interviews I conducted in person in 2018 in New Delhi with students departing to Italy (not necessarily to Padova), 5 of them were complaining about the length of the visa procedure:

"*I personally feel the process is a little lengthy. I also feel it would be better if the visa committee who takes the interview was the same of the one who stamps the visa rather than someone else so that every student will have a better chance of expressing without any confusion between a mediator.*" (27 years old girl, IN#03/1)

In addition, some were also deploring the fact that they have had issues in finding someone speaking English as IN#01/1 complains :

"*It's a long process when compared to the other countries, takes time and a waste of lot money for these, where they can be shortened to ease up the process. [...] See that at least some facilities can be provided in English !*" (25 years old boy, IN#01/1).

Out of these, some students have stressed the complicated process related to issuing the DOV- Declaration Of Value-, which certifies the authenticity of their previous degree in order to access the Italian Universities:

"*I don't know why DOV takes a lot of time. In many cases I have seen students have to wait for two months. So, then their visa gets delayed. The Dov procedure is really intricate and should be simplified. [...] Most of the universities sent the admits very late last time so for most of the students pre-enrollment date was gone.*" (28 years old boy, IN#05/1).

The process was often delayed as IN#05/1 mentioned, sometimes even the visa was delayed and eventually students missed the 'welcoming facilities on arrival' because they reached late, as IN#06/1 reports.

"*It was quite a task getting my visa, and it arrived very late. After reaching - the University provided us with information on what had to be done for permits etc. I think it would be a lot easier if we were told by the Embassy before leaving.*" (35 years old boy, IN#06/1)

Moreover, the double-check procedure seems excessive for a student as IN#07/1 who wants to learn Italian in Perugia University for foreigners: "*A smooth visa-process. Since I only want to obtain a C2 level in Italian by enrolling for a language course, I hope I*

won't have to get apostille[314] *stamps on my degrees.*" (40 years old man, New Delhi IN#07/1).

Bureaucracy is a first important obstacle and in many ways complicated part of Indian student's abroad as Sareena's comments reflects:

"To begin with, the procedure is not clearly laid out in English by any official institution. It is very difficult for an Indian student to figure what the official formalities are that need to be met in order to come to Italy as a student. Secondly, there is a lot of corruption and middlemen involved in this process[315]*. They take advantage of the language differences, lack of clear instructions, chaos and the desperation of the applicants. The entire process was hell for me. And I am not the only Indian student who had to go through that kind of hell to be able to come to Italy for studies." (Sareena, PD#34/2).*

Just to make it clear, Valentina Ierna precised: *"The interaction between the embassy and private consulting agencies for studies abroad is limited to serious questions, the genuine ones." (Valentina Ierna IN271118.2 & IN181119).*

I also interviewed 2 students who had not started the application yet (IN#08 & #04/1) but were planning to leave, out of these IN#04/1 told me after listening to IN#03/1 commented: "*I hope the Embassy will aware students about the challenges which are commonly faced by them*" (27 years old girl, IN#04/1).

Finally, out of all of these negative feedbacks, I had 2 positive comments:

"*Regarding the procedure's pre-enrollment enrollment, DOV, visa application...All was easy for me" (*22 years old boy, IN#02/1*) ."Very easy and effective process Indian Delhi embassy staff is very helpful*" (28 years old girl, IN#09/1).

o *Assessment*

On the whole, I heard much more complains than compliments related to the Embassy services to 'facilitate' students arrival in Italy. When I came back, I submitted an online survey to gather further data which only confirmed what the 10 students in Delhi told me: " *Please make the application process little bit simpler.*" (21 years old boy,

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[314] An apostille (from Latin post illa and then French: a marginal note) or Hague apostille. It is an international certification comparable to a notarization in domestic law, and normally supplements a local notarization of the document.

[315] On the topic related to the shadow-economy and the education-business/industry made by intermediaries on education, for the sake of sobriety I have not dedicated a special section on it in this thesis. However, they are works of other scholars available on it:(Baas, 2019; Beech, 2018; Harvey et al., 2018)

IN#23/1). Another student has asked me: "*Why is Italian Bureaucracy is so pathetic?*" (27 years old boy, IN#16/1).

Of course, the subjective perception of each individual has to be taken into account when analyzing these comments, however in light of the high number (16/23) of complains and comments related to the length and difficulty of the process and the lack of English speakers able to truly help the students in this phase, one can deduce that the visa application is a "*very tough and stressful*" part to face for Indian students as commented successively by Anand (PD#42/2).

It is to be hoped then that the situation improves on the next step: the arrival in Italy.

5.2.2 On arrival: Registration to the Central police station '*Questura*'

o   *the "Questura" after 8 days*

Within eight working days after the arrival in Italy on a D-Visa type for study (for University Enrolment), the candidates must forward a request for a residency permit for STUDY to the police headquarters responsible for Padova (*Questura*) where they intend to establish their residence. The request should be presented to the Italian Post Offices with the documentation provided by Unipd and the enrollment fees payment bill receipt.

The Post office delivers a receipt, then the students are informed of the date on which they would be summoned at the Questura to refine the residency permit issue (PSE). Beyond the visa, the university documentation, Indian students should have a private health insurance and an eligible house (with a formal contract). They must also prove to have sufficient economic resources to face the daily expenses of their University life in Padova. This amount is fixed by MIUR (2020) law: 459,83€ pro month and 5.977,79€ pro year, and a return ticket (money for repatriation).

During my immersive fieldwork in Padova, I have had the occasion to 'test' the efficiency of this service by accompanying some students to the Questura and experience directly with them the collection of the residency permit and the post-mobility opportunities assessment as the testimony of Kavita reflects in the next lines.

Kavita is a 28-year-old Bengali girl from Kolkata (PD#27/2). After almost two years in Padova, Kavita only speaks few Italian despite the course she followed at the Linguistic Center of UNIPD (CLA). Her level sticks to A2 level and she is not inclined to

improve as she knows that she will not stay in Padova for long anymore. Since she does not know Italian, I went to the Questura with her as a mediator every time she needed to renew or extend her Residency permit (9/10/19; 21/10/2019;9/03/2020; 29/05/2020). Mr. Arena is very professional and inclined to help students in solving their procedures. On the meantime, he often stressed the lack of professionality of the SAOS office sending students alone, without the whole documentation and asking him to solve procedures quickly with a short notice.

The kind of service I voluntary made with Indian students to understand the process better, should be continuously supplied by the university's persons, the 'buddy[316]' for instance could endorse this task. Meanwhile, Indian students are left alone in facing the bureaucratic procedures in Italian without knowing the language impacting negatively on their perception of the difficulties to settle in Italy (see Chapter 6).

o *Assessment*

Wrapping up, fieldwork results have evidenced that the application procedure for the entrance and enrollment of Indian students in Padova is complicated and long. The journey from India through the Visa procedure led to the first encounter with the heavy Italian bureaucratic machine, culminated by the Questura which is the final institution authorized to conclude the immigration process locally.

These elements outline that the University of Padova and the town-hall are working together on the common scope of attracting Indian students, on welcoming them in their new city, as the next chapter will develop. Next, it could be interesting to wonder which are the impacts of the university internationalization policy on the city of Padova?

SECTION 5.3 Internationalization in Padova, the place of the University.

The website of the University itself advertises the way of planning Padova as a '*city-based university*' and a '*student-centered town*': "*It is genuinely student-friendly, since it is deeply intertwined with the University, and students account for over 30% of the local population.*" (From the University website 2019). The website's statement needs to be nuanced in light of the empirical data collected in Padova. Next to the 'friendly' asset, I have investigated the international one. To do it I first retrieved elements from literature

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[316] In talking with a civil servant of Palazzo Bò where the SAOS office is located, it came out that: "they lack volunteers ".

to describe the bond between the University and the city, then shortened through the pun 'UniverCity'. Then, conversely to previous studies which have analyzed the city and university spaces as being separated, in my case study I will rather underline how the city of Padova's spaces tend to merge with those of the university. I will finally evidence that the University of Padova is an agent of urban transformation in the city (toward *cosmopolis*), beyond its role of knowledge dissemination.

5.3.1 The university and the city: common goals

o *The university, a local actor for urban development.*
Martinelli (2012, p.6) described the "*University as a lever for development, capacity building, and social growth*". Following the studies of Goddard & Vallance (2013), Martinelli (2012) and Savino (2015) are among the few Italian scholars who have presented a broader picture of the presence of the university on the local city-territory in Italy as key actors for the city's urban development. The authors aim to display how the university influences the development of regional economies highlighting the potential of having this actor on a local territory for the future development of the cities. Indeed, their study has evidenced that the university has impacts on the processes and trends of the real estate market, the urban renovation policies, and the cultural relaunch of the cities (Savino & Martinelli, 2012, p.5).

Furthermore, literature outlines that Universities are strong institutions for local territory planning even whenever economic conditions are not sympathetic (Savino, 2015; Zuddas, 2019). In 2012, Martinelli's research has led him to witness the delayed[317] position of research and innovation in Italy- as a central part of Universities' mission in connection with local industries and local policies- due to the absence of a reform which eventually appeared in 2008, during the economic crisis. In this fortuitous framework of local development policies, the universities are required to achieve other essential duties, trying to grasp the challenges of the globalized economy in the phase of the international financial crisis. One priority is to ensure and promote the pooling of knowledge to enable its production and transmission (See the discussion in Part 2).

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[317] In a prior study, Martinelli underlined that when other EU countries increased resources for research, training, and innovation, Italy instead ignored the influential demand for knowledge-oriented policies expressed by local contexts (Martinelli, 2011).

Moving on, these premises convey the idea that universities are no longer the places of excellence's production, of scientific and basic research only; they are also tools to consolidate the innovative capabilities of local production systems. This first assessment is connected with my previous analysis (cf.Part 2) of the Italian policies willing to attract "brains from India" in order to transform Italian cities as center of excellences. Indeed, in the past twenty years this trend was stressed and integrated in the more fortunate cases of promotion of local development with the experimentation of the *Triple Helix* of Universities, Institutions and Companies (Martinelli, 2012).

The transfer of knowledge and technology to urban and territorial contexts provides an irreplaceable component in the operating model for the central role of the institutional actor. This model is the "*Triple Helix Model*" (THM) of Etzkowitz and Leydesdorff which emerged in 1995 (Martinelli, 2012; Dilorenzo & Stefani, 2015).

o   *The Triple Helix Model*
The THM highlights how the movements produced by the relationships between business, government institutions, and universities are not based on randomness, yet on the active role that each of them plays in the context of reference[318]. Thereby, it is crucial that each system is activated to set the "helix" in motion and consequently to initiate virtuous processes in the different territorial contexts in which it operates (Dilorenzo & Stefani, 2015).

The "*Triple Helix*" model is generally employed when speaking of the university's "*third mission*" and, in particular, of the role of the university in technology transfer and innovation processes vis-à-vis companies. In fact, the third mission of the university also involves the social and cultural sector, as discussed by Rosario Rizzuto (the rector of the University of Padova) and Sergio Giordano (Townhall Mayor) during the Unicity Lab conference of 2019[319]. Finally, as Martinelli (2012) has evidenced: "*Fulfilling its Third Mission*[320] *the University besides satisfying the legitimate demand for higher education*

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[318] The relationships between these systems can be, alternatively, bilateral or trilateral. The THM model argues in favour of a needed interaction of institutional actors, university, and business in the function of controlling the evaluation-financing process of universities and research centres, as emerges from numerous European experiences (Ballarino et al. in Moscati et al. 2010).

[319] Conference in Padova. Rizzuto et al.,: "Un'alleanza strategica tra città e università per lo sviluppo sostenibile "(25/05/2019)
[320] See the 2014 updated report on the topic: http://www.anvur.it/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/Rapporto%20ANVUR%202013_UNIVERSITA%20e%20RICERCA_sintesi.pdf-

expresses by cities and territories "in search of university", has come, in recent years, not without uncertainty, that it can perform a service for the territory." (Ibid., p.10).

As underlined by scholars (Le Galès, 2011; Moscati et al., 2010), the inclusion of universities within the European network political decisions[321] helps to increase the development of the economy and the visibility of medium cities as Padova. In the words of Le Galès: *"These places have become privileged places for investments [...] in particular in the areas of information and communication technologies that employ medium and high social classes."* (Le Galès, 2011, p.341). Contextually, the discussion has highlighted that the university has remained an institution, a pillar of the city's social and political structure: it gives training to people regardless of their social background, and at the same time the becomes a container for political practices and interests (Savino et. al, 2015). It also contributes directly and indirectly to the animation of the city[322] and cultural life (Crosta, 2010; Dilorenzo & Stefani, 2015) .

o *Assessment*

In line with the Triple Helix model, I suggest that the University should be included as a strategic actor of development which is able to encourage the construction of collaborative networks through the sharing of knowledge and data as a public good. Concretely in my case-study, let's have a look the spatialization of university areas in the city.

5. 3.2 The morphology of spaces in "*a city-based university*"

On 7th February 2019, I have attended a meeting organized by the Association of Italian Doctorates (ADI), together with the International Students Council (ISC) and sponsored by the University of Padova. During this meeting, Nebojša Nikolić, the spokesman of Ph.Ds. at the Academic Senate of the University of Padova, pointed out an interesting specificity about Padova. He said "*There is actually no campus in Padova, apart from the* Agripolis *in Legnaro*[323]. *Do you know why? Because Padova is an 800-year-*

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[321] For a detailed comment on this topic, see: Le Galès, 2011, p.228

[322] See the ritual of the spritz in Padova, Alessandra Ruggero, "Practices of participation in Padua, beyond the 'good intentions' and the 'intractable questions'", 2009.

[323] Agripolis is located in Legnaro, a small town on the outskirt of South-East Padua, where are hosted the faculty of agricultural sciences and veterinary. It was dislocated there in order to give the students and researchers an appropriate space for experiment both in fields and with animals.

University and the all town is the campus." Later in the presentation he has also argued that "_this University is way older than the country [Italy], Padova's University is 800-year-old and Italy has this shape that we now recognize only since 1861_[324]" (my underlining). The next paragraphs would further develop these underlined statements while tapping into the topic of the University as a "_space of knowledge_".

- o   _A widespread campus_

Conversely to many universities in Europe, the University of Padova does not have an actual campus apart from the one in Legnaro, outside of the city center (about 10km away) called "_Campus Agripolis_" and strictly focused of Agriculture, Food sciences and Veterinary studies (13% of Indian students are enrolled there). The other seven schools of the University of Padova are spread all around the city center with a concentration of scientific disciplines' courses in the "_Portello area_" (see Map n°5.1).
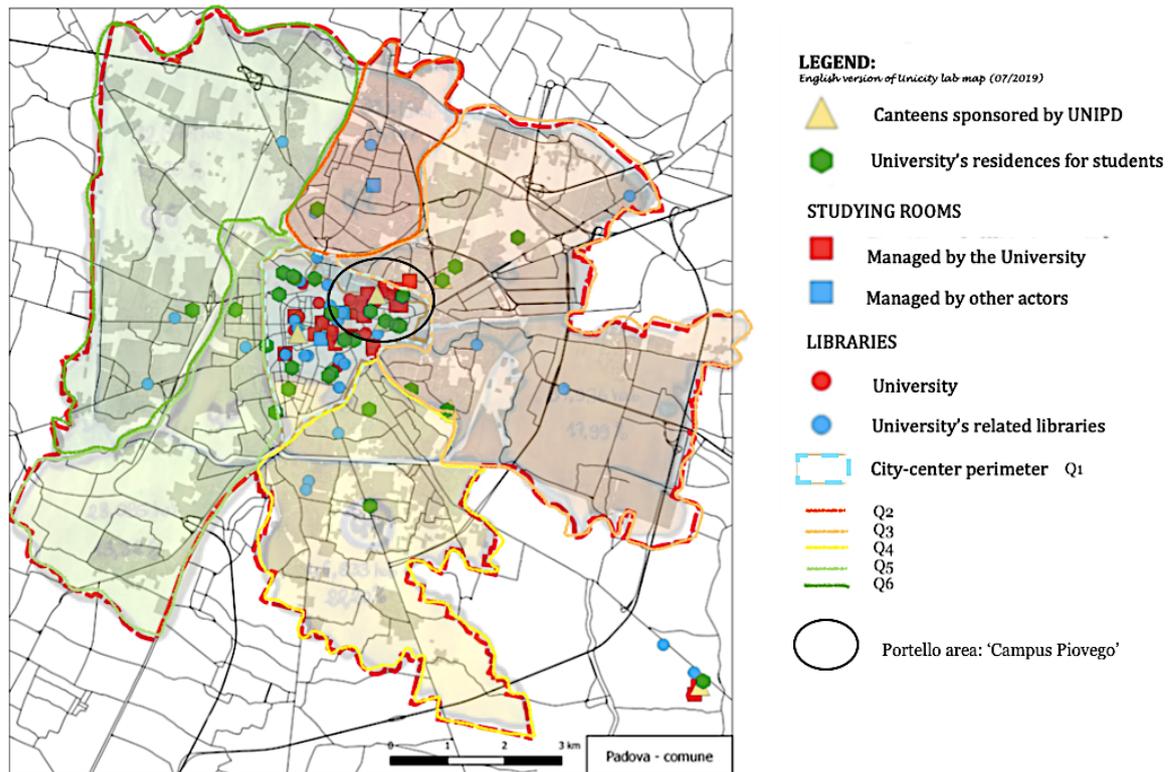
Map 5.1: University of Padova's buildings spread in the 5 neighborhoods city's space. Source: UniCity Lab, Professor Messina (2019), modified and translated by me 07/20.

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[324] In 1861 is the "riunificazione dell'Italia", on that historical date, the Italy became a state composed by many twenty states that have been fighting for autonomy one against another for years.

As the map n°5.1 shows, many facilities[325] are available within walking (or cycling) distance since libraries, canteens, studying rooms etc. are conveniently located next to the main university buildings. In terms of the city's spaces occupied by the university buildings, it represents 180 buildings, more than 21,000 rooms for a total area of 600,000 m² of the city. The Universities buildings are spread around the city (See map n°5.1).

On the meantime, other research and teaching facilities are situated in various cities of the Veneto region, such as Vicenza, Treviso, Rovigo, Chioggia-Venice etc.

This non-organic/ dislocated spatial organization of the University in different part of the city might be a reason why this city rapidly adapted to this young, dynamic and international frame towards inclusion and regenerative policies meant to overcome stereotypes on migrants. The definition adopted by Raghuram (2013)- *space of knowledge*- will complement this hypothesis. Meanwhile, it could be interesting to wonder which are the impacts of the university's internationalization policy on the city of Padova?

5.3.3 Internationalization in Padova: between spaces and policies

o *The university, a space of knowledges*

Raghuram (2013) introduced an innovative manner of understanding students' migration. She combined Massey's approach (2005) on "*space 'as the sphere of co-existing multiplicity, space as a simultaneity of spaces'* (Massey, 2005,p.54)"and King's vision (2012), which supports the idea of apprehending migration as an inherently geographical issue since it is one expression of spatial nexus in an interconnected world.

First, Raghuram stresses that "*student migration distinctive [reason for migrating] is the significance of knowledge acquisition as one (but not the only) driver of migration.*" Therefore*,"the spaces of education are acted upon and produced through mobility*"(Raghuram, 2013). The underneath idea of this vision is that universities are spaces of education where students can acquire knowledge.

When universities places are spread on the city map, as it is the case of Padova, the space of knowledge is comparable with the 'space of places' (Castells 1996, see Chapter 2) since

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[325] The spaces occupied by the university account: 43 Research and Services Centers; 32 Departments; 14 Residences; 16 University canteens; 1 University Hospital; 1 Veterinary Hospital; 1 Experimental Agricultural Company; 1 School of Excellence; 1 University Center for Museums; 1 University Center for Libraries (Unicity Lab, 2019).

"*space is relational and connected [...] knowledge is produced at the intersection of multiple spatialities*" (Raghuram, 2013). Indeed, the places evidenced on the map n°5.2 interlink some city's places as libraries, shop, fitness rooms, house agencies etc. within the circled 'Portello area'. Chapter 6 will evidence how some of these areas match with Indian students daily spaces in Padova.
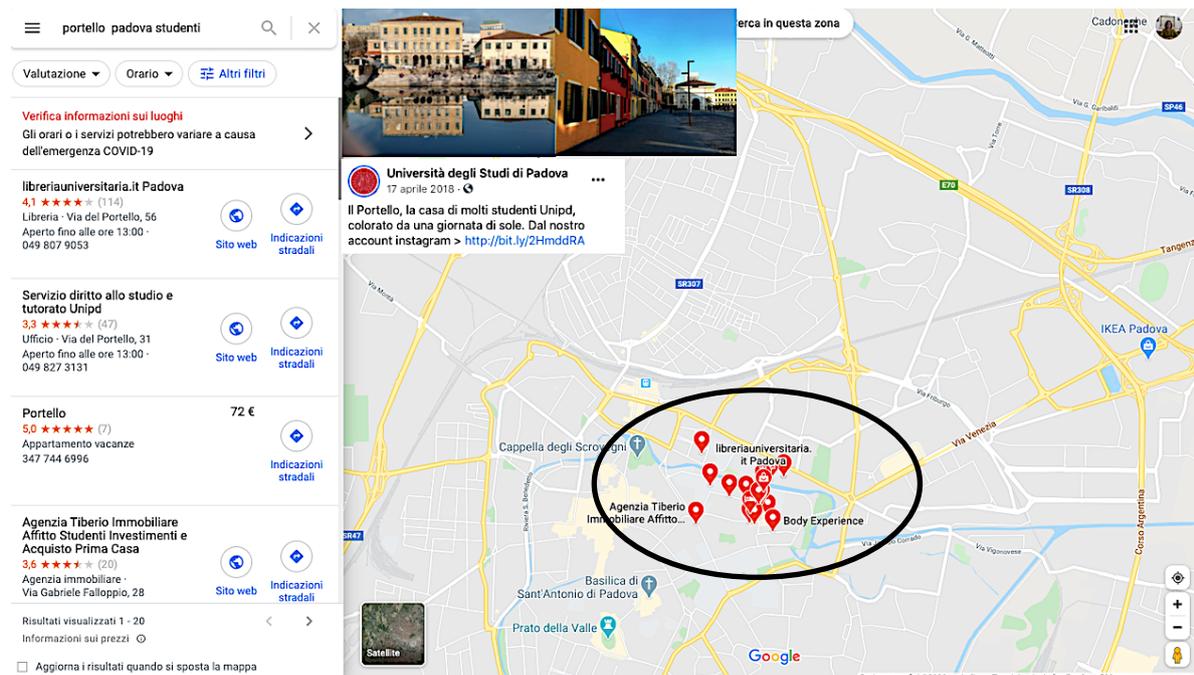
Map 5.2: A concentration of students' places i the 'Portello' circled area. Personal elaboration on GoogleMap font.

On a more abstract/theoretical level here, I first wanted to stress that I consider the Portello area where there is the Piovego Campus, is a *'space of knowledge'*. The area is located on the juncture 'in-between' Q1 and Q2 where the university buildings and students' housing places are mostly concentrated[326], in order to apprehend the city's spaces by area, following the Chicagoans insights (See map n°5.3).

Similarly, Martinelli (2012) is interested by the '*spazi della conoscenza'*- the space of knowledge as a space likely to design relationship between the city, the university and the territory . Moreover, along with the physical spaces appearing on the cities' maps, the spatialization of knowledge is mobilized "*to garner student migration*" (Raghuram, 2013) on two scales macro (global) and micro (local). To complete the discussion opened in Part

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[326] See Varna, and the studentification process in Newcastle (2019): Studentification in Newcastle and the impacts on communities (Ibid).

2, as Ingallina (2014) has enhanced the '*competitiveness*' of Universities has a value on the global scale (Boeri, 2012; Kim, 2016) while Universities also have a role in the '*attractiveness*' value on the local scale (European Migration Network, 2018; Grasland & Beauguitte, 2013; Martin, 2012; Staniscia, 2011; Wiesbrock & Hercog, 2012).

Finally, from an interview with Andrea Micalizzi[327] on 15/02/2019, it has been evidenced that each place is assigned a 'value' position where students are 'desirable' or not (Varna, 2019). The Portello area, for instance, is likely to be part of the 'desirable' places (to which migrants go)" (Raghuram, 2013).
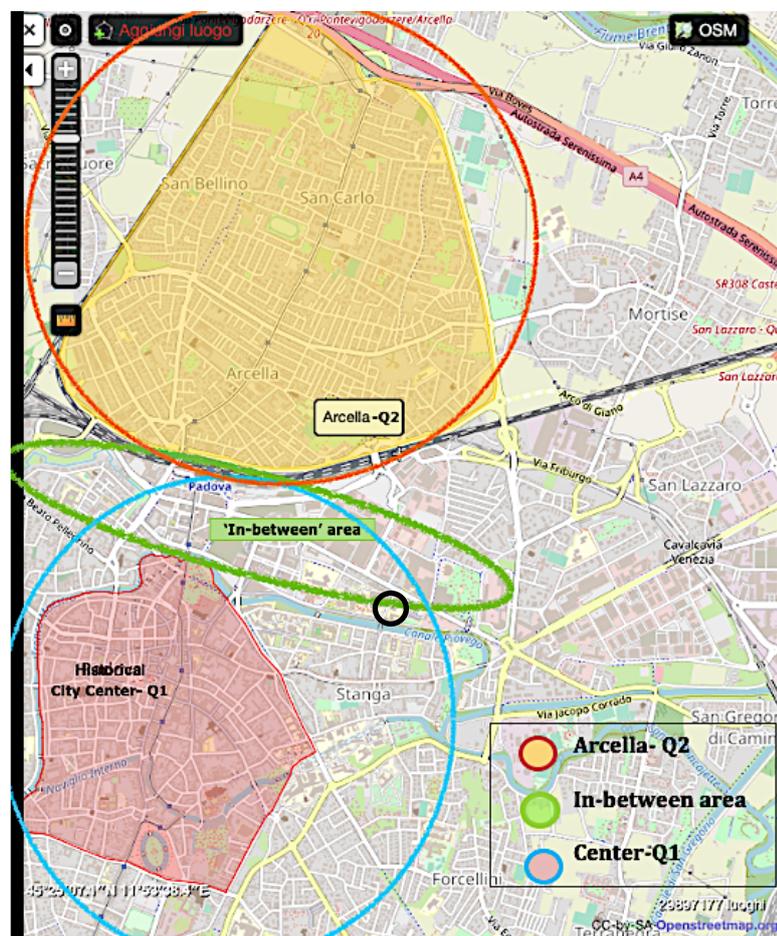
Map 5.3: Padova's city's spaces by areas evidencing the Space of Knowledge in between Q1 and Q2. Personal visualisation inspired by the Chicagoans technique. 07/20.

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[327] Since July 2020, Micalizzi has become the new Vice-Mayor of the city of Padova. At the time of the Interview, he was a city's councilor board-member. Councilor Delegations: Public works, infrastructure and maintenance, heritage and participation, municipal and residential construction, civil protection, river water, urban furniture, enhancement of the city walls and the Park of the Walls of Padova. Interview code: PD150219

Eventually, as we have seen in Chapter 1 and 4, we have witnessed once again that the urban planning in Padova has changed following the political shifts in the last ten years; an argument in favor of the idea that the spatial distribution of urban communities is political rather than '*natural*' (see Chapter 1). The next paragraph reiterates this assessment looking at the comment of Marta Nalin.

  o *UniverCity towards internationalization*

As far as Padova is regarded by the THM insightful model described above, I have interviewed two Alderman of Padova's municipality to capture the local perception from a political point of view. I report here the comments of Marta Nalin (Alderwoman of social policies) who was indicated to me by the Town mayor Giordani as its 'spokesperson' to answers questions related to the node migration/internationalization :

I asked her "*Is the role of the University relevant to you in producing the image of the cosmopolitan city you aspire to?*" Marta Nalin answered : "*The University is potentially fundamental. We can work more; we should work more with the Joint-UNIPD relationship. Currently, the municipality is working on the establishment of a consolidated relationship. This relationship was completely non-existent during the Bitonci Administration; Even before Zanonato, he too had not sufficiently cultivated this link between city and university. In this perspective, the presence of the vice-Deputy Mayor Lorenzoni, a University Professor, is helpful as it creates a bridge between the University and the Municipal Administration. The new rector of the University also pushes hard on "the third mission" of the University, a rare fact in the past where little attention was paid to it. Nalin says that "there is not a week without me being in contact with someone from the university: rectors, vice rectors (eg equal opportunities, on internationalization ...), professors. I am in contact with Professor Messina for the aspects of urban regeneration, as well as with her spin-off Centro Studi Giorgio Lago. We are also in contact with the Human Rights Center of Padua.* " (Nalin, alderwoman to social policies PD180419).

Marta Nalin has stressed once again the importance of building a relationship between the city and the university in order to face together the challenges that a city like Padova – animated by many flows of people crossing it- will be more and more actively living. She also referred to the research lab working precisely on the topic of the UniverCity relationship towards internationalization, which deserves a presentation in this last

section as it represents a resource for both institutions to improve their internationalization capacity.

> o *An interdisciplinary research lab on internationalization in Padova*

In Padova, the relationship bonding the city with the University has been investigated with more attention by scholars as Dario Lucchesi & Vincenzo Romania (2019) under the supervision of Professor Patrizia Messina (2019) who has enhanced this central relationship under the research lab "*UniCity*" to stimulate the town hall of Padova to further invest on policies which englobe the University's actions and actors[328].

Unicity Lab defends the idea that the University should not be a separated body as the English or American idea of campus currently challenged by the *studentification process*[329]. Rather, the university and the city can coexist within the same urban space, interpenetrating each other. Indeed, in the cases of Italian university cities of secular tradition, such as Padova, the University and the City coexist and merge, to the extent that the University Campus can coincide with the entire City as a '*Univer-City*'.

Unicity Lab works following five "Research Lines". The fifth is entitled : "*Internationality. Padova node between the territory and the world*". Indeed, Unicity lab research line n° 5 aims to identify the potentials and risks within the three THM's fields (the Municipality, the University and the Economic world) in order to develop: "*the coordination and implementation interventions through international university promotion strategies, proposal and planning of territorial policies, identify public and private investment fields to improve the visibility and international attractiveness of the city.*" (Unicity lab website, 04/2020) Lucchesi and Romania (2019) are the scholars in charge of this line. They have stressed that "*Comprehensive internationalization*" is a process that affects several areas in order to achieve the university and the urban fabric's growth in a harmonious planned manner ('Line n°5'). Comprehensive internationalization also means bringing together a range of actors and instruments able to overcome the challenging task of transforming Padova into a cosmopolitan city, a city trying to lift up on a global level.

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[328] Information coming from an interview with Dario Lucchesi on 2/07/2020 in Padova.

[329] Quoting Donaldson et al. (2014): "*Studentification is a process where the original residents in the vicinity of tertiary institutions are gradually displaced due to an in-migration of students causing spatial dysfunctionality where, eventually, only the needs of a student subculture are catered for.*"

o *Internationalization in Padova: opportunities and limits.*

While the University has made an effort 'going global' involving new offices and services for international students as well as conceiving 15% of the training courses held in English, "up to now, the investment in the internationalization of the educational offer has not coincided with systematic programming of services, coordination, and activities that are necessary both for students (international and not) and for the social fabric of the city." (Lucchesi, 2019, 2020). I can only agree with this statement as the examples of Anand and Amitab have illustrated in Section 5.1 related to the inefficiency of SAOS office.

I discussed about these limits of coordination within the university and between the university and the city with the Alderwoman to social policies in Padova: Marta Nalin: "*Padova has a great capacity to attract Erasmus students, this program guarantees access to numerous services and facilities. However, outside this well-established European program, it seems that internationalization and opening up to international students remain an isolated and sporadic event. […] Unfortunately, even on the part of UNIPD there are still barriers that prevent a true internationalization : the documents to be submitted translated certified [Marta Nalin gives the example of her partner who had to quickly translate documents relating to a PhD carried out abroad, to participate in a university call. […]*" (Nalin, PD180419). We both agreed on this: there are a stigma and difficulties concerning the inclusion of non-Italian qualifications. It, therefore, seems difficult to facilitate those coming from outside and recognize foreign qualifications.

To get out of prejudice towards foreigners, new kind of policies are required to impact sharply on the city's internationalization. These policies must be capable of twisting the complicated procedures of regulation in place, since they are in contrast with the global recommendations to provide suitable instruments and condition to attract international students (see Part 2). Nalin suggested 'cultural policies' to transform Padova into a more internationalized city.

As Wood's (2007) definition has underlined, interculturalism focuses on the concept of integration working positively on social inequalities and discrimination to promote social cohesion. For Marta Nalin, cosmopolis remains a goal to strive for with cultural promotion: *"I am a bit embarrassed to speak of Padua as 'a cosmopolitan city' for*

me Padova is a somewhat provincial, a little closed city.[...] To get to talk about a European city, it will be necessary to work more on the aspects of <u>cultural promotion</u> and on the dimension of openness, which still today, the city lacks. This year, and with a view to the 2020 "European City of Volunteering", Padova (the mayor Giordani, and the councilor for Culture, Colasio), have begun <u>to invest more on culture.</u> It is noted in the city due to the widespread presence of exhibitions, for example. " (Nalin, alderwoman to social policies PD180419, my underlining). However, even if the cultural- paradigm is supported by the European Union (Council of Europe, 2010), recent literature has identify two critics: interculturalism places the "*right to difference as irrelevant*" somehow in line with the assimilationist theories, since it "*extensively focuses on culture-based policies*" failing to transform the process by which differences and inequalities are produced in the urban space (Ostanel, 2018).

So, what can be done for Padova beyond the current policies? "*How to live with diversity, and how to find ways to accommodate and manage the new multicultural and diverse population of the city*?" (Mazzocchin 2017, p.19). In trying to answer these questions, the crucial point shifts into the challenge to find ways to live together -not just to coexist- in cities, rather in the words of Sandercock (2000) conceding what "*it might mean to manage differences in ways that could be transformative rather than repressive*" (*Ibidem.*).

- o *Mixing policies and participation for an intercultural city*

If mixing could seem a solution for a more intercultural city, I would like to remind that '*social mixing approaches*' which have been adopted in other European cities cannot systematically suit Italian cities (Briata, 2014a, 2014b; Briata et al., 2018; Fioretti & Briata, 2019). In a way, I still think mixing policies can become a precious tool to start activating local transformations in a city like Padova. Building on the same theoretical insights, Briata (2011) engaged in a discussion about "*Ethnic neighborhoods*" in the North of Italy (2011, p.15 and p.106)[330]. Eventually, it cames out that the local government should invest on urban constructions such as a university campus to allow the

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[330] Geographically close to our urban reality, leading Briata to the case of the neighborhood "*Carmine*" in Brescia (The project Carmine was led by Paolo Corsini a center left local politician (Ibid.p.35)- as an example of development and of life's coexistence in the same space. The example copes with my interests as this case evidenced how the neighborhood has been transformed under local policies.

neighborhood "*enter in the maps*" of the city, to be visible not as an *ethnic neighborhood* anymore but as an "*exotic*" one (*Ibid.*p.112). On this point, I agree with Briata when she argues that '*exotic*[331]' sounds more "*attractive for the medium-high classes*" and could push local permanent residents to move to these areas (*Ibid.*p.112)[332].

However, I believe Padova's local policies for a more international and intercultural city should echo with the vision of Zachary[333]" (2000) [334] in which hybridity will provide positive outputs : "*Mixing is the new norm.[...] The conditions for creating wealth have changed in ways that play to the strengths of hybrid individuals, organizations, and nations. And those who wish to profit from changing economic conditions must view hybridity as their first and best option*" (Zachary et al., 2000). In terms of policies, it means that the local government has to work on *a welfare system* as a collective equipment system that feeds the daily space as a desirable model. In this sense, multi-functional infrastructures must be enhanced, while the debate on mixing policies has to be nuanced with a strong will of local government to integrate citizen in the urban planning process by fostering participatory actions.

On this regard, my citizenship's engagement for Padova has led me to witness some participatory actions which have started to take place in the last two years with more enthusiasm and emphasis of the local administration like: the PEBA -*Participatory Plan to Eliminate Architectonic Barriers*- aiming to facilitate everyday life of disable people in circulating in the city; and as the '*PhotoBike*[335]' event I have co-projected with the table 'Urbanisitic and Environment' as part of the initiative to promote "*Padova European Capital for Volunteer Work, 2020*" [336.]

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[331] Unfortunately, this tendency of exoticism also has drawbacks See Appendix 3.1b, p.387: *A policy of ethnicization. Falling behind assimilation or failing forward?*

[332] The next chapter n°6, will further discuss this assumption in approaching these exotic areas as '*spaces of global cultures'.*

[333] In 2000, Zachary published an article where he presented the example of Radha Basu -an Indian software engineer- working in a multinational 'cosmopolitan corporation' one of these 'hothouses for hybridity', in which workers develop the feeling they 'belong anywhere'. This article is the prelude of Zachary's book "the global me where hybridity is at the center prompting the "mongrelization process" (Kraidy, 2005, p. 87). On the topic of Transnationalism of corporation and hybridity, also see: Kraidy, (2005, p.72)

[334] "Mighty is the mongrel": A version of this article appeared in the July 2000 issue of Fast Company magazine. https://www.fastcompany.com/39799/mighty-mongrel (access on 18/02/2020)

[335] https://www.padovaevcapital.it/evento/photobike-paesaggi-urbani-percorsi-di-rigenerazione-e-partecipazione/

[336] In this second example, the goal was to map the city's areas to regenerate inviting the citizenship to participate by highlighting the places with photographs.

In my view, these 'events' should be transformed into permanent actions and enter with the city's urban agenda. Similarly, I strongly believe that the internationalization process within the university and the city will work only if it takes into account 'the people': the permanent dwellers, the temporary dwellers, the city users and the migrants. Their voices and vision could guide planners and politicians toward their ultimate goal: an attractive internationalized and intercultural city.

o *Assessment*

In this section, I have conceptualized the universities as '*attractive spaces of knowledges*'. The universities have to be considered among the 'urban attractors' of a city (Alhazzani, Alhasoun, Alawwad, & González, 2016). In fact, universities can be located between the global and the residential attractors (Alhazzani et al., 2016). Data from the fieldwork will confirm in the next chapter that Padova is a city punctuated by spaces of attraction for internationalization, some more visible while others remain in the shadow exactly as the people residing in it.

Finally, the testimony of Indian students and those of local politicians suggest that labelling the city of Padova as a 'student-friendly city' is likely only if the expression is related to a structural spatial organization of the city. However, sticking to what Indian students and other international students have reported to me, there is still a long way to go for Padova and the University to be 'friendly' towards newcomers. In this regard, I argue that beyond mixing policies, individuals should be placed at the center of the decision-making process triggering urban transformation in Padova.

To conclude, internationalization is a necessary political approach to build a more inclusive city where students mingle with permanent dwellers and migrants daily.

Conclusions to Chapter 5:

In conclusion, the first section has shown how in the last ten years[337], the University of Padova has succeeded in gaining visibility as an international university by investing on strategies to attract international students led through the creation of a growing number of university's offices responsible for coordinating, implementing and

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[337] I remember when I arrived in Padova in 2010 to be enrolled as a French student: there was just a desk in the enrollment building 'Ex-Fiat' with an Italian girl speaking (few) English and a Chinese boy. Information was superficial, the website was not as fancy as it is nowadays. I struggled a lot to understand all the documents I had to present. Today the improvements are outstanding.

hosting mobility and international activities and initiatives. Nevertheless, if the recruitment of international students in UNIPD nowadays follows the national average numbers, the University of Padova's capacity to attract Indian students is still weak. From a further assessment with Dario Lucchesi (2020) on the perception of these welcoming services set by the University, I can come to the conclusion that the University has to improve its visibility and activities so that Indian students- and international students in general- could have a pleasant immersive experience in the Italian daily life in Padova. Eventually I want to underline that, although the SAOS service has been existing since 2004 at least[338], its concrete action has started being perceived as a helpful support system in the last two years. Indeed, when I first registered in Padova myself in 2010, nobody ever mentioned this office to me, and I had to struggle a lot to undertake all the bureaucratic procedures by myself[339].

As section 5.2 has evidenced, there is a renge of critical aspects in the migration process from India to Italy; those are mostly related to a bad administrative organization with a lot of bureaucracy. Beyond, Indian students'experiences reported in the thesis, other categories of international students have highly criticized the University of Padova (un)welcoming services (Lucchesi, 2019). These aspects should be tackled seriously to improve the notoriety and position of Padova in the universities' global ranking. Certainly, the implementation of the Italian education system with English courses will benefit both sides: Indian students coming to Italy, and Italian students having an abroad project in mind. These considerations become extremely relevant on a bigger scale as well, since it could also boost the attraction of international students to Italy.

Indeed, as Section 5.3 has argued, the University plays a central role in the city's vision sharing a common strategic political vision aiming to implement its internationalization influence on the local and global level where the international

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[338] This information has been retrieved from the LinkedIn profile of Roberto Babetto (Director of SAOS in the last 16 years). Dott. Arena working in Questura had suggested that the office has been existing for about 20 years. However, I could not check the information with precision since SAOS office never answered back to my (numerous) meeting requests. Lastly, a google research led me to discover that the service is outsourced to some private cooperatives as "*Cooperativa il Sestante onlus*" which provided the services for students related to immigration questions between 2009 and 2010. So, the SAOS office could be a PPP office and not a public one.

[339] At the end of the day, I would not say that my personal experience with SAOS was satisfying either. When I was conducting my research on Indian students asking them for an interview, nobody has ever answered to my questions.

students' role is crucial in this process. Of course, there is still a long way to go. In the cases of Italian university-cities of secular tradition, such as Padova, the University and the city coexist and merge, to the extent that the University Campus can coincide with the entire City as a '*Univer-City'*. On the whole, albeit the critics moved in this fifth Chapter by Indian students participants in my research to the current "Univer-City" of Padova, we can see some traces of transformations aiming at building a "*Crossroad city*" (Alderman Micalizzi, 2019), a place where "*the coexistence between different worlds is possible*" (Alderwoman Nalin, 2019) to reach the goal of the intercultural city.

Next to the "intercultural city" concept, I have introduced the '*space of knowledge*' of Raghuram: a co-produced space of places likely to become a space of encounters where knowledge is an instrument for connecting people sewing together the mosaic of small islands presented in the previous chapter (n°4) and eventually connecting Padova together as an intercultural city: "*a mosaic of small worlds".*

To conclude, referring to the case study of Padova and the literature Chapter 5 clearly demonstrated that it is nowadays essential to recover a serious and thoughtful debate on the place and role of the university as a strategic (f)actor. The suggestion of a systemic and interdisciplinary vision in urban planning to connecting the city with the university policies (through the &SoC model) is one of the major results of my research which should deserve greater attention by both academics and politics.

I believe, that on the path towards the future, the university can be a useful protagonist of changes and in the meantime, a place where the challenges for development on a local and global scale can be faced. In doing this, the &SoC model I built becomes a useful tool to read the city in connection with the university, *while updating the School of Chicago's approach to the study of a migrants' community* and hence answering to the thesis' goal. It remains to see *to what extent the Indian students' migration contributes to narrate a different story of migration in Italy*?

In answering the research question, the final chapter will lead us to identify further city's spaces thanks to the experiences of some Indian students trails to complete the &SoC model adding the relationship between spaces and people.

Chapter 6 : Life in the city of Padova through the experiences of the Indian students-migrants.

Introduction to Chapter 6

As Chapters 4 and 5 have evidenced, University-Cities as Padova are characterized by a "*mosaic of small worlds*" deeply marked by the co-presence of a plural and mixed city-community encompassing different populations : permanent dwellers, temporary dwellers (students) and city users. The 42 Indian students-migrants who have participated to my research- as an example of a flow of international students, a hybrid community between migrants and students- have outlined the necessity to apprehend the city's spaces as spaces of encounter in which the different populations are likely to interact.

As Marconi (2016) has affirmed "*it is in the city that the demographic reality of cross-difference relationships between newcomers, long-standing immigrants and native inhabitants takes place*" (*Ibidem*), and "*it is at the city level that the negotiation of ethnic identities takes place on daily basis*" (Amin, 2002, in Marconi, 2016). It is therefore important to spatialize the daily experiences of my informants as it enhances a concrete example of the urban transformations occurring in the city. To what extent do Indian students' experiences in Padova affect the socio-urban spaces' transformation the city?

Moreover, the discussion opens on the co-existence of different types of populations connected in neighborhoods which have become a place of passage and exchange, elements that modify the perception of some spaces of the city of Padova. Indeed, the debated multicultural neighborhood- Arcella- will be conceptualized as a '*space of global cultures*' materialized thanks to the newcomers' transnational practices.

The chapter is divided into two sections. The first section presents the results of my interviews with 42 Indian students underlining their heterogeneity and the factors that have attracted them to Padova. The next section has collected Indian students' pathways -or migration trajectories from India to life in Italy and their future perspectives at the end of the mobility periode in Padova. The socio-spatial concentration of Indian students in some city's areas will bring back some insights evidenced by the structured and perceived dimensions of the &SoC model, followed by a discussion on the set of spaces animating the city of Padova.

The point is to examine the Indian students-migrants' movements as they evolve in everyday life spaces in the Italian social context between challenges, adventures and opportunities of interactions with the permanent dwellers. The Chapter will also reveal through the example of Padova, why Italy struggles in retaining Indian students-migrants in its cities, once the study-mobility period is over. Eventually, the results[340] emerging in this final chapter will be useful to discuss the impacts of the 42 Indian students-migrants dwelling over a short time lapse in the Padova-UniverCIty striving for internationalization, in the conclusions.

SECTION 6.1 The Indian students-migrants in Padova

This section reports the results of the 42 interviews conducted with the Indian students in Padova. The section first presents this sample and gives some background information on the students in order to apprehend the differences residing within the broader migratory group I have called "the Indian student-migrants". Next the section investigates the factors which have guided my informants in selecting the University of Padova. Indeed, this section is meant to answer the question: what are the key drivers determining Indian students' choice of Padova as a destination for studying in Italy? Finally, the section evidences some challenges and opportunities which may have a role in influencing students' future migration pathways.

6.1.1 Who are the Indian students in Padova who participated to this research?

o *Indian students backgrounds. Results from the interviews (in %)*
First, having a closer look at the Indian students I have interviewed, over the 42 students, there are 12 girls and 30 boys. The table 8.1 collects the profiles of my informants as an 'ID card'. The results are expressed in percentage.

The table n°6.1 evidences that the respondents to my interview form PD#.../2 are from different ages and are studying at different levels at the university of Padova, with a majority of master students (50%) who are mostly studying scientific disciplines (90,47%)

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[340] NB: The results presented in the following pages mirror the comments made by the 42 informants who have participated to my research in Padova. As such, they cannot be extended nor generalized to any other city nor to any other international students' migratory group. *I* rrecommend further scholars to carry on further specific research by city as the one presented here in order to proceed with a future comparative study which could exhibit generalizable results.

AGE and STATUS
25% of students have **24 years old**. (The range is between 20 and 35%)
85,7% of the students are **single.** (Only 2 were married (29 years old and 35 years old) and 1 was engaged (28 years old).
88,9% is alone in Padova (has no family members there)
FAMILY BACKGROUND
47,6% are from the highest caste: **Brahmins** (7,1 % are Vaishya and 11,9% are Kshatriya)
71,4% declared coming "from a **middle-class family**: neither poor nor rich"
54,7% have **family members** have studied up until the **bachelor's degree** <u>at least</u>
76,2 % has **already traveled abroad** and in Europe before (for leisure)
EDUCATION
76,19% has studied in **private schools.**
85,7% speak fluently **Hindi** ; 10,7% speak a little; 3,6% do not speak Hindi **53,6%** declare speaking English **"very well".**
90,47 % studies **scientific** disciplines- 73,7%, are boys 26,3% are girls. **9,52%** studies **humanistic** disciplines- The remaining 2 girls study humanistics .
50% have completed bachelors in India and enrolls for the **master** in Italy **38,9%** comes for **a Ph.D**
STUDYING IN PADOVA
For **57,1 %** of students : Studying in **Italy was the second choice**
98,9% enrolls in **courses taught in English**
85,7% has a **scholarship** provided by UNIPD or by a connected Italian Fundation (*Fondazione Cariparo,* mostly) or from an EU- exchange program : *Erasmus+* / joint degrees
32,9% feels that the amount of **the scholarship is not enough** for the daily life in Padova
INTEGRATION IN ITALY
85,7% does **not know the Italian language** on arrival **35,7%** is not really interested in learning it during its stay **67,9%** leaves Italy with very few **basic knowledge** (level A1+)
42,9% have between 1 and 10 **Italian friends**. 7,1% only have 'international' students as friends
64,3% has meet between 1 to 10 **Indian friends**
92,9% is not working while studying (NB: *Part time job are allowed up to 20 hours a week*):
78,6% Spends most time studying and does not go out for events or **parties often (≥ once a week max.**)
59,52% likes the city and is having **a *good* experience**; 7,1% had a negative experience
14,3% does **not want to stay** in Italy neither for another degree nor for a job opportunity. **50%** are not convinced to **stay after the mobility period**. ('*maybe'*).

Table 6.1: Background information about Indian students in Padova(/42) expressed in %. Own elaboration.(09/20)

Although only 53,6% of the declares having an advance level in English, the majority enroll in English-taught classes. They often had a previous education in English in private schools (76,19%) and have grown up in a family which has encourage them to invest in higher education.Indeed, the table shows that the respondents support their mobility period in Italy through various sources of funding out of which the majority of them are fully funded by various scholarships from the Italian University, from Italian private foundations or from European programs (85,7%) (see advertisement 5); the remaining are self-financed and come from wealthier backgrounds (see the case of Shabanu).

Advertisement 5: : Public advertisement for UNIPD's fundraising campaign (01/2020). Source: Google photo.

The table also reveals that Indian students are focused on their carrier since 88,6% declares studying most of the time and going out once a week for parties or a drink. Their social life is often activated by a dynamic network[341] of relationships. This data should be coupled with the life cost variable: indeed, 32,9% declares having limited economic resource. The testimony of Laxmi is a good example: "*it is good, but I never go outside, to restaurant for dinners, I mean for a coffee or a spritz ok, but otherwise I eat in the canteen or at home. Therefore, I want to find a part time job in the weekends.*" (*PD#38/2 on 27/02/2019). It's* scholarship is 5.600€ for one year.

Regarding integration in Italy, a considerable share of the students does not know Italian and 35,7% of them is not willing to learn it during such a 'short stay', especially because its course is led in English and because they mostly interact among the international environment of the university. Eventually, 64,3% of them have more Indian friends than Italians. The 61,9% of Indian students residing in University accommodation is then more likely to meet international students than Italian. Out of 42 students about half of them had

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[341] As chapter 1 had reminded, the concept of 'networks' was introduced by sociologists as Thomas & Znaniecki (1918-1920). Following Massey et al. (1998) migration networks can be defined as: "*sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin*" (Ibidem. p.42).

a good experience in Italy (59,52%), the reasons behind this number will be later revealed in talking about challenges and opportunities.

Finally, the elements assessed for the evaluation of the level of integration of the students provides information that anticipate their future intentions to stay or leave Italy. Indeed, 14,3% of the respondents have already clearly in mind that they will not stay once their 'course' will be over.

- o *Three categories, 10 profiles.*

As Chapter 1 has exposed previously, students' migration theories generally refer to the *human capital theory* where the output of migration can be a 'settlement in the destination' (brain drain' – see : Agrawal et al., 2011; Docquier, 2014; Dodani & LaPorte, 2005; IRES, 2014) ;a 'return home' ('brain gain'- see : Bijwaard & Wang, 2016; Boeri, 2012; Buga & Meyer, 2012; Dodani & LaPorte, 2005; Trouillet, 2018; Singh & Krishna, 2015) or the beginning of an 'itinerant life' (brain circulation'- see : Han et al., 2015; Mahroum, 2000; Singh & Krishna, 2015; Tremblay, 2005; Van Mol & Ekamper, 2016). By following these three theoretical tracks, the results of my research present the different ways in which the heterogeneous group of Indian students- migrants in Padova pursue their migration's pathways. I will use the Indian students' stories to discuss their mobility, taking into account all the other data collected through interviews.

Here, I used the profiles highlighted in the methodological chapter in Appendix (p.332) to tie my data in a more systematic way. First, the Indian students who stay in Italy, are part of the category: "*Prashant*"[342]. the second group is made of the Indian students who return to India, category "*Bharti*"[343] and the last group is the one of the Indian students who circulate around the world, category "*Awaara*"[344]*.*

The results of the coded interview have account that there is only 1 Prashant. There are 26 Awaraa and 15 Bharti which suggest that Indian students are likely either to return

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[342] **Prashant** is a common male name in South Asia. It is derived from the word *"shanth"* which means patience, calm, quiet, or tranquil.

[343] **Bharti** is a female name, it means Indian; Well-groomed; Descended from Bharat; Eloquent. See the website:

[344] **Awaara** is a Hindi/ Urdu word which means someone away from or without a family, someone who roams around without any work etc., a wanderer, vagrant.

to India or to move somewhere else. The profiles are presented in detail in the Appendix (n°2.1, p.369) to keep the discussion linear here.

All these heterogeneous profiles, although sometimes similar, are representative of the diversity of social backgrounds, economic status and religious believe which are characteristic of a country-continent as India. Many other analyses could be conducted to interrelate these profiles in further research. Indeed, the stories of all of them are connected as the figure n°6.1 illustrates. In this figure, the colors correspond to the three migratory pathways : Prashant (orange), Bharti (grey), Awaraa (green). The figure's scope is only to resume the names of the students which have been mentioned all over the last two chapters; meanwhile it evidences Indian students' relationships
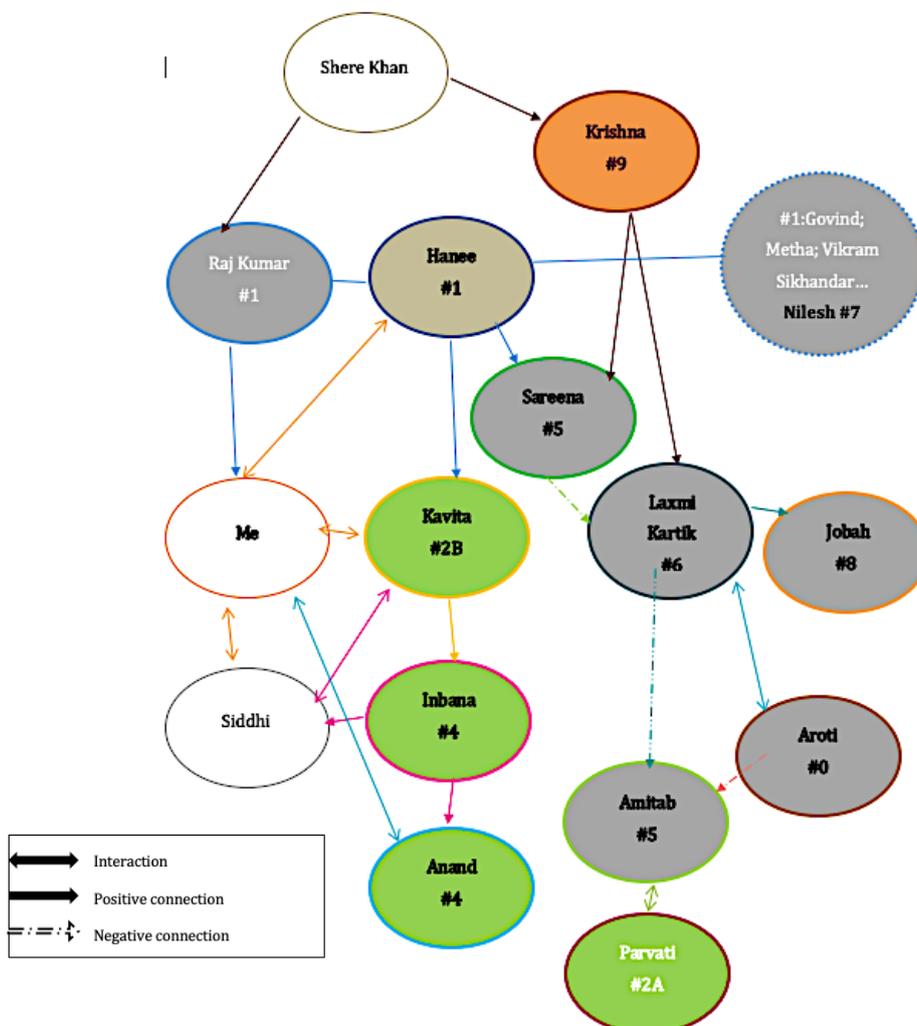
Figure 6.1: A network of relationships. Personal elaboration based on the in depthinterviews (08/20).

o *Different origins, one destination*

The table 6.1 also reveals differences about the origin looking at the data related to the knowledge of Hindi (3,6% do not speak Hindi).

Therefore, I have represented the localities of origin of the Indian students on a map to understand to what extent the origin place may have impacted their university choice first, and then their relationships on local territory. The location in dark blue (Andhra Pradesh (5) , West Bengal (8) and Delhi (2)) are those out of which 11,9% of the Indian students has come from, those in light blue represent the second origin locations 64,2% of them were coming from[345].
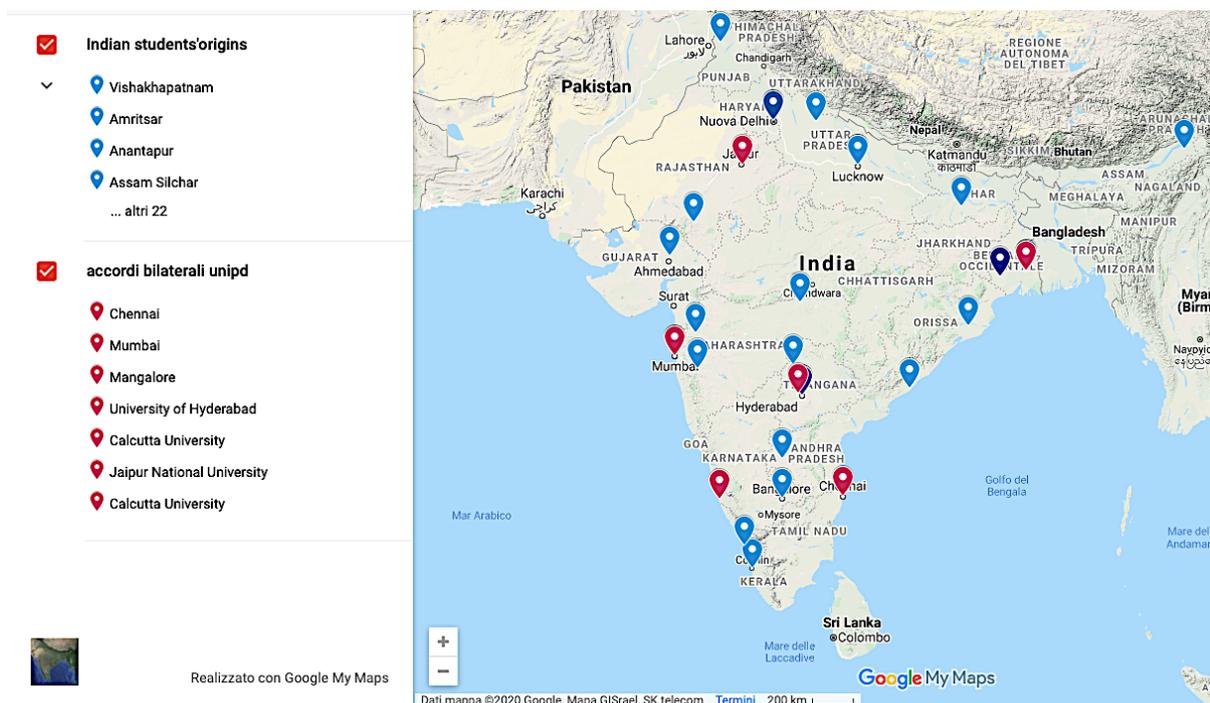
Map 6.1: Indian students places of origin overlapping UNIPD's bilateral agreements university location. Personal elaboration through GoogleMap, 09/20.

Moreover, on the map n°8.1, the red points represent the location where the Indian High Education Institutions involved in an exchange program with UNIPD, are located (Data from UNIPD going global website 05/2019). As we can see by overlapping the maps and the high percentage of Indian students coming through Erasmus mundus /bilateral programs (20%), some of these points are matching, conveying the idea that these students have been

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[345] To have an interactive view of the map, see the link: https://www.google.com/maps/d/u/0/viewer?mid=1qkjmnLLi-wIA8iju7TOlv3vkikHYQfHn&ll=21.179029628291588%2C83.99634975&z=5

'sent' through a bilateral agreement[346]. Empirical data have confirmed this intutition as I have recorded 5 over 42 interviewed students enrolled in the University of Padova through a bilateral agreement or Erasmus mundus program. Indeed, the University of Padova has 14 bilateral agreements out of which 9 are ongoing with India (on 24/05/2019- data from the International Office- see Appendix 6.2, p.419).

  o *Assessment*

By giving background information about the sample under analysis, and by locating the origin points of the special informant profiles[347] which have participated to my sample in Padova (PD#.../2), I managed showing a great diversity which mirrors the heterogeneity expected[348] for people coming from an immense country as India.

6.1.2 'Why did you choose the University of Padova?' Economic factors.

During our interview in the Embassy, Valentina Ierna had stressed that the Indian students' approach to applying for college studies is very similar to that of American students. What about the Indian students in Padova then?

When gathering data in Padova, the first question I asked to my Indian informants was related to the choice of the University of Padova among the vast quantity of prestigious High

Why did you choose the University of Padova?

Ranking and reputation	12
Quality of education	12
Professors excellences	6
Scholarship/fees	4
Recruitment/Recommendation	4
International exposure	2
No other options	2
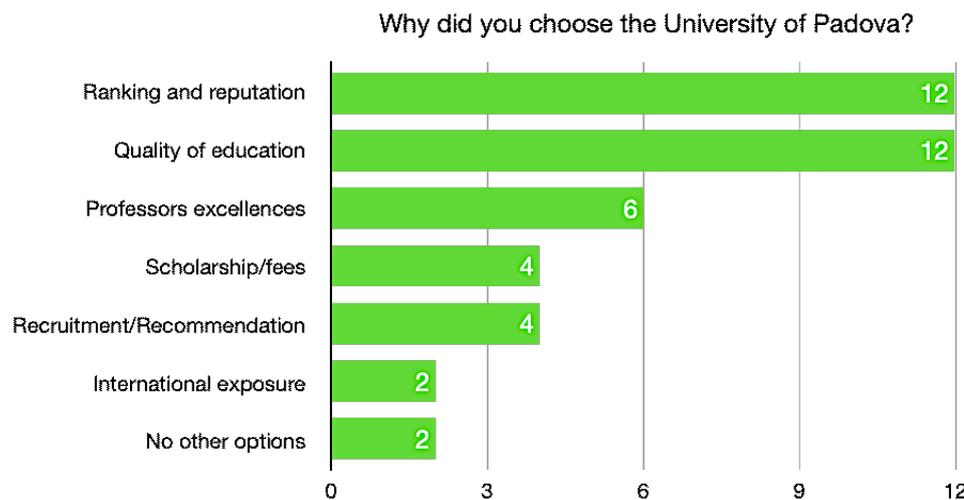
Graphic 6.1: Results to the question of the University choice from Interview form: PD#.../2 over 42 students. Own elaboration 07/2020.

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[346]. Anyway, with or without a prior agreement, all of them will first need an entry visa to settle and study in the University of Padova.

[347] See Chapter 2 in Appendix p.332. The stories reported combined a mix of contents excerpted from the 42 semi-structured interviews conducted in Padova and the 20 in-depth one in Padova.

[348] See Briata (2007) and her study about the Bengladeshi community in London.

Education Institution in Italy[349]. I have reported the reasons of this choice for the #42 interviewed students in a synthetic graphic (n°6.1).

The category 'recruitment/recommendation' refers to those students who have decide to study in Padova following someone's advice: either a professor from their origin university, a senior student or a family member, confirming what Valentina Ierna mentioned: "*Family and word of mouth are certainly important in selecting the destination*" (Valentina Ierna IN271118.2 & IN181119).

In my personal data, for most of the students the motivations pushing them to enroll in the University of Padova was evident : reputation and quality of education.

- *Ranking and reputation*

As literature has evidenced (Baas, 2006; Hercog & van de Laar, 2017; Tan & Hugo, 2017), when Indian students have matured the idea of studying abroad, in Italy, they generally start looking online for appealing and well ranked universities. The ranking[350] criteria is essential for them as it echoes with the prestige and thus added value that studying abroad will provide to their CVs.

- *A high level of quality in the field of specialization worldwide recognised*

This is also one of the main benefit that Indian students perceive in coming to Padova's University: a high quality of education which is not available in their home countries (Brooks & Waters, 2011; Hercog & van de Laar, 2017; OECD, 2019; Unesco, 2019). Indeed, UNIPD has some excellences in terms of courses and unique tools it provides to be trained in the desired field: *"UNIPD is one of the very few universities in the world with a powerful accelerator and detector for electronical tests in my field"* (PD#31/2). Often, students also perceive the education quality as better than in India and as a way of having subsequent "*better opportunities than in India*" (Amitab, boy, 24 years old- PD#18/2).

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[349] The Italian public universities are divided as follows: 11 mega Universities over 40,000 students; 16 large universities from 40,000 to 20,000 enrolled; 15 medium-sized universities from 20,000 to 10,000 students enrolled; 12 small universities of up to 10,000 members and 4 Polytechnics. (Martinelli, 2015).

[350] Generally the University ranking in Italy looks at the QS ranking system: https://www.topuniversities.com/universities/universita-di-padova#:~:text=University%20Highlights&text=Universit%C3%A0%20di%20Padova%20is%20one,QS%20Global%20World%20Rankings%202021.

None of them has mentioned that they have come to the University of Padova because it is known that the University '*creates good engineers or economists*', not even when, as Kavita, they have precisely decided to come due to the groups' reputation:

[…] I have chosen UNIPD as it has a good group in microelectronics. Indeed, I met my current supervisor during a conference in France, this research group is one of the most famous in my field in Europe" (**Kavita**, girl 28-on 21/01/2019).

It seems that they all consider their 'abroad period' as a step of their own education or work career. What is more relevant is not the output of what they would have learn but how the place they would have studied in is perceived from the outside. Indeed, as two informants have underlined, studying in Padova is an occasion to gain **"***International exposure"* (**Inbana,** girl, 24- PD#10/2) i.e an asset of intercultural competence which might "*make the difference for the future job-markets opportunities*" (*Ibid.)*

Another asset for Indian students coming to UNIPD is the economic one.

o *Equal tuition fees for all!*
Among the determinants pushing International students outside the borders of their origin countries, the 'appeal' for the '*revenue resource*' (UNESCO 2019, p.95) and hence for the economic factors remain certainly a major stimulus (see on this topic Roos, Breines et al. 2019).

In most 'preferred countries', international students pay higher tuition fees (OECD, 2019; UNESCO 2019) in exchange of the certitude of a high quality of education:

"Lot of world-famous university and less fees structure of public university in comparison with other European countries"(IN#21/1)

In this regard, Italy presents an exception, as university's fees are the same for all and range between 900€ and 4.000€/year in public universities; and between 6.000€ and 20.000€/year in private universities such as AFAM[351](EMN, 2018). On this regard, IN#20/1 declared: "*Italy, compared to India offers free education for foreigners this is a great opportunity to me*".

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[351] Alta Formazione Artistica e Musicale. The private universities gathered around this denomination are listed in the Appendix 3.7, p.403.

The economic factor is central in students' decision as the testimony of IN#02/1 reflects: "*Moving to Europe has always been my dream. Due to money reason I couldn't afford as I come from a middle-class family. Italy came in my mind as I was planning for my masters and Italy was offering few scholarship grants. I really still don't know if this grant are given to everyone. I am only hopping I'll get it*" (IN#02/1).

Indeed, on top of the low fees, the university also offers a large number of scholarships (7.700[352]) in the spirit of inclusiveness encouraged by #SDG4. Indeed, the University of Padova and the Veneto Region offer several fee-waiver options, with funding opportunities addressed to talented international students from all over the world, having obtained their previous degree outside Italy, and wishing to enroll in one of the *"degree courses held in English at the University of Padua".*

Finally, for some of the interviewed Indian students, the choice of University of Padova was the default one: they had no other proposition as they often come from poor backgrounds:

"I feel privileged about Italian high-quality universities and scholarship methods for students which will help any student with a low family income. It is doing a wonderful job by providing an opportunity for an Indian student who aims to complete masters in a world-class university" (IN#17/1).

o   *Assessment*

To apprehend the determinants identified by UNESCO (2019) better, I have interviewed 10 Indian students willing to move to Italy when I was in Delhi. Here, I have reported some excerpts of one conversation:

Me: "*Why do you want to study in Italy out of all the other countries for mobility?*"

Informant (IN#9/1): "*Because of its big economy and beautiful country with lots of opportunities to enclose your life*"

Informant (IN#10/1): "*The globalization, and rapid changes in manufacturing industries makes Italy appealing*"

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[352] The university also provides 100 scholarship for refugees as recommended by the Convention of Geneva (2016) for Student At Risk (SAR): see https://www.unipd.it/en/receiving-refugees (15/07/20).

However, economic factors alone are not enough to encourage the movement of 'brains' (OECD 2019, p.230).

6.1.3 "Why did you choose the University of Padova?' Individual factors.

As reported in B6 indicator of the OECD report of 2019 beyond the education capacity; the differential between origin and destination skills needs and the economic factors; noneconomic factors play a role as well: political stability and culture and religion in the destination country. The latter should be then combined with the proximity lens which encourage the movement of international students in nearby- countries either geographically speaking, or in terms of language. For example: Indians generally prefer moving to English-speaking country as most of their prior education was conducted in English.

- *Italy: a first choice?*

Therefore, I first asked the 23 students on departure whatever they had sent more than one application and if Italy was their first choice in that list. For the students leaving to Italy (data from the survey based on IN#../1 questions) 81% of them declared that Italy was their first choice. However, in light of the results of my interviews in Padova, I think that this high number is biased by the facts they wanted to make a good impression to me at a time in which their application and future mobility was still not certain.

As Valentina Ierna had earlier commented: "*They look at the World Ranking and apply to various universities in Italy and beyond. Indian students send several applications at the same time. In addition, the visa issued by the Italian Embassy is national and not Schengen. However, once they arrive in Italy, Indian students have to apply for a residence permit within 8 days. Once they have received their residence permit, they are free to travel on the Schengen territory in the same way as provided for in a Schengen tourist visa. This data is very relevant in the case of study agreements between several European countries.*" Valentina gave me the example of a girl who won a joint scholarship between PoliMi and the University of Paris.

Therefore, I have also reported the data from the PD#.../2 interviews to the 42 students who were already involved in Padova and had nothing to fear in telling the truth.

1a - Was Italy your first choice ?
42 responses
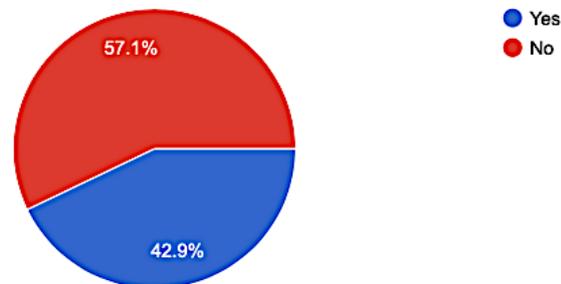
Graphic 6.2: "Was Italy your first choice?"- results of the interview PD#..../2 on 42 students in %. Own Elaboration 08/2020.

This graphic n°6.2 reflects more the truth: a balance between yes and no. As we will see in the next paragraph, there are many reasons- 'determinants'- leading Indian students to studying in Padova. As **Laxmi Kartik** confessed: "*Italy was not my first choice[...] My first choice was New Zealand as it has a big biodiversity, but my father died, and it was too expensive. USA also and had bad feedbacks from relatives with Trump politics etc.Padova was the only University offering a course on SUSTAINABLE agriculture." (PD#38/2 on 27/02/2019). "*

Here, I want to anticipate that the choice of the university is one of them. Indeed, it also came out in the interviews in New Delhi (IN#.../1) what reflects in the survey: the place (city and university) in which they will arrive matters to them a lot (see graphic n°6.3).

3a- Do you have a precise city /university in your mind?
23 responses
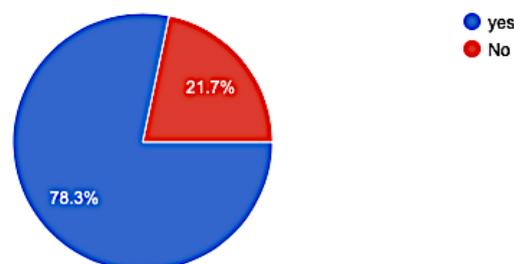
Graphic 6.3: "Do you have a precise city/university in your mind ?"- results of the interview IN#.../1 on 23 students in %. Own Elaboration 08/2020.

Moreover, as the interviews before departure in New Delhi (IN#.../1) have revealed, students are generally likely to follow the topic they had previously studied. They are some exceptions of course as the story of Jobah (PD#33/2):

Jobah is a 21 years-old boy from Amristar, studying Animal and Food sciences as a Ph.D student: "*I have chosen Italy because it seems a beautiful country however it was not my first choice but I had family there and thought that the mobility could have contributed in giving me great exposure as a mechanical engineer[...] I love the city and the people I work/study with...I am very happy, enjoyable life here*" (PD#33/2 on 12/02/2019). How did he jump from mechanic to food sciences remains an un-answered question...?

Next, I have completed my research with a survey: MOTIVATE your choice : WHY ITALY ? (Survey IN#.../1).

o   <u>*"Why do you want to study in Italy out of all the other countries for mobility?"*</u>

The survey has completed my intuitions exposed in chapter 3 on the reasons pushing Indian students to Italy and none of them has something to do with 'learning skills' nor 'quality' in the end. Here I have reported some of them:

<div align="center">

"Italy has lot of historical sites and a rich culture." *IN#20/1*

"It's my favourite country in Europe"IN#12/1

"Italy seems a warmly welcoming country . Nice people" IN#17/1

"I have a lot of friends who are already there" *IN#18/1*

"It is the center of World design" IN#13/1

</div>

7- if yes (6) How much is it relevant for you to have someone in your "circle of friends" that did such experience ?

23 responses

- it pushes me to do the same
- it is quite relevant but I had in mind to do it anyways
- it was not relevant
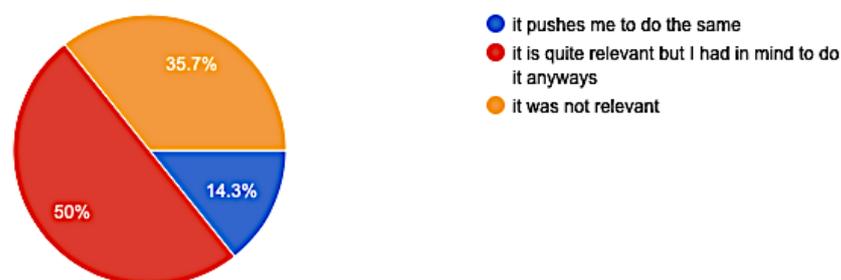
Graphic 6.4: "Was your decision of moving to Italy predeterminated by the presence of a branch of the Indian diaspora on arrival?"- resuls of the interview IN#.../1 on 23 students in %. Own elaboration 08/2020.

From the 23 interviews[353] of the Indian students applying to study in Italy, 61,9% have declared having an Indian friend who is already studying in Italy. I tried to have more information on the extent to which this prior relationship could have influence their decisions to choose Italy out of other destinations, Graphic n°6.4 shows the results where students express that this element is "*quite relevant*" but they had in mind to go abroad anyways for 50% of them.

Out of this result, one can wonder "*Does the presence of a network in the destination country play a role in choosing it*?" When this data was discussed with Valentina Ierna she commented: " *[...]I would not say networks matter[...] indeed most students face the period of mobility with an adventurous spirit. However, when the network condition occurs, we are often faced with a question that is not genuine*".

Then I asked her: "*Do you believe that this element can be interpreted as a manifestation of the Indian diaspora in Italy?*"

She commented: "*YES. In strong moments, of nostalgia, for example, it manifests itself. In the case of non-genuine questions, certainly. Then, if once they arrive, they come into contact with the Indian community it is a coincidence, and if this happens then yes, we can say that this networking is a symbol of the presence of Indian diaspora in Italy*" (Valentina Ierna IN271118.2 & IN181119).

So, she was not surprised when I tell her that there are numerous Facebook groups of Indian students in Italy and that there is a real background work in advising and providing support and mutual aid through social networks. These elements confirm the fact that the network is relevant to Indian students, especially in their "decision-making process" to choose the destination country (Andressen 1991, in Tan and Hugo 2017, p.78).

Later, Valentina Ierna turned the discussion into the Indians' imagination of Italy reflecting the comments of students who returned in Delhi to share their experiences after the mobility period:

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[353] With regards with the students aspiring to study in Italy, data are considering an aggregation of the survey data (23 informants) and the 10 semi-structured interviews conducted in Delhi in 2018.

"In the Indian collective imagination, the image of Italian is perceived as "closer to theirs". In particular, on family values and a sense of hospitality. Italy is seen as a "non-refractory country to hospitality". In the testimonies of students who have returned to India, there is a memory of 'great integration' in particular in the comparison with France or Germany. They are VERY attracted to Italian cuisine and the "brand" Italy for sectors such as fashion which "makes a splash". Valentina also mentions the theme of WEDDINGS: "it is a very popular destination for weddings (Deepika and Ranveer / Anushka and Veerat), especially, because in Bollywood films the scenes shot in the mountains are mainly shot in the Italian or Swiss mountains; even Venice for example, as a romantic city, becomes a spot for stars, and consequently attracts the Indian population in general "(Valentina Ierna IN271118.2 & IN181119).

Italy is well perceived in general before departure by students, it also came out during the interviews (apart from the bureaucratic aspect of course!) mostly referring to '*history', 'architecture', 'culture', 'beauty'* and *'food'*. Here, I report some testimony from the interviews IN#.../1 to the question "*1- How do you imagine Italy? What are the first things that came to your mind while thinking about this country?*":

"*It's a really great country with many historic places and fashion was started from Italy*" (IN#23/1).

"*I have been there twice on holidays and love the country. The architecture, opera and landscapes stand out when I think of Italy*" (IN#19/1).

"*A good place where I can enjoy food with many places to visit!*" (IN#21/1)

Some students have also stressed the will to meet Italian people which are imagined as being *'open minded'* (IN#18/1) and *'I think people will be nice and friendly'* (IN#14/1).

o *Results from the interviews with Indian students on their mobility reasons*

All in all, as the empirical data collection has demonstrated in Padova they are a combination of economic and non-economic factors which drive Indian students to Italy and precisely to Padova. In the table n°6.2 , I have taken inspiration from the variables of previous research conducted by UNESCO (2019) on International students' key drivers of mobility; with Mukherjee and Chanda's criteria (2012) on Indian students mobility to Germany, France, Sweden, Italy and Spain to discuss my own results.

Key determinants for mobility		For Indian students in Padova (Personal data 2017-2019)
Economic		
	Lower fees	A
	Scholarship	A
	Employment opportunities	C
	International exposure	A
Noneconomic		
	Ranking/reputation/Quality	A
	Lower cost of living	B
	Lifestyle & Culture	B
	Community ties in destination place	A
	Hospitality	B

A: very important - B: important - C: slightly important - D: not important

Table 6.2: Key determinants of Indian students 'mobility to Padova. Own elaboration based on the results from the interviews with Indian students sample IN#.../1. 07/20.

Indeed, the results display that Indian students in Padova are looking for International exposure, studies funding availability, a good education quality in a top ranked university which has affordable fees. On the meantime, they want to experience a good time in Padova by combining discoveries about Italian's culture and history, while feeling home thanks to the reassuring presence of diaspora ties locally embedded on arrival. The choice of the city does not seem crucial for the students, yet students have expressed that the choice of the university of Padova has become even more appealing thanks to its' city-friendly University advertised by the University itself[354] .

o *Assessment*

In concluding the list of the individuals factors, as recorded from the interviews, these factors encompass two key determinants for Indian students: the existence of a transnational

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[354] https://www.unipd.it/en/discovering-padua - see also: https://www.topuniversities.com/student-info/studying-abroad/4-reasons-why-italian-city-hit-international-students

community locally embedded in the destination university; and the lifestyle and culture they will experience locally.

<u>Section 6.2 Pathways of ten students-migrants in the city of Padova.</u>

This section analyses the Indian students'experiences collected with interviews and talks between 2017 and 2020 to understand what they do *everyday* (Certeau & Rendall, 1984; Durand et al., 2018; Javeau, 1982), alone, together, or with others during their short stay in the city of Padova across two dimensions evidenced by the &SoC: structured and perceived (CF Chapter 2).

I have used the &SoC model to apprehend where and how the Indian community and the Indian students (as part of the latter), move and evolve in the city of Padova while being rooted and connected with a broader transnational social space "*mother India".* All in all, the case-studies of the #10 Indian students as Indian students-migrants express from the very beginning that their '*abroad adventure'* will lead them back – *return brain-gain*, with the intention to operate transformations there, '*at home, in India'* (*Bharti* category); for the majority of them. In this pattern, Padova, as a set of spaces, may become a gateway for further mobility.

6.2.1 Analysis of the spatialization of 10 Indian students in Padova

First, to illustrate the spatialization of the 10 relevant profiles exposed in the previous chapter, I have built an interactive map[355] of the daily places in which Indian students evolve to understand the meaning of what they do *everyday* (Certeau & Rendall, 1984; Durand et al., 2018; Javeau, 1982), alone, together, or with others during their stay in the city of Padova across the three dimensions evidenced by the &SoC: structured, spatial and perceived (cfr Chapter 2).

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[355]This link collects all the daily points by type.
https://www.google.com/maps/d/edit?mid=1VFSFSYd_lePthhUGHp5upY_QfY7NsbYk&usp=sharing

The map n°6.2 was built with different layers associated to the places represented: (1) Bureaucratic offices; (2) Housing; (3) Studying; (4) Leisure/activities/sports; (5) Socializing.
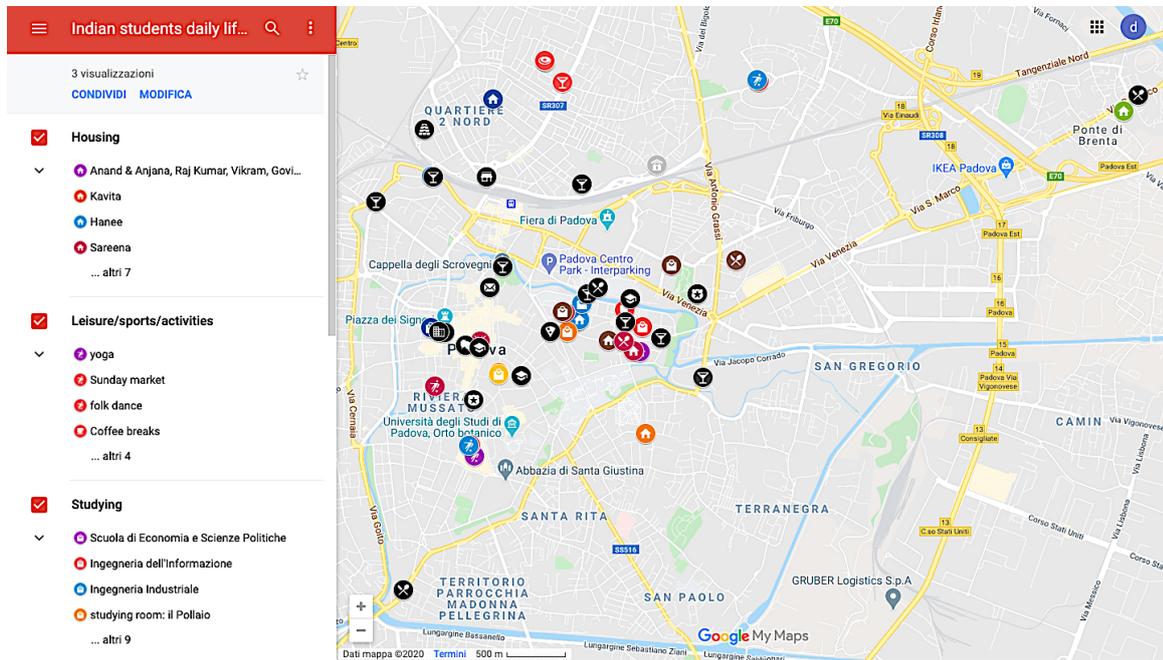
Map 6.2: Indian students daily places in Padova. Results of the in-depth interviews with 10 students-migrants. Own elaboration on GoogleMap 09/20.

The colors correspond to the Indian students case-studies (See Picture n°6.1). I will explore each layer to apprehend the spaces in which these students having a regard to their experiences of this places: what do they do there? These elements will be helpful in analysing in the next pages, the impacts of the presence of international students- as the Indian students-migrants- of the city's spaces next. The map n°6.3 can also be read by 'student' to observe their individuals experiences[356] of the mentioned daily places.

Picture 6.1: List of the 10 Indian students, in-depth interviews PD#.../2. Own elaboration 09/20.

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[356] This link collects all the individual experiences of each Indian student: https://www.google.com/maps/d/edit?mid=1-B23fAhLgD_Twa1_3BvhbZlbB7YSMUFh&usp=sharing
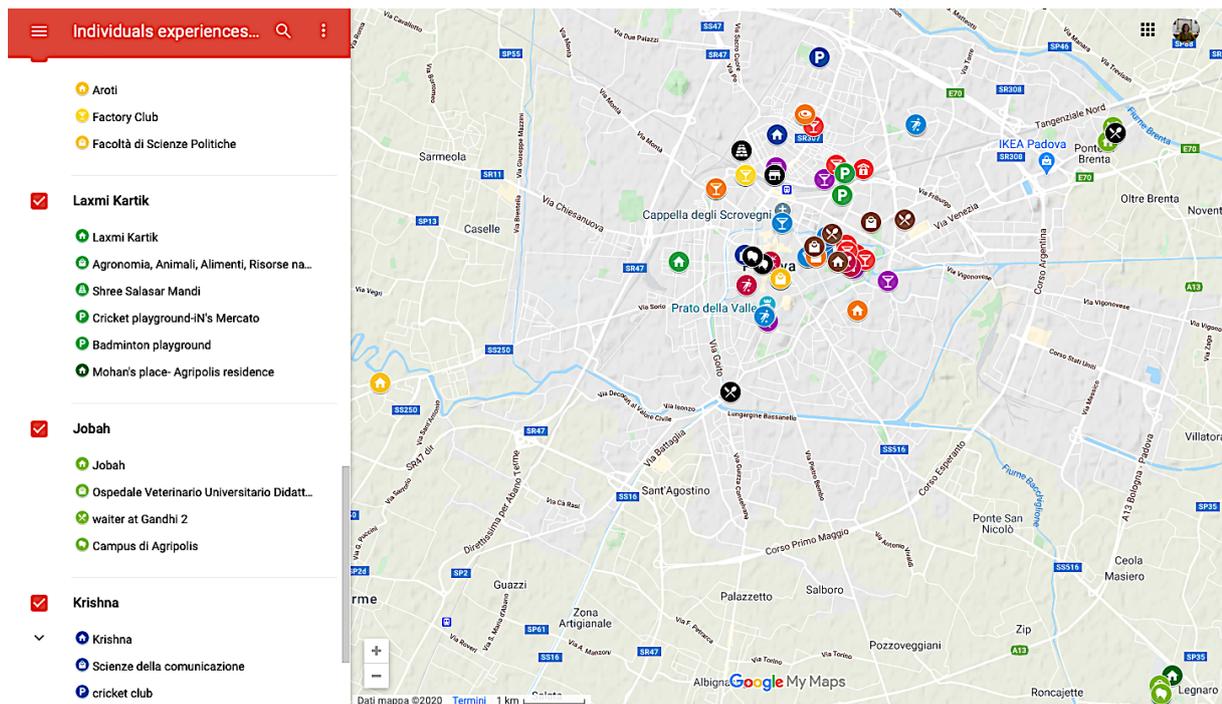
Map 6.3:Individual experiences in daily places in Padova. Results of the in-depth interviews with 10 students-migrants. Own elaboration on GoogleMap 09/20.

When the '*loci*' are black, it means that these places are generally attended/visited by the 10 Indian students cited in the attached list (Picture 6.1).

(1) Bureaucratic offices places

The first places crossed by Indian students are the bureaucratic offices where they carry on the residency permit in the *Questura* and the University enrollment. As discussed in Chapter 5, this experience is generally *stressful.* Students are generally disoriented on arrival and they struggle in moving from one office to another with public transports systems who are not equipped for guiding non-English speakers.

The language is certainly a relevant obstacle in daily adventures, as the one in bureaucratic places. The language knowledge is a central factor in getting adapted in a foreign city as the examples of Anand proves.

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The bureaucratic offices spread in Q1 generally constitute the first city-visit sites of Indian and international students (Map n°6.4).
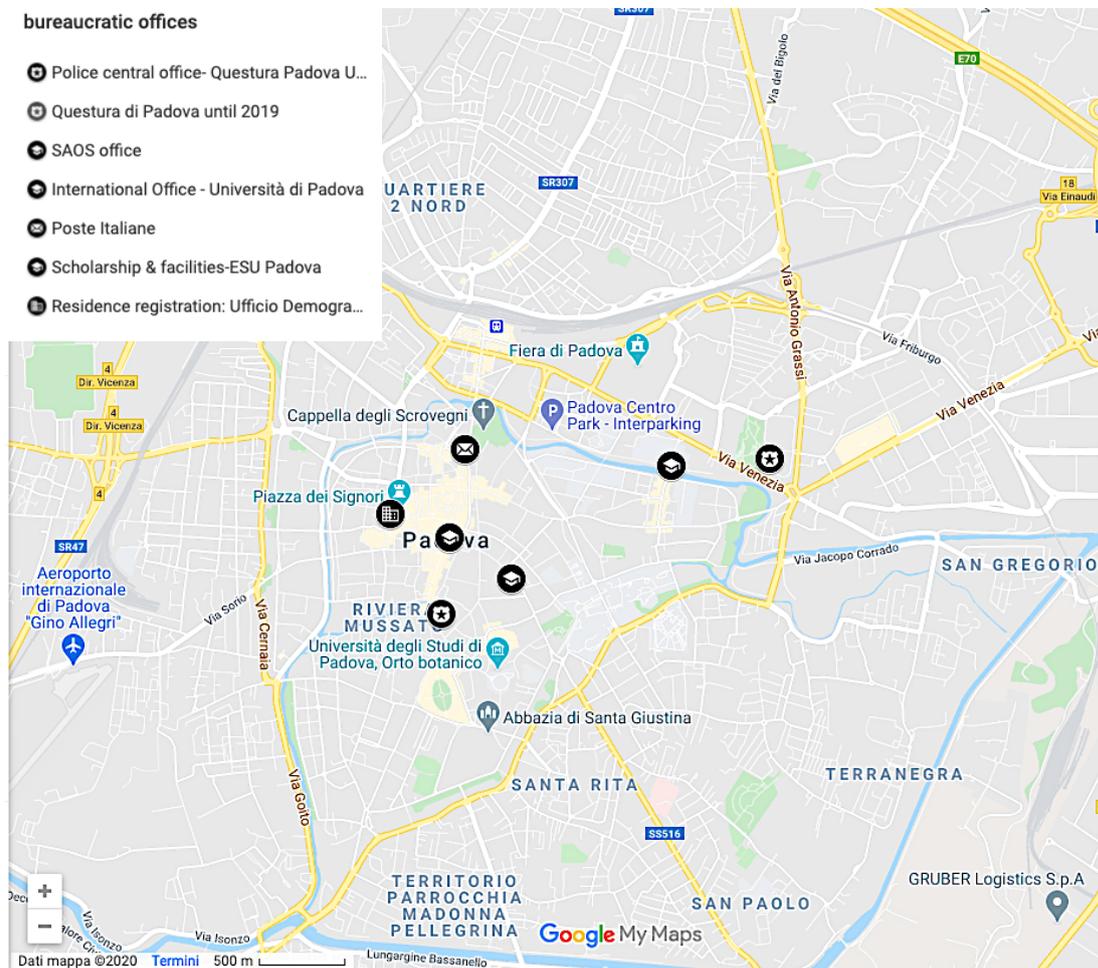
Map 6.4:Bureaucratic offices places attended by 10 Indian students. Data from Interviews PD#.../2. Own elaboration on GoogleMap, 09/20.

(2)Housing places

To subscribe for the residency permit, Indian students should have a house first. Indian students often struggle finding a house on arrival. In fact, even if most of the city's houses/flat for rent are meant for students, it is difficult though, to find an owner who agrees on hosting a 'non-Italian speaking person'.

On this regard **Sareena**'s testimony on the difficulties in finding a house in Italy is sound. Sareena was living alone in a flat. Her scholarship included a university accommodation, however, she decided to live on her own in a two-rooms appartement near her LAB in Portello (Q1). She went through a renting- agency to be sure of having an eligible

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house for the Questura papers. After a couple of months, she felt she was fooled as the house was "*insalubrious*"; she added: *"my Landlord and the renting agency never cared about me and I was living in poor conditions surrounded by creepy walls where moisture was slowly growing"*(PD#34/2 on 28/12/2018).

Laxmi Kartik instead lives in a shared flat and struggled to find a room. He has been looking for months, 'crashing 'in Krishna's home for a while before finding the shared flat in Via Palestro (Q5). "*During my application, admission and searching for accommodation for this university I faced some difficulties, now I am completely aware of those difficulties and could help others as I experienced them and solved those difficulties.*" (Exerpt from Laxmi Kartik presentation for the International Students council elections of 2018-2019).

Amitab also had issued in finding a house in Padova. He immediately told me, "*I don't know if I can help you with your research… actually, my experience is not so good*" (PD#18/2 on 12/12/2018). He carried on saying that he was living alone in Q3 as he could not find a shared house where roommates were speaking English. Eventually, he has been living in Belzoni Residence -after he came back from Erasmus in Nüremberg- where he met Parvati.

From what I have recorded in my experience with international students in Padova, life in residence is a better option to fight against isolation and to interact with people from all over the world, the testimony of Anand illustrates well this statement.
Despite the reluctances of his Italian girlfriend, who recommended him to live in a shared flat in order to have an immersive experience with Italian, Anand managed finding a place to live at the university residence 'Copernico' in the Portello area which is close enough to reach his University in Via del Santo. He loves his life there in an *'international setting where I would have met many people'* (PD#42/2, on 23/01/2019). It is to be noted, as per the residence rules, he could not host people at night in 'Copernico', so he is also paying the rent of a shared-triple room in Arcella (Q2), close to the Borgomagno bridge. This issue will be later also reported by Nilesh, who could not stay in the residence with his wife.

Perhaps for the above listed reasons, Indian students often decide eventually to move from their first 'private flat' to live on a campus accommodation as Amitab did. Indeed, as Anand has underlined, the international environment and the proximity to their courses' buildings suit them the best. 61,9% of Indian students lives in a campus accommodation; 33,3 % lives in a shared flat while 7,1% live alone, without flat mates (see table n°6.3). By the way, accommodations on campus usually cost the same as a private flat.

6a.Where do you live ?	Number of students in each accommodation type
Campus accommodation	26
Private flat with Italian or foreign roommates	8
Private flat with Indian roommates	6
Alone in a flat	2

Table 6.3: Results to the question "Where do you live in Padova" (/42 Indian students). Own elaboration (09/20).
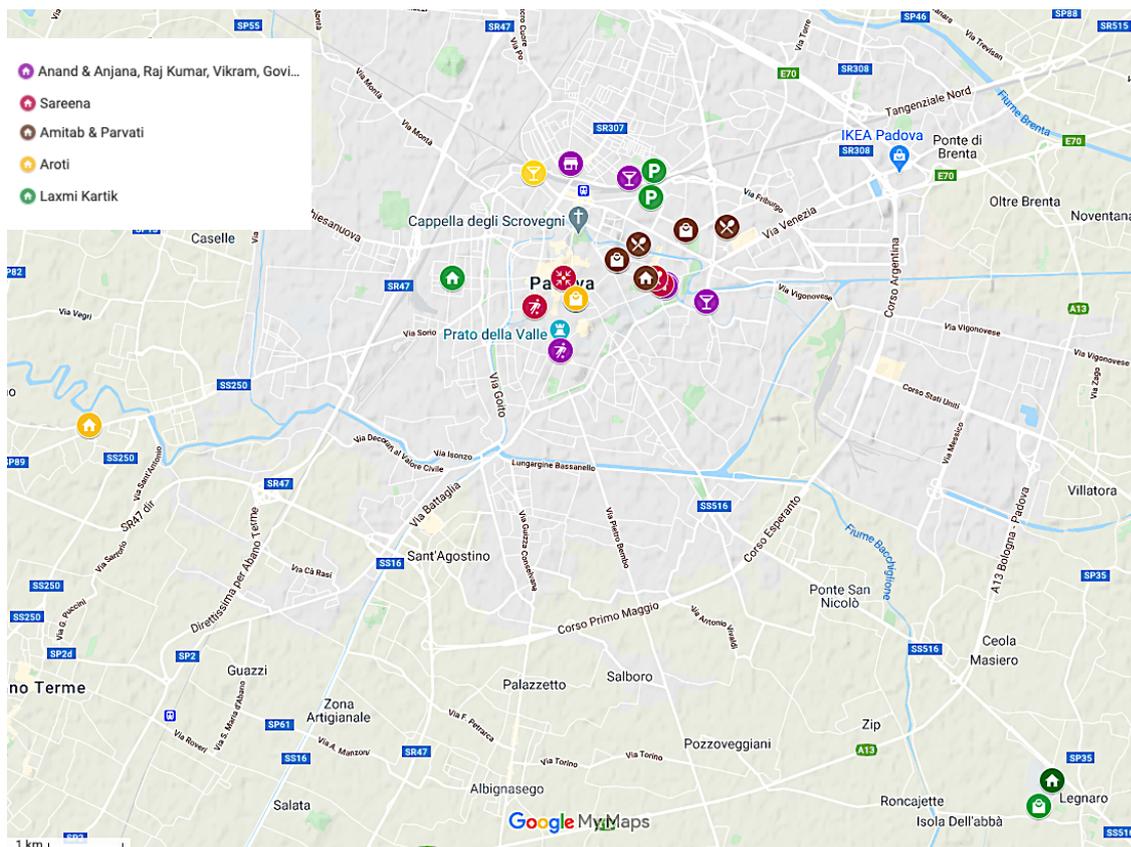
Map 6.5:Focus on Anand, Sareena, Amitab and Parvati, Aroti and Laxmi daily places from their houses. Own elaboration on Google map. 09/20

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Living in a campus accommodation is also a way to fight against isolation. Indeed, if **Aroti** did not choose a house in Selvazzano Dentro (43 minutes away from her University by bus U12, see map n°6.5) she could have had a more immersive experience in the city of Padova beyond the university for studies.

Reflecting the tables' numbers, the map n°6.6 illustrates a concentration of Indian students in the *Portello* area which matches with those students who live on a campus accommodation.
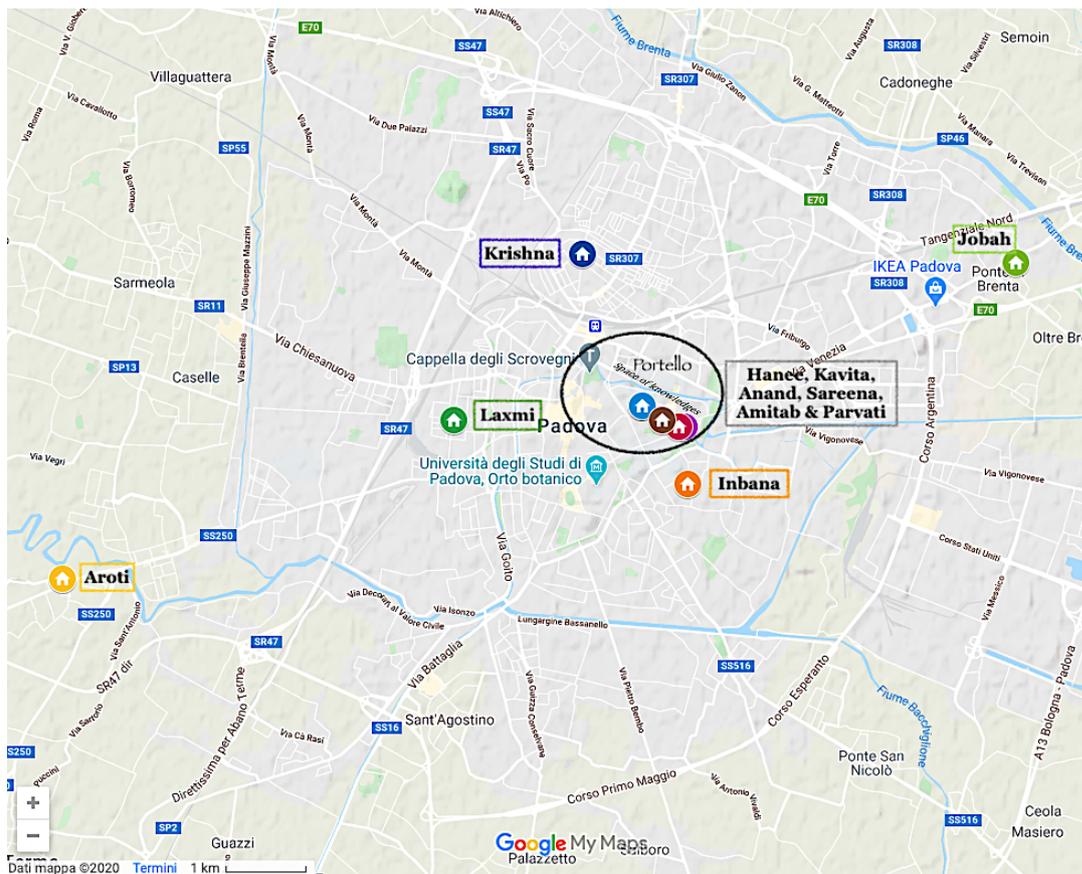
Map 6.6:Housing places of 10 Indian students. A concentration of Indian students housing places in the space of knowledges : Portello. Data from Interviews PD#.../2. Own elaboration on Google map. 09/20

Aroti and Jobah present exceptions as they have decided to live outside the city to spare some money on rents. Krishna who has been living in Padova for years has eventually moved to Q2, closer to the 'Indian dots' and the Indian permanent community. We can assess from this map that permanent dwellers live in the multicultural neighborhood while temporary dwellers live closer to Universities' places.

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<u>(3)Studying places</u>

78,6% of my informants declared studying most of the time. Indeed, the reasons of their experience in Padova is supposed to be subordinated to the study-purpose. The map n°6.7 attached illustrates what Chapter 5 has previously discussed: a widespread campus. The University of Padova does not have a campus apart from the Legnaro one (two green loci), it is then not surprising to see that most of the University offices where Indian students go everyday are located in the north-east area of Q1: the space of knowledge.
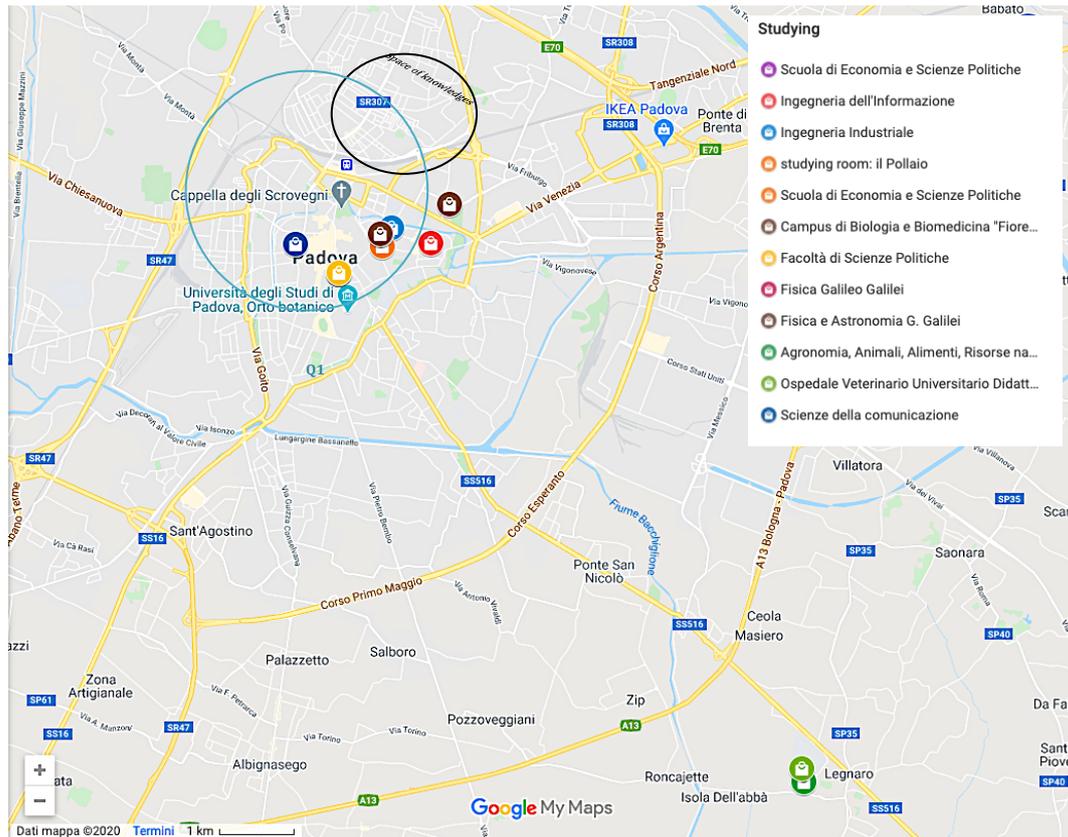
Map 6.7:Studying places of 10 Indian students. Data from Interviews PD#.../2. Own elaboration on GoogleMap, 09/20.

The majority of students gather around the 'Portello area' as it is **Kavita**'s case (red points). Kavita spends most of her time between her work in the department of Information engineering and her house in via Luzzatti. The rare times that she crossed the limits of Q1 was to come to visit me in Arcella (Q2) by crossing the 'Unità d'Italia bridge' by walk; or to visit Siddhi, the Bengladeshi girl who picks her up by car to come to Q2.

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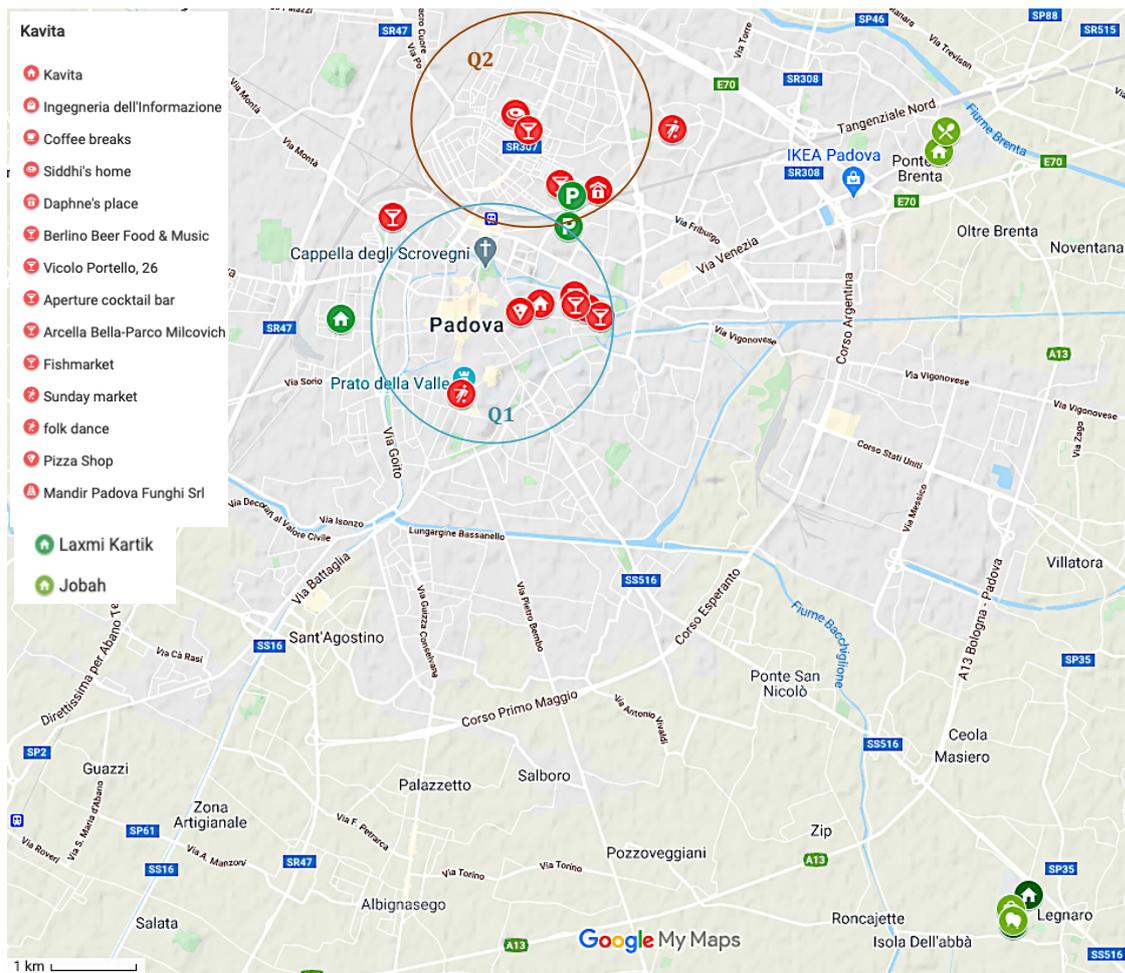
Map 6.8:Studying places of Kavita, Jobah & Laxmi Kartik. Data from Interviews PD#.../2. Own elaboration on GoogleMap, 09/20.

Two students of my sample were attending classes on the Legnaro Campus: **Laxmi Kartik** (light green point) and **Jobah** (dark green point). The fact of studying on the edge of the city's borders, in Legnaro (map n°6.8) has entailed a limited experience of Padova's spaces as the example of Laxmi Kartik illustrates.

Laxmi Kartik studies in Legnaro and ideally would have like finding a place to live there, near the campus. However, Agripolis has few residences for students and the rooms for international students are about 20. Laxmi said that his friend, **Mohan** is living on the Agripolis campus studying 'Italy food and wine'. Laxmi is really disappointed to have to commute with a 40-minutes-ride by bike every day to go from Padova Q5 to Legnaro. He loves the campus: "*a peaceful oasis*", where he generally stays from 8am to 8pm (closing time).

Besides, Laxmi and Jobah also share the fact of studying while working. Jobah works in Gandhi restaurant and lives in Ponte di Brenta (outside from the city's border) where Gandhi 2 restaurant is located.

Their pathways in the city are determined by their study and their work, there is no much time left to have an immersive adventurous experience dictated by leisure activities as it is the case of Hanee instead.

(4) Leisure/activities/ sports

From my diary notes, I report this short description: "*Inbana is a nice and bright young girl. She has a lot of personality. As a "hearty eater", she is also likely to try everything she does not know about food- as long as it vegetarian-since she is brahmin- and wine.[…]*"

"*I am interested and motivated in knowing the local culture and habits" she said.[…] Hanee, and Kavita have declared that they will drink a Spritz [typical Venitian orange drink for aperitif] everyday as long as they are in Padova as it is delicious and cheaper than it was in France. All of them seem adapted to the Italian lifestyle and combine work with entertainment features almost every day*" (Diary notes on 18/02/2019, after the 'Folk dance' class, my underlining).

Beyond the forefront 'adaptation capacity', disclosed by Indian students who have largely enjoy of Padova's activities, there are many elements which are limiting some Indian students as Kavita. For example, there is the fear that follows Kavita - as well as all the other Indian girls that I have interviewed- to walk or drive the bike alone in the streets during the evening. Kavita explained me that this fear is irrational as she knows that Padova is safer than Kolkata or any other Indian city of the same size, yet it took a while for her to venture to even take a cab after the sunset.

Conversely, as a boy, Hanee has moved a lot around the city, he was not hesitating in taking his bike to go on the opposite side of the city to meet new people under the excuse of learning folk dances; his movement is defined by a 'thirst of adventure' as its daily places illustrate on the map n°6.9.
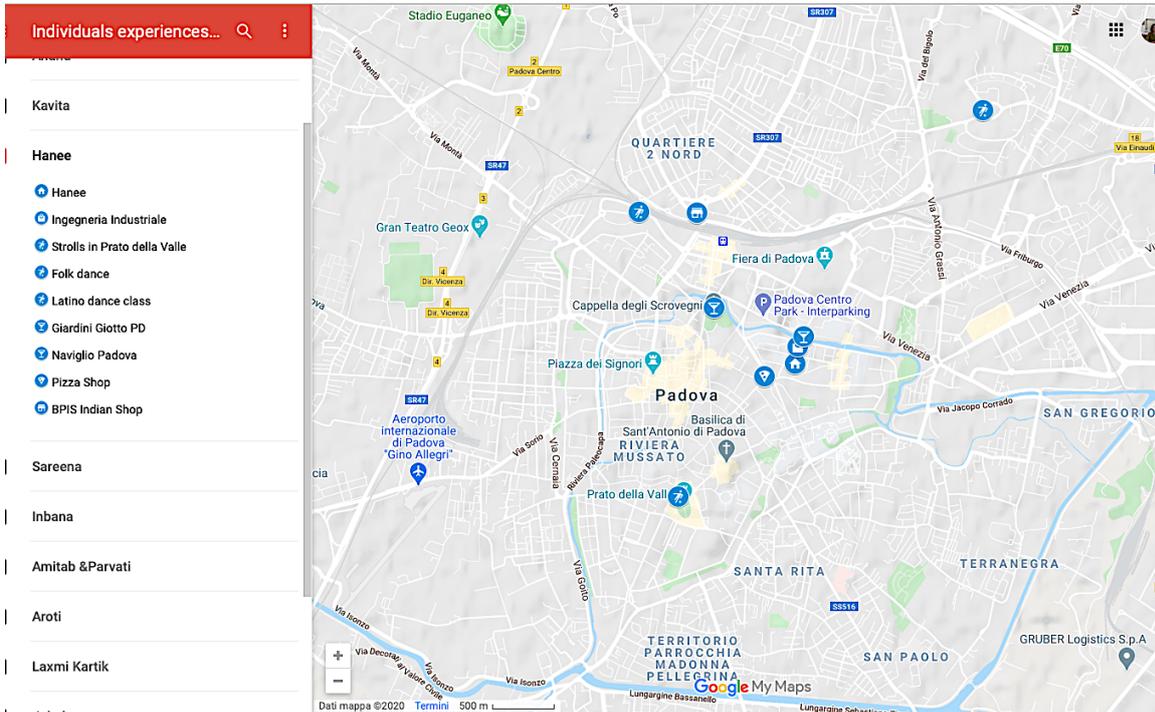
Map 6.9: Hanee mobile life in Padova- Data from Interviews PD#.../2. Own elaboration on GoogleMap, 09/20.

These experiences are mostly concentrated in Q1 and on the border with Q2 where Jobah sometimes meet its relative (members of the Indian community) during weekends to play cricket (green P points) in the dashed green circle, see map n°6.10
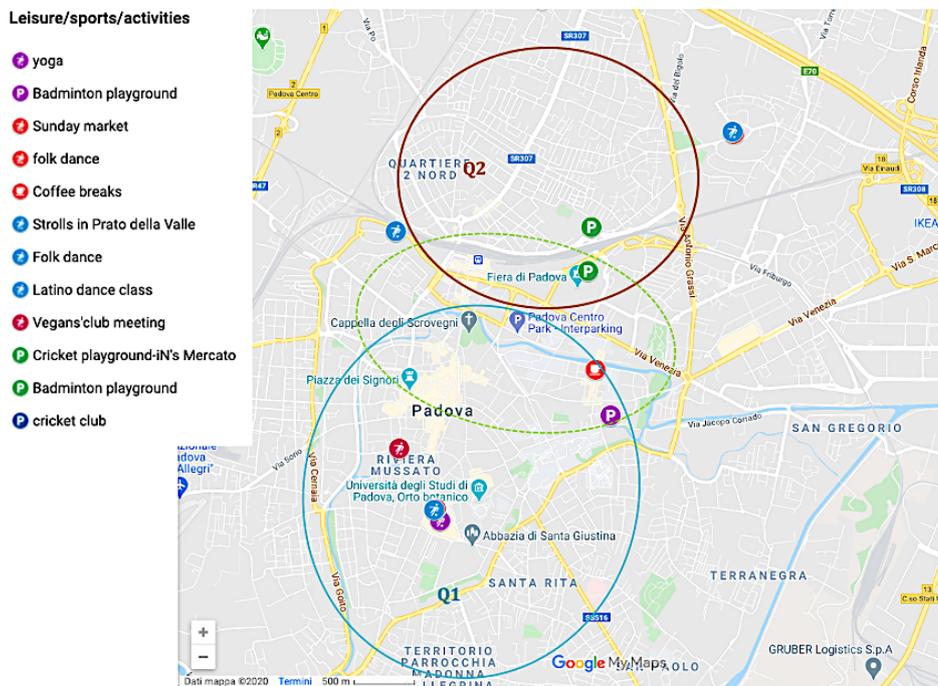
Map 6.10: Leisure/activities/sports places of 10 Indian students. Data from Interviews PD#.../2. Own elaboration on GoogleMap, 09/20.

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<u>(5) Socializing</u>

Most of the time socializing echoes with going out for a drink or for a party. Not all the Indian students-migrants succeed in this part. The shyest and more isolated students as **Sareena**, will prefer going out with small groups on rare occasions to have a Vegan dinner, while others like **Inbana** will enjoy the freedom of going to dance until 4am at Fishmarket disco once a week. I report here an excerpt of my diary notes:

"*Inbana has settled in a private flat in Q3 'Forcellini area' with Italian flatmates to improve her language skills: "I live in a private apartment with flatmates from many countries: all religions are represented. I share my room with an Italian girl. They are teaching me Italian and I teach them English and Hindi. It is very international and intercultural... I love it!" (PD#10/2, on 23/10/2018). She got adapted very fast and has no fear in cycling around the city to go dancing at Fishmarket in via Sarpi (Q1) or to reach some friends in Q2.*" (Diary notes on 25/02/2019). The map below illustrates the location of these places on the city map n°6.11.

Socialising

- Palazzo Bo (ISC meetings)
- Lunch at Garhwal Di Singh Praveen
- Siddhi's home
- Siddhi's home
- Aperture cocktail bar
- Mensa Murialdo
- Piazza delle Erbe
- Piazza dei Signori
- Fishmarket
- Factory Club
- Il Chiosco
- Arcella Bella-Parco Milcovich
- Diwali 2018 @Gandhi Restaurant
- Diwali 2019 @Gandhi 2 Padova
- Vicolo Portello, 26
- Berlino Beer Food & Music
- Naviglio Padova
- Giardini Giotto PD
- Shree Salasar Temple
- BPIS- INDIAN SHOP
- RistorEsu Nord Piovego
- Pizza Shop

Map 6.11:Socialising places of 10 Indian students. Data from Interviews PD#.../2. Own elaboration on GoogleMap, 09/20.

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Anand would rather prefer meeting in parks where there are live concert events like 'Giardini dell'arena' (Q1) or '*Arcella Bella*[357]' (Q2) in the Parco Milcovich.

Canteen are places where to meet many other students from different origins; **Parvati** and **Amitab** met for the first time in *'mensa Piovego'* for example.

The Best Price Indian Shop (BPIS) and the temple are places where to meet the Indian community just as Indian restaurants, especially during events as Diwali parties . As I stressed in Chapter 4, most of the Indian students cross the Borgomagno bridge connecting Q1 with Q2 to participate to community's events organized by **Krishna**.
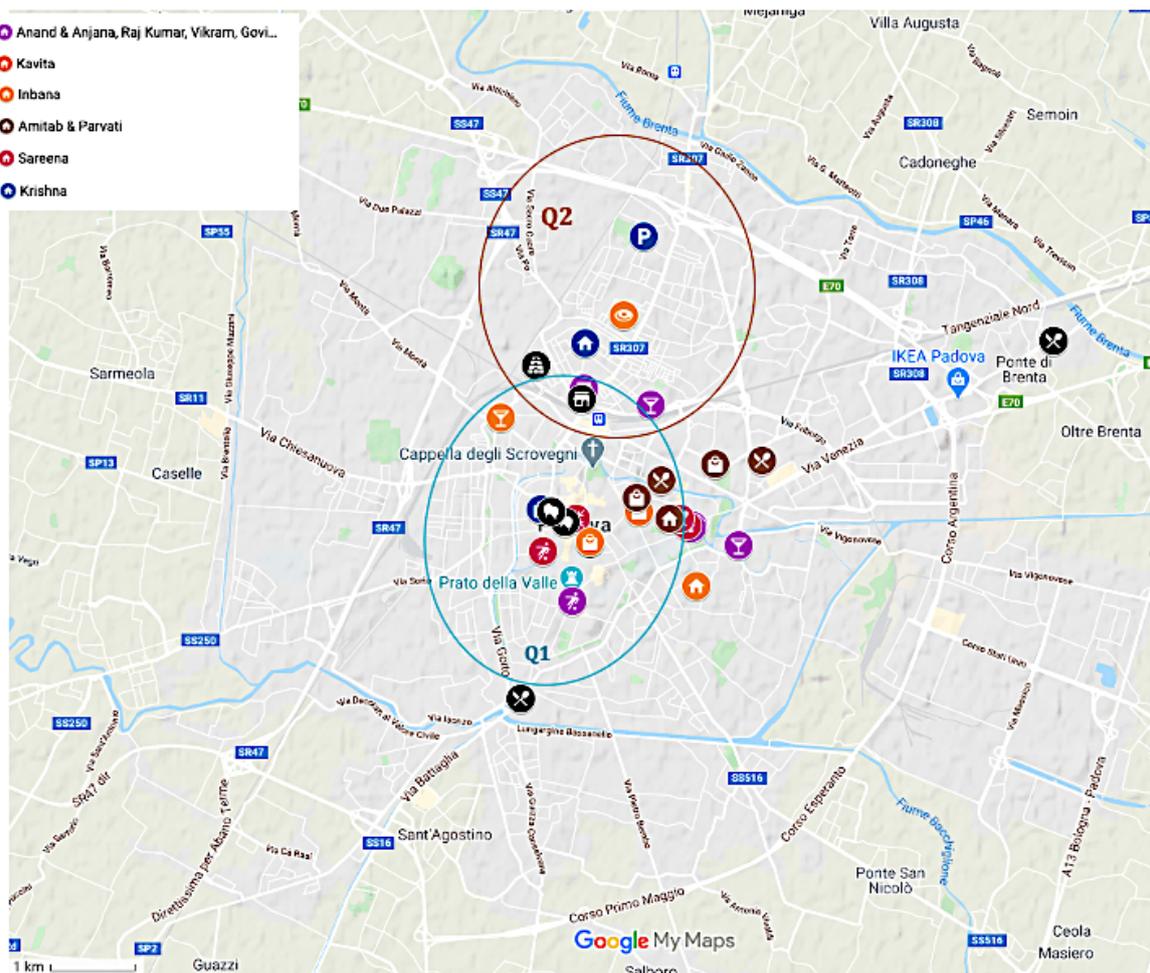
Map 6.12:Socialising places of Inbana, Anand, Amitab, Krishna. Data from Interviews PD#.../2. Own elaboration on GoogleMap, 09/20.

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[357] https://www.facebook.com/ArcellaBellaPadova/videos/925184431280523. The festival has organised several intercultural events connecting people through the excuse of tasting food. On 21/06/20 there was an event planned by 'Mille e un'Arcella' association to taste Bengali food where I went with Anand.

On the whole, the places in which Indian students 'hang out' to socialize are located near the University buildings' areas, in what I called previously the 'space of knowledge'; however, the 'socializing places map n°6.12' also evidences that Q2 is an attractive area as well for Indian students as it hosts some 'Indian dots' which makes them feel 'home' (See chapter 6). These spaces are transnational social spaces.

Eventually, when socialization in Padova was successful, many Indian students have started a journey of adventures outside the city's border of Padova: in Venice, in Bassano del Grappa, in Gardaland; Saturday on the beach in Rosolina Mare; Sunday in the mountains in Asiago to see the snow etc. with Italian friends not only with Indians. In this manner their experience was deeply immersive in the Italian lifestyle.

o *Assessment*

The analysis of students' spatialization in Padova has evidenced two important outputs. First, Indian students' daily experiences are conditioned by the place in which they live and study in the city. **Aroti**, **Jobah** and **Laxmi Kartik** experiences have evidenced that the physical distance between the house and the university can engender a limited experience of the city's opportunities, beyond the studying part and lead to isolation (see map n°6.13).
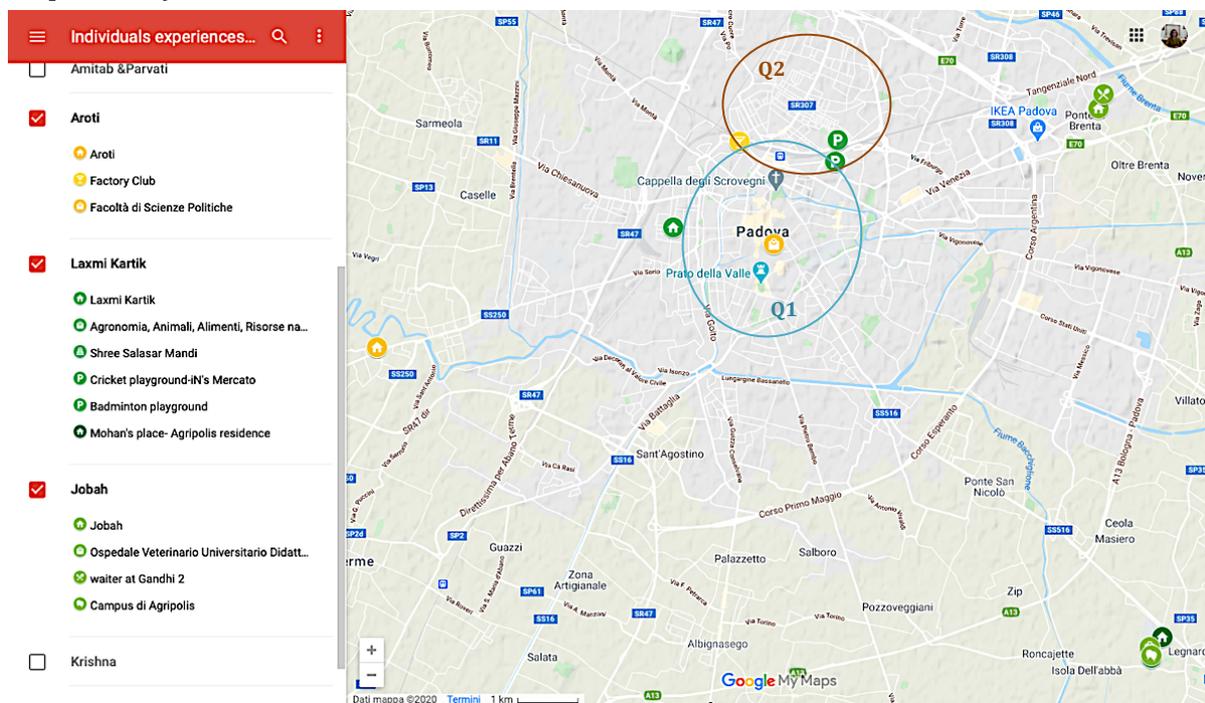
Map 6.13: Aroti, Jobah and Laxmi Kartik reduced mobility due to the home-university distance. Own elaboration on GoogleMap.09/20

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Second, Indian students are likely to have a more 'adventurous experience' when they have the capacity of moving alone in the city. Indeed, one of the major limits that **Kavita** has encountered- and suffered about- in Padova, was the fact of always depending on someone to move outside of the city by car to reach Q2 for example. She does not know how to drive a bicycle which is an issue in Padova as a 'bike city' and does not remember how to drive a car since she has not been driving in the past nine years. Until **Hanee** was here (September 2018- October 2019), she was more adventurous as she was not alone to move, then she became quieter. As the map n°6.14 illustrates, Indian students-migrants' daily spots are really close from home especially whenever they have no bike.
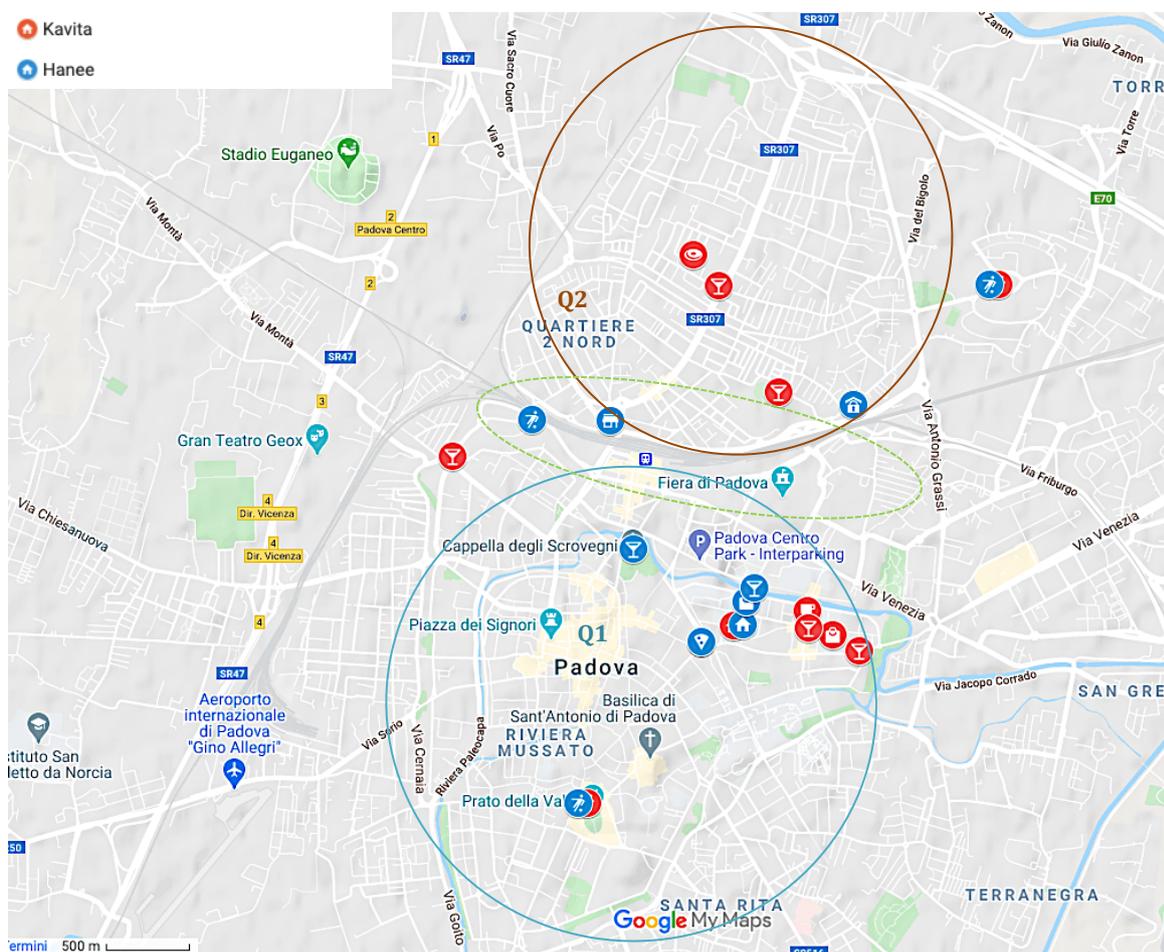
Map 6.14: Hanee and Kavita shared daily places between housing and socialisation all around the city. Own elaboration on Google map, 09/20

Finally, as the 'socializing places map n°8.12' has reminded, the place is not just the physical space of the city of Padova, but also the relational one which sometimes is woven

through the Indian permanent resident community. In the next paragraph, I will argue as Lefebvre that: "*Space is social morphology : it is to lived experience what form itself is to the living organism, and just as intimately bound up with function and structure*" (Lefebvre, 1995 p.94).

6.2.2 The &SoC model in practice: Indian student's spaces in the city

To illustrate my point on Indian students' spatialization in Padova, I have used the &SoC model which combines the insights of the Chicagoans encompassing the city as an ecosystem mingling spaces and human communities and the structured, perceived and spatial dimensions part of the Sense of Community model (1990- cfr Chapter 2). Going back to our theoretical hints from Chapter 2, Chavis and Wadersman (1990) has identified the positive relationship between the "*sense of community*" and people's propensity to participate[358] in the city where they live (Ambrosini, 2020). In this pattern, thinking about social spaces in terms of connections between places, indicates some form of a network linking multiple sites and people.

o *&SoC: the structured dimension. Interaction and networks*

As the Sense of Community model emphases, the quality of interaction is central*: "the more positive the experience and the relationships, the greater the bond. Success facilitates cohesion*" (Cook, 1970 in McMillan & Chavis, 2005).

The experiences of **Awaara** students as Inbana, Anand, Hanee and Kavita have shown that a great mobility, openness and a pinch of adventurous spirit are the ingredient to be involved in the Italian daily lifestyle and to be included in social life activities. The structured dimension[359] connecting people is central for the inclusion scope (See Conceptual map n°6.1 excerpt of the &SoC model). The structured dimension can be interpreted as micro-social structures (families, groups, local communities, practices and belief) embracing "*[…]*

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[358] See also Mannarini, T. (2004). Comunità e partecipazione. Prospettive psicosociali. Milano: Franco Angeli. & Mannarini, T. (2009). La cittadinanza attiva. Psicologia Sociale della partecipazione pubblica. Bologna: Il Mulino.

[359] Following Castles and Miller (1998), the migration system approach advocates two variables to apprend contemporary migration flows: structure and agency. In this pattern, the structure includes macro-social structures (states, corporations, international agencies), micro-social structures (families, groups, social networks, local communities), and meso-social structures (intermediate networks or collectivities like the migration industry, transnational communities). Agency refers to individual and group action, which helps people to survive and cope in specific situations of change or crisis.

informal social networks developed by the migrants themselves, in order to cope with migration and settlement"(Castles and Miller 1998, p.25).
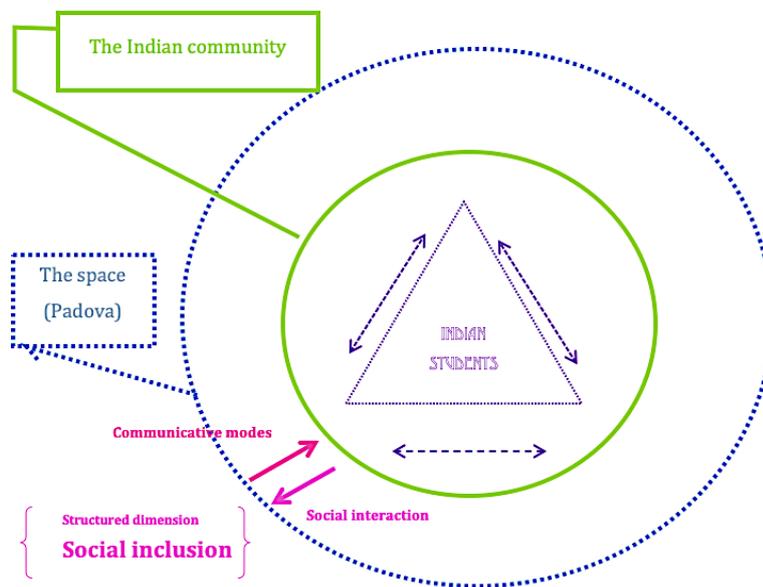
Conceptual map 6.1: the &SoC model focus on the 'structured dmension' to dicuss interaction and networks relevance in Indian students-migrants'daily life. Own Elaboration 09/20.

My fieldwork has confirmed that Indian students are often interacting among themselves but also with the local and settled Indian community described in Chapter 4.

The case of ***Prashant*** students has enhanced that the longest the Indian students stay, the more likely they will be to develop a social network in their new environment based on '*kinship, a common area of origin, the need for mutual help'* (Castles and Miller 1998, p.28). On this regard, referring to Castles and Miller : "[...] *The migratory process needs to be understood in its totality as a* <u>*complex system of social interactions*</u> *with a wide range of institutional structures and informal* <u>*networks*</u> *in both sending and receiving countries, and at the international level.*" (*Ibid*., 1998, p.284).

As Chapter 1 had reminded, the concept of 'networks' was introduced by sociologists as Thomas & Znaniecki (1918-1920). Following Massey et al. (1998) migration networks can be defined as: "*sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin*" (*Ibidem.* p.42).

The &SoC structured dimension has explained how these ties are connecting the pathways of some Indian students-migrants in Padova in a networked relationship. The role of spaces of encounter as the university and the Indian places in Arcella foster the creation of this network. The second neighborhood, Arcella, the "*Neighborhood which smells of spices*" (Spagna & Bon, 2018) is an attractive space for foreigners missing home, a kind of shelter to tackle home sickness.

- *&SoC: the perceived dimension. Transnational lives in Padova.*

When international students are abroad, interaction occurs in two ways, locally and away from home: transnationally. The story of **Parvati** (PD#30/2) exhibits this feeling 'in between'. She is 27 years old and doing a Ph.D in Biotechnologies in Campus Piovego since 30/09/2018. She comes from a wealthy family in New Delhi. When she was stuck home during the lockdown, she has started practicing Yoga everyday she told me "*I am fine.[...] Away from the country, Attached to the roots*"(30/03/20).

As Parvati, many students have often recalled this 'in-betweeness feeling in their talks with me. From this evidence, I can assess two elements illustrated in the &SoC conceptual map n°6.2 below.
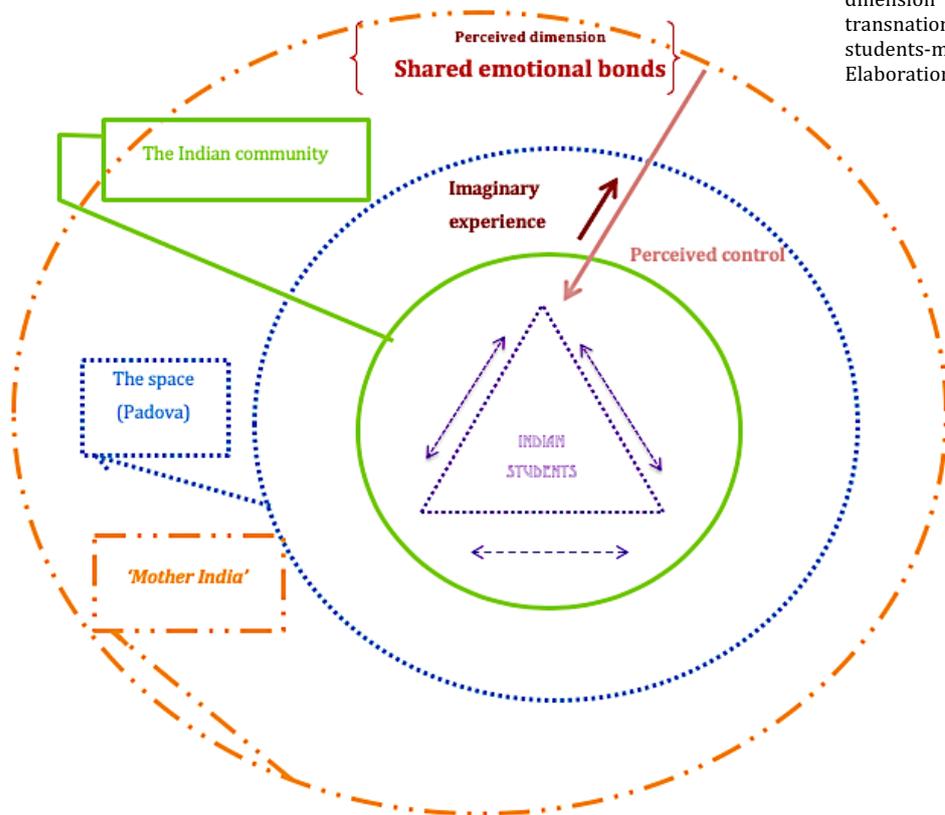
Conceptual map 6.2: the &SoC model focus on the 'perceived dmension' to highlight the transnationalist nature of Indian students-migrants'daily life. Own Elaboration 09/20.

On the one hand, the Indian students-migrants perceive a strong embedment with their families and friends when they are abroad (Brooks & Waters, 2011). The importance of the family was further highlighted by informants who placed parental influence alongside other personal variables faced in their new environment rather than economic reasons (amount of the scholarship, daily expenses, jobs) as challenging their experience abroad. The influence of the Indian culture on the Indian students-migrants daily life in Padova is represented by the dashed orange circle' *Mother India'* which englobes the city's space of the city since their experiences are marked by transnational relationships above relationships with local permanent residents. This personal emotional bound created between India and Italy by the students is fostering transnational connections in the urban space of Padova thanks to the presence of the Indian community led by Krishna[360]. Indeed, Krishna has often involved them on the occasion of ceremonies, festivals and rituals which have attracted the Indian students who are Hindu for the great majority (40/42- the two remaining are Sikhs).

On the other hand, this pervasive '*Mother India'* influence has an impact on their perception of the Italian experience: "*I miss my family [...] my mother is a widow I wish she was here with me*" (Laxmi Kartik PD#38/2 on 27/02/2018).

When I asked Amitab if his experience was as he imagined it, he said : *"I was expecting ease in communication with people, better social life, better professional experience with professors, No linguistic discrimination."* I carried on asking questions about his social life: *"In terms of social life it's really bad if one doesn't know Italian, 80% of the people can't speak English.[...] I only have 1 Italian friend. He was my partner during Experimental Laboratory Class. So, it's almost impossible to make friends, forget girlfriends."* He even talked about 'homesickness': *"It's impossible to communicate in Italy if you don't know Italian, this is not good for international study. This can create psychological impacts, homesickness [...] to the students during their study. This is the major negative experience I had in Italy"* (Amitab, PD#18/2 on 12/12/2018).

Wrapping up, in Padova, my fieldwork has led me to observe an extension of the transnational space paradigm. As Bruslé and Varrel resumed: "*Everyday life places of*

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[360] See also: Johnson et al.,(2018) and the case of Auckland(in Australia)

migrants can be considered as isolated places but <u>global space of living</u> that transcends national borders and are part of broader social networks[...]"(*Ibid.*, 2012, my underlining). For instance, the Hindu temple invisibility in Padova (and hypervisibility in India) is a great example of a transnational social place. The newly born Indian temple is expected to have a further deeper impact on students' home feeling in Padova (Chapter 4).

The social experience of space of my informants also revealed a concentration of Indian places in two city's areas.

o   *A concentration of Indian students-migrants in the space of knowledges*

By combining the traces of Indian students highlighted in this chapter and those of the permanent community mapped in Chapter 4 with the assessments made in Chapter 5 disclosing a concentration of students in the space of knowledge, I argue in this paragraph that the areas previously evidenced as having a 'concentration' -of either students or Indian permanent dwellers- are overlapping the spaces in which Indian students practice their daily activities. The sketchedMap n°6.1(handmade) highlights that Indian students tend to live in areas where there has been registered the presence of Indian permanent dwellers or of 'Indian traces' (cfr Chapter 4).
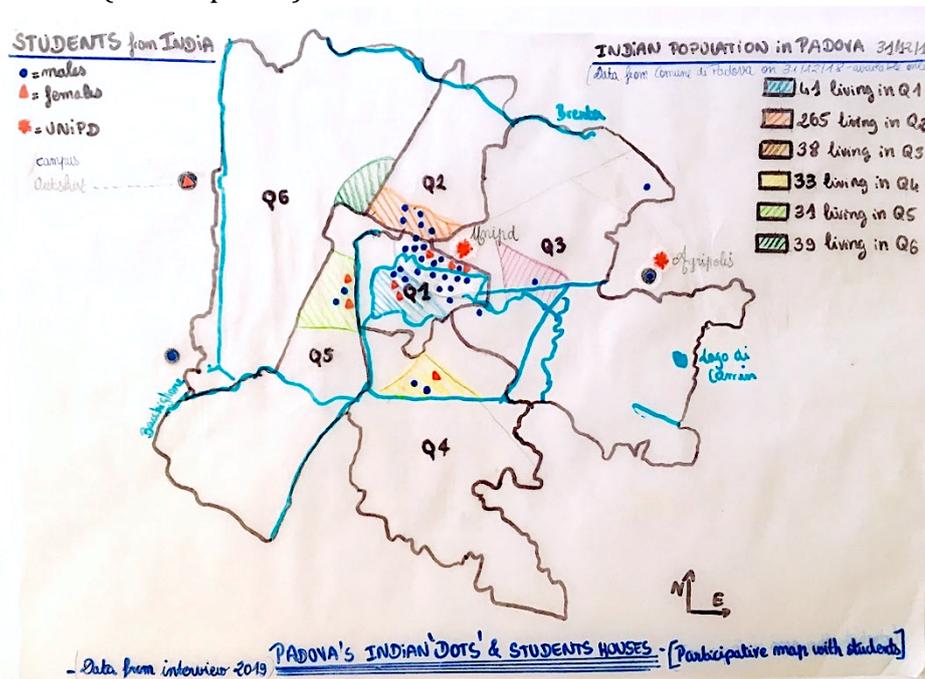
Sketchedmap 6.1: Indian students and Indian dots overlapping areas on the city map by neighborhood. Own elaboration hand made 06/20

These observations complement some assumptions of Paola Briata (in the past years (2007;2012; 2014)) who regularly stressed that the most common form of concentration of foreigners/migrants is not in housing, but in commercial areas. As far as the Indian islands in Padova are concerned, there is no concentration of Indian commercial activities, rather a dispersion of single activities in four neighborhoods. Arcella (Q2) marks an exception as it hosts two Indian restaurants and one Indian shop. I agree with Briata when she suggests that in some city's area, there is a concentration of migrants activities- meant as multi-ethnic concentration. From the data collected, I argue that in the case of Indian migrants, the place of their house often coincides with the place of their daily activities. For example, Suman Sharma, the owner of the Indian shop located in Q2, lives nearby **Krishna**'s house as they co-manage the shop and can go by walk there.

In addition, my research has also highlighted how certain categories of migrants, as Indian students-migrants tend to concentrate their daily life in a city-area close to their house, thus creating a concentration of migrants in housing as well. As the map n°6.15 below illustrates, there is a concentration of Indian students living in the 'Portello area' (circled) in the '*space of knowledges'*.
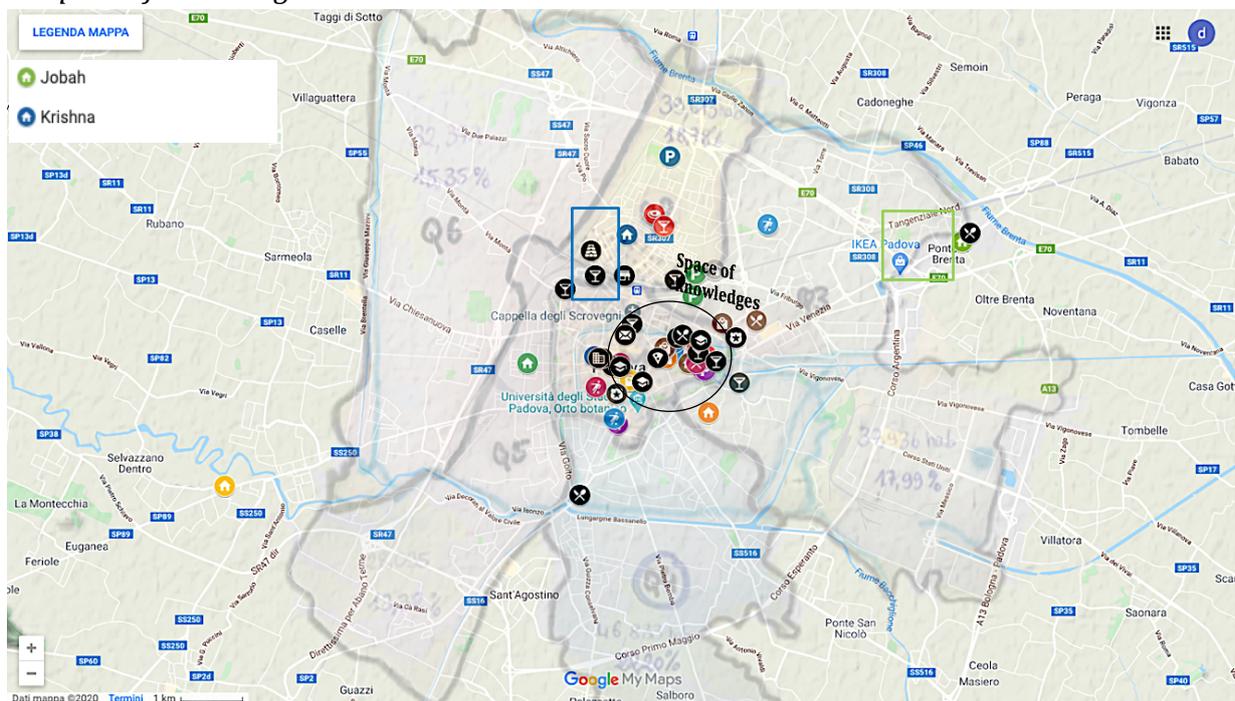
Map 6.15: The 10 Indian students daily points concentrated in the space of Knowledge. Focus on Krishna & Jobah. Own elaboration on GoogleMap merged with handmade map of Padova by neighborhood. 09/20

Similarly, to the case of Krishna, **Jobah** dwells in the house behind the Gandhi 2 restaurant in Ponte di Brenta. Indian students who are not working generally live close to their universities "*to avoid commuting in transports services which are expensive and not very efficient*" (Laxmi Kartik, PD#38/2 on 27/02/2019).

Following these studies and integrating them with those of Silvia Mazzocchin (2017) in Padova, we can notice an absence of ethnic concentration in the city. Don't get me wrong, the *'absence of ethnic concentration*' does not mean that migrants, students and permanent residents peacefully co-exist in the same spaces in the city. The Indian presence in Padova is spread around the city as 'Islands' and as such is not concentrated in one place to create a '*Little India' (Trouillet, 2018)* or an '*India town' (*as the Benglatown in Briata's study in UK, 2007). Indeed, in Padova the process of concentration in neighborhoods is different from the one witnessed in American cities from Park (1925) to Sassen (1991)[361].

Thanks to the data collected in my case-study analysis, I can assess then, that there are *areas* of migrants' concentration in Padova, where Q2 is the most 'multi-ethnic one' and the one in which Indian permanent and temporary dwellers are likely to encounter. Talking about spaces of attraction for multi-ethnicity encounters, the 'multicultural district of Padova' (Cancellieri & Peterle, 2019; Spagna & Bon, 2018) lead us to conceptualize it as a 'space likely to gather different cultures'.

- o *Transnationalism and the space of global cultures*

My informants' testimonies helped me to argue in favor of the transnationalist nature of Indian migrants'life in Padova who act as '*agents*' for the urban transformation of some city's spaces (Donaldson et al., 2014; Povrzanovič Frykman & Malmö Högskola, 2004; Raghuram, 2013). For example, the "*Shree Salasar Mandir"* located in the '*Mushroom area*' close to the Arabic mosque, the African and the Chinese cultural centers, mirrors the existence of "*spaces of global cultures*[362]" (Appadurai, 1996; King, 2004; Kraidy, 2005) in the

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[361] As mentioned in section 4.1, in Italy cities are not characterized by ethnic enclaves rather by urban settlements of foreigners which are deeply multi-ethnic building the "*cities of differences*" (Briata, 2012; Ostanel, 2015).

362 Anthony D.King (2004) and Kraidy (2005) have debated on the meaning of the term 'global culture' as part of the contemporary discourse on globalization. King defines "'global culture' as the discovery of something, either 'at home' or in a place one is not familiar with, *which, when experienced for the first few times, is not expected to be there.*" (*Ibid.*, 2004, p.30). According to the author, spaces of global cultures carry a history that can be examined through the analysis of built forms and urban spaces. These considerations are

multicultural setting of Q2. For my part, the spatialization of global cultures, under transnational forces exercised by Indian students and by the community in Padova, provides the discussion with further hints. The spatialization of Indian students-migrants illustrates how they distribute their life and actions in multiple sites and places, shaping plural spaces, living in-between as transnational-invisible-migrants. Thus, the "Space of Global cultures" act as a transformative push to the built environment which can take place under "*a politic of the mutual effort of sameness and difference*" (Appadurai, 1996, p.43)

The mobile and short experience of the city of Padova by Indian students-migrants is also an occasion to discuss the underdeveloped topic of placing student-migration literature among the study of transnational social spaces (Gargano, 2009; Raghuram, 2013). It finally led me to acknowledge the 'set of spatial practices' around which Indian students' mobility to Italy is underpinned (Ashutosh, 2019; Kirk et al., 2017; Leung, 2017; Martinelli, 2012; Raghuram, 2013; Varna, 2019; Waters & Brooks, 2011).
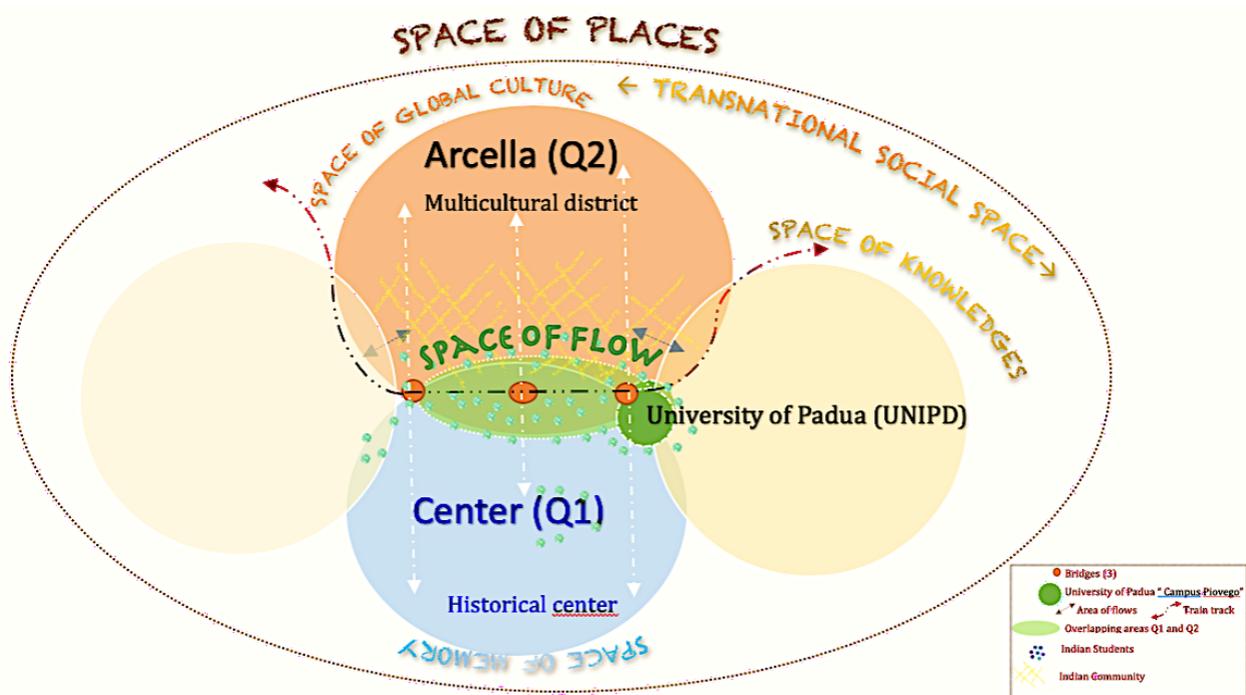
Conceptual map 6.3: The spaces crossed by Indian students and the Indian community in Padova as overlapping spaces fostering encounters and social interaction.' Own elaboration (02/20).

coining global cultures as an inspiration for creating '*universal*' and *resilient* cities (Appadurai, 1996, p.43). In this pattern, global flows of people, as the Indian students-migrants move within transnational spaces.

I bring the attention on a metaphoric theoretical level where the transnational social spaces coincide with city's neighborhoods and can be identified as '*space of places*[363]' (Castells, 1996, p. 409); the neighborhood materialized on Padova's city map as '*space of global cultures*' (Q2) and '*space of knowledge*' (Q3) (see conceptual map n°6.3) are connected by the '*space of flows*'- the flow of international students and of migrants. All in all, it is understood that the relationship between social spaces and geographical spaces are changing and no longer viewed within the boundaries of the geographic. As Tan (2017) I argue that the focus has shifted to "multi-sited or pluri-local" social spaces to apprehend the 'set of places' in which Indian stuctents-migrants distribute their life in Padova.

   o *Assessment*
The abroad journey takes into account the 'university experience' as an educative experience -in the space of knowledge ; and the transnational experience where they are living during their mobility pathways- in the space of global cultures.

On the whole, ***Awaara*** students (Kavita, Inbana, Anand, Parvati) have demonstrated a higher mobility and propensity to experience the Italian lifestyle.
Bharti students (Sareena, Amitab, Laxmi Kartik, Jobah, Aroti) have had a limited experience of activities fostering socialization and immersion in the Italian culture beyond those occurring at the university or organized by the Indian community permanent dwellers. The case of Hanee represent an exception, in between these two categories : although Hanee has had a similar experience to the *Awaara* students, eventually he had to return to India as the other *Bharti* students. Krishna, as the only ***Prashant*** student part of my study, has moved to Q2 when it's mobility period was concluded to settle down in a more permanent way. As a transnational social space, Q2 is the space in which the Indians living in Padova go to find a glimpse of India.

Meanwhile my work is demonstrating that migrants assign value to the spatialization function in urban spaces to the extent of modifying or creating new places in a medium Italian city as Padova confirming again Bruslé and Varrel's assumption (2012): "[...]*migrants*

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[363] See chapter 2: 'the places' wherein people are living are located on a local place-based level while the 'space' encompasses a broader scale wherein places are represented as 'dots' punctuated cities which employ an area-based approach in their city-planning perspectives.

live their lives in several places in several countries. Space is a continuum where life trajectories and individual, as well as collective strategies, literally **take place** *in the sense that people's lives, along with the circulation of ideas and artifacts, contribute to modifying or to creating places and migratory spaces."* (*Ibid.,* p.4, emphasis in original, my underlining).

Finally, the next paragraph leads us to understand to what extent the experiences made in these transnational social spaces affects Indian students-migrants' life in Padova ? Will it have consequences on their decision to stay, move or return to India ?

6.2.3 Life in Padova by Indian students

o   *Mobility challenges and opportunities in Padova*

The following table n°6.4, partly inspired by the work of Mukherjee and Chanda[364] (2012), sums up the challenges faced by Indian students in Padova. In my case, the variable reported are defined as 'challenges and opportunities'; they have been extracted from the coded contents of the interviews and mirrors the trend of most of the sample. Talking about challenges I mean the elements which appear of students' way to Italy and during their stay which are perceived and lived as obstacles to overcome in order to succeed their mobility period abroad; on the contrary, the opportunities are those pleasant and unexpected aspects which came out on the way (e.g. *Education with 'carrying professors'*).

42 Indian students have participated to my research actively. On the whole out of 42 students[365], 25 of them had a good time in Padova, 14 had an average experience often undermined by economic constrictions, and 3 had negative experiences due to isolation and lack of social interactions. As we can see from the table n°6.4 , the cultural differences remain a central and repetitive challenge which has some positive outputs (like the discovery of an education system which put at the center the relationship between students and professors); and some disturbing features. The 'disturbing features' have captured those attitudes that are in complete opposition with the informants' previous habits in India.

The fact that in Italy students enjoy more freedom in going out, drinking, making parties and dating who they want has been labelled as 'disturbing' during one of my first interviews. Indian students on the other side, underline their strong commitment to their 'roots' and families who

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[364] As Mukherjee & Chanda (2012), I was also interested in collecting Indians' feedbacks related to their mobility period in Italy.
[365] See Appendix 6.3, p.420; Table A.2:_ "Results from the interviews on the mobility pathways",

they want to honor with a good behavior. They have been only a few cases of students who have taken advantage of this 'abroad freedom' to experience the '*Dolce vita'* on their own. Apart from Aroti, most of them were males (like Raj Kumar, Laxmi Kartik, often following Krishna); by the way, it is precisely this 'excess of freedom' which has been dangerous in the case of Aroti (she cut her veins in May 2019) who does not know yet how to tie together her '*Indian soul with this life'*.

Challenges & opportunities faced while studying in Padova		For Indian students in Padova (Personal data 2017-2019)
Cultural differences	**Non-veg food**	Disturbing
	The mandatory Italian language	Difficult
	La *'Dolce vita':* "*Spritz, Flirts, and Rock&roll***"**	Disturbing
	Education with 'carrying professors'	Enjoyable
	Home sickness	Difficult
Human interactions	**Socialization**	Difficult
	Building a transnational network	Feasible
	Loneliness	Sometimes difficult
	Discrimination	N/A
The heavy bureaucratic machine	**Strict student visa norms**	Difficult
	Visa regulation for employment	Very difficult
	Residency permit renewal	Difficult
Housing	**Few Residence rooms**	Difficult
	Wary owners	Very difficult
Expenses	**High cost of living**	Affordable
	Few part-time jobs	Difficult

- N/A: non applicable

Table 6.4: Experiences faced by three Indian students in Padova. Personal elaboration based on interviews comments, 08/20

o *Assessment*

On the whole, the interviews have enhanced that life in Padova is different from the life in India, as one can expect[366]. With regard to challenges faced while in studying in Padova, the most frequently cited difficulty are the existing language and cultural differences. A number of respondents believe that insufficient knowledge of the Italian language could hamper daily life and will have dampening effects on their job prospects. The language parameter remains mostly disturbing for daily life matters yet 67,9% have declared leaving Italy with very few basic knowledges (level A1+) (Table n°6.4). On my whole sample, Anand constitutes an exception[367] as he has a special interest in learning Italian (his Italian girlfriend) and is now applying for a B2 level.

All in all, I can assess that the cultural variables and the importance of human interactions are the main challenges that will define the perception of the mobility journey of the students in a positive or negative fashion. The hypothesis that their experience defines their decision to stay, return or circulate will be discussed in the next paragraph.

In my interviews at the Embassy with Valentina Ierna, she was affirming: " *The migration of Indians to Italy constitute a brain gain".* Adding that*: "a country that loses its brains, or that doesn't know how to keep them, is a country that has failed*". She strongly believed in the strength of "*return flow*" of Indian students to India. The last section will be assessing the veracity of this statement : Is Italy losing its talented Indian brains ?

6. 2.4 The University of Padova, a gateway for further mobility

o *The wedding ticking clock*

The results of the codification have highlighted that Indian students coming to Italy are likely to leave after their stay.

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[366] Even if the Indian students coming to Padova are privileged migrants coming from family backgrounds who can afford sending their children abroad, it does not necessarily entail that they conduct a similar life to the western one which they find in Italy.

[367] I was positively surprised by the fact that he spoke Italian quite well; he told me that he had followed classes in the Italian Cultural Center in Delhi which is located in the Embassy see the picture in the Appendix 3.9, p.406.

The data from my sample reveals that 35% of them will return to India, the most common reason is 'family': they have to get married. 62% of them leave Padova to move elsewhere and are the manifestation of what I called 'itinerant dwelling'. The green profiles representing the '*Awaara*' category have evidence that this freedom to move is subordinated to the pre-condition of being married or not; eventually out of these 26 students, 24 of them will probably come back to India at least for a short period, to get married (Photo n°6.1).

Photography 6.1: Hanee and Bibi's wedding in Gondia with Raj Kumar and Alessandro, 20/11/2019.

As 25% of the students enrolled in the University of Padova have 24 years old, they are in the window of time in which Indian families generally expect them to get married. Arranged wedding continues to be most common way to find a husband or a wife for Indians (Roberts, 2017), the students part of my sample make no exception. Young students generally stay for one year and then evaluate whatever going back to India or enjoying another abroad experience. The graphic n°6.9 resumes the 'short period' in which students generally stay which is culminate by temporary stays of 1 year in 50% of the cases.

For the others, 'older', my analysis has shown how certain profiles (like **Bharti** #1"ABROAD MISSION COMPLETED' see appendix 2.1, p.369) consider the abroad stay as an added value to their personal CV to become more appealing among the potential 'partners' during the wedding negotiations between family . This data has been verified for the case of Hanee

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and in the case of Kavita. Indeed, the 30% of students who stay more than 3 years correspond to the students who were enrolled in a Ph.D program (12 /42).

The 5% (2 persons) who stayed more than 5 years are Krishna (who has not left yet) and Hanee (who has done its Ph.D and Post Doc in Padova). From these results, I can assess that Indian students are 'temporary dwellers' as outlined in Chapter 2. I can also assess that marriage is a determinant variable for Indian students' future migration pathway.
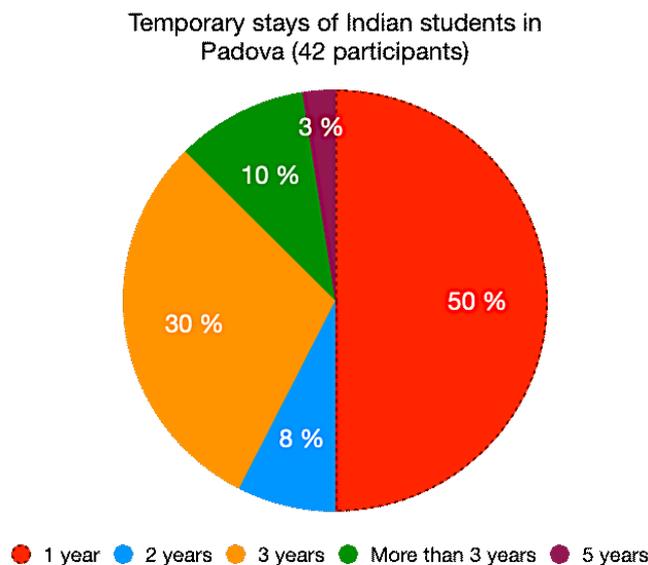
Graphic 6.9: Results: "How long have you been in Padova?" (/42 students). Own elaboration (09/20).

o *Italy "retaining brains" ?*

In addition, beyond the personal and cultural variables influencing students, Italy's low capacity to retain students is affected by a complicated bureaucratic machine which obstacle students who, like Hanee had the intention to stay. **Hanee** would have stayed if he could. He arrived for the first time in 2015. He confessed that he struggled a lot at the beginning and was lucky to have a kind professor who guided him for the bureaucratic procedures. After working in an automotive industry as a design engineer in India for one year, he came back in 2018 to do a one-year Post-Doc at the University of Padova again under a research visa. Once he had completed his research experience, he was looking for a job in Italy as he fell '*completely in love with this country*' A job offers came from an industry in Emilia Romagna and Hanee immediately contacted the SAOS office to understand how to convert his research-visa in a working-visa. SAOS was unable to provide reliable information

and he ran from one office to another to solve this visa issue, until he got exhausted. Eventually, he took the appealing job offer that brought him back to India, in Pune. Then he got married, came back to visit me Padova during its honeymoon, and with a lot of regrets, left back to settle with his wife in Pune.

The story of Hanee is in contrast with what the Embassy civil servants had reported me. According to Valentina Ierna: "*India is transforming and today they see more chances of returning to India*" referring to what Pietro Sfera Carini mentioned: "*Currently, the Italian embassy in Delhi is working to enhance student attraction through initiatives that promote skill development. The underlying objective is to invest in this university flow to develop a highly skilled workforce. This, in the long run, has the general objective of creating a continuous turnover between Italy and India, favoring the brain-gain that can be absorbed in India where there are about 600 Italian companies.*" (Pietro Sfera Carini IN271118.1).

Due to the constriction of time, from my side, I focused mainly on the impacts and transformations occurring locally, in the city of Padova. Further research should investigate the impacts of this same sample of informants in their future paths to assess the impacts of the abroad stay in Italy, once they would be back in India or while being in some other country.

o *Assessment*

Over a period of observation and immersion of five years among the Indian students in Padova, I have noticed that generally the 'students-migrants', talented brains that Italy hopes to attract and retain (Ambasciata d'Italia - INDIA, 2015; EMN, 2018) are generally leaving Italy. In this pattern, for the above-mentioned reasons, Padova represents a 'step' into their migration pathway. This led me to argue that the university of Padova is a 'gateway' for Indian students in search of further opportunities (See Khadria, 2003; Tan & Hugo, 2017). The comment of **Anjana** illustrates my point:

"*The friendship I built there [in Padova] are unique, and my dear Indian friends are still in touch with me. It is nice to see that my experience in UNIPD favored a 'community building' of Indian Ph.Ds. across Europe*" […]"*To be honest, I was not planning to stay in Italy since the beginning. It was clear to me that it was just a step in my journey abroad. Besides, I don't speak*

Italian and in Italy you can't work without knowing the local language. In Germany, on the contrary, English is widely spread at University and outside, so I have taken the "more comfortable" way" (Anjana, #29/2).

Anjana's comments reflects the fact that the positive output of the abroad experience in Padova does not determine a sufficient reason to stay in Italy for further opportunities. My earlier hypotheses on this regard turned out to be paramounted by the above cited external factors. At the end of the day, the migration of Indian students from India to Padova is an example of brain drain for Italy and of brain gain for India, in line with what Valentina Ierna had suggested. What is certain in the end, is that Indian students-migrants experience '*migration as circulation*' anyway.

<u>Conclusions to Chapter 6</u>

To conclude, this chapter has demonstrated that Indian students-migrants are highly mobile subjects living in a broader transnationalist space.

First, Section 6.1 has underlined that the 42 Indian students I have interviewed are not a homogeneous group, they come from different parts of India, have studied in different universities, they come from different social and economic backgrounds, yet, once they arrive in Italy it seems that the differences separating them become smoother by the fact that they are all disoriented and face similar experiences punctuated by challenges and opportunities. Indeed, beyond the economic factors appealing Indian students in UNIPD with a 'free education'; the political dimension -strategies for the *attraction* of International students to Italian Universities (European Migration Network, 2018); the individual dimension- the *desire* to experience an *adventure* abroad in a smooth and legal context under a studying-visa (Baas, 2012; King & Raghuram, 2013; Kirk et al., 2017; Soong, 2015) is a key driver of Indian students' migration to Italy.

The underneath goal of bridging the Indian students' stories in three categories mirrored in literature- brain gain, brain drain and brain circulation- was to enhance how the migration of international students impacts at local level whenever they stay (Prashant), they return to India (Bharti) or whether they carry on circulating in search of job opportunities

(Awaara). The results of data analysis have argued in favor of a *'migration as circulation'* paramounting the brain drain/gain theories.

Next in section 6.2, I have stressed the spatialization of Indian students in their daily activities including studying, housing, socializing, undertaking bureaucratic procedures. Indian students-migrants live in transnational social spaces in which they build their relationship in a network of connected people across the local borders of the city of Padova. Eventually, the '*Bharti*' category has illustrated the most common migration pathway of the students in my sample, bringing back Indian students-migrants to India. As Tan (2017) study had revealed, personal factors were key reasons which determined the return migration decision of informants as well. The main reason evidenced in my study is the 'marriage question'. Other reasons are the sense of duty, belonging and attachment to their home country, ties to family and friends, and a preference for the lifestyle back home. All of these elements are represented on the SoC Conceptual map n°6.2 by the arrow "perceived control" from '*Mother India'* with whom they share emotional bonds outlining the transnational nature of Indian students-migrants.

Following *Avaaras*' pathways instead, the multi-sited experience of places of Indian students-migrants is the one I have defined as 'itinerant dwelling' (Crosta, 2010) in chapter 2 and seems to be a typical practice of students in general, in and between urban contexts. The only '*Prashant'* student in Padova has moved to the neighborhood Q2 'Arcella' enhancing the attractiveness of '*spaces of global cultures'* for migrants. As I argued, this space in Padova is characterized by a high diversity of multi-ethnic population rather than a concentration of ethnic enclaves.

<center>***</center>

To conclude Part 3, Chapter 6, 7 and 8 have outlinined some daily practices of Indian students in Padova (cricket and yoga), evidencing the capacity of these subjects to give a spatial expression to social relationship, thereby facilitating encounters and social interactions between the 'temporary dwellers' and the 'permanent ones'. These encounters occur through co-produced social practices of multiple city's places building a spatial interplay in which the social interaction becomes a structured component of the city's daily

experience. Similarly to what Brandsen, Verschuere and Steen (2018) have witnessed, I can say that the co-production of spaces is "*an inherent feature*" of the development of an Indian community in Padova: "*If people do not contribute, the community cannot develop in the 'right' direction*" (Ibid., 2018).

Since some of the Indian co-created places on the map have emerged in the last two years as the Indian shop (2019) and the temple (2020), and some activities have started after the restrictive context of COVID_19 emergency, we should wait months (perhaps years) for seeing whatever the '*overlapping of daily practices*' (Tumminelli, 2010) as yoga in Prato della Valle, are likely '*to produce new spaces of collective memor*y' (Tarrius, 1993) as well as the possibility to assess the Indian community's potential '*aspiration of public* visibility', as argued by Gallo (2012) in the case of Sikhs.

At the end of day, Indian students can be considered as an example of international students who are 'desirable' migrants because they just 'cross' Italy: Indian students are generally leaving Italy after their 'abroad mobility'. Certainly, this attitude also contributes to making them '*invisible*' (as discussed in chapter 3) since they are here on a too short time lapse to be seen by Italian permanent dwellers. Besides, their current small number can be another element of the 'desirability': flows and big numbers of migrants appear as a threat, conversely to minority groups with small numbers.

At the meantime, there are evidence that Indian students them-selves complain about Italians' confusion about Indians/Bengladeshi/Pakistani. In the case of Indian migrants in Italy, literature has revealed that they tend to be represented as a '*model*' in public discourses, a feeling that empirical data have verified with our interviews in Padova (type 3) where Indians are either perceived with indifference, curiosity, sympathy, genuine interest disclosing a "*capacity of adaptation even when they are underpaid*" (PD#3/3, men, 28 years old) or unperceived "*I have never known Indians in Padova and don't even know if they are Indians here*" (PD#17/3, men, 34 years old).

The analysis of Indian students-migrants daily life has finally evidenced that we are assisting to a '*brain drain for Italy*' more than a '*brain gain for Italy*': a phenomenon which

should be contrasted in light of the economic investments devolved to attract Indian 'brains'. On the one hand, if the situation is not likely to change fast as per the cultural variables urging students to get married ; on the political side, the Italian government could work more together with universities to narrow and soften its bureaucratic procedures.

Finally, if the variables of people, city and university are apprehended together through the &SoC model, as Part 3 has illustrated, it might be eventually possible to *"make the invisible, visible"* and to narrate a different story of migration in Italy, a story of 'desirable' and 'talented' persons who lives a transnational existence in order to exchange skills and enrich our countries' knowledge. I know that it may sound as a utopic dream right now (2021) … However, as Leonie Sandercock, I like to believe that this vision of a welcoming cosmopolitan city is slowly appearing in medium cities as Padova.

General conclusions
From theory to practice: notes for the "community to come[368]"

Several conclusions can be drawn from the empirical chapters, and here I reflect on these conclusions in relation with the theoretical framework introduced in Chapter I of the thesis. To understand the case study of the Indian students-migrants in Padova, as part of two groups dwelling in this medium Italian city: the Indian community permanent dwellers and the international students temporary dwellers; I have built on three distinct discussions: one taking place in literature about migration as an urban issue; another one located on the global scale about migration/mobility of international students, tracing the journey of Indian student-migrants from India to Italy; and the last one is about the city-spaces, stretching the notions of place/space, and more broadly on the local scale. Although different, each of these discussions' tracks has generated insights relevant to understand the case study. To apprehend these insights, I have built a conceptual framework: the integrated model "&SoC", merging Chicagoans' earlier assessments with more contemporaneous approaches of cities and migrants-community overcoming the critics against Park's ecological vision of the city's organization. I remind that **the aim of this thesis was twofold: epistemological and empirical**.

In concluding the thesis, I first summarize my methodological and conceptual approaches inspired by the Chicagoans and assess the theoretical implications of the thesis, then I bring back my application of the notion of invisibility and heterogeneity of migrants crossing Italy, and finally I recall the empirical findings in relation with the discussion about the consequences entailed by the presence of new city-dwellers in the city-spaces. Eventually, this conclusion, will lead us to answer the main research question: *To what extent the Indian students' migration contributes to narrate a different story of migration in Italy while updating the School of Chicago's approach to the study of a specific migrant community?* through the assessment of the three hypotheses presented in the general introduction.

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[368] "La comunità che verrà", moto of Padova European capital of Volunteer work.

1) The legacy of Chicagoans to trail the Indian community in Padova

o *Something old: the city of neighborhood, a mosaic of small words*

Plenty of sociological perspectives have studied the city and its 'spaces transformations'. The approach I have initially followed is the Chicagoans one, assessing the relationship between spaces and human communities as if the city was an ecosystem in which different areas or spaces would have related each other by social actions of human beings. The wish to investigate to what extent Indian students' spatial practices from India to Padova occur, has enhanced a need to refashion the Chicagoans tools. Like other scholars (Abbott & Egloff, 2008; Acocella, 2010; Borelli, 2012; Sinatti, 2008; Tomasi, 1995), instead of rejecting this approach, I preferred selecting pieces of theories and methodologies and revisit them.

When visualizing the city of Padova, first in Chapter 1 and then in Chapter 6 thanks to a revisited version of Burgess 'model, the city framed a sort of flower: a city divided into six neighborhoods rotating around the city-center. As the thesis highlighted in Chapters 4, 5 and 6, the study of Indian students' spatialization in Padova has brought back some theoretical considerations like the concentration of Indians and students in some areas of the city. Following Ostanel (2017), I have taken inspiration from the definition of Tosi (2001) and define "*the neighborhood as a set of social relations and meanings spatially configured*"(Ostanel, 2017, p.74) which explains its morphological variability across time insofar as the community and social interactions happening there, produce more effects than policies alone. For me, the neighborhood is a non-static unit that is framed by defined borders which are continuously modified by the local administration and by the actions of local community interacting in it and not a natural phenomenon alone. Somehow, Fischer's city's definition reintegrating the one of Park was judicious: cities are diverse mosaics of heterogeneous neighborhoods that set a challenge for the exploration of subcultural diversity and social difference. Eventually, the mosaic in my discussion assumes this idea of diverse and interactive area and I depicted Padova as a '*mosaic of small worlds*'.

o *Something new: the spatialization of Indian student-migrants through my urban kaleidoscope (&SoC)*

As I discussed in Chapter 1, the 'old' ethnographic perspective of the Chicago school had some drawbacks that I have overcome by creating a syncretic position out of a blend of disciplines on the question of space as a social dimension in which every social phenomenon is determined by the actions of actors who operate under specifics conditions of space and time, and who interact in a physical environment. All along the thesis my focus has been plotted on the idea that the city of Padova could be a place where migrants (co)-produce spaces. Martinotti's work, as well as Borelli's one, have been deeply insightful in helping me construct an updated version of the study of urban communities in Italy, starting from Chicagoans theoretical assessments. In Chapter 2, I have designed an integrated model for the city of Padova to apprehend it through the 'urban kaleidoscope' (Dematteis 2014) a poetical concept that perfectly depicts the case study of the Indian Community in Padova, as part of the mosaic of small words characterizing the city (Park, 1925).

Indeed, my approach has retrieved 'glimpses of Chicagoans theory', reflections on human interaction in the urban field (what I called *spatial interplay*) and merged this perspective with a vision of the city as a local and social frame where social, political and economic processes occur. This conceptual frame- &SoC- was built upon the Sense of Community (Charmaz, 1990) model with an attention to the relationships built across socialization, space, and time (See Conceptual map C1 below in the conclusions).

To illustrate the city's spatial organization through the case study analysis in Part 3, Chapter 4 has outlined a '*space of flows*', then chapter 5 has stressed the existence of a '*space of knowledges*' where students are likely to be encountered and in chapter 6 a '*space of global cultures*'. Chapters 4, 5, 6 have enhanced how the major interaction activities of the Indian community in Padova of both migrants and students are located in determined city-spaces I have called 'a set of places' in Chapter 6. In this pattern, I can depict the city is a set of practices, common habits, feelings, and traditions that have developed over several generations and which are characteristic of a typical cultural unity.

The thesis has also stressed that when studying a city and its social components, one should have a look at its totality and plurality[369]. In other words, when apprehending the potential urban transformations occurring in a medium city like Padova, scholars should keep a look at the different ethnical groups intersecting each-other in daily life activities and spaces. This is what the &SoC structured, perceived, and spatial dimensions have discussed in Chapters 5 to 6. Indeed, the case study of Indian students-migrants daily experiences in Padova has emphasized how migrants' everyday life is built through mobility pathways, lines, interplays connecting spaces along with a rhythmical time schedule of activities of socialization, sport and entertainment characterizing students-migrants hybrid life. Eventually, conversely to the ecological Parkian vision of space (natural areas), I have advocated the role of policy in the organization of space in an urban context like Padova.

As Kavita's case has discussed in Chapter 6, even the itinerary to the city becomes a predetermined element. If you do not have a bicycle, you cannot explore the entire city and you stick to your house, in a 'bubble environment' where you may be isolated and suffer from your abroad experience (as Sareena did). In many ways, the homesickness was a central issue in the case of Aroti which evidenced that if you live too far from the city-center where socialization activities take place, your experience is resumed to a sad routine of '*metro-boulot-dodo'* (commute transportation mode-work-sleep-repeat)*.*

The students' pathways I have followed are the 'urban traces' (Tumminelli, 2010) which have become footsteps, signs to be located on the city maps in order to understand 'who is in' and 'who is out' of the city-ecosystem. Urban policies for planning are indeed among the central variables influencing individuals' actions in the city-space, as the discussion about Indian students-migrants spatialization has stressed in Chapter 6.

o *Something borrowed: life stories as spatial trajectories,*
In keeping with the Grounded theory as the qualitative methodological device, I **discuss theories as a result of fieldwork's evidence in this final part**. Hypotheses were

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[369] It is also the case for the empirical study of "*cities of differences*", as Lefebvre did theoretically in 1970, then Goonewardena, Kipfer, Milgrom and Schmid, in 2008.

listed afterwards in the general introduction of the thesis and validated in this concluding chapter. For the sake of sobriety, I remind them as end-of-page-notes in this part.

Finally, in answering to my first research goal about the efficacity of the Chicagoans theories nowadays, I conclude that, despite the due critics referred to the Chicagoans early theories of 1930s, I believe, just as Acocella (2010) that Chicago's scholar work, namely Thomas and Znaniecki's one- was innovative for that time and that we can still learn something from their sketched theories, integrating them with more contemporary studies as Sinatti (2008) did for instance, on the Polish Peasant and the transnational theory; or like Anderson & Elmqvist dealing with the human ecology in Cape Town (2012). If revisited with a symbolic interactionist approach to the spatialization of Human communities as a transnationalist flow of people, this approach to study human communities, keeps a high validity in the field of urban studies and confirms hypothesis 1[370]. Thus, the discussion **assesses the validity of Chicagoans' original approach while going beyond the latter with new insights- symbolic interactionism and transnationalism- to narrate the daily spaces crossed by Indian students-migrants. It thus meets the first epistemological objective of the thesis.**

Next, after assessing the spatial features related to the study underhand, let us draw the conclusions on the population inhabiting these spaces.

(2) Italy and the invisible students-migrants: a gateway

From Delhi, and the office of *Uni-Italia*[371] at the Italian Embassy, the research started on a global scale exploring the migration of international students from India to Italy (King & Raghuram, 2013; Massey et al., 1993). In doing so, here and there trails of an Indian community have appeared in every country worldwide (Chapter 3). On the local scale, my fieldwork in Padova has outlined that most of the time, Indian migrants look for a familiar frame in the city where they arrive: the Indian community (Chapter 4). Italy has not escaped to this trend (Lobello, 2016) and has started welcoming Indian migrants (in the late '90s-

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[370] **Hypothesis 1:** An integrated study of the Chicago School tradition together with recent migration studies and a human-based analysis of the Indian Community, could give a suitable frame to meet Park's primary missions: to understand the city through the people (Indian Students in relation with locals) and to understand the changing processes of the city of Padova (Spatial transformations).
[371] http://www.uni-italia.net/india

2000[372]) and recently Indian students (2010-2015[373]) attending Italian Universities for a short-term period (Chapter 5).

Following these premises, my second goal was to study human's profiles, life-histories, and life-organization (everyday life) in a limited time and space, and thus not a static form, rather in their dynamic concrete development. In the words of De Certeau (2013) "*Stories are spatial trajectories.* […] *Every story is a travel-story, a spatial practice* […]" (*Ibid,* 2013, p.115).

o *Indian students-migrants: a hybrid and heterogeneous group*

In the thesis, the case study group, in its relationship with others (or better, in comparison with other groups), are deeply aware of belonging to a larger group: the Indian community in Padova and for some of them, the student community. Finally, the common group to which they belong -and in whom they participate- is the "city" group. I can assess that he city re-molds human nature and each city produces its own personality type influencing the daily city life.

As Chapter 4 has discussed, the urban space has a high internal differentiation. The increase of students flows arriving from all over the world to the University of Padova (Chapter 3 and 5) fosters changes in the city where these new city-users express new needs and are likely to trigger further transformations in the city-space. The stories of Indian students reported in Chapters 5 & 6 have complemented the broader framework related to the heterogeneity of the Paduan dwellers started in Chapter 4. Eventually, I have mapped the traces left by Indian students in the city in Chapter 6 with different layers related to their practices of space. At the end of the day, the city becomes a social organization on the local territory which stratifies many traces over time.

Nevertheless, these Indian dots designed on the city-maps of Chapter 4 & 6, and the analysis of Paduan dwellers' perception of *'India in Padova',* has highlighted how only certain places "*have entered on the city-maps of permanent and city users*" (Briata, 2007, p.127); while many places remain barely visible. The Indian dots or traces are physical *loci,* places

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[372] *I Sikh in Italia, storie di ordinaria discriminazione.*; *Operosa e rispettosa, ma discriminata. È la comunità Sikh in Italia,*; And the movie "Il vegetariano" 2019, discussed by the article of Pinotti, (2019).

[373] After the *'Marò* crisis', for further information: Nadia, (2016); Pietrobon & Chiapperini, (2015).; Simona, (2018).

like squares (*Prato della Valle* for strolls or Yoga); parks (*Parco_Morandi* for Crickets), parking lots (In's supermarket parking space for Badminton) but also social places such as the houses and facilities hosting events and parties celebrating Indian traditions. The way Indian apprehend public spaces as the latter remain largely invisible compared to the practice of spaces of migrants coming from other countries. The empirical data have reported how this invisibility comes out from the community willing to 'avoid troubles': "*we don't want to disturb*" said Sharma, the owner of the Gandhi's restaurant (29/07/20). Symbolic places then, like the newly born Hindu temple *Shree Salasar Mandir* (29/07/2020) will certainly occupy a more prestigious place for the community on the long run: a daily place of interaction with similar people. I have doubt however on how this hidden place to the eyes of the permanent dwellers, may become a place of interaction and encounters between the Indian community and the others. All in all, this study has also highlighted how time is a relevant variable to observe social phenomena: the most visible traces of the Indian community in Padova are the output of human actions over time while the most recent remains accessible to a close network. I had immediately witnessed how this group was 'close' and invisible when starting my journey in trailing the Indian traces in Padova.

The professional and cultural group I went to explore (Indian students-migrants) has characteristics and interests that distinguish it from other international student groups, namely an attitude of being 'in-between two countries' towards transnational existences.

- o *Italy: a gateway for talents...returning to India.*

The thesis' considerations of Part 2 have also enriched our understanding of soft power strategies bringing worldwide countries in a competition to attract 'brains'. Indeed, European countries economies have recognized the benefits of international students' mobility as '*a key trade engine for growth*' ensuring mutual gains for sending and receiving countries involved (Mukherjee & Chanda, 2012, p.2). I also stressed the favorable political conditions (international agreements) that bring Indian students- migrants to join Italian Universities. Next, Chapter 6 has demonstrated how the migration pathways of Indian students-migrants does not end in Italy but continues, either somewhere else in Europe or in India. This assessment about Indian students-migrants' migratory's trajectories on a local level, confirms the earlier assumptions described in Chapter 1 about the transnationalist

profile of these hybrid and fluid subjects. Thus, assessing the empirical data on two levels, I underlined that there are several factors influencing the migration of Indian students in Italy. Eventually, I point out that Italy is becoming an attractive destination for studies due to the efforts of the Italian government in developing strategies and instruments to cope with the European common guidelines suggesting overcoming the shortage of un-semi-highly skilled workers by 'importing' them from third countries that are recognized as 'a pool of talents' (Hénard et al 2012), for sectors like science and technology.

Lastly, I remind, as Part 2 has highlighted, the selective process of migrants starting from the other side of the globe, in India. The selection of migrants occurs in light of the current developments of India living fast changes (Roberts, 2017) willing to boost its economy and urbanization. Moreover, the idea that Indian talented brains return to India and are absorbed by Italian companies should deserve further explorations as the only data I could verify is the cultural variable inciting Indian students-migrants to return home, once the abroad period (with degree) was completed.

o *Invisible and desirable migrants*
To conclude, the thesis defends my idea that Indian students, as migrants, are expected to cross the city following pathways which contribute to the social construction of the city, however they are not as 'hypervisible' as other migrants groups previously studied like the Filippino (Saint-Blancat & Cancellieri, 2014), but rather invisible.

From the empirical evidence, it came out that Indian students can be framed as '*desirable migrants*' (Chapter 3, see: Ambrosini, 2019, 2020), and more generally it seems that international students who are welcomed through political agreements attracting them to Italian cities are more likely to be accepted and perhaps included in the daily life of Italian permanent dwellers in medium cities like Padova. Indeed, empirical evidence cope with Raghuram's assessment: "*knowledge has become a hallmark of the desirable migrant subject as knowledgeable migrants have come to be seen as economically, socially, and culturally integrable*" (Ibid.,2013, my underlining).

Thus, the answers to the research question have helped understanding the condition in which this migration occurs: in a distinct fashion compared to the perception Italians often have of migration. As the narrations about migration in Italy are plotted over specific

categories of 'illegal, African, refugees' having negative impacts on local territories, I have altered here the perspective of this thought by analyzing the practice of spaces in daily life of an under-studied category: international students participating to the migration of knowledge.

By ascribing Indian students as 'students- migrants' I have shed light on the hybridity and heterogeneity of this migrant's group and <u>confirmed the second hypothesis</u>[374]. **The discussion thus meets the second empirical objective: to enhance the presence of urban actors who remain largely invisible while being motors of new migration flows, outlining new perspectives in migration studies to overcome the current rethorics of 'migration=refugees=illegals'.** Indeed, by focusing on international students'migration to universities, European debates could be enriched by a debate on international university outreach policies and on the university student exchange triggering continous flows of talented brains towards cities mingling local and global scales. Meanwhile, I have started discussing the question of 'selective migration' (Chapter 3) enhancing the need to carry out further research on this topic.

All these elements lead me to conclude this second track by underlining the necessity to take into account two levels (local, the city of Padova and global, the relationship between India and Italy) in studying transnational communities of migrants like Indians. The topic of changes and evolution of cities with the advent of globalization was carefully studied in the academic field (Balducci & Fedeli, 2007; Briata, 2014, 2017; Cancellieri & Scandurra, 2012; Marconi & Ostanel, 2016). After the 90's, the city became the place of affirmation of new rights, a strategic place on a global scale that allows us to observe the shift from settled life to itinerant life. In light of these changes, it seems necessary to apprehend the study of human communities in cities, following new criteria. In the words of Tumminelli (2010): "*to*

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[374] **Hypothesis 2**: The Indian students' motion represents an unusual, invisible migration flow to the eyes of Italians and thus might be able to give another narration of migration in the current blurred mediatic exposure: the *students- migrants* bringing knowledges and skills.

rethink the city in light of the processes and flows activated by the globalization". A globalization inciting city to uplift on a more 'global scale' to appear as an international friendly city on the inter-national scene. This is also what Harvey (2013) meant: "*the right to the city is much more than an individual or a group right to access urban resources: it is a right to change and re-invent the city, based upon our necessities.*".

The last part of these conclusions suggests further directions for research while <u>confirming the third hypothesis</u>: '*it might be possible to advocate the role of 'key player' for social-mix/cosmopolite urban development to the University of Padova in the city of Padova.*'

(3) Sketch notes for an intercultural city: the &SoC model for *Univer-Cities.*

The thesis has provided a city-definition encompassing the relational and cultural dimensions to have an overview of the spatialization of the heterogeneity and of the DiverCity (Chapter 2). As Fraser (2009) put it, "*instead of using a rich organic metaphor to reduce the city to a static concept*", I have rather used integrative theories and metaphor to narrate the 'multiple city' around the idea of a "*UniverCity*" (Chapter 5). Following this, I defined the cities as crossroads on the pathways of different populations. In this manner, cities can be seen as the central stage dealing with the crucial question facing 21st century societies: how can we live with diversity, and how can we find ways to accommodate and manage the new intercultural and diverse population of the city? If interculturalism is a "*project to rediscover the importance of urbanity*" as declared by G. Marconi (Marconi & Ostanel, 2016; Wood, 2010), the crucial point remains the challenge to find ways to live together, and not just to coexist, in cities, and to understand what "*it might mean to manage difference in ways that could be transformative rather than repressive*" (Sandercock 2000b).

o *An ecosystem for the city of Padova (re)shaping spaces in the city?*
This being said, using the urban kaleidoscope &SoC, I can conclude that the city of Padova is characterized by: (1) **spaces** with a high concentration of people and places (chapters 6,7,8) like the multiethnic neighborhood '*Arcella*', a '*space of global cultures*'; (2) **a heterogeneity** of backgrounds and lifestyles (chapter 6) between permanent and

temporary dwellers (students, migrants, city users), which sometimes cross or overlap mutual practices of Padova daily spaces. (3) **Networks** and **flows** crossing the city in the in-between '*space of flows*' and activating generative mechanisms of further network (see Massey cumulative causation theory, Chapter 1) fueling interactions. Indeed, the space of flows around the train-station (Q1;Q2) evidenced on the city-maps of Part 3 is a space of commuting, of work, of encounters, of consumerism and of cultural identity too- if we think about the number of ethnic shops gathered around the *Borgomagno* bridge marking the limit between Q1 and Q2. The co-presence of different resident populations in the city's areas under analysis (Q1 and Q2) has contributed to identify the space of flows, of global cultures and of knowledge which all together build a '*set of places*', or an 'ecosystem' as Park would have said.

The '*set of places*' is an open space in which individual trajectories intersect the pathways, flows of people, of information, of knowledge, spaces of encounters, a discussion inspired by Appadurai's ethnoscapes (1996). These encounters are sometimes close (like the encounters made in the space of flows and in the space of knowledges), sometimes distant (like the pervasive presence of *Mother India*, leading Indian students into the transnational space). The results from the interviews commented in Chapter 6 have confirmed what Martinotti (1993, p.65) had reminded: cities are created out of individuals' necessities to live in a closest relationship with others. The case study of Padova has thus represented these '*spaces of places*' which are the output of many aggregations ongoing in different neighborhoods and in relatively large physical distances.

The thesis has finally highlighted that cities are not only places of information, exchanges, and networks, today "*cities are networks by themselves*" (Patassini, 2019). In acknowledging the centrality of networks, I have abandoned the assimilation theory, and thereby, the old Parkian conceptualization of the integration process, to tap into the transnational theory. Indeed, my theoretical model of a <u>Sense of Community integrated by the different notions of spaces and by the symbolic interactionist approach</u>, is enriched by the empirical data collected as it shed lights on the important of focusing research on two levels in which human interactions occur : <u>a local level</u> in the space of the city of Padova ; <u>a</u>

<u>global level</u> surrounding and controlling the experiences of Indian students-migrants in Padova- the transnational space, '*Mother India*'. The transnational space is perceived by international students on the city level through the traces of the broader community they belong to ; these traces are appearing in the Space of flows, Space of Global Cultures and in the Space of Knowledge. As I have argued, reading Indian students' social practices through the &SoC model, **the city is a place of compromise** which hosts human communities in a complex organic balance requiring the use of the symbolic interactionism approach to capture the transnational life they carry on. Eventually, by assessing the interactions between the urban space and the human community following the Chicagoans' hints, I have framed the city of Padova as **an ecosystem** built by the Sense of Community **-"&SoC"** - where **Indian students-migrants act as a "*bridge*" (or crossing and convergence point) between the Indian community, the international students and the permanent residents.**

On the whole by taking back diverse studies on the themes of mobility in university-cities, dispersion and dwelling practices, trans-national and trans-local spaces leading to the spaces of flows, and the spatialization of knowledges among other transformations, **the thesis has enhanced the centrality of '*place*' for transnational mobile students flowing abroad to cities where they could have accessed education in prestigious Universities.** In this pattern, **the theoretical model &SoC can be a model to analyse and understand the internationalisation of medium cities,** moving from the local level, to the global one, through its institutions such as **the university**, the action of local governments (**city**), but also through **people**'s daily practices (*i.e.* socialisation, consumption, mobility, leisure, commitment) (See the conceptual map c1 below).
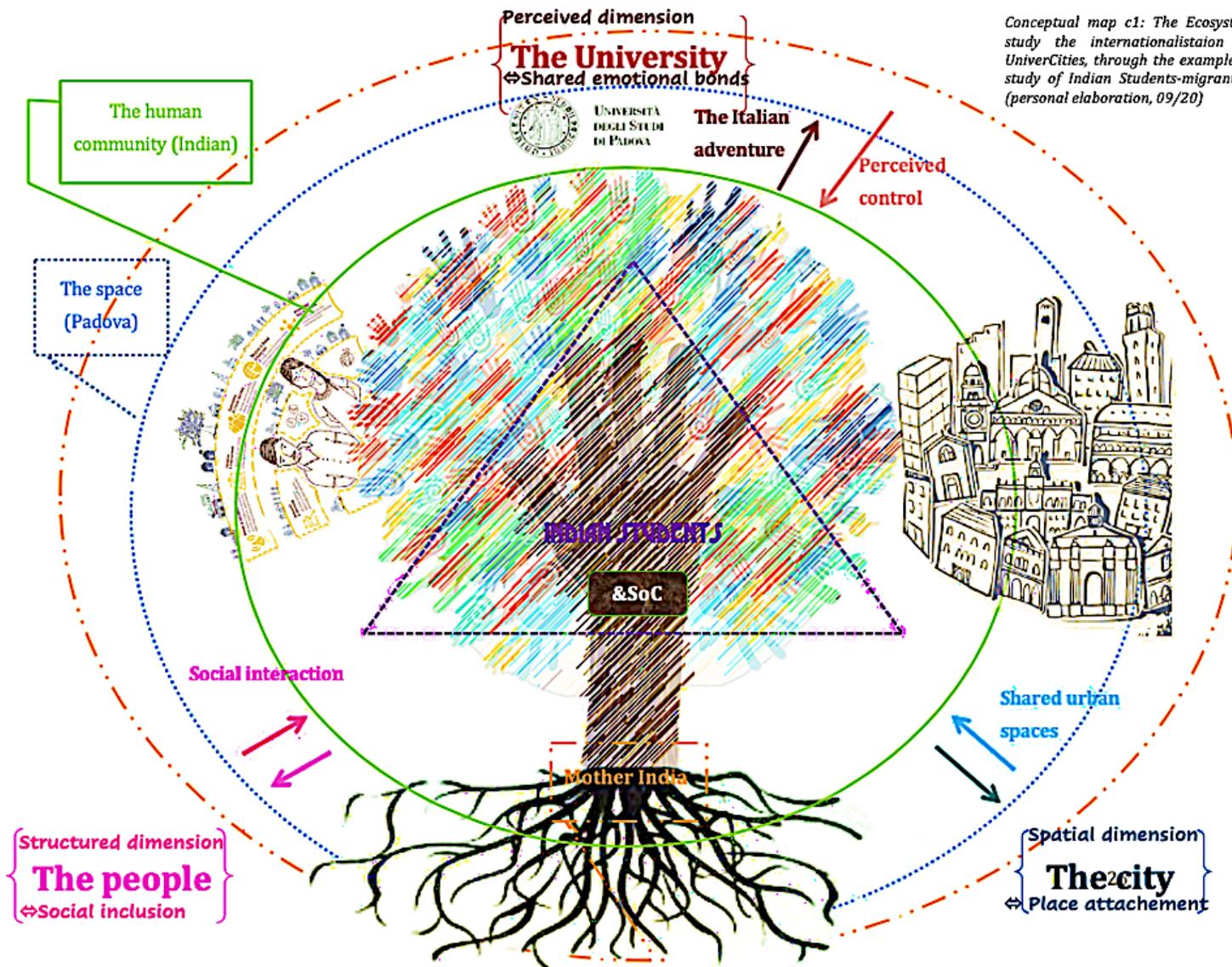
Conceptual map c1: The Ecosystem &SoC to study the internationalistaion of medium UniverCities, through the example of the case-study of Indian Students-migrants in Padova (personal elaboration, 09/20)

Perceived dimension

The University
⇔Shared emotional bonds

The human community (Indian)

The space (Padova)

The Italian adventure

Perceived control

INDIAN STUDENTS

&SoC

Social interaction

Shared urban spaces

Mother India

Structured dimension

The people
⇔Social inclusion

Spatial dimension

The²city
⇔Place attachement

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o *The Univer-City: a way to internationalization.*

I have argued that the city of Padova could grasp the internationalization challenge by becoming an intercultural city and have illustrated the difficulties of the prominent roles of the city and university in tackling this goal (Chapter 5).

In my view of the cosmopolitan city, universities are sites of purposeful organized group activities providing the opportunity of breaking out of fixed patterns and learn new ways of being, relating and interacting. Along my Ph.D journe, Indian students-migrants have stressed many times the role of interactions, socialization, and encounters in the way they experienced the city of Padova. Therefore, urban planning should take into consideration Fincher's vision (2003) of planning for encounters (to encourage interaction and contact). Currently, the intercultural city is a goal to strive for more than a reality in Padova (CLIP & Council of Europe, 2010; Council of Europe, 2010). Empirical data explored in Part 3 have made it clear that the city of Padova takes the shape of a "*laboratory*" to put into practice the variables of the ecosystem (&SoC). Once again, Park's vision of the "*city as a social laboratory*", suits my case as it echoes with the current urban policies envisioned under Padova 2020 as the European capital of volunteer work[375]. What kind of approach shall we adapt then, 'together' for the '*upcoming community*', for the '*city we want : sustainable, innovative, inclusive, safe*'?

Photography c.1: Advertisement of Padova European Capital of Volunteer Work (05/20, Via Saetta, Arcella, Q2, Padova)

[375] Mattarella a Padova inaugura l'anno europeo del volontariato, (2020). Padova is also candidate for a 2020 UNESCO project under the name: '*Padova, Urbs Picta*.

I remind what Marta Nalin (alderwoman to social policies in Padova) has told me about Q2/Arcella: "*Padova is still far from being an international city like Amsterdam ; but if you go to Arcella you will feel as being in Brussels.*" (Nalin, PD180419). I couldn't be more in line with this thought! On a micro local scale, over the years it is easier to witness proofs of the city's capacity to tacke migration as an urban issue with successful results as in neighborhood Q2 in Padova. Now, it is to be hoped that cities having '*spaces of global cultures*'- will represent in the coming years, <u>a model of a city where cosmopolitan areas are perceived by local permanent residents and newcomers as spaces of encounters and thus spaces likely to</u> "<u>*develop a sense of care, solidarity and tolerance for the sake of a peaceful everyday life co-existence*</u>" (Vice mayor A. Micalizzi (interview 2019)) between the cities' populations. Co-existence of human communities and spaces co-production are intermediate goals to reach the broader aim of the internationalized cosmpolitan city.

In conclusion, these elements <u>confirm the third hypothesis</u>[376]: certainly one way to uplift a medium Italian city on the 'international scene' is to assign the university a significant role in the city-planning process also in order to avoid a '*student bubble* 'creating *studentification* (which is nothing else but a form of gentrification- Chapter 5, see: Avni & Alfasi, 2018). In this pattern, we need a model to mitigate such risks. I believe the structured, perceived and spatial dimensions of the &SoC model could contribute to integrate European debates on inclusive cities with a new perspective : **an integrated approach to city's planning merging urban studies and social sciences.**

o *Concluding remarks*
Considering the answers to the research questions, the thesis advances a renewed understanding of international students' movement as migration-rather than mobility- and places the international students within the category of migrants arriving and dwelling in Italy. The thesis has met its goal "***to establish a theoretical model of the ecosystem of a medium-sized city on the way to a broader international visibility, based on "people", "city" and "university"***"" (From the general introduction : p.i6).

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[376] **Hypothesis 3**: it might be possible to advocate the role of 'key player' for social mix/cosmopolite urban development to the University of Padova in the city of Padova.

On the one hand, the thesis has shown how the migration of international students is likely to produce positive and fruitful economic impacts in both- destination and origin countries. Furthermore, by reframing- **'students-migrants'- as actors for co-producing new spaces in a medium city like Padova** unveils a broader political strategy to lift up the city on a 'global scale' where it will be able to catch the internationalization challenge triggered by the more and more connected and interdependent globalized world in which we are living. On the other hand, the thesis has also led us to explore how urban societies might be guided towards **the creation of intercultural cities through the '*cosmopolitan*' paradigm** wherein the spatialization of diverse cultures and knowledge takes place. To do it, the cities must inseparably **combine the everyday practices of all its urban populations** (Martinotti, 1994), **the local policies of the Town Hall and the strategies of the University** of Padova as the &SoC model has illustrated (*empirical aim*).

On the whole, the thesis reinforces the theories on the relationship between medium-sized cities in Europe and migration. In line with the Grounded Theory Methodology, the final result of the thesis, through the establishment of the model &SoC, has generated a theoretical contribution which has operational aims for the planning of medium-sized cities, on the regional scale of Veneto, but also on the European scale, since this case study and the developed models could be also applied in other contexts (*epistemological aim*).

In light of these assessments, the thesis case-study analysis leads to highlight transformations in a series of theoretical debates, opening new lines of thought and discussion.

I therefore end with an invitation to other scholars interested in this field, to further explore how neighborhoods, their wider surroundings and networks are lived by the urban permanent dwellers witnessing the changes occurring in the city over time in order to have a complete picture of the city's evolution towards interculturalism. In this respect, I recommend adopting a methodological shift in the scale of attention of the research from the neighborhood in the city to the neighborhood in a transnational network, and thus on two scales: local and global. Although the use of multiple scales is challenging and requires long-term observations, as the thesis has illustrated, it can still be done through a localized field research implicating a city-neighborhood-level that the researcher knows well and the pathways connecting this scale to what lies beyond.

Thank you to all the participants !

आप सब को धन्यवाद
!

"A mosaic of small worlds."

List of tables, graphics, maps, figures, photographs & pictures

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In 2020, **Prof Ambrosini** has published an updated version of his book. The editor 'Il mulino' has introduced it online on *Webinar* on 18/03/2020, as a consequence of Covid-19 lockdown. ID webinar: 336-691-011 (Ambrosini, 2020, Chapter IV.5).

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The Marò case : https://www.ilfattoquotidiano.it/2019/07/08/maro-allaja-inizia-ludienza-per-stabilire-se-latorre-e-girone-dovranno-essere-processati-in-italia-o-in-india/5308609/

The Hindu temples in Italy complete list on the website https://www.induismo.it/unione-induista/.

Websites related to other governments

See UK government website: https://www.gov.uk/government/news/major-changes-to-student-visa-system. Similarly, USA, Canada and Australia havemodified their visa policies, with consequences affecting Indian students migration to those countries. See: https://wenr.wes.org/2018/09/education-in-india

Oxford University website: https://www.oxfordstudent.com/2016/02/22/studying-abroad-middle-ages/

See the Australian website: https://www.studyinaustralia.gov.au/English/How-to-apply/Visas

See the France campaign to attract international students. https://www.campusfrance.org/en

<u>Padova</u>

The University of Padova:
UNIPD website page: https://www.unipd.it/en/going-global (15/07/2020) and history :
https://www.unipd.it/en/history
Elisabetta Fabbian- International Office- University of Padova - http://www.unipd.it/en/- Palazzo Anselmi Lungargine del Piovego, 1 - 35131 - Padova . UNIPD.
 The list of masters in English for the Academic Year 2018/2019: https://www.unipd.it/corsi-master/elenco-completo
https://www.unipd.it/en/educational-offer/second-cycle-degrees/school-of-agricultural-sciences-and-veterinary-medicine?tipo=LM&scuola=AV&ordinamento=2015&key=AV2190
30 degrees are held in English https://www.unipd.it/en/english-degrees + the Erasmus Mundus programs
https://www.unipd.it/en/studying-padova/courses-held-english/erasmus-mundus-master-courses

Padova City:

Padova's visual representation of Tino Brugnotto http://www.cittadipadova.com/2014/09/colori-padova-dipinti-tino-brugnotto/ (accessed on 23/04/20)
Website of the association working on discovery the invisible international corners of Padova : www.terrarcella.com
Website of the association concerned by the 'walls' of the city : http://www.parcomurapadova.it/
2017 elections results: http://www.padovaoggi.it/politica/elezioni/amministrative-padova-2017-lettera-giordani-lorenzoni-9-marzo-2017.html and https://www.corriere.it/amministrative-2017/elezioni-comunali-giugno-padova-PD.shtml
http://www.padovaoggi.it/politica/elezioni/comunali-2017/padova-ballottaggio-intesa-giordani-lorenzoni.html
See the agreement between Lorenzoni and Giordani in 2017:
http://www.padovaoggi.it/politica/elezioni/amministrative-padova-2017-lettera-giordani-lorenzoni-9-marzo-2017.htm
"Rebel city mayors" against the Salvini "security decree" 2018. A map designed by Cristina del Biaggio.
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City's statistics. Data from the municipality on 31/12/2018:
http://www.padovanet.it/sites/default/files/attachment/Cap2_Annuario_2018_1.pdf See the report -
https://www.padovanet.it/sites/default/files/attachment/%5bWEB%5d%20Annuario%202019%20Capitolo2%2020200331.pdf
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https://prezi.com/xrg7jkbngdnb/studentification-in-newcastle-and-the-impacts-on-communities/
Ponte Unità d'Italia, Arcella, connecting Q1 and Q2: https://www.net-italia.com/selezione-progetti/ponte-unita-ditalia-padova/
« The mushroom area » in Arcella : https://movimentodelbuonsenso.org/tag/area-funghi/
Arcellatown a Spazio35 | *Progetto Giovani Padova.* (2020). Retrieved June 3, 2020, from
http://www.progettogiovani.pd.it/arcellatown-cambiare-la-percezione-di-un-quartiere-nellepoca-di-facebook
Cricket team in Padova **:** http://crickitalia.org/it/squadre/padova-cricket-club
« Padova European Capital for Volunteer Work, a bike tour to map the city » :
https://www.padovaevcapital.it/evento/photobike-paesaggi-urbani-percorsi-di-rigenerazione-e-partecipazione/ (on 12/09/20)

Facebook groups of the Indian community in Padova :

« Indians in Padua, Italy » : https://www.facebook.com/groups/118285018258274
« Indian entertainment Italy » : https://www.facebook.com/indianentertainmentsitaly/photos
« Fuori tutti » : https://www.facebook.com/events/associazione-mimosa/live-in-borgomagno/294208957976837/
« Arcella Bella / Bengla dinner » : https://www.facebook.com/ArcellaBellaPadova/videos/925184431280523. (On 21/06/20)

Indian students in Padova distribution on the city's spaces :

« Origin cities in India » To have an interactive view of the map, see the link:
https://www.google.com/maps/d/u/0/viewer?mid=10gV97kQpTb_G4kYAkbASAHK-
3hZCCnkW&ll=21.56255675673361%2C83.97584091486424&z=5
This link collects all the daily points by type. :
https://www.google.com/maps/d/edit?mid=1VFSFSYd_lePthhUGHp5upY_QfY7NsbYk&usp=sharing
This link collects all the individual experiences of each Indian student: https://www.google.com/maps/d/edit?mid=1-
B23fAhLgD_Twa1_3BvhbZlbB7YSMUFh&usp=sharing
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Cambridge dictionary." Kaleidoscope": https://dictionary.cambridge.org/it/dizionario/inglese/kaleidoscope, (accessed on 23/04/2020.)
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Etymology of « Arcella »: https://www.garzantilinguistica.it/ricerca/?q=arcella
To define a migrant, Italy refers to the European Glossary 2.0 (2018): https://ec.europa.eu/home-
affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/networks/european_migration_network/docs/emn-glossary-it- version.pdf
Quote from the Dalai Lama : https://www.goodreads.com/quotes/7062036-when-you-talk-you-are-only-repeating-
what-you-already
Prashant is a common male name in South Asia. It is derived from the word "shanth" which means patience, calm, quiet, or tranquil. See the website : http://www.sevenreflections.com/name/prashant/
Bharti is a female name, it means Indian; Well-groomed; Descended from Bharat; Eloquent. See the website:
https://www.bachpan.com/meaning-of-bharti.aspx
Awaara is a Hindi/ Urdu word which means someone away from or without a family, someone who roams around without any work etc., a wanderer, vagrant. See the website: http://www.bollymeaning.com/2014/06/awara-awaara-
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The video for Padova's promotion by Uni-Italia Delhi: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4UtKUNpny_8

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Gurinder Chadha.
Il vegetariano" was released three times in Padova: première "Special event" on 15/04/19- SOLD OUT, on 13th and 14th
of May 2019 and again on 10th of June 2019.

<u>Appendix</u>

APPENDIX n°1.1 : The human ecological pyramid

If the aim of human ecology is to consider many components (population, environment, organization) at once, rather than focusing on single items and their possible relationships to depict the city as a fluid body, the inclusion of further components transcending any single discipline seemed to be the correct solution for me. This integration is what other researchers have done before me. Duncan377 for example, who found that some components were lacking within the great theoretical discourses of his time (1959), and suggested "the Ecological Complex", successively reframed as a concept of 'livelihood', bridging his work with Teherani-Krönner[378] (1992).

In short , the pyramid allows a vertical movement from one behavior to another, the point is to know when human can switch behavior in order to keep a high standard of livelihood. (Park, 1952; Teherani-Krönner, P. 1992a).
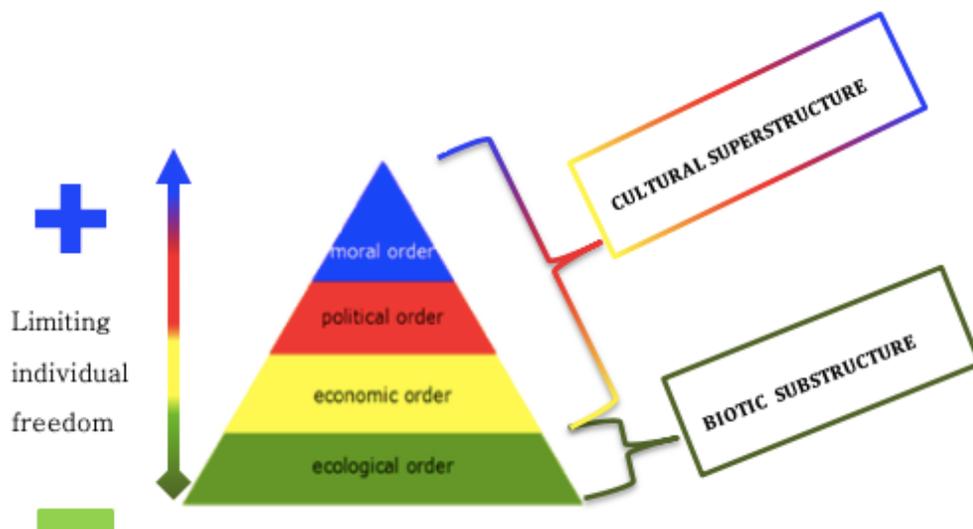
Figure I.1: The human ecological pyramid, Park 1952.(p.145–164) ; visualised by Teherani-Kroenner, in 1992. Redesigned by the author . 11/2019.

I have reported the pyramid here, to underline the connections between the natural organization of the spaces and the society defended by Park, Burgess and McKenzie (biotic substructure) with the more contemporary narration of the city as a cultural substructure where economy and political orders take priority over ecology. The human ecological balance, apart from being influenced by 'competition and cooperation with all other living organisms'(Park et al. 1925, p.260), relies on the individual's decisions: they can stay in the biotic substructure and enjoy a full individual freedom or

377 Duncan, O. D. (1959). Human ecology and population studies. In P. Hauser & O. D. Duncan (Eds.), The study of population: An inventory and appraisal (pp. 678–716). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

378 Teherani-Krönner, P. (1992a). Humanökologische und kulturökologische Ansätze zur Umweltforschung: Ein Beitrag zur Umweltsoziologie. Wiesbaden: Dt. Universitätsverlag.-

they can elevate themselves to a cultural superstructure where their individual freedom will be more limited.

This choice is similar to the one that migrant's community face when they arrive in a new city: they can enjoy the newness of the city where they live, neglecting the spaces and the interactions they have with locals in their new environment; or they can have an approach oriented to the curiosity of understanding the new cultural structure in which they evolve, being conscious that their freedom will be reduced as soon as they won't respect the order established by the city's institutions. Anyways, the pyramid allows a vertical movement from one behavior to another, the point is to know when human can switch behavior in order to keep a high standard of livelihood. (Park, 1952; Teherani-Krönner, P. 1992a). The ecological complex makes it clearer: "[...]urban management needs to operate at an ecosystem scale that is beyond the traditional boundaries of the city, both with respect to the biophysical and social." and not divided between natural areas and regional urban policies.(Anderson & Elmqvist, 2012) Rarely local government adopt an holistic socio-spatial policy fostering mixed areas; actually, cities in Italy tend to maintain separated areas where migrants live379. This is the case of Padova too, divided into six neighborhoods in which one only (Q2) emerges as the 'different one', an area for foreigners.

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[379] I will delve into the topic of the ecological complex model in section I.3, introducing the integrated approach HeSoc.

FIELDWORK AND METHODOLOGY.
THE RESEARCH JOURNEY FROM INDIA TO ITALY, THROUGH
THE NETHERLANDS, DENMARK AND BACK.

"When you talk, you are only repeating what you already know.

But if you listen, you may learn something new."

— The Dalai Lama[380]

Introduction

I arranged this methodological section in the order of the intellectual journey I went through before coming to see the role that deductive qualitative approaches (DQA) could have in social sciences research thanks to Jane F. Gilgun's book[381]. Faithful to the Chicago School traditions, my aim was an accurately documented case study based on a qualitative analysis.

The chapter is an occasion to pay tribute to Thomas and Znaniecki work for deploying energy and time to describe the fieldwork method designed in the '*Polish peasant in the USA"* (*Ibid,* 1918-1920). I have been attracted and fascinated by the fact that the Chicago School was "*open to various way of doing sociology*" spanning from the inductive method adopted by Thomas and Znaniecki to the deductive method (Gilgun, 2014; Guth & Schrecker, 2002; Tacq, 2007). Thus, the chapter is divided into four sections. To begin with, I briefly explain the fieldwork setting and conditions that I have framed as a multi-sited fieldwork between India and Italy; the second section is intended to introduce the heritage of the Chicago school: the Grounded Theory Methodological device in its more recent interpretations (Fairhurst & Putnam, 2018; Gilgun, 2014), along with data collection techniques where the qualitative analysis is framed by quantitative data to give strength to the analysis. The second section also ties together some of the methodological and ethical problems I encountered. The third section recaps the interviews features and presents the manual coding tool I have borrowed from Saldaña (2013). On the whole, the aim of this chapter is to enrich the existing qualitative fieldwork methodology enhancing informants' participation in mapping and narrating the contents useful for my case study.

SECTION I: THE FIELDWORK SETTING AND CONDITIONS

The first section explains the choice of the fieldwork and my original way to meet IUAV's criteria- 6 months of abroad experience- to strengthen my research capacities and my abilities to interact with the Indian population who has welcomed my request to be part of this journey with

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me. While Meenakshi Thapan was pushing me to interact with Indian students and Italian in a multi-sited setting, creating relationships in 'everyday life' (Thapan, 1986, p. 2136), I was closer instead to the concept of N. Kleist (2004)- multi-sited contextualization-than to the 'multi-sited and multi-scalar' research of S.Verstappen (2017). Besides, refashioning Thomas and Znaniecki multi-sited fieldwork, I have decided to tackle the practical and epistemological problems of multi-sited fieldwork, using Kleist's term: '*multi-sited contextualization'* (Kleist, 2004). '*The multi-sited contextualization'* offers advantages for gaining access to members of such contexts and for narrating the effects of place on a myriad of outcomes; chiefly where multi-sited fieldwork is not applicable "*due to restraints of time and funding*" (Faist in Frykman & Högskola, 2004), which was my case: a short time lapse and non-exhaustible resources.

I.1 Stepping into the field.

Considering the political and economic transformative and fluid frame, I have given my attention to a specific case study. Thus, my focus relies on the educational flow of Indian students/migrants to Italy and their impact on Padova's city spatial organization in a perspective of an everyday-life space's share between different cultures.

o   *Where is India in Padova?*
First, I asked a question to myself: "*Where are the Indians in Padova and why are they here and not in an English-speaking country? How do they live in their everyday life here?*". I conducted a preliminary study, based on observation.

Then, I had to get in touch with the Indian Community residing in Padova. The access to the community started in 2015 by dancing in the local group *Bhangra Boys&Girls* of Master Raghuvendra Singh and initiating to be part of the *Oriental Festivals* where I was meeting many Indian families of Padova. I spent a lot of time in Indian restaurants in Padova, and reached a point in which we became friends, and now they know exactly who I am, what I do and met my family as well (See pictures in the next pages depicting me with Indian students and other international students).

If meeting the community[382] was easy, as they are more visible, meeting students was more complex, and I could not have succeeded without some help. After spending six months in Odisha in 2015, I met a person that linked me to all the Indian student's community: Shere Khan

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[382] The Indian Community in Padova, to which I'll dedicate a chapter in Part 3: Chapter 4, has been defined as such following the definition given by Park (1925) and evoked in the introduction of Chapter 2.. Indeed, I consider part of the Indian community in Padova, all the people of Indian origin who gather around shared cultural practices and who contribute by the mean of events and/or everyday practices in visible places as shops and restaurant, to enhance the Indian culture by promoting a positive image of India in the city.

Singh[383]. At that time, I was ending my master's thesis titled "*Intervention in favor of the indulgent population of Gopalpur-on-Sea in Odisha (India). An analysis of the relationship between "MH" NGO and the local education public policies in Ganjam district*". At that time, I had no idea that this privilege bond with Shere Khan Singh and his Indian friends could lead me to a wider research project.

When I came back, Shere Khan has introduced me to all his Indian friends and family. It is thanks to him that I came closer to a small group of people (five to ten) with whom I am still in touch. Time passed by and for some 'everyday life reasons', I had not so much time to enjoy all the community events between the end of 2015 and 2016. Finally, in summer 2016, when it became clear for me that I wanted to pursue my researches on education policies linked to India, I was in Turin for a Summer School on Indian Policy Development and again, I felt involved with the Indian students concerns. In that moment, I realized that we had many common points, starting with the feeling of being 'stranger in Italy'.

o   *From international student to international student.*

As a French student, I am lucky: France is part of the European Union, and my mobility and everyday life is comfortable under many aspects compare to them. Nevertheless, the bureaucratic 'devil' troubled all of us. All these documents and justifications that Universities ask us to provide to allow us to attend classes and pay fees…like Italians. The feelings of loneliness, isolation, '*heimweh'* from our mother country. The difficulty in finding a house. These 'small' details can become "*hell*"[384] for some of us since they actually are essential in the process of settlement, integration and 'feeling home' in another country. To break down the 'gates' between Indian students and me, I used the '*mirror technique*'; I approached them showing them that I was one of them too: a foreign student in Italy . I applied the technique of "*understanding through talk*" (Woods in Adelman 1981, p.16). which was necessary to obtain the informant's view of themselves, of their relations with one-another and with the city of Padova .Taking advantage from my position as a foreign student in Italy, I started to reconnect opportunistically perhaps- with the Indian Community. I created a private *Facebook* group entitled: "*Phd research on Public Policies about education"* and added all my friends. It had a pitiful result: I had very few answers from the people I knew from before because they thought I already had the information regarding them.

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[383] The name has been changed to protect the identity of the informant. In the same manner, all along the thesis, the name cited have been changed for privacy reasons.

[384] Interview to Sareena – PD#34/2, she employed the term "hell" three times to describe how she faced her PhD in Italy.

It had a pitiful result: I had very few answers from the people I knew from before because they thought I already had the information regarding them. That was not the good way. Instead, I have started going to the University buildings and sticking advertising calling for participation (Photography 3.1), again only a few Indian students have contacted me. I had to find a more effective technique.

     o   *<u>Driving out the community from Facebook groups</u>*

Next, I have started to look for pre-existing groups and asked to attend all of those that were dealing with *Indian students in Italy* and lastly found the group I was searching: "*Indians in Padua, Italy*" (See Photography 3.2) where they were 174 members. I asked for membership, it was easily approved as I explained I was conducting a research on the Indians mobility for studies

Photography A.5: Chasing Indians in Faculties with notes calling for interview participation. 15/01/2019.
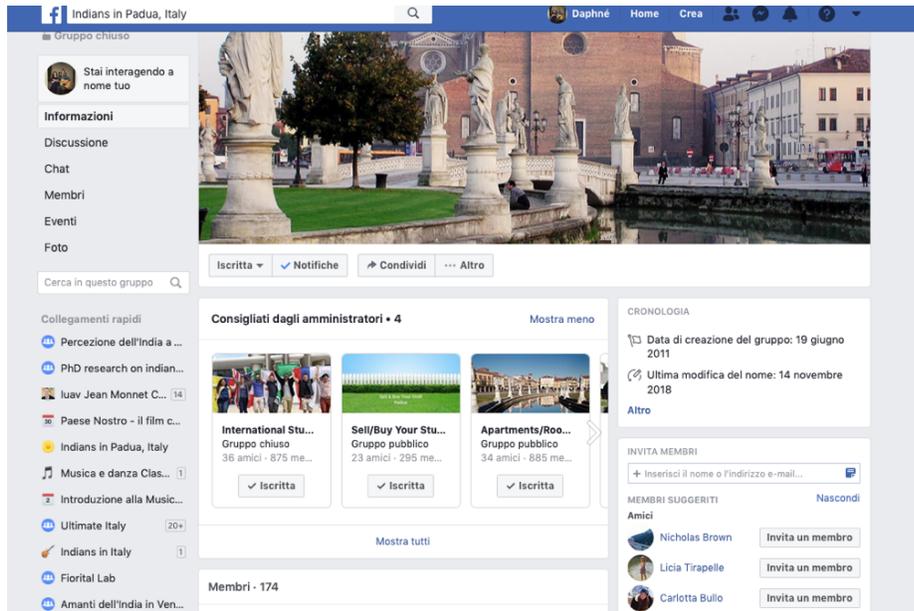
Picture A.1: Screenshot of the Facebook Page "Indians in Padua"- 26/06/2019

in Italy. I immediately noticed that the group was administered by Krishna T[385]., a man that I came to know as his wife was doing a Ph.D. in Software engineering when I first met them in 2015. Apparently, since that time Krishna had played a major role as the *leader* of the community in terms of events organization and of decisional power. For example, in the case of Padova, Krishna and Shubhu have decided that the Hindu temple would have been made in Arcella, and despite some critics, they have found the building to rent and have started decorating it. As we will see in Chapter 4, they are some central individuals in Padova who endorse the role of community leader by default, just due to the fact that they have arrived first in the city.

Once I had identified a sufficient number of people through Facebook profiles, I started to write to them one by one asking for a brief interview -through FB or by WhatsApp message- on the reason they have chosen Padova and on their mobility's story. I was not offering a compensation, so some students refused to "waste time", some called for "*private decisions*" they did not want to share, and some said the strict minimum "*because they were forced to"* (by some common friends or by superiors at University).

Additionally, even though, Facebook was a less reliable source compared to interviews, it is a powerful instrument to track students' concerns spanning from "visas applications struggle" to the "house hunt" in Padova.

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[385] The name has been changed to protect the identity of the informant.

I.2 Tracing Indian students'migration.

During my stay in Delhi, my idea was to redraw the entire bureaucratic process that Indian students have to follow when they are involved in a mobility period for study in Italy. I was genuinely interested in finding out the policies and legal frame in which the migration phenomena of Indian students to Padova takes place, starting from the India- Italy relationship.

o *Fieldwork in New Delhi*
Once I reached Delhi, within a week I had the first meeting in the Italian Embassy in Delhi. I managed to have 'three interviews on 27/11/2018 with imminent civil servant: the secretary of the Ambassador, the Head of Press and cultural Affairs and the Head of Uni-Italia: the office that connects Indian students with Italian Universities (See Chapter 3). The same week, the Head of Press and cultural affairs invited me to a presentation that was gathering eighty Indian students from the *Jamia Millia Islamia University (JMI)*, of the architecture class, studying Italian. It was an occasion to meet students interested in a going to study in Italy, which was indeed the underlying goal of the Italian ? civil servant too: "*to attract them to Italy*" (data from interview IN271118.1). I was lucky because the Embassy's staff has had? been very open in their relationship with me since the beginning.

At the Italian embassy in India, digging on Italian politics in regard to the "anti-migrants' narration" of Salvini's legislation (in 2018, nobody expressed a real opinion on the migration question. As expected in this kind of top-down analyze). However, the Embassy took a clear stand in favor of the Indian students' migration to Italy under the Uni-Italia program. Their political aim is to "<u>attract students</u> *in order to have the benefits of a return-flow that is well trained to join one of the six hundred Italian companies/industries outsourced in India"* (Head of Uni-Italia's declaration after the interview on the 25th of November 2018.).

In a very similar manner, I have faced no restrictions in meeting Professor Meenakshi Thapan, despite her busy schedule, as the Head director of the *Delhi School of Economics (DeSchool)*. I met her personally two times during my stay in Delhi: I had the opportunity to interview her on her methodology framework, she gave me recommendations for my fieldwork and for the structure of my theoretical argumentation. She provided me a list of contacts that were precious and helpful to build the literature frame of analysis used all along in my research path. Eventually, it is through her suggestion that I came to know about an association working on integration of migrants with whom she had previously worked: *Rete Intercultura.* The person in charge, C. S., was kindly available to exchange information with me. Since it was conceivably easier to work with actors involved on the territory I was observing, once back in Italy, I looked for associations in Padova on my own, and tapped into the associations "*Mimosa"* and "*Xena".*

o   *The languages: Italian, English and "Hinglish"*

The working language in the field was mostly English. Interviews were conducted in Italian with Italians and English with Indians. Excerpts of the interviews will appear in the body of the text -mostly in Part 3- for those in Italian, the declarations have been accurately translated by the author (anyway the corresponding quotations in Italian appear in footnotes when they do not exceed two sentences).

All the Indian students were English speakers, so language has not been an obstacle at all, besides, my skills in *Hindi* were more than sufficient to talk to them on personal matters and questions related to everyday life. (My *Hindi* also improved thanks to them!).

o   *Assessment*

Thapan's work[386] was inspiring as it helped me fill some *lacunae* in the 'scientific explanation' of my research, mostly to dress up the reasons why I have been undertaking a topic on such a '*micro level'.* To remain an objective observer, as suggested by Thapan, I have also adopted a specific position behaving differently towards institutions and students: I tried to present myself in a way that could be acceptable to both places/parties, so that they could begin to trust me. Therefore, I was guided unconsciously, by the *Goffmanian Approach* again and again. Thus, I presented myself as keen and serious in front of the institutions and in a more informal and friendlier way towards students.

All the names of the Indian students have been changed to protect their identity and privacy. Likewise, the names of Padova's permanent residents- the inhabitants- were changed while investigating their perception of India in Padova. Conversely, the name of informants from institutions like Uni-Italia, the University of Padova, the Town-Hall, and other civil servants and politicians are explicitly mentioned prior a signature of an agreement on personal data divulgation provided by the School of doctorate and submitted to IUAV's offices for ex-post controls of authenticity.

Approaching the fieldwork without being constrained by predetermined categories of analysis -on the typology of population inhabiting and crossing Padova and on the nature of the city-, has contributed to the depth, openness, and accuracy of the qualitative inquiry I was conducting. Here came the "Grounded Theory Approach" to my mind and its linked coding system (Dey, 1993; Hess, 1991; Patton, 1990). Thereby, I set up the methodological approach which is presented in the next section.

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[386] Ibid Thapan (1986, 2006) ; Thapan (1996) Understanding the Anthropological Method

<u>SECTION II: METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH AND INVESTIGATION</u>
<u>TECHNIQUES.</u>

My research finds its roots in the methodological setting presented by the urban sociological frame of the Chicago School traditions. I have been attracted and fascinated by the fact that the Chicago School was *"open to various way of doing sociology"*(Becker, 1999, p.10 in Gilgun 2014,1). Here I have first reported the corner stone of the Chicago school: the grounded theory methodology. In this regard, it should be remembered that, already in the 1920s, the Chicago School (Robert Park and Ernest W. Burgess) based its study of social and city relations on the empirical research of society and on the category of the area to which it belongs. This methodology was borrowed from the social and documentary photojournalism of the time (Pizzorno, 1967 in Park, 1925). Next, I have adopted a multidisciplinary approach that uses a plurality of methods to catalyze the problem we are focusing on, under a "*complete vision*[387]" of the phenomenon of students' mobility on medium cities like Padova, crossing qualitative analysis with a restricted number of quantitative data. Moving back and forth between the concepts and their indicators, I realized that along with the fieldwork I also used some theory in my research with an integrative approach based on the Inductive Analysis and on the Grounded Theory Methodology. The integrative approach is explained in this section and includes the regressive-progressive approach as a complementary method to the GTM.

II.1 Learning by doing. Moving along the iterative spiral between literature and fieldwork.

My research is mostly using qualitative instruments and data although it has been framed by a few quantitative data as Part 2 will disclose later (See Chapters 4 and 5).

- *A qualitative method: The Grounded Theory Methodology (GTM)*

Qualitative methods are particularly oriented toward exploration, discovery and inductive logic. When the Chicago School of Sociology flourished in the first quarter of the twentieth century, *Inductive Analysis* (IA) was their original methodology (Guth & Schrecker, 2002). On the first hand, in IA, the theory is often '*loosely define*' and is used in the conduct of research (Patton, 1990). When IA operates with a unit of analysis that involves communities- as it is the case here- the approach looks for unique characteristics that makes each setting, a case into itself.

On another hand, according to Michael Quinn Patton (1990):

"[…] *theory about what is happening in the setting should be <u>grounded</u> in direct program experience, rather than imposed on the setting a priori through hypotheses or deductive constructions."* (*Ibid.* p.45 my underlining).

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[387] The will to restitute a "complete vision" has been inspired by and large by the pragmatist philosophy of Dewey (1910).

Subsequently, about fifty years later, the Grounded Theory Methodology (GTM) arrived on the scene and overshadowed analytic induction (Gilgun, 2014). GTM also carried on some of the Chicago School traditions. Glaser and Strauss in 1967, suggest that if the "[...] *findings are grounded in specific contexts; theories that result from the findings will be grounded in real-world patterns*" (Patton 1990, p.45, my underlining).

Besides, Anselm Strauss, one of the originators of the GTM[388] says that it is rather a *"way of thinking"* than a simple movement back and forth between theory and data. Willig's explanation (2013) of the grounded theory through the process and changes experienced by the social phenomena under analysis, fits with my way of behaving on the field, therefore I have reported it here:

"*Grounded theorists are interested in the ways in which human actors negotiate and manage social situations, and how their actions contribute to the unfolding of social processes. Grounded theory assumes that social events and processes have an objective reality in the sense that they take place irrespective of the researcher and that they can be observed and documented by the researcher. [...] This means that 'the world' that is studied by grounded theorists is very much a product of human participation and negotiation. It is a changing world, which means that the methods used for studying it must be sensitive to its dynamic properties. This is what grounded theory attempts to do by focusing on 'process' and 'change'* " (Willig 2013, p.80, my underlining).

The grounded theory was apprehended as a "radical" approach when it emerged in the 1920s in the studies of Park (Cognetti et al., 2019). The GTM unables the researcher to formulate theories based on the data obtained and asked new questions. There should be a certain care related to the elements collected since they might be filtered by subjective experience, empathy and could lead the researcher to the suspend his judgment[389].

Eventually, this methodology mirrors what Park (1925) claimed for, invoking his journalistic background: drawing research on firsthand acquaintance with social life by observing people directly: "*go and get the seat of your pants dirty in real research*" (Robert Ezra Park, 1920s, recalled by Becker quoted in John McKiney Constructive Typology and Social Theory (New York: Appleton Century-Crofts, 1966), p.71). Following Park's advice, I went first to the field to observe closely my object.

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[388] Strauss, A.L. and Corbin, J. (1998) Basics of Qualitative Research: Grounded Theory Procedures and Techniques, 2nd edn. London: Sage.

[389] In the next pages, I will come back on reflexivity and ethic perspective while being involved in a research with people.

o   *Made-to-measure GTM*

The grounded theory has oriented my research in its first sights as it has pushed me on the field to collect data which I was not expecting to gain initially (quantitative data from institutions and interviews with local politicians); then following these insights, I have started looking for theories and bibliography, enlightened me with further hints and bringing me back to the field again until I felt I had a complete overview of knowledge to discuss the topic of Indian students' migration to Italy. Since they are many versions of the GTM, I have selected one that suited me better among the variety of versions available.

o   *The regressive-progressive analysis of Lefebvre*

The regressive-progressive method was first, appreciated by Jean Paul Sartre who described it abundantly at the opening from the first volume of the Critique of Dialectical Reason (1960). In 1991, Remi Hess, recognized the evident role of using a methodology that aims to walk down in the past in order to locate precisely the first appearance of the phenomena under analysis (Hess, 1991).

The analytical-regressive method developed by Lefebvre (1953, 1970)[390] has several moments: the first is descriptive and consists of a direct observation in the field "*with a look informed by experience and a general theory*" (*Ibid.,* 1970, p.73).

The second moment is the regressive one of the analysis in charge of describing the reality described above in an "*effort to date it exactly*" (so as not to be content with a statement concerning undated "*archaisms*", not compared to each other others (*Ibid.,* p74).

The last moment, historic-genetic, has for task to study the modifications brought to the previously dated structures, proceeding to the genetic classification of the formations and structures. "[*An*] *effort to return to the current previously described, to find the present, but elucidated, understood explained*" (*Ibid*., p74).

o   *Back and forth between past and future*

The regressive-progressive approach was familiar to me before reading Thomas and Znaniecki's work, indeed I realized afterwards, that the two sociologists were also advocating a reconstruction of the past history, of the political setting between Italy and India, and of the migration history (when existing) of the Indian students I have interviewed in order to find the generative factors of an event or phenomena (Thomas and Znaniecki, ed.it. 1968, p.39). Moreover, as far as I am concerned, I have witnessed that the regressive-progressive approach appears 'trendy' nowadays. In fact, it also appeared in the book of F.Rampini (2018) for instance, dealing

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[390] The following explanation is an excerpt of Prof. Borelli methodological seminar on 7th of May 2018 at IUAV "*Gli approcci qualitativi, ciclo di seminari tenuti da Guido Borelli".*

with the key historical moments that have twisted the course of the world's history ending up in the current situation of -mostly conflictual- international relations on the global scale.

Lastly, GTM's implementation encourages to move back and forth between data collection and analysis. Moving along the spiral and back to the past, in 1976, according to Thapan notes, Lacey stated that what he did was to " *'escalate insights' through moving backwards and forwards between observation and analysis and understanding*" using different methods of data collection (Lacey, 1976, p.61 in Thapan 1986, p.2139). Thapan goes further and calls it a "*spiral of understanding*" (Thapan 1986, p.2137). I have illustrated it borrowing the font of Dey's '*iterative spiral*' (See Figure 3.1), as the focus here is on the investigation technique to assess the correct methodological approach for the thesis. In my case, the '*account*' is illustrated through single cases analysis[391], dispatched in categories as '*profiles*', to facilitate the comprehension of the emerging trends brought by Indian students in Italy. Moving along the spiral, following the GTM was requiring, adding an array at the bottom of the Figure A3.1, therefore, the spiral illustrates the movement back and forth between the data collected during fieldwork at different timings in my research journey and their use (See Part 3 for the discussion on the 'account').

o   *Diary notes*

During all the 'data collection process', I have kept meticulous notes in diaries (See the photographs 3.3 and 3.4 on the next page), many of the considerations and stories that will come out all along the thesis are coming out from these precious ethnographic instruments.
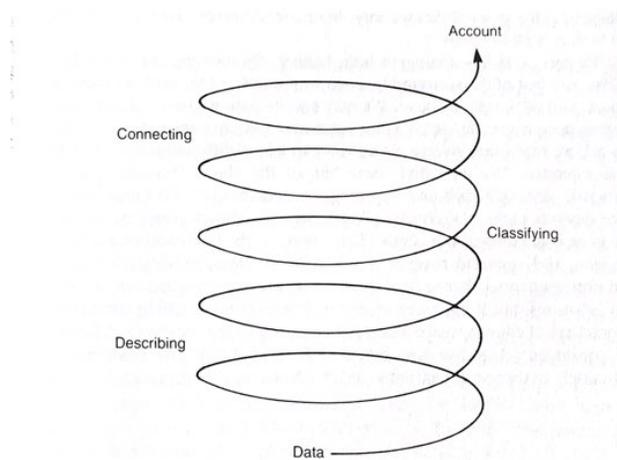
Figure A6.2:Qualitative analysis as an Iterative spiral in Dey (1993, p.53-54.), modified by me (04/20)

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[391] See Section III.4.1
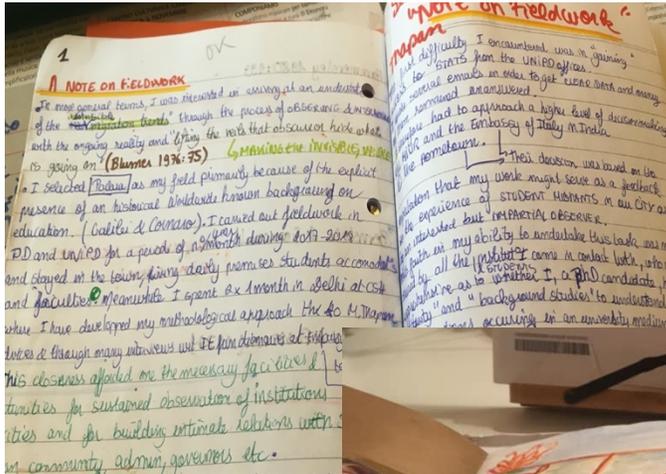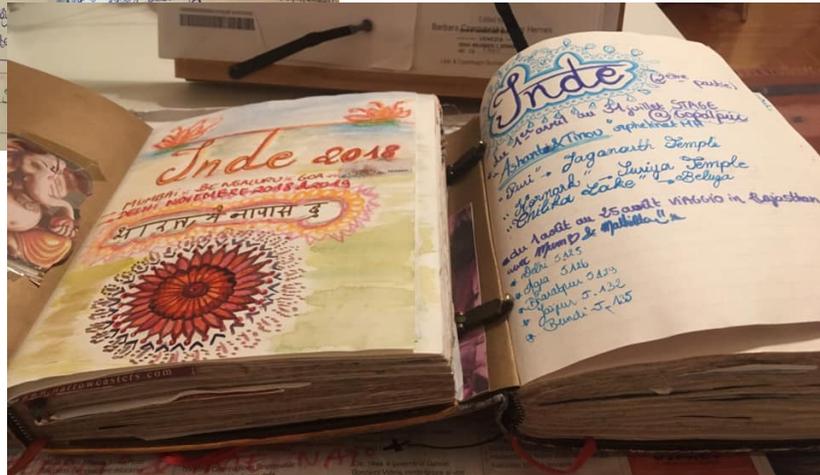
Maintaining a written record of theory development, memos showed up changes of direction in the analytical process and emerging perspectives. While the research process progressively allowed me to identify my main research question; the data collection has led to a reflection on the adequacy of other questions, which indeed turned out to be too specific. Focusing on the thesis' key words, I have continued to develop the emerging theories in the light of the evidences, adopting the '*Iterative Spiral*' to illustrate the various aspects of analysis sequentially (see the Figure 3.1 above in Dey 1993, p.53–54).

o *Assessment*
Such a methodological frame is crossbreeding bibliographic research with the fieldwork findings. The GTM also echoes with the regressive- progressive analysis I have discussed before. So, everything seems quite connected so far : the time aspects and the rotating spirals to capture people's thoughts allowing me to analyze them with classic sociological tools. Concretely, using Lefebvre's regressive-progressive methodology allowed me to identify the starting point of the strategical migration of Indian students to Italy (See Chapter 3, Appendix 3.2 p.390). One of my thesis goals is to unpack the experiences of the Indian students in Padova and to represent the heterogeneity of positions taken by politicians, institutions and population on different levels. Finally, Gilgun (2014) also sees an analogy between the DQA version of the GTM and Dewey's pragmatism (1910) that called for a "*complete thinking*" which involves both induction and deduction. In deductive work, the researcher begins with theory. Dewey's pragmatist philosophy suggests that research also requires to put aside theory in order to identify some aspects of the phenomena of interest that researchers did not anticipate (Gilgun 2014). From my side, *complete thinking*, meant reading theory and thinking with people. The next paragraph illustrates how

thinking with people can also be a slippery territory, involving the researcher personally in his object to such an extent that it may trigger ethic concerns.

II.2 Data collection: stretching the Grounded Theory Methodology, thinking with people.

Combining quantitative background data and qualitative research (Patton 1990,p. 11), I decided therefore to start our research with a *bottom-up approach*: seeking information from people through an interactive process. This method was previously used- and suggested as a strong approach while looking for evidence on educational policies- by Meenakshi Thapan with whom I have had the opportunity to affine my methodological research frame during my visiting period at CSH-Delhi. Besides, a *double review* of the 'bottom-up material', led me to consider written documents such as reports, legal documents, journal articles and newspapers, which might represent '*top-down'* material (and thus participate to shape the complete vision).

o *'Thinking with People'*[392]

As I argued in the first chapter, the symbolic interactionist approach fosters the 'use of people' as the major source of qualitative data; thereby to fully understand the complexities of some situations described in the interviews, *direct participation and observation* of the Indian students' life in Padova, seemed the correct – and only- way to have a complete overview on it (Patton 1990, p.25–31; Gilgun 2014, (2) p.111) .

Furthermore, as suggested by many sociologist working with people as informant (Czarniawska & Hernes, 2005; Gilgun, 2014; Patton, 1990; Thomas et al., 1998), communication is the only way to establish a contact with the informants. Communication deals with gaining people's trust, gaining sympathy, showing oneself as a reliable person, but first of all as a human being in the same way informants are.

Therefore, I agree with Gilgun when she says that: "*Qualitative approaches allow researchers to connect with other people in deeply personal ways. [...] [bringing] researchers into close contact with lived experiences of the persons with whom we do research*" (Gilgun 2014, (2)p.111, my underlining).

Eventually, two main reasons pushed me to use an interactive approach, listening to people personal stories. The first reason was that I wished to seek *knowledges* that were not available elsewhere (Thomas, Chataway, and Wuyts 1998, p.128; Patton 1990, p.10). The second reason was linked to one of my research objectives: to know the *perceptions* of individuals or social groups in their capacity (Thomas, Chataway, and Wuyts 1998, 128-129) as *city-users* and

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[392] As the policies about international mobility are impacting people life, I needed to consult people whom their decisions affect: Indian Students. This is what I mean by "thinking with people" following Thomas et all (1998) and Patton (1990).

temporary residents and how these are manifesting in everyday life in regard to the inhabitants-the permanent resident- of the city (Carretero Pasín, 2002).

o   *Interacting with institutions*

In Padova, I had to interact with local public administration, which came out to be easier than expected since I already have been in contact with many current politicians and civil servants working in Padova's Town Hall.

The first difficulty I encountered, was in gaining access to statistical material from the University of Padova's Offices to build a quantitative background framework which could have argue in favor of my topic. I wrote several emails with the aim of obtaining clear and complete data, still, many remain unanswered until late June 2018. Therefore, I had to approach a higher level of decision making : The Ministry of Instruction, University and Research (MIUR), the Embassy of Italy in India, the Town Hall of Padua. Unexpectedly, I achieved resounding success from all of them, even from the MIUR on 28/11/2018[393], when a civil servant- Maria Antonietta Scalera- sent me an email with the data on the number of Indian students attending Italian Universities for ten years (See Chapter 5).

Later in 2018, the Embassy of New Delhi and the Town Hall of Padova were collaborative as well. Their decision was based on the expectation that my work might serve as a feedback to the experience of student's migrants in the city being perceived by them, as an involved[394] but impartial observer.

Finally, perhaps gaining credibility thanks to the macro institutional support, I succeeded in having a meeting at the statistical office with Elena Carnevali on 20/01/2019 with substantial and precise data from the University of Padova. By November 2019, being active in my research and supported by Uni-Italia in Delhi, my interaction with UNIPD became easier. Besides, as an ex-Alumni of the University of Padova, I had the benefit of knowing the places, offices, classrooms and even some workers of the International office (as Camilla Casal, from UNIPD Global Engagement Team). Was it a coincidence that almost all the institutions, associations and individuals I have contacted for either interviews or data collection answered me with precise and precious information? I cannot say honestly, however I was happy to retrieve so much

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[393] Data of Indian students coming to Italian Universities over 10 years, male and females. V.O: "i dati relativi agli studenti indiani che vengono a studiare presso le Istituzioni della Formazione superiore in Italia (serie di 10 anni), maschi e femmina" .
M.A Scalera e-mail also gave further information: "You can also find on the MIUR website "Procedures for entry, stay and matriculation of foreign / international students to higher education courses in Italy academic year 2018-2019" to the following address: http: //www.studiare- in-italia.it/studentistranieri/. Here you will find many useful information for your research. I would like to point out that foreign students, outside the EU, to register with our institutions must go to the Italian Embassies and Consulates authorized to issue an entry visa."

[394] In November 2019, I did a favour to Uni-Italia, and Unipd and to follow my commitment with them, perhaps in a way to thank these two institutions, I have brought some pamphlets/ booklets to promote Unipd in India.

information in a short amount of time. Camila Casal gave me the booklet "*Study with us*" which describes in short, the points on which the University of Padova focuses to attract international students (See Chapter 5).

In the end, data from the University are anonymized for privacy reason, thus I had to seek for the person behind the numbers that the University provided, on my own and launched a Facebook research on Indian community in Padova.

o *The immersion in Indian students' life*

From the outset, it was evident that I had to first immerse myself in the groups to the extent I could, and to the extent I would be allowed to, for the purpose to penetrate the metaphorically 'close gate[395]' that stood between me and my understanding of the Indian migrants. My first interactions with Indian Students were based initially on informal meetings along with a Google Drive form (Survey n°1) spread among Facebook's groups and WhatsApp linked group. Eventually, I had some personal contacts that first helped me in building the network of people I had to track and to interview. Later, Shere Khan Singh also helped me by creating a WhatsApp group asking his friend to join my research and to participate to my interviews.

With the students, my participation in discussions related to their everyday life was not merely limited to an observation ; I was sufficiently close and interested in their problems so as to share, discuss and help them to find out a solution. For example, I went to *Questura* with Kavita to translate her request to renew the residency permit (PD#27/2[396] on 22/10/2019). In diverse occasions, I caught the opportunities to meet the Indian Community in person by attending to cinema projection of Hindi movies, dinners and festivity celebrations (See the discussion and pictures in Chapter 4) . I also attended dance classes, started to shop at the *Indian shop- BPIS-* in Arcella (Q2- the 'multiethnic district[397]' of Padova), spent more and more time at Indian restaurants and took part in the daily student- post-work life: karaoke, concert, bowling…. even going on weekends together in the mountains, or to *Gardaland* for Hanee's bachelor party[398]. This was possible with "*the passage of time*"(Woods in Adelman 1981, p.16). Here below I have reported some of these moments I have spent together with Indian students. As the photographs evidence, Indian students tend to spend most of time with peers – Indian students, in some cases,

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[395] See Thapan (1986, 2006).

[396] All my interviews are codified with letters referring to the city in which they took place, a # number and / a type of interview. See the last section of this chapter to have more details.

[397] Interview to the director of association Mimosa: Barbara Macculan. She defines Arcella as *a multiethnicl area* of the city that gives the idea that the city will be entirely transformed into a pluri-cultures space. (27/02/2019)

[398] See Interviews with *Hanee* PD#3/2, *Kavita* PD#27/2 and *Inbana* PD#10/2.

they spend time with international students, anyway, they are rarely involved in cultural/religious celebrations with Italians usually and rather keep these personal moments with peers and the Indian community members instead (See photographs 5 to 9). A discussion on Indian students' interaction will follow in Chapters 6 & 8 while analysing empirical data and interviews in Part 3.

Photography A.4: Beach time in Rosolina (06/2019)

Photography A.5: Holi festival in Residenza Copernico (03/2016)

Photography A.8: Weekend in Asiago (12/2019)

Photography A.6:Gardaland (09/2019)

Photography A.7: Diwali in Gandhi 2 (11/2019)

These five photographs (A.4 to A.8) give an overview of the time I spent immersed in Indian students' daily life in Padova and surroundings from 2016 to 2020 .

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o   *Assessment*

From communication and observation, with a 'pinch' of interactionism and ethnography, my approach eventually slides sometimes in a *participatory appraisal* mainly while applying some principle of *immersion*. Intimate and sustained observation helped understand the subtle -and hidden- as well as manifest aspects of the "*invisible migration life of Indians*". Even if I was not living really with Indian students, I was anyway deeply involved in their everyday life. Indeed, the more I was coming closer to the Indian students' habits, the more somehow, I was rediscovering my own city at once. Indian students were grasping any occasion of "*the short amount of time they were here, to enjoy the experience 100%*".(data from interview with *Kavita-PD#27/2*). In coping with the GTM, theory arrived later and furnished me the missing pieces of my mental- empirical- puzzle to decipher why Indian students tend to move abroad for studies and why they look for the rooted Indian community on the local city-level in which they move. Part 3 will be entirely plonked on these questions and will raise many others that came out reading more and more literature works.

In any case, the symbolic interactionist approach[399] I have applied, made me realize that 'using' people as informants gives a view that tends to be diverse and possibly contradictory, reflecting differences in what individuals know and also how that knowledge affects their interests (and mine). Since interaction became a relevant aspect, as I was continuously cross matching my findings with theory, some interviews were replicated twice or three times to the population I finally identified as 'relevant informants'.

Moreover, I was worried that the participatory approach may have biased my integrity and commitment for objectivity. The next paragraph exhibits the tight space in which the researcher can move which has raised ethical concerns in my fieldwork experience.

II.3 Fieldwork, participation and distance: some ethical concerns

During fieldwork I have trailed Indian students' to observe their everyday life practices in the city of Padova as part of the fieldwork in Italy, with a major intensity and long semi-structured interview, observation and immersion periods, being really close to the Indian student's life in the city.

o   *Drowned in the immersion?*

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[399] See Chapter 1: Applying the symbolic interactionist approach (Blumer, 1986; Thapan, 2006; Woods, 2012b) it became easier to apprehend their motions and emotions toward the city as an organic body (Borelli, 2012; Fraser, 2009). CF Appendix to Chapter 3, p.332.

Around mid-January 2019, once engaged in a deep *immersive approach* (Gilgun, 2014, p. 139), I started to reflect upon my role and influence on the interview and the nature of the communication between me and those whom I was interviewing. I interpreted that as an *ethical* concern: what could I report from discussions I had with some relevant informants in completely informal situations such as dinners, parties and talks? Reading more and more books and articles, about methodology, I found out that ethical considerations seem to be a common concern while doing qualitative analysis on people[400]. I bring here an example:

By talking on Indian students' perspectives regarding '*work during studies in Italy*', I came to know about some '*scams*' and I was worried about whether the Embassy trust in me would have been undermined if they discovered that I was aware of this breach of rules. I did inform them in the end about some 'private consultant[401]' that stole a lot of money to students, producing falsification of documents to be selected.

To solve these doubts, theoretically speaking, Patton (1990) suggests that "*going into the field means having <u>direct and personal contact</u> <u>with people</u> under study in their <u>own environment.</u>*" (Patton 1990, p.46, my underlining).

On the other hand, the same Patton (1990) exposed that "[…] <u>*detachment and lack of personal involvement*</u> *is presumed to contribute <u>to objectivity and to reduce bias</u>. […] <u>the necessity and utility of distance</u> and detachment, assuming that <u>without empathy and sympathetic introspection</u> derived from <u>personal encounters</u>, the observer cannot fully understand human behavior.*" (*Ibid.* 1990, p.47, my underlining).

As I saw it, the majority of arguments seemed against researcher's deep involvement with its informants. Besides, I could not claim for being *detached* nor fully impartial, since I had started developing close personal relationships with some students (three students became very close friends of mine, beyond the research purpose), that I first introduced as 'relevant informants.

But at the same time, he adds: "<u>*Fieldwork involves getting* <u>*one's hands dirty participating*</u></u> […]"(Patton, 1990, p. 47, my underlining). I was lost in-between, again, just as 'my little Indians' when they arrive in Italy balanced between a thirst of adventure and a nostalgia of their home country: India.

Later, when I exposed my concerns about revealing personal- but relevant- information that were given during informal moments with the Indian students, my co-tutor (T. Bruslé, 2018) told me: "*To my mind, we should build arrows from any wood.*"

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[400] See for intance: Thomas, Chataway, and Wuyts (1998, pp.140;171;218)

[401] An example of distortion where education becomes a business. See Baas, (2019); Beech, (2018); Gilgun, (2014, p. 139) for more details on this fascinating topic.

Woods likewise Bruslé, remembered me that the essential role is the one of researcher; any wood can be used to build arrows indeed. And so, did I. I report an example from my diary notes:

"*Today Nirmala asked me for help to submit her visa application to Uni-Italia. She wants to come to Italy to study in Bologna. I could have helped her, as I have just mapped the procedure with Valentina (of the Embassy) and I also know what she should do and not do in order to have her application approved. But I cannot, I think it might compromise the authenticity of my thesis. I mean, it could help me to have more Indians…but it is better not to risk. So instead, perhaps already crossing the line, I sent her the link of the website of Uni-Italia, where she could have found a checklist[402] of the mandatory documents*" (Delhi, 10th of December 2018).

The next step was to verify the compatibility of the theoretical evidence with the empirical findings, thus I followed the "*triangulation* principle[403]"(Thomas et al., 1998, p. 136). In fact, I have operated through an enquiry approach that enhanced plurality of methodology and informants. The various methods I used for the data collection generated insights into UNIPD and UNI-ITALIA approach to the India-Italy mobility[404] and thereby contributed to my understanding of the social reality of this recent '*mobility turn*' (Sheller & Urry, 2006) of Indian Students to Italian Universities. Eventually, I have consulted another investigator[405] to see whether the ideas and information I had picked, could be accounted for the developing theory of Indian students' mobility as migrants co-producing spaces in intercultural Italian medium cities.

- o *The triangulation principle*

To interpret the survey data, we used information from semi-structured interviews and to verify the compatibility of the evidences with the findings we followed the *triangulation* principle. (Thomas et al., 1998, p. 136) According to Thomas, Chataway and Wuyts: "T*riangulation* refers to use of multiple sources of information to test and modify [our] understanding (or 'theory') of a given problem or situation." Thereby, we operate through an enquiry approach that enhanced plurality of methodology, informants and also consulted another investigator[406] to see

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[402] The checklist is available in the Appendix n°6.1, p.418.

[403] According to Thomas, Chataway and Wuyts(1998): "*Triangulation refers to use of multiple sources of information to test and modify [our] understanding (or 'theory') of a given problem or situation.*" (*Ibid.*).

[404] Elisabetta Fabbian- International Office- University of Padova - http://www.unipd.it/en/- Palazzo Anselmi Lungargine del Piovego, 1 - 35131 - Padova

[405] Shabab Anwar is a student from New Delhi, he was conducting a research for its Master dissertation (laurea magistrale) at the University for Foreigners of Perugia on the "Intercultural competence: Indians in Italy". We had a phone call exchange (1h35minutes) our findings and interpretations, that was enriching and enlightening on some aspects I will describe in Chapter 3 (17/02/2019)

[406] Shabab Anwar is a student from New Delhi, he was conducting a research for its Master dissertation (laurea magistrale) at the University for Foreigners of Perugia on the" Intercultural competence: Indians in Italy". We had a phone call exchange (1h35minutes) our findings and interpretations, that was enriching and enlightening on some aspects. (17/02/2019).

whether the ideas and information we had picked could be accounted for by the developing theory of the issue under investigation: " *Interpretations of the same set of experimental instructions or interview questions will undoubtedly vary among people and across occasions; and, it is argued, this undermines the value of standardized research methods"*(Hammersley and Atkinson 2007, 8).

In my discussion with the other investigator- Shahab Anwar- he rightly reminded me that interviews as well have to be read in the spatial-time frame we conducted them: ideas and information can only be understood with reference to the circumstances in which they are generated.

    o   *Assessment*

The next step using this investigative approach, was how to manage the diversity of views generated : how to reduce the data, the words, the feelings, the emotions into an amount that can be understood? This is what the next section explores : tools to narrate Indian students' life in Padova.

SECTION III: THE ANALYTICAL TOOLS

Following the fieldwork and participation, I have first conducted interviews. Next, it has been possible to unpack the categories of Indian Students in Padova throughout the observation and interpretation of their relationship with the local territory using a coding methodology borrowed to Saldana (2013). Bibliographical documents came at the end of the process, following the GTM, to frame the qualitative empirical data with broader scientific contents discussed by other scholars.

III.1 The sociological analysis of the human community: interviews

    o   *Sociological tools: surveys and interviews*

"*The analysis of data involves interpretation of the meanings, functions, and consequences of human actions and institutional practices, and how these are implicated in local, and perhaps also wider, contexts. What are produced, for the most part, are verbal descriptions, explanations, and theories; quantification and statistical analysis play a subordinate role at most*" (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007, p.3, my underlining).

Approaching the object of my research with both some quantitative data and a qualitative approach, I used the following frame.

First, I have used structured survey submitted through online google forms (#). Then once I had identified my 'target population', I started asking for short interviews to **#42 students** in Padova. Next, I requested 'in depth-interviews' **to #20** of them. In addition, I have conducted interviews with civil servants from local institutions and with random civil society members part of the permanent resident population of Padova.

The table below synthetizes the tools and the respondents' number. When the table is filled with "N.A" (not applicable), it means that the related tools has not been used for that category (See Table n°3.1).

a)-Structured survey

First, I have started divulgating an online Google Form to all Indian Students I knew in Italy, named : Indian students in Italy- abroad studies. The online form was anonymous but gathered the email addresses. Within this survey, a special section was entirely dedicated to

Respondents / Tools	Indian students in Italy	Indian students moving to Italy	Indian students in Padova	Permanent residents	Civil servants/ Institutions
Structured survey	55	23	N.A	24	N.A
Semi structured interview	N.A	10	42	21	13
In-depth interviews	N.A	N.A	20	N.A	N.A

students that were attending Padova's University in order to have some precise feedbacks on our case study. These questions helped me to understand some key aspects I had to focus on, for the interviews I have conducted later. I have conducted 86 interviews on the whole.

Table A1: Number and qulaity of interviews conducted during fieldwork in different countries (2018-2019).Own elaboratin, 03/20

The online survey, apart from furnishing statistical data, was also a way to identify some persons that were carrying special stories. I have not exploited them with a quantitative look, actually these data guided me to understand which would have been the central points and problems to submit to my informants later. Besides, by tracking the email addresses of the "relevant informants" I wrote to them, asking for an in-depth interview, so they could enter into more specific's details on the positive and negative outcomes linked with their stay in Italy.

Additionally, by collecting data from Indian students regardless the city they were living in, gave me some indicators of the difference existing between Padova and other cities in terms of "Adapting to a new country". I have shared both surveys on Facebook groups and on my personal profile, also some friends of mine shared it as well.

The online survey was divided into five sections. The fifth section was reserved to students attending Padova's University (Appendix n°2.2).

The first three sections were meant to define the population, helping me to decide who to speak to. The fourth section was a first attempt to formulate questions I wanted to ask during interviews as well; this section has four open questions over twelve. The fifth section has five open-questions

over ten and requires reflection of the informant to fill it properly as it engages in spatial organization of the local territory of Padova.

SECTION 1: GENERALITIES

SECTION 2: SOCIAL BACKGROUND

SECTION 3: PERSONAL EDUCATION

SECTION 4: ADAPTATION SKILLS: GET FIT IN A NEW COUNTRY!

SECTION 5: STUDENT'S LIFE IN PADUA

As I have had good feedbacks with these quantitative data, I decided to replicate this method, to identify trends for upcoming students from India to Italy with a second Google Form named: Indian students leaving for Italy (Interview track n°3.2 in appendix).

Using the same method, the first three sections were organized under the same main headings, the last two were different.

SECTION 4: ITALIAN EMBASSY- STUDENT'S RELATION

SECTION 5: MOTIVATE YOUR CHOICE: WHY ITALY?

Google Forms also gives the possibility to produce direct diagrams representing in a systematic and visual graphic way the trends of the student's impressions and expectation on mobility for studies in Italy. The yes/no questions were used to generate quantitative data and graphic (See next Chapter's illustrations) , while the open questions were analyzed with a second screening, contacting informants and eventually asking for interviews to valid or invalid our interpretation of the online data (Interview type 2, form Appendix 2.4).

b)-Semi-structured interviews

The straightforward contrast between the Google Form questionnaire and an open-ended interview illustrate the difference between deductive and inductive approaches at the simplest level described at the beginning of this part.

A predetermined background presentation of my topic based on some theories helped me to introduce to my informants the aim of the thesis and to outline what was important to measure to meet the goal of my research.

I used many different forms to fit with the informants I was interviewing. Still, we can distinguish three types of interviews form: those which were addressed to institutions or institutional actors (private or public) (Interview type 1); those which were addressed to Indian students (coming to or living in Padova) (Interview type 2); finally, the 'third eye' interview of permanent residents to nuance my own perception of Indians in Padova (Interview type 3). Every interview has been

codified with a code containing: the date, the place, and the form reference. Boxes 1, 2 and 3, in the following pages are listing some of these codes. I have applicated the same criteria for students' code.

Interview type 1 was administered to people identified as 'relevant informant' within the network that was gravitating around the mobility of Indian students. These interviews only gave

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BOX N°1. INTERVIEWS AND CODES-

INTERVIEWS IN PADOVA *Appendix n°2.2*

Questionnaire for **Andrea Micalizzi** (*Assessore alle politiche urbane del Comune di Padova*) 15/02/19 **Code : PD150219**

Questionnaire for **Mimosa –** with **Barbara Macculan** (*Associazione: migrazione e progetti di riqualificazione urbana*) 21/02/19 **Code: PD210219**

Questionnaire for **Massimo Saretta** 8/03/19 **Code: PD080319**

Questionnaire for **Alberto Sichel** 26/04/19 **Code: PD260419**

Questionnaire for **Marta Nalin** (*Assessora alle politiche sociali del Comune di Padova*) 28/04/19   **Code : PD180419**

In-depth interview about an Italian's enterprise working with Indians – Mr. Phoenix*, Recruitment Manager of **a Northern Italian Company** - Interview

Code: PD260319 [*The name has been changed to protect the identity of the informant.*]

INTERVIEWS IN AMSTERDAM

MEETING with Johannes (Jan) BREMAN 4/04/19 -Interview **Code: AM040419**

Michiel Baas: Interview via skype. Code: **AM110419**

INTERVIEWS IN DELHI *Appendix n°2.3*

"INCONTRO ALL'AMBASCIATA ITALIANA A NEW DELHI": 27/11/18 –

Code: IN271118.1

Pietro Sfera Carini, Minister Counsellor, Italian Embassy, New Delhi

Chiara Petracca, Press & Cultural Counsellor, Italian Embassy, New Delhi

"INCONTRO ALL'AMBASCIATA ITALIANA A NEW DELHI" 27/11/18

-**Code: IN271118.2** - Valentina Ierna, responsabile UNI-ITALIA per l'India. & follow up on 18/11/19 – **Code: IN1119**

Questionnaire for VIDYA VENCATESAN 7/12/18 Interview **Code: IN07121**

MEETING n°1- WITH M. THAPAN AT DELHI SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS -26/11/18

- **Code: IN261118** & MEETING n°2- 13/12/18 -**Code: IN131218**

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some 'track' to follow and were useful to potentially meet my quest for data. The interviews where codified using a simple method.

No software has been used to neither record, nor unpack the qualitative data given during interviews. Everything has been done manually. As a consequence, I had to organize my data in a systemic and efficient way. Codes contain two letters in correspondence with the city in which they took place (PD: Padova; AM: Amsterdam) or the country (IN: India), the sequence of numbers following the letters is the date in which the interview occurred (See box n°1). In the thesis text, you will find reference to the interviews with these codes. The interview samples are available in appendix 3.1 to 3.5. For obvious privacy reasons, these samples do not contain the declarations of my informants.

Interview type 2 was submitted to Indian students' prior privacy consensus, digging within

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BOX N°.2. INTERVIEWS TYPE 2 AND CODES- *Appendix n°2.4 & 2.5*

INTERVIEW FORM 1: Indian students leaving to Italy – **code IN#.../1**

INTERVIEW FORM 2: In-depth interview about Life in Padua -Indian students- **code PD#.../2**

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specific aspects of their profile to find out precise answers to some of our hypotheses and research goals. The codes of interviews regarding students contains the place "IN" or "PD", a number "#...

BOX N°.3. INTERVIEWS TYPE 3 AND CODES- *Appendix n° 2.6*

INTERVIEW FORM 3: In-depth interview about Italian's perception of India in Padova **– code PD#.../3**

" which corresponds to the order in which I interviewed them for each form type indicated with "/" 1, 2 or 3 (See box n°2).

Complementary to interview type 2, form 1 and 2, I added a third level to have an unbiased idea of Indian students' life in Padova. Therefore, I have created a third form in May 2018: **Interview type 3** (Box n°3).

I have aggregated the data collected through an additional online (and anonymous) survey following the same technique mentioned in the previous paragraph (See Table in Chapter 2, section 4) This choice was necessary in light of the poor availability of the Paduans to discuss on the matter. Mainly the comments that emerged are "*I don't know enough about India*", "*the only thing I know about India is the Indian restaurants in Padova and Gandhi".*

Informant profile / Interview type	Institution: Town Hall, Embassy, University	'Relevant informants': Professors, Associations	Indian Students: Leaving India/ in Padova	Padova's civil society- permanent residents
TYPE 1	5	8		
TYPE 2- form 1			10	
TYPE 2- form 2			42	
TYPE 3				21
TOTAL of interviews		= 86 interviews		

TableA2: Semi-structured interviews. Informants' profiles by interviews types. Own elaboration.02/20.

In this pattern, interviews were used as an instrument to test the working hypotheses which have originated from earlier interviews engendering a research process that had to be pursued until the working hypothesis could credibly account for all available ideas and information I had collected so far. I stopped the data collection when further interviews were confirming rather than modifying, the working hypotheses I have previously introduced (see the general Introduction of the thesis).

"*In semi-structured interview approaches, this form part of an interactive cycle of interview, analysis, evaluation and design of the next interview* " (Thomas et al., 1998, p. 137, my underlining). By way of contrast, open-ended interviews required mostly an inductive approach that permits the respondent to describe what is meaningful and salient without being 'trapped' in a predetermined and standardized category.

c)-Intensive interviews

I started to ask for longer in- depth interviews, only after I had secured a 'trust' base with Indian students.

I interviewed both students and civil servants intensively, for those who agreed on having a second round of a two-hour interview, which were fewer than before due to time constriction, and perhaps suspicion.

With the students I was curious about the course of their lives, careers, roles and their vision of the city of Padova. It is from the civil servants that I derived the vital elements of the visa exclusion for instance, which proved to be crucial to my understanding of the Indian student's journey to Italy, both physically and metaphorically speaking. In this way, the information I obtain were

much more detailed and spontaneous: secret love stories, political/power conflicts between some students, contrasted opinion regarding consultancies sending Indians in Padova, perception of the Italian education system, family's situation in India or abroad… (See Chapter 6).

I have begun the interview with questions from a prepared list, and, apart from asking the interviewer to provide specific information I used the *method of non-directive questioning* asking questions that were more *open-ended*[407] than those which are formally phrased and designed as triggers that stimulate the interview into talking about a particular broad area (Thapan 1986, p.3). That was the case of the interviews conducted in the Embassy, while talking about Brain drain and brain gain (See Chapter 2). Sometimes, I used a method of *non-politically correct questions* asking through 'provocation' my informants with some questions or remarks that where raising some intricated political questions. Once again, in the Embassy I ventured with some questions about the relevance of Sonia Gandhi in the decision of migration to Italy, of Narendra Modi. Although I have had answers on these questions, I was not allowed to divulgate these contents for international security reasons: the informant works for the MAECI, the data must reflect a "*politically correct discourse to avoid potential international conflicts*" (Interview in Delhi on 17/11/2019).

Finally, these data were enriched by informal conversations and personal talks all along the Ph.D research. (2018/2020).

d) Informal conversations: communication and relations

I partially mentioned the importance of communication and talks while discussing the process of immersion. This paragraph is simply meant to underline how relevant these 'micro-off' conversations are, providing further details on questions that did not even cross my mind.

For example, unexpectedly my informant in the Embassy, raised alone the *question of the Marò* (the two Italian Marines that were accused of killing two Indian fishermen in Kerala in 2013), that I had not considered at all until this point. Thapan had warn me about this possible 'side-step'. "*Good personal relations would, on the other hand, lead to an interview being transformed into a more informal encounter and I would often be supplied with rich and valuable information beyond what I had originally sought*"(Thapan, 1986, p. 4). Quoting Woods: "'*Talks' is a major feature of ethnographic research*" , the importance of communication without any fixed-pattern, was as much precious as the in-depth interview, sometimes it was just fundamental. (Woods in Adelman 1981, p.16). Informal talks permit to note the "*ordinary course of events*" (Woods, 2012a, p. 263) in my fieldwork diaries.

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[407] See Hammersley and Atkinson : Ethnography: principles in practice 2007, p.3)

e)-Written documents consultation

In an attempt to map the flow of Indian Students to Italy, I entirely relied on official data. I have examined laws, policies, school documents, visa admission or rejection.

o *Assessment*

Working with Thapan in New Delhi (November- December 2018) on the methodological approach I should have adopted myself to expose my findings properly; she told me that: "*The sociology of education is a sociological discipline where qualitative research is prominently based*" on and pushed me to follow an interactional approach as she did: "*sit in the classrooms and observe them quietly [...] they will get used to it*"[408] (M.Thapan, 2018, from the interview IN261118). Her idea was that I could have seen the interaction of Indian students with Italians and their way of living in the Italian "*spaces of knowledges*" (Raghuram, 2013) or to observe their tendency to gather as small groups of peers, avoiding Italians.

The "*classroom observation*" was not for me. Although Thapan requested "*to insist until they would have been used to. Not three or four times but twenty if necessary.*[409]", sitting in the back of the room while many of them knew who I was and on what I was doing research, could have been disturbing.

On the contrary of Thapan, going to classes was easy for me. In Italy, due to the large number of students in classrooms, and the total absence of control in terms of *entry-exit* checking, it was effortless to participate to lessons. The tough part was to be invisible in regard to Indian students' eyes as I knew most of them. Finally, I have decided to take advantage of the period of exams (January- February 2019) to literally 'follow' the students in places of study where I was less visible than in classes.

Thus, I was a student among many who were studying and for three weeks, it seemed to be a good compromise, because it puts us all in the same condition and we were meeting at coffee breaks and canteen. I also put an announcement at the coffee machine corner for students who would like to participate in my interviews, to reach as many people as possible. The announcement stood there for a week, but nobody called. It's true that I was not 'paying' to secure the release of an interview. I am still -naively perhaps- perceived that giving money in exchange of information, might misrepresent the wholeness of my informants. I believe that interview should be attended on a voluntary and on a 'clean' basis.

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[408] Interview on 3/12/2018 New Delhi (visiting between November- December 2018)
[409] Interview 3/12/2018.

Approaching Indian students one by one has been long and laborious: in the end I have submitted #42 semi structured interview, from which I made a second interview to #14 Indian students (in-depth interviews); and **#21** more succinct interviews to random permanent resident in Padova. The idea was to capture an overview of the other part of the mirror: Padova's residents, to have a feedback on their impression and perceptions of Indian migration and on international student's influence in the city transformation. The table below (table n°A.3) resumes all the different sociological tools I have used to obtain the whole picture of the Indian students migration to Padova. Part 2 and 3 will then discuss this data in a concrete manner. The goal here was only to explain what kind of instruments were selected and why.

Respondents / Additional Tools	Indian students in Italy	Indian students moving to Italy	Indian students in Padova	Permanent residents	Civil servants/ Institutions
Intensive interviews	N. A	YES	YES	NO	NO
Informal conversation	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Written documents consult.	YES	YES	YES	N. A	YES

Table A.3 :Additional sociological tools used related to each informant profile. Own elaboration 02/20.

III.2 A crafted tool: manual coding. Processing codes, coding in cycles.

Qualitative coding procedures emanating from grounded theory were limited by technologies of the 1960s: colored pens, scissors, and index cards. Today, electronic documents can be flexibly stored, retrieved, and cross-referenced using qualitative data analysis (QDA) software (Deterding & Waters, 2018). However, in my case, for the sake of authentic anthropologic/ethnographic research, following my mentor's suggestions - Jan Breman[410]- I have decided to code manually i.e. without using a software, exactly how the Chicagoans did in their time. In this part I illustrate the method through the example of the interviews conducted with students, a similar methodology, although with other indicators of course, has been employed to codify the interviews of permanent residents, institutional actors and associations.

    o   *Coding: a manual systematic arrangement of data*

To codify is to carefully arrange data, information, and talks in a systematic order, to make those part of a system or classification, to categorize. Coding is a heuristic action (from the Greek, "to discover") – an exploratory problem-solving technique without specific formulas to follow. I like Charmaz's (2006) metaphors related to the coding process in GTM when she states that coding "*generates the bones of your analysis. [...] integration will assemble those bones into a working skeleton*" (*ibid.*, p. 45).

Data were coded both during and after collection as an analytic tactic. The coding method that I have tested here for the first time, enabled me to organize and group similarly coded data into categories or "families" because they share some characteristic – the beginning of a pattern. The coding process thus required a constant comparative process, contrasting the various instances of emotions, values, and context codes, allowing me to construct subcategories in order to interpret data. In practical terms, I have first designed a tab with three columns: 1-raw data: 2- preliminary code: 3-final code (See Picture 3.1)

The preliminary codes are the 'In vivo' coding: small notes written at the moment of the interview as keywords on the side of the answers using the following macro concepts. During the first coding cycle,

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[410] Breman suggested me a brilliant book : Saldaña (2013) and he created a contact between me and M. Baas who used an even more'opened' method to translate his findings into words.

my notes were using emotions coding and values coding to complete the keywords used by my informants (some of them are reported **in Box n°4 below**).

<div style="border:1px solid">

BOX N°4. – CODING FROM THE FIELDWORK DIARY ---- QUALITATIVE INDICATORS- KEY WORDS

 [**MOBILITY JOURNEY**] Students mobility application – visa procedure – previous mobility journey

[BACKGROUND STORY] family's situation- relevance/ influence of the family- following the path of someone else- diaspora

[**STUDENT'S PERSONAL EXPERIENCE**] Social inclusion – Integration- Participation - Everyday life - Stability – personal commitment – isolation -

[**RELATION WITH THE CITY OF PADUA**] City's internationalization – Cosmopolitism – Culture promotion – Beautiful city- livable standards – No English

[**PERCEPTIONS FROM *IN* AND *OUT* (INDIANS)**]

Conflict - India vs Italy - Cultural differences– *Heimweh – Enjoy-*

[**EDUCATION AND STUDENT'S CONDITIONS IN PADUA**] Education quality - University role/relevance - Abroad studies – financial investment on education

[**STUDENTS FLOWS**] Brain gain – brain drain - Career Aspirations- roots -culture relevance

</div>

"*Rarely will anyone get coding right the first time.*" (Breman, 2019). Then, I carried on with descriptive coding and finally pattern coding, in the second cycle of coding.

At the end of the day, Breman (2019) and Saldaña (2013) made me realize how the use of qualitative inquiry required meticulous attention to concepts, language and deep reflection on the pattern and meanings of individual's human experience, before categorizing with a simple 'tag'.

In Box n°4, the [WORDS INTO BRACELETS] represent the 'descriptive codes' that emerged in the second round of my coding process previously described, the words written aside each line in the same color, represent the subcategories: the codes that can be encompassed in the single bracelet word. These subcategories come from the own words employed by my informants during interviews.
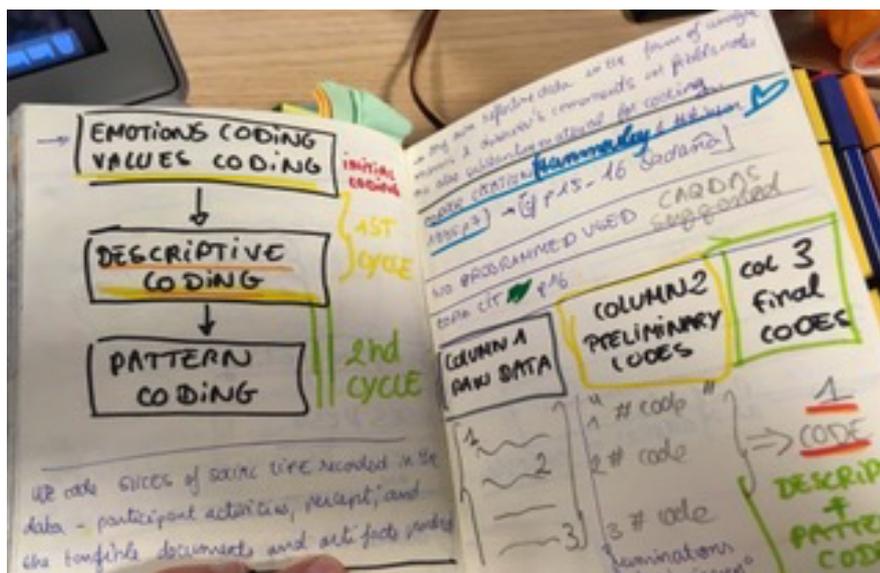
Picture A.2: Coding steps from diary's notes. 03/2019- Amsterdam.

As a matter of fact, the interview's sample's track (type 1, 2 or 3) was giving prior insights with questions that had the intention to stand out these categories (which eventually emerged as planned). Coding is thus a method which enabled me to organize and group similarly coded data into categories or "families" because they were sharing some characteristics (see photography A.9).

o   *Recoding and recategorizing as Saldana (2013)*
The following step after data interpretation is a second round of coding, called "re-coding" in literature (see Figure A.3).

Recoding can occur with a more attuned perspective using First Cycle methods again, while Second Cycle methods describe those processes that might be employed during the second (and third and possibly fourth review of data.) As a very basic process, codifying usually follows an ideal and streamlined scheme illustrated in figure n°A.3).
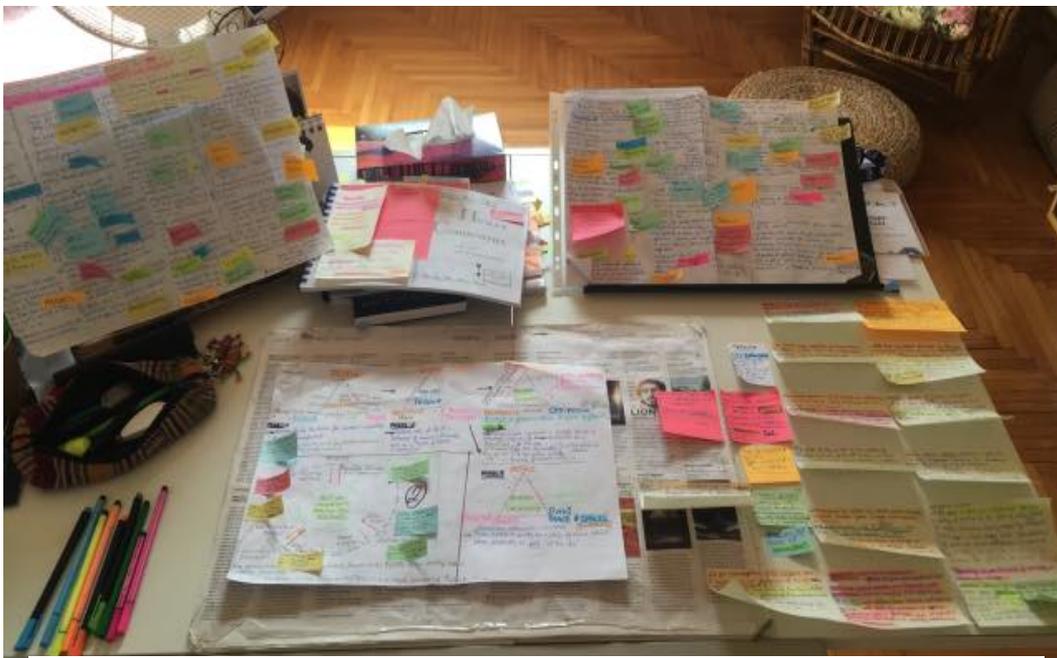
Photography A.9: Manually coding and recoding. System elaborated by the author. 03/2019-01/2020.

The recoding process is "*a striving brain exercise*" to refine codes and categories (Saldaña, 2013). First, I have anonymized all the names of the informants, attributing a code to each of them, then I integrated the data from the record interviews with my diary notes and reproduced the track on the computer.

In the first coding phase, some of the 'in vivo' codes were later subsumed by other codes, relabeled, sometimes even dropped all together. Progressing in the Second Cycle coding, 'Descriptive coding' I had to make some rearrangement, finally in the next step, I had to reclassify the coded data into different, new categories. Saldaña (2013) describes this coding in cycle process, with another metaphor employed by Abbott (2004) cleverly likens the process to "*Decorating a room; <u>you try it, step back</u>, move a few things, step back <u>again, try a serious reorganization</u>, and so on*" (*Idid.*, p. 215, my underlining). Some categories may contain clusters of coded data that merited further refinement into subcategories. And, when the major categories were compared with each other and consolidated in various ways, I begun to transcend the "reality" of my data and have progressed toward the thematic, conceptual, and theoretical final code.

Eventually, to apply the coding process described in Figure A.3, I have used another file reporting the codes I had first identify, in a 's*hrined*' file on the computer which includes five columns (see Figure A.4).

Figure 6 reiterates the different phases of the coding process in a table which contains all the codes previously presented. The colors helped me a lot in visualizing the repetition of the descriptive codes that had emerged all along in every interview. From the descriptive codes, I identified, pattern and focused codes more specific in every interview. In this manner, some informants stood out among
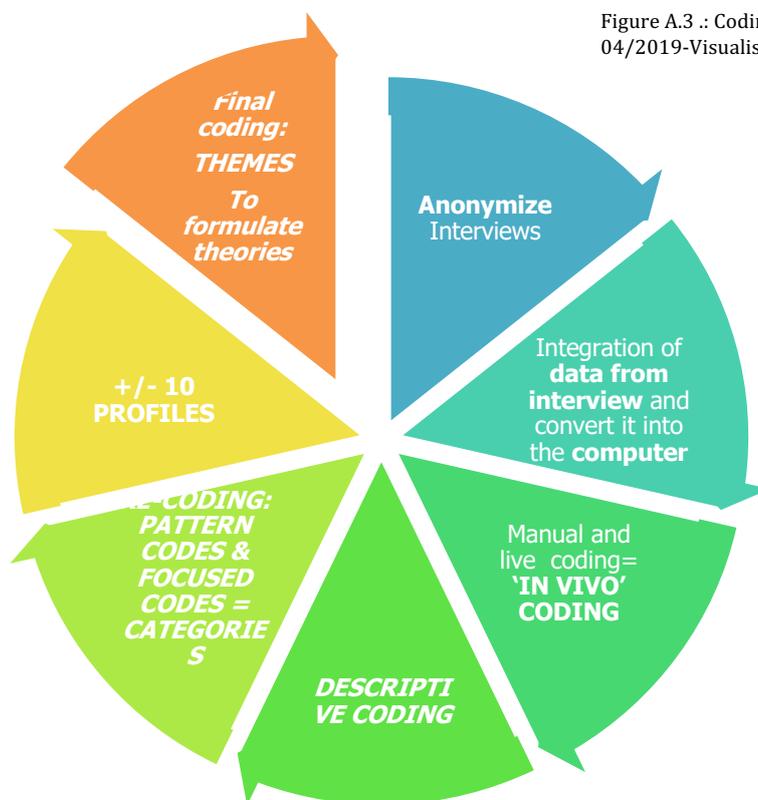

Figure A.3 .: Coding in cycle. steps and coding types. 04/2019-Visualisation elaborated by me.

others as they included 'a special detail' that was lacking in other narrations, but that became important in Coding cycle 2 as it was arguing in the same direction of literature data. According to Saldaña, coding process requires a constant comparative process, comparing the various instances of emotions, values, and in vivo codes, allowing us to construct subcategories among the informants who participated to the interviews (*Ibid., 2013)* (Third column: coding CYCLE 1, figure A.4).

And, when the major categories were compared with each other and consolidated in various ways, I begun to transcend the "reality" of my data and have progressed toward the thematic, conceptual, and theoretical final code (Fourth column: Coding cycle 2, Figure A.4). The last phase is the most complicated as I had to merge all the information collected in the previous phases and compare the data of 'Coding cycle 2' of all my #42 students. The last column described the final code : the categories of students (Fifth column: final code, Figure A.4).

o *Identification of categories and profiles.*

Interview code	Preliminary coding cycle From Raw Data to IN vivo coding	Coding CYCLE 1 Descriptive coding	Coding CYCLE 2 CATEGORIES: pattern Codes & Focused codes To determine behavior trends between culture and society To determine profile type	FINAL CODE THEMES To formulate theories
PD#1/2 – 25062018 – girl 24 PROFILE #1: CULTURAL TIES WITH INDIA AND FAMILY'S RELEVANCE	"I am the first to go abroad for studies in my family" "I am doing a PhD in Chemical science" –"scientific area" – "I came to UNIPD because of my Professor" x 2 – "big differences between Indian and Italian education system: Italian universities are more theoretical oriented." "grant is not enough to cover the expenses" - "Grant from a European program" - "enrollment fees included" "private education offers better quality" - "1 to 10 Italian friends" - –"I met Italians going to University and through common friends" "More than 10 Indian friends " "I live in a private flat with roommates" "I didn't know Italian before and still don't" "I have stayed 3 years" "I like Italy" - "They don't speak English" « Italy was my first choice »	[MOBILITY JOURNEY] Novice [BACKGROUND STORY] Economic situation 3 Both parents work. No more details. Bothered by the question. [EDUCATION AND STUDENT'S CONDITIONS IN PADUA] English ok Relevance of the University Big difference Scientific area M1 Grant €	NO EXTERNAL INFLUENCE ATTACHED TO FAMILY SINGLE ECONOMICAL STANDARD: 3 (AFFORDABLE LIVING) - €RASMUS GRANT RELEVANCE OF THE UNIVERSITY FINANCIAL INVESTMENT ON EDUCATION SCIENTIFIC AREA M1 student PREFERS INDIA EDUCATION's QUALITY DIASPORA BOUND ENGLISH LANGUAGE:6	DEEP BOUND WITH THE FAMILY -BROKEN LOVE STORY SOCIAL NORMS Conformity cultural transmission

Figure A.4.:Manual coding system with 5 columns reported on the computer, screenshot. Personal elaboration, 04/2019.

Once the coding process has gone through its various phases, I started to find repetitions in the code used for each interview. Comparing manually the color codes attributed to each informant, I grouped the codes into categories as the output of the process of re coding, (see Figure A.4 above). While investigating the mobility journey and experience of Indian students between India and Italy, the data collected during interviews and then coded have been analyzed considering different categories whose name were constructed in referring to literature theoretical insights. Hence, I have highlighted three main trends in correspondence with the discussion opened in Chapter I: *brain drain,*

brain gain, brain circulation. In formulating my final codes, I tried to create correspondences between the mobility journey of Indian students and what the literature was suggesting : the brain theories. Once I noticed that the responses were fitting with one of the three 'brain theories', I grouped the students in categories.

III.3 Typologies of Indian students in UNIPD: Awaraa (circulates), Prashant (stays), Bharti (returns).

o *Three categories, three migration theories*

-The Indian students who STAY IN ITALY, category: "*Prashant*"411 → **(#1 profile)**

This first category coincides with the phenomenon depicted in literature as'*brain drain'*.

- The Indian students who RETURN TO INDIA, category "*Bharti*"412 → **(#4 profiles).**

This second category coincides with the phenomenon depicted in literature as'*brain gain".*

- The Indian students who CIRCULATE AROUND THE WORLD, category "*Awaara*"413 → **(#5 profiles).**

This third category coincides with the phenomenon depicted in literature as'*brain circulation".*

These categories reflect the future intentions of Indian students, once their mobility abroad will be concluded and answer to question n* 9 **"***Would you like to stay in Italy for an additional degree or for a job opportunity"* and 10 –*" If you want to come back in India, explain why and what are you expecting for the future since you did that experience ? if not, same question".,* Section 5 of Interview type 2: code PD#.../2.

o *The biographical analysis: a focus on specific student's profiles.*

Finally, once I had collected sufficient information through interviews, the categories helped me to bring out 10 profiles (Box n° 5) which narrate 10 micro-stories. These profiles were considered the most representative to describe the three brain categories. The 10 profiles have been chosen following the criteria of contents 'exhaustivity. Some excerpts of the interviews that were richer will be reported in Chapter 5 and inserted as 'short stories' to build a *fil rouge* along which I will use to discuss the mobility of Indian students, taking into account all the other data collected through interviews. In short, I used the profiles highlighted in Box n°5 to tie my data in a more linear way for the reader as if the students were the characters of a book (See Appendix n°2.1, p.369, for the profiles' descriptions).

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411 **Prashant** is a common male name in South Asia. It is derived from the word "shanth" which means patience, calm, quiet, or tranquil. See the website : http://www.sevenreflections.com/name/prashant/

412 **Bharti** is a female name, it means Indian; Well-groomed; Descended from Bharat; Eloquent. See the website: https://www.bachpan.com/meaning-of-bharti.aspx

413 **Awaara** is a Hindi/ Urdu word which means someone away from or without a family, someone who roams around without any work etc., a wanderer, vagrant. See the website: http://www.bollymeaning.com/2014/06/awara-awaara-awaargi-awarapan-meaning.html

In my view, if I had taken all the #83 statements of the Indian students attending the University of Padova (supposing all of them would have liked joining my study), all of them would have fall into one of the ten profiles I am describing in Box n°5 (See Appendix to Chapter 2, p.332).

I can assess this last statement now that I am writing the methodology chapter (04/2020) with all the data in my mind which clearly recall to literature prior studies and theories that we already discussed in Chapter 1.

- o *Assessment*
After the recommendation of Professor Jan Breman, chasing expert's knowledges on Indian's mobility and they research method, Michiel Baas has been of great inspiration by illustrating theories through the in-depth narration of single profiles, picked among a variety of others. , I have decided to use certain specific profiles – from the students I knew better- to discuss the mobility and daily life of Indian students in Padova in the following part of the thesis. I am convinced that coding gives strength to my study as it evidences shared variables that determine Indian's future's destination as individuals. For similar reasons, the coding system I have developed helped me to stand out the impacts of the presence of Indian students in Padova to discuss in more general terms the relationship between the university and the city towards a more international/cosmopolitan city with the codes from Interviews type 3 (See chapter 6). Their personal stories and their practices of the spaces of Padova will be encompassed within a single case study analysis.

• BOX n°5 : STUDENTS PROFILES- JULY 2020

- **PROFILE #1: 'ABROAD MISSION COMPLETED' :** 'PLEASE' THE FAMILY, :CULTURAL TIES WITH INDIA AND FAMILY'S RELEVANCE
Hanee- PD#3/2 ; Raj Kumar- PD#5/2 ; Govind- PD#24/2 Vikram-PD#2/2 ; PD#16/2- ; PD#17/2; PD#26/2.

PROFILE#2 : 'CAREER FOCUS':
PROFILE #2A: 'GENIOUS CALLED FROM EUROPE' : ERASMUS SCHOLARSHIP FELLOWS- SHORT STAYS
Parvati-PD#30/2 ; Anjana-PD#29/2 ; PD#6/2; PD#8/2; PD#12/2; PD#36/2-; PD#37/2; PD#41/2.

PROFILE #2B 'TIME TO FOLLOW THE RULES': ADVENTUROUS SPIRIT OBSTACLED BY CAREER & FAMILY COMMITMENTS
Kavita, PD#27/2; PD#11/2.

PROFILE #2C: 'BRAVE' : NO SCHOLARSHIP,DESIRED MOBILITY IN ITALY AT ANY COST
Shabanu- PD#1/2 ; PD#13/2; PD#22/2.

- **PROFILE #3: 'COSMOPOLITAN' :** EMANCIPATE FROM FAMILY TIES. CONTINUES ITS ROUTE AROUND THE WORLD FREELY. (Unipd scholarship)
Anand PD#42/2; PD#4/2- PD#20/2; PD#23/2 ; PD#31/2.

- **PROFILE #4: 'CARPE DIEM':** ADVENTUROUS BEHAVIOUR, PARTIALLY influenced by FAMILIES' DECISIONS; NO EXPECTATIONS; ENJOYABLE EXPERIENCE. (Unipd scholarship)
Inbana- PD#10/2; PD#19/2; PD#28/2; PD#35/2.

- **PROFILE #5: 'SOCIAL MISFIT' :** BAD EXPERIENCE, ISOLATION RETURNING; POOR INTERACTIONS, HOME SICKNESS
Sareena- PD#34/2.

- **PROFILE#6: 'UPWARD MOBILITY' :** PERSONNAL BENEFITS FROM MIGRATION ON SOCIAL STATUS; FAMILY MOBILITY OPPORTUNITIES; WORKS; MIGRATION RISK ?
Laxmi Kartik- PD#38/2-; Harsha-PD#14/2 ; Mohan-PD#9/2 ; PD#15/2.

- **PROFILE #7: 'MARRIED STUDENT' :** COUPLE LIFE IN PADOVA, MOBILITY AND FAMILY REUNIFICATION; CARRIER PERSONS
Nilesh- PD#25/2, Metha-PD#40/2; Siva-PD#17/2 .

- **PROFILE#8: 'SIKH COMMUNITY':** SIKH DIASPORA IN ITALY; JOINS THE NETWORK; WORKS
PD#32/2; PD#33/2.

- **PROFILE#9: 'LOCALLY EMBEDDED':** INTEGRATION, HOME FEELING.
PD#7/2.

- **PROFILE#0: 'DISORIENTED' :** a mix of ' career focus+ social misfit' → DISENCHANTMENT; COMPLAINS; VIRTUAL BONDS; LOST
Aroti PD#39/2; Amitab- PD#18/2.

***

1- **Brain Drain-stay (1)**
2- BrainGain-return(4) → **3 CATEGORIES OF MOBILITY / 10** Profiles
3- Brain circulation moves around the world(5)

APPENDIX N° 2.1 : Typologies of Indian students in UNIPD: 3 profiles
Prashant (stays), Bharti (returns), Awaraa (circulates).

As Chapter 1 has exposed previously, students' migration theories generally refer to the *human capital theory* where the output of migration can be a 'settlement in the destination' (brain drain' – see : Agrawal et al., 2011; Docquier, 2014; Dodani & LaPorte, 2005; IRES, 2014) ;a 'return home' ('brain gain'- see : Bijwaard & Wang, 2016; Boeri, 2012; Buga & Meyer, 2012; Dodani & LaPorte, 2005; Trouillet, 2018; Singh & Krishna, 2015) or the beginning of an 'itinerant life' (brain circulation'- see : Han et al., 2015; Mahroum, 2000; Singh & Krishna, 2015; Tremblay, 2005; Van Mol & Ekamper, 2016). By following these three theoretical tracks, the results of my research present the different ways in which the heterogeneous group of Indian knowledge migrants in Padova pursue their migration's pathways. I will use the Indian students' stories to discuss their mobility, taking into account all the other data collected through interviews.

o   *Three categories, 10 profiles.*

Here, I used the profiles already highlighted here to tie my data in a more systematic way. first, the Indian students who stay in Italy, are part of the category: "*Prashant*"[414]. the second group is made of the Indian students who return to India, category "*Bharti*"[415] and the last group is the one of the Indian students who circulate around the world, category "*Awaara*"[416].

The results of the coded interview have account that there is only 1 Prashant. There are 26 Awaraa and 15 Bharti which suggest that Indian students are likely either to return to India or to move somewhere else. The profiles presented in detail here below illustrate who are these students based on the data collected and coded from the interviews.

All these heterogeneous profiles, although sometimes similar profiles, are representative of the diversity of social backgrounds, economic status and religious believe which are characteristic of a country-continent as India. Many other analyses could be conducted to interrelate these profiles in further researches. Indeed, the stories of all of them are connected as figure n°8.1 illustrates. In this figure, the colors correspond to the three migratory pathways: Prashant (stays), Bharti (returns), Awaraa (circulates). The figure 's scope is only to resume the names of the students which have been mentioned all over this chapter.

o   *Focus on the 10 profiles*

"Prashant" : the students who stay in Padova (brain drain)
#9 'LOCALLY EMBEEDED'

This profile describes the students who have decided to settle in Italy after they would have completed their studies. The reason of the stay maybe connected to a job opportunity or a positive feeling out of the experience in the city. This was the case of Krishna and his wife.

From my sample, the only one "Prashant" is **Krishna** who had followed its Ph.D wife to Italy and has settled his family here, taken the chance of doing a master and eventually had a baby girl. As an active community member, he is a reference for Indians who are coming every year to the University, he is highly involved in local activities to promote a good image of India in Padova.

"Bharti" : the student who return in India (Brain gain)

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[414] Prashant is a common male name in South Asia. It is derived from the word "shanth" which means patience, calm, quiet, or tranquil.

[415] Bharti is a female name, it means Indian; Well-groomed; Descended from Bharat; Eloquent. See the website:

[416] Awaara is a Hindi/ Urdu word which means someone away from or without a family, someone who roams around without any work etc., a wanderer, vagrant.

I have identified three profiles within this category.

#1 ABROAD MISSION COMPLETED'

This profile corresponds to those students like Hanee who went abroad to distinguish themselves from the Indian's inner competition in the job sphere and in the personal sphere. In short, this profile corresponds to the student who leave to get married.

Eventually, in my interviews the question turned out to be quite common as it is an Indian tradition. *For example,* **Raj Kumar**, went back to India "*because of my relatives and family*" (Govind, 10/01/2019) and "*due to cultural diversity*" (Raj Kumar, 27/06/2018). Raj Kumar has carried on with his carrier and works as a Professor Assistant in Electrical Engineering in Pune. He seems happy and serene, he said that he missed Italy but could not imagined living there forever as his "*roots are in India*" (Raj Kumar, 20/11/2019). Siva, Raj Kumar, Vikram, Govind are part of the profile group. Hanee also belongs to this profile and has twice demonstrated that he would choose India and his family and traditions over Italy.

They are three other profiles who are likely to return to India after their mobility in Italy which generally correspond with an average or negative experience in Italy.

#6 'UPWARD MOBILITY'

This profile corresponds to students who have not entirely enjoyed their 'students' experience' as their economical resources were not sufficient, and they had to work while studying. These students often spend most of the time with peers (Indian students or Indian community's member) and miss the immersion in the Italian culture. Besides, this working-student profile often turned out to be an excuse to simply work and as such may represent a 'migratory risk'. **Laxmi Kartik's** experience describes it well.

He is a 24 years-old-boy coming from Andhra Pradesh, near Bangalore, Anantapur from a family of farmers. Laxmi is passionate by its study-topic (natural fertilizer experiment for crops on potatoes in Agripolis). In October 2019, we met again by coincidence, he was driving an electrical bicycle and wearing a '*Glovo'* food delivery backpack. He told me that him, Mohan and one of its roommates collected the money to buy the bicycle so that they can work faster. Indeed, the D-Visa allow them to work for 20 hours/week.

Finally, besides the role he had for ISC, he helped a lot of students to get admission in UNIPD like **Jobah.** Laxmi told me that he had: "*paid the tuitions' fees for* **Jobah (PD#33/2)** *when he applied it and got money once he reached Padova*". This example was meant to show its commitment in his task to help students, as a member of ISC, when it stresses other concerning aspects. Indeed, Laxmi Kartik's activities to attract Indian students from India (together with Krishna), may constitute an example of '*migratory risk*' in the long run. More than a real vocation for agriculture as he solemnly claims, it can be the occasion for him to stay in Italy and to uplift his 'poor' social status.

#5 'SOCIAL MISFIT'

This profile captures the experiences of these students like Sareena who have suffered from isolation and lack of social interactions in their daily life in Padova resulting in a negative perception of Italy. As a consequence, these students will return to India once their mobility period would be over in Padova. Indeed, **Sareena** has clearly expressed that she would have leave Italy: *"I don't want to stay here anymore. I will have my Ph.D defence in March 2019, then I go back to India for a 2 months break; and will look for other opportunities […] I would like to eventually return to India because I like it. My experience in Italy has taught me how much better India is than Italy."* (PD#34/2 on 24/02/2019).

#0: 'DISORIENTED'

The '0' profiles, describes those 'outsiders' like Aroti and Amitab who are combining different profiles (#5 + #2). *Similarly, to Sareena,* **Aroti** *suffered of isolation.* These students are '**DISORIENTED**' by an uncomfortable experience and have not yet decided if they should carry on moving or simply returning

home. For example, **Amitab** declared loudly: *"I have NO INTENTION to stay here ![...] Certainly I shall go back to India, but it depends on whether I get a Researcher or Associate Professor (Minimum) position in TIFR,IISC,ICTS,IMSC,BOSE INSTITUTE, HRI etc [...] I shall like to change the Indian education system in a way it can create scientists, leaders, entrepreneurs rather than only Engineers."(Amitab, #18/2).*

"Awaara" : **the students who continue moving after the Italian experience (Brain circultaion)**

From my sample, many Indian students have expressed the desire to carry on moving after their journey in Padova. They are the profile carrying on an 'itinerant dwelling' as I defined it in Chapter 2. There is a range of five main profiles which differ on the way they have experienced their mobility in Padova.

The first profiles **(#2)** have in common the fact of putting their 'career' forefront

#2A 'GENIOUS CALLED FROM EUROPE'

This profile refers to the 'talented students' who won a scholarship out of their successful experience in Padova. Anjana and Parvati have both declared in the interviews that the University of Padova materialized a 'gateway' to enter within the broader European High Education institutions'network.

#2B 'TIME TO FOLLOW THE RULES'

This profile reflects the story of the students who aspire to a brilliant carrier but are limited by family's constrictions (wedding). Often it has revealed that families will arrange a wedding for these students with another Indian residing in Europe. Hence, their future mobility is determined by their families' decision even when they may have another plan in mind on their own. This profile is another example of transnationalism influencing Indians' personal lives. The story of **Kavita** is a great example of this 'mother India pressure'. She seems 'tugged': *" I think that I got adapted really fast to the European culture and would feel weird coming back home where I should "fit" in the Indian model of the 'plant' you know,' the 'educated wife who has to stay home to take care of the kids' " [...] "I mean there is nothing bad in this, my sister does this kind of life in London, I just don't think it is for me, although I know that my mother would love seeing me married soon. [...] I'm focused on my career now, that is my priority, this and my freedom." (Informal talk on 15/07/2020).* She is trying to decelerate the current agreements between her mother and her 'future husband' for her arranged wedding scheduled in November. Then the Covid-19 changed her plans again, and as she is 'stuck in Italy'.

#2C BRAVE'

This profile coincides with the one of students who entirely rely on their parents who fund their studies and for this reason have to provide good results of their studies in Italy and are silently requested to agree on any collateral decision related to their future career. We can notice here how parents have a passive yet meaningful role in the decision-making process of unmarried students (Tan & Hugo, 2017). The example is the one of **Shabanu.** Her experience is similar to the one of Kavita, her family disagreed on her marrying Raj Kumar and now they are arranging her wedding. She has no scholarships and relies entirely on her family wishes made for her 'good' even for her career which she would like to pursue in UK.

#3 'COSMOPOLITAN'

This profile is useful to depic the more recent flows which have arrievd in Padova. These profiles are extremely mobile and do not suffer of the parental pressure as the two previous one described, on the contrary they are emancipating form family ties. **Anand** is a great example. He is planning to: *"follow any further posisbilities to work on migration studies, anywhere in the world, as long as I can stay with my girlfriend"* (*PD#42/2, on 23/01/2019).*

This profile describes students who generally come from big Indian cities and from wealthy family who seems more flexible in letting them live an adventurous. They 'seem flexible' because they often do not agree with it and ask the student to compromise on some family-related questions. **Inbana**'s story reflects this attitude from her family in her daily behaviour which is oriented to a fully enjoyment of the present moment. " *My boyfriend in India is from another caste so my parents they do not want me to marry him. I have been trying to perceive them that he is a good person... nothing to do about that! Now I am here in Padova, I do not know if we will stay together, life will decide for us.*" (PD#10/2, on 23/10/2018).

#7 'MARRIED STUDENT'

This profile refers to the students who leave for an abroad experience with family members. The fact of being married during the abroad period was accounted in only #2 informants in my sample: Metha and Nilesh**.** These students generally have already accomplished parents' expectations and enjoy of more freedom on their close-future decisions to move or not. Fromm y data this profile has evidenced that married couple spend time with peers (Indians and Italian) but not with younger students. They generally stay in Europe with the perspective of giving a western education to their future children. For the University of Padova, it is still quite rare to host married students, infact the University residences are not equipped in this sense.

Nilesh was already married when he was in Padova. His wife was with him for the almost four years he is spending the city. Nilesh has underlined during the interview we had on skype on 22/01/2019 some issues related to this 'unusual condition': "*I had a Scholarship for my Post-doc. It was just providing the dormitory accommodation, but I was there with my wife and I had to live outside without any support. and I had room on my name in dormitory without any use. There wasnt any other option provided by university administration and it was loss for both. [...] Also, there was deduction of pension from our stipend which was meaningless if we don't prefer to live in Italy after our PhD.*" (PD#25/2). Certainly, this aspect has to be improved.

Eventually, in 2017 Nilesh got a baby girl and one year after he and his wife have moved to Prague where he works now as a Fusion Engineer.

#8 'SIKH COMMUNITY'

The profile 'sikh' is extremely relevant when analysing Indian migrants flows to Italy. In Padova, the presence of a branch of the 'diaspora' was stressed by those students who enjoyed of what I called 'the safety net' : a welcoming family, a bed and a job on arrival. These students are almost invisible since they spend most of the time working either for the University or for the part-time job, they have an Indian local business in Padova.

Jobah is a 21 years old boy from Amristar, studying Animal and Food sciences as a Ph.D student. Jobah is a family member from Gandhi's owner and lives in Ponte di Brenta far from all the other students. He studies in Legnaro on the *Agripolis* campus. His Ph.D supervisor, Marco, describes him as a very polite and educated boy, he is always calling him *"Sir"* and is very respectful and a handworker.

Photography A.10 26: My Indian friends. 2015, Copernico residency. Credit: Syam.

INCONTRO CON ASSESSORE

To what extent international public policies fostering abroad education can contribute to shape a new vision of Indian migrants as "highly-skilled" in Italian cities?
How does it impact the city planning in a perspective of an everyday life cohabitation between different cultures? The case of Padua.

Location: Padova
Interview duration : 1 hour and a half interview approx.
Privacy signed: yes
Interview Code: PDdate

URBAN PLANNING AND REGIONAL PUBLIC POLICIES SHAPING PADUA AS
A 'SPACE OF GLOBAL CULTURE'

1. *Per te Padova è una città "piccola" o una città "media" , nel panorama generale delle città italiane?*

2. *Quali sono i vostri interlocutori pubblici e privati nello svolgimento delle vostre azioni sul territorio urbano Padovano? (Come? Da quando? Nomi?)*

3. *Avete osservato dei cambiamenti strutturali legati all'organizzazione sociale dello spazio negli ultimi 10 anni ? In che termini ?*

4. *Pensi che Padova possa essere definita una città multiculturale/ una global city?*

5. *Che visione hai/ avete per la città di Padova? In termini di gestione degli spazi tra residenti e studenti e tra italiani e comunità straniere? Considerando le specificità del territorio padovano, caratterizzato da una pluralità di mondi diversi.*

PADUA A CITY AND A UNIVERSITY:
A 'SPACE OF FLOWS'?

6. *Come si incrociano i flussi di studenti e la diversità culturale ? Sono fattori da tenere in considerazione nell'organizzazione spaziale della città ?*

7. *Pianificazione del territorio e inclusione sociale. Come si manifesta a Padova? Ci sono degli aspetti innovativi?*

8. *A questo riguardo, hai avuto modo di osservare i comportamenti degli studenti internazionali nei confronti della città, dei residenti , degli altri studenti italiani ?*

9. *Per caso hai osservato qualche differenza di comportamento degli studenti indiani rispetto agli altri studenti internazionali ?*

TERRITORIES AND HUMAN ECOLOGY

10. *Attualmente, diresti che a Padova troviamo delle "zone naturali" di forte concentrazione di determinati gruppi sociali ? La differenziazione per quartiere è sovrapponibile con le differenze economiche, sociali e culturali dei suoi abitanti?*

11. *Padova vive ancora oggi esperienze di sovversione sociale e delinquenza? In che zone?*

12. *Esistono azioni volte a decostruire l'immagine negativa dei migranti nei quartieri dove, in passato, si sono presentati episodi di violenza/conflitto?*

13. _Riguardo il quartiere Arcella: quando è entrato a far parte della città di Padova? Ne ha sempre fatto parte? Come si è evoluta strutturalmente la città di Padova?_

14. _Come definisci l'Arcella: una zona delimitata rispetto alla città o no?_

15. _Quando è iniziata la politica di rivalorizzazione del quartiere?_

16. **_#rigenerazioneurbana_**_. Interventi in corso, quali sono i vostri obiettivi?_

17. **_#partecipazione_**_. Da FB, ho potuto osservare che l'amministrazione di Padova chiede un coinvolgimento diretto/un confronto con la popolazione delle zone interessate ai nuovi progetti di rigenerazione urbana. Da un punto di vista pratico, che metodi/strumenti partecipativi usate?_

APPENDIX n°2.3 : Form Interview type 1

Indiani che si recano per motivi di studio in Italia per brevi o lunghi periodi

1. Quando è iniziato il lavoro di UNI-Italia presso le ambasciate italiane in India?
2. Avete delle statistiche relative al numero di indiani che fanno domanda per l'Italia ogni anno, dal momento dell'attivazione del flusso/ da 10 anni?
3. Rispetto al numero di domande che ricevete, quante vengono approvate?
4. Nel caso di domande di visto per motivi di studio rifiutate, quali sono le ragioni?
5. Avete dei dati in termini di percentuali di partecipazione all'educazione universitaria in India nel confronto con la domanda che ricevete di mobilità?
6. Qual è la percentuale di maschi/femmine che fanno domanda? Età media?
7. Come interpretate questi numeri? Il parametro culturale della cultura indiana influisce la scelta di mobilità? (donne, matrimoni....)
8. Qual è l'iter da seguire per ottenere un visto/permesso per studio all'estero? Quali sono le tempistiche e i costi ?
9. Di conseguenza, questa possibilità è accessibile a tutta la popolazione indiana?
10. Esistono delle borse di studio per gli studenti di classi sociali meno privilegiate? (ruolo del RTE ?)
11. Esistono dei consulenti privati che affiancano questi studenti nelle loro domande. Lavorate a contatto con loro ?
12. Il loro ruolo è determinante affinché gli studenti possano ottenere i loro visti? Che posizione adottate in quanto ente pubblico rispetto a queste figure private?
13. Quali sono le politiche che hanno favorito l'arrivo degli studenti indiani in Italia? Quando è iniziato?
14. Tramite che programma arrivano? Scambio, progetto bilaterale, rapporti individuali tra professori? L'università ha stretto accordi specifici con delle università o scuole indiane?
15. L'università ha stretto accordi relativi all'accoglienza ed inserimento di queste persone? Nella città di Padova?
16. Quali sono le modalità di reclutamento degli studenti indiani che aspirano ad andare in Europa?
17. A che numero ammontano le iscrizioni negli ultimi anni di studenti indiani presso le università italiane paragonato alla media in Europa? A Unipd?
18. Avete osservato un'aumento/diminuzione negli ultimi 10 anni ? Se si, quali sono le cause di questa variazione ?
19. Quali sono gli ambiti disciplinari maggiormente richiesti?
20. Pensate che il legame storico Italia-India (in particolare per via della presenza della famiglia di Sonia Gandhi) possa essere un motivo di scelta del paese?
21. Al contrario, pensate che l'attuale politica di Modi possa spingere certi studiosi fuori dai confini dell'India, per motivi di studio e/o per motivi personali (per le minoranze)?
22. Solitamente, uno studente indiano che fa domanda in Italia, lo fa come prima scelta o è "solo una tra tante opzioni"? Perché ?
23. Quali sono i servizi, proposte , che li attraggono presso le Università Italiane? In particolare, l'Università di Padova?
24. Che percezione ha l'università italiana del grado di educazione di questi studenti?
25. Avete dei feedback positivi/negativi da parte degli studenti indiani relativi alla loro presenza in Italia?
26. La presenza di studiosi/ricercatori stranieri contribuisce ad arricchire il bagaglio conoscitivo delle discipline che trattano?
27. Per le domande 24, 25 e 26 che metodologia d'indagine avete utilizzato per raccogliere e valutare queste informazioni?
28. Esiste un'associazione di *alumni* che assicura un monitoraggio/continuo contatto tra gli studenti (passati-presenti-futuro)?
29. La presenza di un network nel paese di destinazione svolge un ruolo nella scelta di esso?
30. Credete che questo elemento possa essere interpretato come una manifestazione della diaspora indiana in Italia?

31. In termini "legali", gli studenti con visto studente, sono autorizzati a svolgere un lavoro (anche part-time) quando arrivano in Italia ? Se SI, quali sono le professioni che sono autorizzati a svolgere?
32. Se NO (27), qual' è la realtà della situazione? Esistono dei numeri relativi alla dinamica lavoro/studio per gli indiani in mobilità in Italia?
33. In termini di inserimento sociale, esistono programmi linguistici/culturali volti all'integrazione degli studenti indiani nelle città di arrivo in Italia?
34. Da parte vostra, esiste un'offerta formativa di lingua italiana alla quale gli studenti possono aderire prima di partire ?
35. Siete riusciti a mappare le università di destinazione in Italia ? Come si posiziona Padova in questa graduatoria?
36. Numerosi studenti hanno fatto domande al sud Italia quest'anno, come interpretate questo fenomeno, in particolare alla luce del contesto politico attuale di repressione della migrazione?

Altri commenti pertinenti ai fini della lettura del fenomeno:

IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW ABOUT LIFE IN PADUA
-INDIAN STUDENTS-

Location: Padova
Interview duration : 1 hour and a half interview approx.
Liberatoria: no- to be kept anonymous.
Interview Code: PD# .../2 // **Interview type 2**

SECTION 1: GENERALITIES

0- Name and surname:
Gender:
- o *Boy*
- o *Girl*

1- Age:
2- Family status
- o *Single*
- o *Engaged*
- o *Married*

3-Have you got children?
- o *Yes*
- o *No*

4- If yes at question 3 will your family join you in Italy?

5- Where are you from (State/Territory and city)?

6-Where did you study so far? (in INDIA University location: state and city name)

7- Do you speak Hindi?
- o *Yes*
- o *No*

8- Do you speak English? (precise your level A1-C2)
- o *Yes : 1- basic level (A1)--------------------------6- advance level (C2)*
- o *No*

SECTION2: SOCIAL BACKGROUND

1- Family's economic situation:
1-very poor ....6- very rich
2- Are you from SC, ST or OBC?
- o *Yes :*
- o *No*

3- Did you benefit from RTE (Right to Education act)?
- o *Yes*
- o *No*
- o *I don't know what it is*

4- What kind of job do your parents do?
5a- Family's education (indicate the last step that was done by your family member)
no education- elementary school- college completed- highscool completed- Bachelor completed- MAster completed- PhD degree- Post doc
Mother :
Father :
Brother/sister 1:
Brother/sister 2:
5b- Did someone in your family/relative participated to a mobility period as you are doing now ? (if Yes, precise)
- o *Yes : where :*
- o *No*

6- Have you ever travel outside of India? (if Yes, precise)
- o *Yes : Where :*
- o *No*

SECTION 3: PERSONAL EDUCATION

1-Did you attempt a public or private school?
- o *public*
- o *private*
- o *2- What are the reasons of that choice (1)? you can add many answers:*
- o *Private offers better quality;*
- o *Private instruction is in English*
- o *I had a grant from RTE to go in a private school*
- o *Public education is free*
- o *I studied in public school because I couldn't afford fees of private*
- o *for ethical reasons: I believe in public education for everybody*

3a- about your Education level...what have you completed so far?
- o *just ended High-school*
- o *bachelor degree/laurea Triennale*
- o *Master degree/MBA/ laurea magistrale*
- o *PhD*
- o *Post-doc*

3b- Did you study in English?
- o *Yes*
- o *No*

4- Did you work while studying? (if Yes, precise)
- o *Yes*
- o *No*

5- Studying field?
- o *humanities*
- o *scientific*
- o *other:*

6- What are you doing now? Theme of your studying argument/research interest.

SECTION 4: ADAPTATION SKILLS: GET FIT IN A NEW COUNTRY!

0-Why Italy for your mobility period?

1a - Was Italy your first choice ?
- o *Yes*
- o *No*

1b- Why did you precisely choose the city of Padua?

2- How long have you been in Padua?
- o *1 year*
- o *2 years*
- o *3 years*
- o *More than 3 years*
- o *5 years*
- o *More than 5 years*

3- Did you know Italian before arriving?
- o *Yes*
- o *No*

4- What about now? Italian language level
- 1- *basic level (A1)-----------------------------6- advance level (C2)*

5- Did the university provided Italian lessons?
- o *Yes*

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- *No*
- *I don't know*

6- How many Italian friends do you have?
- *1 to 10*
- *more than 10*
- *I don't have*
- *I only have foreign friends*

7- How/Where did you meet them ?

8- How many other Indian friends have you met here in Italy?
- *1 to 10*
- *more than 10*
- *I don't have*

9- Are you planning to stay in Italy, after your mobility period ?
- *Yes*
- *No*
- *Maybe*

10- Do you work while doing your studies in Italy ?
- *Yes formal job*
- *Yes informal job*
- *No*

11- Describe your experience in Italy in 3 words

I nuovi quartieri

Chapter 7 : SECTION 5: STUDENT'S LIFE IN PADUA

1- *Why did you choose the University of Padua?*

2-What is your course's name?

3- Have you got a scholarship ?
- *yes from my Indian university*
- *YES FROM THE ITALIAN UNIVERSITY*
- *yes from a joint agreement*
- *yes from a European program*
- *yes from a private institution*
- *no I haven't*

4-Is the scholarship enough for your expenses in Padua?
- *Yes*
- *No*

5- What kind of facilities do you have?
- *I don't have any facilities apart to the access to University and library itself*
- *mensa (meals)*
- *accomodation*
- *enrollment fees included*
- *visa*
- *flight ticket*

6a- Where do you live?
- *campus accommodation/ university residence*
- *private flat with roommates (precise origin)*
- *alone in a flat*

6b- Precise the geographical area in Padua:district name /quartiere – look at the map

- ***Quartiere 1** : Piazze, Savonarola, Santo, Portello, Prato della Valle, Stazione Ferroviaria*
- ***Quartiere 2 :** Arcella, San Lorenzo, Sam Carlo, Buon Pastore, Santissima Trinità, San Bellino, San Filippo Neri, San Gregorio, Ponte Vigodarzere*
- ***Quartiere 3** :Fiera, Stanga, Mortise, Torre, San Lazzaro, Ponte di Brenta, Zona Industriale, Isola di Terranegra, Camin, Granze*

- o ***Quartiere 4*** *: Santa Croce, città Giardino, Sant'Osvaldo, Madonna Pellegrina, Voltabarozzo, SS Crocefisso, Salboro, Guizza.*
- o ***Quartiere 5*** *:Sacra Famiglia, San Giuseppe, Porta Trento Sud, Porta Trento Nord, Mandria, Paltana*
- o ***Quartiere 6*** *:Brusegana, Cave, Brentelle, Sant'Ignazio, Montà, Ponterotto, Sacro Cuore, Sacro Cuore, Altichiero.*
- o *Other : outskirt of Padua*

7- Did you expect something more from this abroad experience? What else?

8- Did you notice differences between Italian education and your background education from India? Explain briefly.

9-Would you like to stay in Italy for an additional degree or for a job opportunity?
- o *Yes*
- o *No*
- o *Maybe*

10 - If you want to come back in India, explain why and what are you expecting for the future since you have done that experience? if not, same question.

Personal comments and additional information

Have you forgotten something... or have I ? If you have something more to say , something that seems really relevant for you, please tell me

INTERVIEW TO INDIAN STUDENTS LEAVING TO ITALY

Location: Delhi
Interview duration :
Liberatoria: no- to be kept anonymous.
Interview Code: IN#.../1 // **interview type 2**

0- Name and surname:
Gender:

- o *Boy*
- o *Girl*

1- Age:
2- Family status

- o *Single*
- o *Engaged*
- o *Married*

3-Have you got children?

- o *Yes*
- o *No*

4- If yes at question 3 will your family join you in Italy?

5- Where are you from (State/Territory and city)?

6-Where did you study so far? (in INDIA University location: state and city name)

7- Do you speak Hindi?

- o *Yes*
- o *No*

8- Do you speak English? (precise your level A1-C2)

- o *Yes : 1- basic level (A1)-------------------------6- advance level (C2)*
- o *No*

SECTION2: SOCIAL BACKGROUND

1- Family's economic situation:
1-very poor ....6- very rich
2- Are you from SC, ST or OBC?

- o *Yes :*
- o *No*

3- Did you benefit from RTE (Right to Education act)?

- o *Yes*
- o *No*
- o *I don't know what it is*

4- What kind of job do your parents do?
5a- Family's education (indicate the last step that was done by your family member)
no education- elementary school- college completed- highscool completed- Bachelor completed- MAster completed- PhD degree- Post doc
Mother :
Father :
Brother/sister 1:
Brother/sister 2:
5b- Did someone in your family/relative participated to a mobility period as you are doing now ? (if Yes, precise)

- o *Yes : where :*
- o *No*

6- Have you ever travel outside of India? (if Yes, precise)

- o *Yes : Where :*
- o *No*

SECTION 3: PERSONAL EDUCATION

1-Did you attempt a public or private school?

- *public*
- *private*

2- What are the reasons of that choice (1)? you can add many answers:
- *Private offers better quality;*
- *Private instruction is in English*
- *I had a grant from RTE to go in a private school*
- *Public education is free*
- *I studied in public school because I couldn't afford fees of private*
- *for ethical reasons: I believe in public education for everybody*

3a- about your Education level...what have you completed so far?
- *just ended High-school*
- *bachelor degree/laurea Triennale*
- *Master degree/MBA/ laurea magistrale*
- *PhD*
- *Post-doc*

3b- Did you study in English?
- *Yes*
- *No*

4- Did you work while studying? (if Yes, precise)
- *Yes*
- *No*

5- Studying field?
- *humanities*
- *scientific*
- *other:*

6- What are you doing now? Theme of your studying argument/research interest.

SECTION 4: ITALIAN EMBASSY- STUDENT'S RELATION

1- How do you imagine Italy? What are the first things that came to your mind while thinking about this country?

2- Have you heard about UNI-ITALIA ?
- *Yes*
- *No*

3a- Do you have a precise city /university in your mind?
- *Yes*
- *No*

3b- If yes (3a) what motivated your choice? and indicate the name of the city.

4- Who will provide a scholarship for you
- *my Indian university*
- *THE ITALIAN UNIVERSITY*
- *a joint agreement*
- *a European program*
- *a private institution*
- *I haven't any*

5- What kind of facilities do the university provide ?
- *I don't have any facilities apart to the access to University and library itself*
- *mensa (meals)*
- *accomodation*
- *enrollment fees included*
- *visa*
- *flight ticket*

6- Where will you live?

- *campus accommodation/ university residence*
- *private flat with roommates*
- *alone in a flat*

7- What are you expecting from the Italian Embassy in order to prepare your abroad experience? suggestions are most welcome.

8-COMMENTS on the procedure's selection: pre enrollment, DOV, visa application. feedbacks and personal comments are welcome here

9- Do you have any question on Italy or Italian University?

SECTION 5: MOTIVATE YOUR CHOICE: WHY ITALY?

0-Why Italy for your mobility period?

1a -Is Italy your first choice ?
- *Yes*
- *No*

1b- do you have a precise city in mind in Italy? Which one and explain please.

2- How long do you plan to stay?

3- Do you know Italian?
- *Yes*
- *No*

4- Are you planning to take Italian lessons before leaving?
- *Yes*
- *No*
- *Maybe*

5- Does the university in Italy provide Italian lessons?
- *Yes*
- *No*
- *I don't know*

6-Do you have some Indian friends that started an abroad studying period in Italy?
- *Yes*
- *No*

7- if yes (6) How much is it relevant for you to have someone in your "circle of friends" that did such experience ?

8- Are you planning to work while doing your studies in Italy ?
- *Yes*
- *No*

9 - Are you planning to stay in Italy after your studies ?
- *Yes*
- *No*

In-depth interview about Italian's perception of India in Padua

Location: Padova
Interview duration : 1 hour and a half interview approx.
Liberatoria: no- to be kept anonymous.
Interview code: PD#.../3 // **interview type n°3**

SECTION 1: GENERALITIES

0- Name and surname:
Gender:
- o *Boy*
- o *Girl*

1- Age:
2- Precise the geographical area in Padua:district name /quartiere – look at the map

- o ***Quartiere 1*** *: Piazze, Savonarola, Santo, Portello, Prato della Valle, Stazione Ferroviaria*
- o ***Quartiere 2 :*** *Arcella, San Lorenzo, Sam Carlo, Buon Pastore, Santissima Trinità, San Bellino, San Filippo Neri, San Gregorio, Ponte Vigodarzere*
- o ***Quartiere 3*** *:Fiera, Stanga, Mortise, Torre, San Lazzaro, Ponte di Brenta, Zona Industriale, Isola di Terranegra, Camin, Granze*
- o ***Quartiere 4*** *: Santa Croce, città Giardino, Sant'Osvaldo, Madonna Pellegrina, Voltabarozzo, SS Crocefisso, Salboro, Guizza.*
- o ***Quartiere 5*** *:Sacra Famiglia, San Giuseppe, Porta Trento Sud, Porta Trento Nord, Mandria, Paltana*
- o ***Quartiere 6*** *:Brusegana, Cave, Brentelle, Sant'Ignazio, Montà, Ponterotto, Sacro Cuore, Sacro Cuore, Altichiero.*
- o *Other : outskirt of Padua*

I nuovi quartieri

SECTION 2: PADOVA TOWARDS MULTICULTURALISM?
- o *According to you, is Padova a small or a medium city in the context of Italian's city?*
    - o *Small*
    - o *Medium*
- o *Could Padova be defined a multicultural city / a global city ? explain*

- o *Have you noticed structural transformations linked to the social organization of the space in the past 10 years?*

- o *How do you imagine Padova in some years?*

SECTION 3: PADOVA: A SPACE OF FLOWS?
- o *Do the students' flow and cultural diversity cross/ match? Explain*

- o *About urban planning and social inclusion. How does it appear in Padua ? Are they some innovative aspects?*

- o *According to you, does the University have a role in the internationalization of the city ?*

o *Have you ever been in India? If yes, for what purpose?*

o *Thinking about India, what comes to your mind?*

o *Thinking about India in Padua what comes to your mind? about Indians in Padova?*

o *Have you ever had any personal- like friendship- experience with Indians' students?*

Personal comments and additional information

Have you forgotten something... or have I ? If you have something more to say , something that seems really relevant for you, please tell me

Appendix n°3.1a THE SIKHS MIGRANTS ON THE FRONT STAGE THANKS TO THE PARMIGGIANO

It is precisely by connecting two rivers- the *Ganga* and the *Pò*- that the topic of Punjabis' migration to Italy has started being disseminated to a larger audience through the movie: *"Il vegetariano"* from Roberto San Pietro, released in 2019 in many Italian cities, included Padova[417] (Ferraro, 2019.; Pinotti, 2019). Roberto San Pietro, the movie director of '*Il vegetariano*' (see Advertisement 1 below) went to see the farms where the Indians were working torned between venerating the 'Holy cow' (Bertolani, 2015) and being integrated among young Italian (Thapan, 2013; Bertolani 2018). He has also followed Indians in *Gurdwaras* and in the tiny and lost temples in the countryside: like the Hindu one of Fabbrico[418]. Then, he has built on these stories and tied those together with the migration of Indian Sikhs to Italy, the migration of East-Europe house helpers and, the topic of the shadow economy feeding the flow of irregular migarnts with false documents (Lum, 2012) and environmental threats in using toxic products in agriculture (Amitav Ghosh, 2019[419], see Adverstisement 2 above).

In short, the movie investigates some questions that are pertinent with our interests: How does a person deeply linked to the Indian culture (and spirituality), react once catapulted into a world like the Western one? Especially, how do they react, when they encounter 'our' culture which has founded its idea

Advertisement 6: "Il vegetariano", between migrants and daily dilemma. Movie released in 2019.
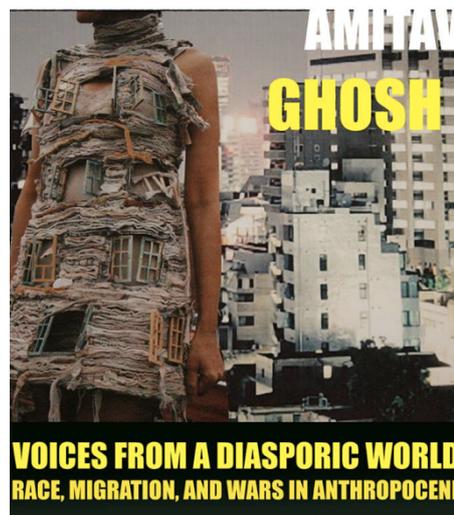
Advertisement 7: Conference of Amitav Ghosh in Turin, 26/09/2018.

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[417] "Il vegetariano" was released three times in Padova: première "Special event" on 15/04/19- SOLD OUT, on 13th and 14th of May 2019 and again on 10th of June 2019.

[418] See the Hindu temples complete list on the website https://www.induismo.it/unione-induista/.

[419] Conference by Amitav Ghosh in Turin on 26/09/2018: "*Voices from a diasporic word. Race, migration and wars in anthropocene*" in the occasion of Turin 'festival of migrations'- organised by the University of Turin, Camus Einaudi. http://www.festivaldellemigrazioni.it/festival-delle-migrazioni/

of 'progress' on the subjugation of nature to man, on the dominant economic exploitation of natural resources?

Today, Italy hosts the second largest Sikh temple in Europe[420] in the heart of the Pò Valley, in the semi-urban and rural reality of 'Pessina Cremonese' (about two hours driving from Padova, direction south). All the above-cited scholars have enhanced the sprawling of the Sikh community in the center and North regions of Italy, demanding the right to visibility and dignity. After fifty years, they have put their turban back on the head- proud to be '*kesdhari'* (bearded and turbaned) - and their bracelets (Gallo, 2012; Bertolani, 2018).

As far as we are concerned, it would be disrupting with our thesis goals if we decided to pursue further to this point. So, it is time to wrap up the insights left behind by Sikhs migrants as the first flow of Indian migrants in Italy.

o   *Assessment*

According to 2019 Istat (*The National Institute of Statistics in Italy*) data, India is the 7th largest migrants community in Italy after, Romanians, Albanianans, Moroccans, Chinese, Ukrainians and Filipinos[421]. In this pattern, Istat calculates 157 965 Indian migrants[422] in 2019, gaining 36 929 persons in less than ten years[423]. Quoting Leucci et al. :"*Only Great Britain does better"* (*Ibid*., 2018, p.18, translated by the author). The Indians in Italy are silently but slightly growing; hence we cannot avoid talking about the pioneers-case of Sikh community in Nothern-Italy producing dairy products and agriculture handwork (Bertolani 2015; Gallo 2012; Jacobsen and Myrvold 2011; Clini 2014; Thapan 2013, 2009). Moreover, the physical presence of Gurdwaras in Italian cities is a concretization of *co-production of spaces* (De Certeau, 2013) in Italian cities that we should keep in mind while discussing the case of Padova.

APPENDIX n° 3.1b: A policy of ethnicization. Falling behind assimilation or failing forward ?

To start with Gallo (2012), Bertolani, Ferraris and Perocco (in Jacobsen & Myrvold, 2011) pointed out a tendency to apply a '*policy of ethnicization'* (Berolani et al. 2011, p.139) beyond the faded dream of *'social mixing'* (Briata, 2017, pp. 80–82) - an approach which is clearly "*not adapted to our territories*" (*Ibid.,* p.109), as the Italian version of *mixité* (*Ibid.*, 2017, p.49)

 In the words of Bertolani, Ferraris and Perocco (2011) "[…]*the past decade has whitessed the articulation of a policy of ethnicization without recognizing the religious identity and cultural rights of immigrants. […]*

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[420] See: https://initalia.virgilio.it/il-tempio-sikh-piu-grande-deuropa-nel-bel-mezzo-della-campagna-cremonese-18996

[421] See Tavola, 3.2 p.130 - (ISTAT, 2019).

[422] Data from ISTAT 2019 https://www.tuttitalia.it/statistiche/cittadini-stranieri/india/. Irregular migrants should be added to this number according Lum, 2012.

[423] In 2011, they were 121 036 (Lum, 2012).

This policy attempts to drive the <u>immigrants to isolate</u> themselves within their own <u>"communities" and "ethnic" confines.</u> […] <u>the community should be carried out invisibility […]</u>"(*Ibid. in* Jacobsen & Myrvold, 2011, pp.139-140, underlined by the author).

As an answer to Bertolani et al. (2011) and to tackle the issues of ethnicization, we have found some examples in literature where the category of students has been exploited as it represented an opportunity to twist the perception of migration in some territories (Paola Briata, 2014a; Goddard & Vallance, 2013; Martinelli, 2012; Savino, 2015; Zuddas, 2019).

As Gallo (2012) has evidenced, the spatialization of visible worship places- as Gurdwaras – to obtain an "*accepted space in the urban social fabric*" for Indian Sikhs migrants (*Ibid.*, p.10) is often poorly received and migrants are victim of what she called a "*reductionist exoticization by local Italians*" (*Ibid.*,p11)*.* Her analysis finally brought her to whiteness that this process resulted into Sikhs *'urban mimesis'* (*Ibid.*, p.12), similarly to Zucchetti's '*camouflage'* (2001) where invisibility seems the only escape-door to discrimination and segregation.

In/visible Indian migrants in Padova

Moving forward, as Lum (2012) and Tumbe (2018) have evidenced, until recently the profile of Indian migrants in Italy was predominantly associated with the one of low-skilled, and often overlapping in Italians' perception with Sikhs'workers. As Brighenti (2017) has reminded us, scholars assessed that "*the illegal migrant is a socially invisible, yet symbolically crucial, homo sacer (Agamben, 1998; Rajaram and GrundyWarr, 2004)*" (*Ibid.,* p. 329). Furthermore, evidence from fieldwork have also disclosed that many of these Indian migrants are trapped into the *mafia* circle.

"*I don't know personally the Indian diaspora in Padova, but surely there is a flow of workers called by acquaintances who already live in the area to look for better working conditions. Then whether they find a job or get stuck in a network of 'mobsters' ('mafia' in Italian) is a distinct topic.*" (Interview PD#12/3, 29 years old Volunteer women of Manchikalulu Association, Padova).

As a consequence, many Indian migrants in Italy are constrained to remain irregular and as such *invisible* (Lum, 2012) while dispensing *newspapers* on bicycles from one house to another.

"Many Indians here (in Veneto) do not have a passport[…] the brokers keep them and blackmail them on legal residence permit and family reunification. So, they have to work until they compensate their debts. They do not have a work contract of course and not a house either […] we live well but some live in poor conditions within a network made of other like them […] they sustain each other but also fight sometimes[…]there is a lot of black money running around this and apparently it is not disturbing anyone neither the police nor the residents.[…] Nobody wonders about them […]who they are, where do they stay, are they regulars ? It does not seem relevant as long as they are polite and are not creating troubles. […] Now we just want to get married so XXXX will have a 'Permesso di Soggiorno' and he will be free." *(*Interview PD#17/3, 30 years old women who lives with an Indian Sikh migrant Q.2 Padova).

To sum up, Bertolani et al. (2011) concluded that *"[...] Italian society has adopted today an assimilationist policy without assimilation. [...]the current return to assimilationinism in Italy also repreaents the fading of ideas supporting a multicultural and multifaith society."* (*Ibid,*p.140). Ten years after, this assessment is still valid, especially in light of the Salvini-Di Maio Governement (2018-2019) which has signed a slow-down for Italy towards interculturalism in favor of '*populism'* (Galbo, 2019*)* relying on the idea of '*the restore of Italianity*' (Perroco, 2010 in Jacobsen & Myrvold 2011). Infact, in 2017, Milione enhanced that Italy has adopted a vision of integration -in the education system- throughout a "*process of assimilation by leveling differences"* to make them cope with those of the host culture prevails among Italian teachers (*Ibid,* p.188-189)*.* Then, Milione (2017) also evidenced teacher's tendency to *"ethnicize differences"*, to formulate categorizations with two major (unwanted) results (*Ibid*.p.188). First, flowing into stereotypes guiding teachers' behaviors on the one hand ; and then affecting the self-esteem and performance of foreign students on the other (Milione, 2017,p.188).

Lastly, beyond Italy's political undisclosed strategy for invisibility, and Sikhs reaction claiming their right to visibility above urban mimesis in Emilia, the Revolution has not reached Padova yet (as the interviews excerpts have displayed). Instead, it seems that the first step for Indian migrants entering Italy – no matter why he/she comes for- continues to be veiled by invisible features as Chapter 3 argues.

APPENDIX n°3.2: Conceptualization of the movement of Indian students.

o   *People on the move: a universal right.*

The approaches related to the mobility of human beings have quite evolved since Burgess' time[424] (Burgess, 1967, p.55). It is there agreed as follows, that mobility is still characterized by a certain degree of adventure[425] (Bauman, 1998, p.17), after the aforementioned "*mobility turn*" (Urry, 2000). Acknowledging these statements, the works of Urry and Sheller (2000-2006), have given precious insights in my argumentation (Faist, 2013; Urry, 2000). However, we notice that Urry and Bauman seem hypnotized by humans' capacity to move all around the world facilitated by the *fluidity* of our society (Urry, 2000; Bauman 1998) which redefines humans' relationships and communication modes, distances and way of lives. Somehow such assumptions are designed on the idea that movement is strengthen by the existence of a universal law which attributes a legal protection to those people moving. The article 13 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) of 1948, states as follows:

" *(1) Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state. (2) Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country."* (The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, art 13, 1948)

The twenty-first century goes a step further. Given that globalization has fostered human's mobility, scholars have progressively drawn attention on the many drawbacks of this extensive freedom of movement, stressing the unbalance raising between those who *can* move and those who *cannot* (Baas & Yeoh, 2019; Hammar et al., 1997; Lacroix, 2018; Massey & Zenteno, 1999; Roos Breines et al., 2019; Voigt-Graf, 2004; Waters & Brooks, 2011a; Wihtol de Wenden & Benoît-Guyod, 2018). In other words, my mobility stops when someone else mobility starts. This is nothing but a re-elaboration of the *Lumières* philosophy which inspired the French human rights declaration of 1789 (art 4.) claiming: one person's freedom ends where another's begins[426].

o   *Education abroad as a motion's driver*

Sociologists and geographers have arisen the topic of the polarization over the '*assumed hyper-mobility*' of human beings in recent researches (Lacroix, 2018; Wihtol de Wenden & Benoît-Guyod, 2018). Scholars convey on the ambiguity in politics at state level: from one hand, migration is a right deriving from the Universal declaration of human rights (1948, art.13) and certainly, at the time of globalization human mobility

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[424] In 1925, Burgess questioned the aspect of the significance of movement for the study of the changes of city life (Park et al., 1925). Thus, he came to the distinction between *movement* and *mobility.* Movement is an index of development when it involves a change of location in response to *stimuli* or new situations: the change of movement is mobility. While the movement is typically expressed through work, mobility is expressed through the change of movement and is therefore characterized by an "*adventure"* (Burgess, 1967, p.55).

[425] This affirmation is quite interesting in light of the declaration of Indian students who affirm coming to Italy with "an adventurous spirit" (see chapter 5). Later in this chapter, we will introduce the romantic attribution of a new country by migrants following Park (1952) and will further discuss it in chapter 4 referring to the seminal work of Thaèan and Deka (2011) about Indian migrants (low-semi-highly skilled) in Italy.

[426] This right is claimed by « Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen du 26 août 1789 » is reassert in recent European laws and is often mentionend as a proverb, a conduct to adopt. See : https://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//TEXT+CRE+20060213+ITEMS+DOC+XML+V0//EN&language=EN

is an integral part of the contemporary world (Wihtol de Wenden and Benoît-Guyod 2018), which could open on the idea of 'abolition of borders'. The thesis will not tap into the debate on whatever borders should be opened or not, however it was relevant to remind that transnational policies of national states also have a 'hidden side' branding an openness to the globalized world on one side, while 'closing the doors' on the other[427](Waters & Brooks, 2011, 2012 ; Wihtol de Wenden & Benoît-Guyod, 2018).

Lastly, a note on international students' movement as migration/mobility. I have intertwined them until this point, yet interlinked concepts, they are seemingly distinguish processes (Matznetter, 2010) as the paragraph below points out.

o *International students' motion (ISM): migration or mobility?*

The ongoing debate questions how to conceptualize the motion attributed to students- 'mobility' or 'migration'- showing how scholars are still quite divided on the nature of such mobile subjects (Riaño & Piguet, 2016).

Some claims that migration is a part of mobility since mobility is the broadest concept to describe people on the move (White, 2016); others claim that a distinction between mobility and migration would contribute to generate confusion in the already tricky question of the categories, and thus abbreviate the concept as 'ISM' standing for international students Migration/Mobility as indistinct (King & Raghuram, 2013; Reinold, 2017; Riaño & Piguet, 2016; Weibl, 2015; Wells, 2014).

The above mentioned structural and semantic changes of our society have influenced the emergence of new theories on 'mobility'. In the early 2000s, Kaufmann borrowed a concept from biology: *motility*[428]; this notion was reworked under a sociological perspective by the French scholar to *"re-think mobility"*. *Motility* leaves space for individual strategies and actors' logic analysis, whereas "*traditional studies on mobility mainly focus on transport structures and equipment.*" (Patassini, 2019). On the other hand, I believe the concept of motility may add a degree of complexity in an already complicated discussion.

After these considerations how can we categorize students as mobile subjects , as migrants ?

o *Footloosers, a metaphor for Indian transnationally mobile students*

In the literature on mobility, scholars have chosen to use various metaphorical terminologies to define new ways of moving and living (Urry, 2000):

"*Many writers have developed metaphors of sea, river, flux, waves and <u>liquidity</u> (Bachelard 1983), while others have elaborated notions of the <u>vagabond,</u> the <u>nomad,</u> the pilgrim, the motel (Deleuze and Guattari 1986; Braidotti 1994)."* (*Ibid.*, 2000, p.27 my underlining).

Incidentally, as an example, V. Fedeli (2007) suggests that nomadism can be "*a metaphor for multi-belonging* as *the nomad goes through his movement: people, things and places*"(Fedeli in Balducci & Fedeli, 2007,

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[427] In the case of Italy, the contradiction (opening/closing) and ambiguity of European and Italian policies creates a large confusion among civil society. (Wihtol de Wenden & Benoît-Guyod, 2018, pp. 46–47). Deeply rooted in everyday life media's propaganda as a threat to the Italian economy, culture and identity[427], the effects of such narratives will be discussed in the last part of the thesis, together with a short note on the capitalization of international students migration (Baas, 2006, 2019; Beech, 2018).

[428] Motility, used in biology, refers to the ability of simple unicellular or multicellular organisms to move spontaneously or by the reaction to stimuli, or, more generally, the ability to live beings to produce motions.

p.214). Her discussion leads us to consider the '*weaved profile'* of students among urban populations who are "*actors and subjects of full-fledged mobility*" conducting a *'nomad life'* (Balducci & Fedeli, 2007, p.131; p225). The deliberate use of this term in Fedeli (2007) extended to many different subjects dwelling in cities, has allowed me to observe a generalization of the migratory action of nomadic subjects that produces favorable behaviors in city's building. Quoting Tarrius it is a '*juxtaposition'* of conflicting statuses that co-inhabit the same space that he defines as "*a container of diversity and strong identity links*" (Tarrius, 2001). However, the analogy between student-migrants and this metaphor might be misleading in my opinion. From the one hand, up to a certain point the characteristics of the nomad may correspond in their mobile practice with the students'one; on the other hand, 'nomad' human beings remain a category anchored to the connotation of traveler or the image associated with the desert populations moving in the caravan. Hence, we won't have advantages in labelling Indian students as *nomads.*

In the end, migration and nomads have provided us a hint for further discussion. Braidotti remembered in the introduction of her essay "*The new nomadic subjects"* that "*the great nomad of today is the capital*" (Braidotti, 2002, p. 7).

Spontaneously, a parallel with the affirmation of the anthropologist J.Breman came to my mind. Breman suggests in the introduction of his book *"Footloose labour, working in India's informal economy":* '*money is by definition footloose'* (*Ibid*., 1996, p.13). *Footloose* is a term that is normally used in economics to qualify an object that does not undergo external constraints and that has the ability to change at will. The most widespread example is that of the footloose industries, i.e. those structures that do not have a place of precise settlement and that have the capacity to install themselves everywhere (Mahroum, 1999; Temgoua, 2018).
The concept was then extended to people by the Dutch anthropologist Jan Breman (1996): *footloose labour*, to define a person who occasionally works with a paid salary per day and who seeks work day-by-day without guarantees of continuity or stability. Unfortunately, due to a need for synthesis[429], we will not dig the details that led Breman to refine Indian migrants'work moving to cities as '*footloose migrants.* I have recovered from the thought of Breman some elements revealing the appropriation of an economic keyword in the humanities (with its permission[430]). Breman's work discloses an interest in the choice of metaphors strongly connoted by an extraneousness, a physical/spatial distance between the city regular inhabitants and the "other" people: *'army of transients'* (1996,p.19); *'Aliens'* (1996, p. 48-49) who live, dwell, work moving from one place to another as "*labour nomads"* (1996, p.19).

Semantically, in fact, *footloose* refers to a metaphor as well: it is the one that loses traces, which is roaming around, sometimes disoriented, in orbit, vagabond on the territory, looking for something or somewhere else to go. It is an extremely mobile an adaptable subject who has turned the *fluidity* in an everyday life practice, a kind of *mantra* . Recently, in an interview with J. Breman that occurred in 2015, he was called

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[429] For a broader discussion on the topic see the nice article of Saith, on Breman's sixty years of remarkable fieldwork in India.(2016) and Breman's bibliography from 1996 to 2019.

[430] I have agreed with Jan Breman in person, to borrow his term for my analysis on "Indian students in Padova" during our meeting in Amsterdam on 4/4/2019 at the Institute of Social History.

'footloose scholar'. Hence, the concept that he uses in years of study was turned into a metaphor to qualify his own action, to define his mobility, as a student, within and between various territories.

Furthermore, I have managed to find other sources that have appropriate the footloose metaphor moving the focus from the field of 'work' to the field of 'study', research, and generally, the university. The first hint comes from a study by the Norwegian Institute for Studies in Research and Higher Education (NIFU, 2003[9]), on the internationalization of research and higher education, the authors hint at "*footloose R & D*" that are increasing in the context of globalization, which generates competition:

"*It has been shown that R&D in one country responds to a change in the price in another, competing, country; this has been taken to suggest that innovation policies could play an important role in determining whether "increasingly footloose R&D" locates in one country rather than another (Bloom and Griffith 2001)."* (NIFU, 2003, p.125, underlined by the author).

The second hint, in 2015, came from C. Gomez who studied the flows of international students to Australia, defining them as "*footloose transients*": these students who aspire to transnational mobility after first-degree studies and who have facilitating features in the formation of social bonds thanks to articulated networks, previously created by migrant flows or by diasporic groups (Gomes, 2015).

Now, after we have retraced the literature on the theme of migration in chapter I, following the line of mobility in this chapter, we can say that the *footloose* is a mobile subject as it transforms the territories where it passes and that he uses territories in the same relationship as the '*city users'* (Martinotti, 1996) approach the city. Going back to our focal point, University students are actors of a mobility that leads them to move and to change places many times in their whole life. Therefore, taking up the observations made previously, we can hypothesize that even more than '*nomad students*,' I'd better define Indian mobile university students moving constantly from one city or country to another as *footloosers.* (Reguiessé, 2019)*.*

The use of the *footloosers* metaphor could help to bypass the risk of including Indian 'internationally mobile students' automatically within the category of highly skilled migrants.

Since there was no room for this discussion in the thesis (although it was presented in a Conference chaired by Breman in Turin in 2019 and welcomed as an original way to apprehend the question of migration to Italy) I thought that the question could find a place here, in appendix, lightening a spark for further theoretical/conceptualization research, keeping Breman's heritage alive. This is my way to personally thank him for his patience, kindness, and support in teaching basic anthropological contents to a political sciences student, not entirely sociologist nor even urban planner.

APPENDIX 3.3 Policies and agreements to welcome Indian Students in Europe and Italy.

In order to apprehend the relationship between Italy and India under a political perspective, let's have a look first, on the European Union (EU) level and on the main reasons identified by scholars and experts guiding Indian students'choice in the selection of the destination country. Then, we will present India-Italy bilateral policies before moving to the next section anchored in Italy.

3.1Three main reasons garnering the destinations' choices.

Rajat Kathuria, the director of the Indian Council for Research on International Economic Relations (ICRIER), during a presentation for EU-India Dialogue on Migration and Mobility (HLDMM) on the 26th of September 2017, has underlined how the distribution of Indian students has changed in the past five years due to a range of factors affecting Indian students migration:

(1)Entry and admission. [Between 2011–2014, Indian student numbers in the United Kingdom dropped by nearly 50% after policy changes limited post-graduation work visas[431]];

(2)Employment outcomes. [As the figure of World Education Service (2018) shows, the UK and Australia both witnessed a decrease in student enrolments in 2013, that we can explain due to the tightening of post-study work options and increased costs of studying (World Education Service, 2018). On the whole, we notice a change in Indian students' mobility which has led to a diversification of destinations for Indians in countries where policies were providing "*an attractive study-to-work route*" (Hercog & van de Laar, 2017)]. Probably the study-to-job almost direct connexion that was occurring in some other countries is one of the reasons instead why Italy is often sidelined from the destinations: the severe lack of job opportunities in Italy due to the economic crisis is well known (Garha, 2019; Vaira and Beggiora 2013).

(3) Bilateral agreements between India and selected European countries which have influenced Indian students'choices[432], this last main factor will be discussed in the next paragraph.

- ○ *The Indian students called by Europe*

Mukherjee and Chanda (2012) have enhanced, the goal to promote positive bilateral relations is coupled with the one of Indian students migration to Europe as such mobility is beneficial in terms of the huge economic incentive it provides. Since Universities have witnessed a shortage of funds, they have turned to a market-oriented perspective : "*A profit-churning industry with a global turnover of up to 90 billion dollars, education services is a sector that the EU should promote further in the coming decades.*" (Ibid., 2012, p.6).

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[431] UK's abolition of post-study work rights, has triggered the decrease of the number of Indian students from a peak of 38,677 in 2011 to 16,655 in 2016. See UK government website: https://www.gov.uk/government/news/major-changes-to-student-visa-system. Similarly, USA, Canada and Australia havemodified their visa policies, with consequences affecting Indian students migration to those countries. See: https://wenr.wes.org/2018/09/education-in-india

[432] Individual motivations as well as a complete list of reasons motivating Indian students to study in Italy will be discussed in Chapter 5.

For that purpose, a Joint Action Plan (JAP[433]) was launched by EU as a strategic partnership between India and EU in 2004 during a summit in Hague. The 2004-JAP became a 'turning point' in the long negociations of joint initiatives which tie together these two continents around common values: *"India and the EU representing the largest democracies in the world reiterate that their partnership is based on the sound foundation of shared values and beliefs. Our common commitment to democracy, pluralism and rule of law and to multilateralism in international relations, is a factor for global stability and peace"* (Council of Europe, 2004, p.2, my underlining).

From that moment onwards, EU-India relationship was more and more strenghten with further agreements

- o *India-EU partnership on migration and mobility "CAMM" 2016*

The '*EU-India Agenda for Action-2020*' was signed during Brussels' Summit on the 30th of March 2016 where both giants agreed on fostering cooperation for education and culture through diverse programmes[434] enhancing best-practices exchanges and enhancing policy dialogue on mobility, multilinguals and learning outcomes (Council of Europe, 2016, p.5). Pratically speaking, the summit was the occasion to establish the "*India-EU Common Agenda for Migration and Mobility*" (CAMM[435]) as a framework for cooperation on migration management: mostly to promote regular migration of relevant skill level and to foster well-managed mobility, including the enhanced issuance of visas; to prevent and fight against irregular migration and human traffic; to maximize the development impacts of migration and mobility in both sending and receiving country and to promote international protection (CAMM,Council of Europe, 2016). The partnership CAMM is advanced through the High-Level Dialogue on Migration and Mobility (HLDMM) initiated in 2006. This ongoing project (September 2017- August 2020) is funded by the European Union and implemented by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and the International Centre for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD).

Such policies are carried on with further agreements[436] to facilitate the mobility of Indian Students to European Institutions and universities in EU member states. It is also important to remember that the

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[433] The JAP is particularly relevant for us, as beyond establishing trade agreements, the partnership "[…] welcome the signing of the MOU between the two sides on the States Partnership Programme providing a framework for cooperation in the sectors of education, health and environment." (Council of Europe, 2004, p.4). The JAP was in a continuous process of revison and integration which led to renew its commitment in 2008 (Council of Europe, 2008). Hence as underlined by Mukherjee and Chanda, the JAP aimed "to promote cultural and educational interaction between India and the EU" (Ibid., 2012) as a first window of opportunity to experience further forms "of cross-border trade, and in particular, trade in services, the concept of cross-border education […]" (Ibid., 2012).

[434] India's GIAN programme (Global Initiative for Academy Network - https://gian.iitkgp.ac.in) and EU's Erasmus+ programme. They are also EU-India Higher Education Fairs to attract Indians to Europe: https://euraxess.ec.europa.eu/worldwide/india/european-higher-education-virtual-fair-2018 and http://www.study-europe.net

[435] The CAMM was endorsed in response to the GAMM (Global Approach to Migration and Mobility) adopted by the European Council in 2005 to intensify the previous efforts on building a comprehensive immigration policy. On top of that, the Treaty of Lisbon in 2007 laid down an array of rules to work on a common frame within the EU (CAMM,. 2016).

[436] The following year in Delhi: India – EU Joint Statement during 14th India-EU Summit, New Delhi (October 06, 2017):

new legislative decree n°71 of the 11th of May 2018, implementing the EU directive 2016/801, reformed and improved the mobility sector.

Eventually, the migration for studies is an additional political strategy to retrieve economic benefits for world nations using soft power.

The share of Indian students in Europe is still tiny compared to the great number of international students as Graphic A3.1 illustrated well.

Graphic A3.1: Proportion of Indian students/ all international students on two scales: worldwide and in Europe. Own elaboration, data used refer to table n°3.2.

o *Assessment*

Summing up the conspicuous number of studies about the international students' migration to Europe, we can say that the flow of Indians to Europe does exist for various reasons, as listed in literature. They are divided into three main categories: economy, demography, regulation and education public

Proportion of Indian students worldwide and in Europe in 2017/2018

International students   Indian students
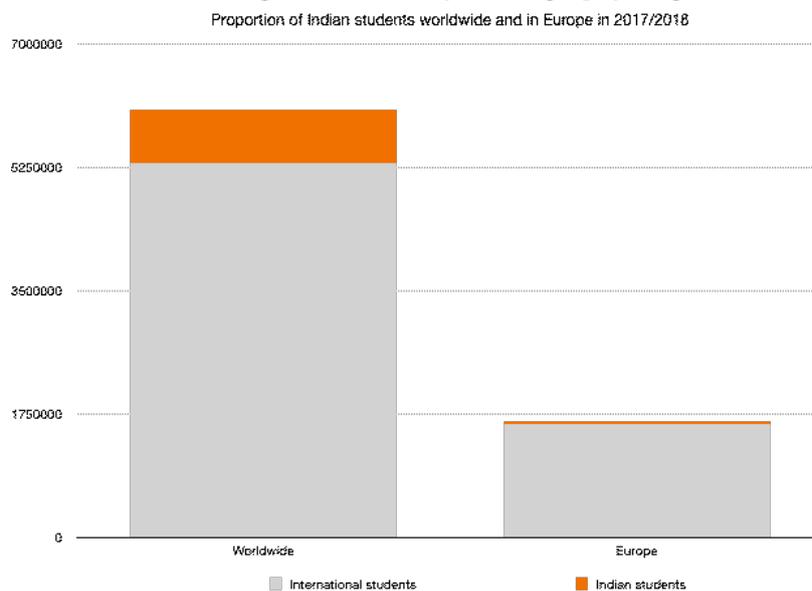
policies (Mukherjee & Chanda, 2012; Riaño & Piguet, 2016).

First, there are economic reasons. ILO (2018) declared that: *"The contribution of migrant workers-both high-skilled and low-skilled- has led to India's top remittance position in the world"* (*Ibid.* 2018). Data from the World Bank (2016) disclosed that 5.29 bilions dollars have been sent from the EU-28 countries to India (Italy alone sent 556 milion i.e 10, 2% of this amount[437]). This information sheds light on the idea that the migration flow between India and Europe is driven by economic factors. Furthermore, the remittance motivation finds its place in the case of India while discussing the importance of India as a

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"The Erasmus+ programme has just celebrated its 5000th Indian alumni and has offered financing opportunities for institutional cooperation to many Indian universities through joint-masters, short-term mobility, capacity building projects and Jean Monnet actions for EU studies. The leaders welcomed that, overall, India has been the number one beneficiary of Erasmus mobility actions in the world since its creation."

https://pib.gov.in/newsite/mbErel.aspx?relid=171462.

[437] See the report made by ILO: "Eu-India Partnership on migration & Mobility 2016" available online: https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---asia/---ro-bangkok/---sro-new_delhi/documents/publication/wcms_723588.pdf

diasporic community abroad. In addition, one must considered the injection of foreign income in the destination countries either to cover the fees (Lall 2001) or for everyday life expenses (King et al., 2016; Povrzanovič Frykman & Malmö Högskola, 2004); the raise of performance standards for Universities which give them more funds (Khadria, 2003; MIUR et al., 2017; Temgoua, 2018).

Secondly, the demographic trends of developed countries where ageing population suffers of a lack of 'generational change', which means that there are not enough births to compensate the elderly people going on retirement (ISTAT, 2019; Wihtol de Wenden & Benoît-Guyod, 2018). According to Gupta (2013) the '*labour market scenario*'(*Ibid.*, p.2) is '*shortaged*' in EU countries. As a consequence, OECD countries have started to rely on migrant workers - as we will see with the example of Punjabi Sikhs migrants in Italy in the next chapter (Ambrosini & Panichella, 2016; Jacobsen & Myrvold, 2011; Khadria, 2003, 2014; OECD, 2020)[438].

This last point is related to the third reason: regulation and education public policies. It is important to keep in mind that EU provides with policies facilitation in terms of legal access to the destination country- as it the case for students'migration- which is important to prevent the exploitation[439] of Indian emigrants before and after leaving India (Gupta, 2013; Mukherjee, 2012). The question of the type of visa released by the destination country's government for studies and the subsequent related policies to convert the visa into either a work visa or a permanent residency visa is at the center of the student-migration question[440].

To conclude this paper, and, in order to strengthen the considerations made above, let us have a look at the data and statistics regarding our case-study: Italy.

3.2 Bilateral and multilateral cooperation agreements between Italy and India

The research areas in which bilateral and multilateral cooperation between Italy and partner countries concentrated are specific[441]. Generally , the governmental agreements are used to achieve the

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[438] Similarly Goyal & Mukherjee (2013) examined how the shinking workforce of European countries is suffering of a shortage of '*skilled professionals*' as engineers and architects, entailing some contraddictions that sometimes don't allow them to stay over a long period.

[439] Due to the need of synthesis I won't delve into the interesting topic of '*migration industry*' (Baas, 2019; Beech, 2018) and the role of intermediaries (Ambrosini, 2017; Harvey et al., 2018). However, we call for further research on this sound topic since fieldwork has enhanced in many occasions that student's migration how Indian students are fooling the systems with fake declarations and documents provided by consultancies charging 1 lakh for the transaction (i.e about 12 000€) (Videsh Consultz is one of them.) Interviews during fieldwork have stressed that such consutancies are dangerous because they threat the genuine intention of India and Italy governments engaged in a political-economic legal agreement. On the individual level, as consultancies charge very high fees from 75 000 roupies to 1 lakh for each student, they 'push' students ti take loans in India that they have to repay by doing black-money jobs once in Italy in Indian restaurants for example. (data collected thanks to the declarations of *Anand Shahana* (name is changed for privacy reasons- UNIPD, 30/03/20).

[440] In chapter 5 we will see the process of visa application and its characteristics for Indian students coming to Italy.

[441] To cite a few examples, the Italy - Japan 2017/2019 protocol establishes cooperation programs in the fields of Agriculture and Food Sciences, Basic Sciences (Chemistry, Physics and Mathematics), Biotechnology and Health, Energy and Environment, Environmental Technologies Information and Communication including applications to Robotics and the Automotive Industry, Nanotechnologies and

objectives of bilateral scientific cooperation. Within this framework, scientific, technological and socio-economic contents and objectives related to research take shape and form. This further phase takes place through the elaboration of executive protocols of scientific and technological cooperation drawn up by the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation (MAECI). The executive protocols specify the research areas in which bilateral cooperation between Italy and the partner country is concentrated. According to the identified areas, a specific tender is issued to select research projects that can be financed by both countries (EMN, 2018).

- o *An executive cultural protocol with India*

As we said, there are numerous bilateral agreements in place between Italy and developing countries. Closer to our interests, *an executive cultural protocol*[442] has been established with India for the two-year period (2017-2019) in the fields of: (1) information and communication technologies (ICT); (2) energy & environment- with particular regard to clean energy technologies, resource efficiency, sustainable agriculture and land use; (3) health- with particular regard to personalized medicine and big data, biotechnology and medicine; physical and chemical sciences, with particular about devices with 2-systemsD; technologies applied to cultural and natural heritage (EMN, 2018, p.31). These discplines are not surprising, in fact, according to UNESCO-UIS 2018, the majority of Indian students generally follow classes of Engineering, Business or IT programs and account for 85% of all international students. There are also examples of programs exhibited by the India-Italy agreements[443].

Advanced Materials, Space Sciences, Technologies Applied to Cultural Heritage and the cultural PE stipulated with Algeria for the 2016/2018 biennium that embraces the sectors of Environment and Energy (including drought, water pollution, renewable energy (EMN 2018).

[442] It is a protocol stipulated between the Italian governent and the Indian one (in our case) to activate the organization of cultural cooperation. See the website of the Italian government and some example of protocols on the linked page: https://ambriga.esteri.it/ambasciata_riga/en/i_rapporti_bilaterali/cooperazione%20culturale and http://accordi-internazionali.cineca.it/

[443] See the website to have a more completed overview of bilateral agreements: https://ambriga.esteri.it/ambasciata_riga/en/i_rapporti_bilaterali/cooperazione%20culturale

APPENDIX n°3.4: list of Indian tertiary students abroad by GOI

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

ANNEXURE-I

Indian Students studying in Foreign Countries

Sr. No.	List of estimated Indian students pursuing studies in foreign Institutions (based on inputs received from Indian Missions/Posts abroad as on 18.07.2018)	
1	Antigua & Barbuda	40
2	Armenia	1400
3	Australia	87115
4	Austria	300
5	Azerbaijan	81
6	Bahrain	27200
7	Bangladesh	3600
8	Belarus	461
9	Barbados	116
10	Belgium	680
11	Bosnia Herzegovina	2
12	Brazil	21
13	Brunei Darussalam	24
14	Bulgaria	300
15	Canada	124000
16	China	18171
17	Cuba (Dominican Republic)	7
18	Cyprus	2360
19	Czech Republic	450
20	Denmark	274
21	Egypt	223
22	Estonia	138
23	Finland	795
24	France	6000
25	France (Reunion Is.)	4
26	Georgia	3000
27	Germany	15308
28	Greece	10
29	Guyana	184
30	Hong Kong	500
31	Hungary	650
32	Iceland	5
33	Indonesia	17
34	Iran	1200
35	Ireland	2500
36	Israel	550
37	Italy	2348
38	Japan	1236
39	Jamaica (The Bahamas, Turks & Caicos Islands and Cayman Islands)	32
40	Jordan	11
41	Kazakhstan	3220

42	Kenya	254
43	Korea (Republic of)	1230
44	Kuwait	178
45	Kyrgyzstan	8500
46	Latvia	1850
47	Lebanon	4
48	Libya	5
49	Lithuania	900
50	Luxembourg	80
51	Malaysia	1900
52	Malta	40
53	Mauritius	700
54	Mexico	100
55	Moldova	253
56	Nepal	2000
57	Netherlands	2500
58	New Zealand	30000
59	Norway	286
60	Oman	3000
61	Philippines	11000
62	Poland	2500
63	Portugal	75
64	Romania	38
65	Russian Federation	11000
66	Rwanda	20
67	Saudi Arabia (Kingdom of)	70800
68	Serbia	1
69	Slovenia	36
70	Singapore	2000
71	Slovakia	43
72	South Africa	320
73	Spain	709
74	Sri Lanka	7
75	St. Lucia	231
76	St. Kitts & Nevis	10
77	Sudan	15
78	Sweden	3200
79	Switzerland	1555
80	Tajikistan	910
81	Tanzania	2
82	Thailand	297
83	Turkey	58
84	Uganda	1
85	Ukraine	11000
86	United Arab Emirates	50000
87	United Kingdom (2016-17)	16550
88	United States of America	211703
89	Uzbekistan	50
90	Venezuala (including in Curacao, Sint Maartin and Aruba)	281
	TOTAL	**752725**

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Appendix n°3.5 Graphs related to MAE 2017 data[444] over 86 countries

Number of Indian Students by Continent (as of August 2017)

Continent	Number of Students
Africa	1,685
Asia	98,955
Australia	93,283
Europe	52,116
North America	306,708
South America	693

Number of Indian Students studying in other Countries (as of August 2017)

Country	Number of Students
USA	206,708
Canada	100,000
Australia	63,283
New Zealand	30,000
Bahrain	27,000
China	18,171
United Kingdom	14,830
Germany	13,740
Philippines	8,500
Russian Federation	8,000
Ukraine	8,000
France	5,000
Kyrgyzstan	4,686
Nepal	3,000
Oman	3,000

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[444] http://164.100.24.220/loksabhaquestions/annex/12/AS337.pdf

APPENDIX n° 3.6 STRATEGIES To PROMOTE ITALIAN EDUCATION ABROAD

Table : Major strategical documents related to the promotion of Italian Tertiary Education abroad and to the attraction strategies of International students in Italian Universities. Personal data collection, 12/2018.

MAECI[445]+MIUR[446]+MI[447]	2017-2020	The idea of **a strategy for the promotion of Italian higher education abroad designed for the period 2017/2020** yielded from the perception of the necessity to revive Italian higher education (both of universities and artistic studies) on an international scale. Indeed this was considered the "*fundamental engine to promote the economic and social recovery of the country downstream of the global economic crisis*" (Fedeli in MIUR et al., 2017, p.7) In order to carry out an effective promotion of higher education abroad that Italy can offer, the Government has launched a joint action. **MAECI, MIUR, and MI are united in a strategy that will strengthen Italy's great skills**.This articulated strategy, concorded with MIUR, together with the main Italian institutional actors implicated in the higher education system, will secure the action of MAECI and its network abroad for the promotion of Italian higher education in an even more effective and incisive fashion. In this pattern, the coordination between all the actors involved and the interaction between the economic, cultural and scientific components of Italy for the purpose of an **integrated promotion of the 'Italy System'** are essential tools for the success of the international activities of the country.
CRUI[448]	2018	The CRUI report is a summary of statistical data tracing the internationalization of Italian highest education system. CRUI put the accent on **the 'language tool'** (English) in the promotion of Italian's education abroad and enhances the limits that slowdown the race for Italy compared to other destinations. A cardinal idea is that **internationalization understood as openness to the presence of international students from all over the world is not only an inevitable process but also highly desirable**. In this context, CRUI's initiative in the internationalization of our university system can be crucial.

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[445] MAECI: Ministero degli Affari Esteri e della Cooperazione Internazionale/ Ministry of Foreign affairs

[446] MIUR: Ministero dell' Istruzione, dell' Università e della Ricerca / Ministry of Education https://www.universitaly.it/index.php/

[447] MI: inistero dell'Interno/ Ministry of Internal affairs

[448] CRUI: Conferenza dei Rettori delle Università Italiane https://www.crui.it

Mrs. Petracca worked dursctly with the CRUI to promote Italy and attract students

APPENDIX n° 3.7: SCHOLARSHIPS OFFERED BY THE ITALIAN UNIVERSITIES FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS

list updated on 31/03/2017- Website checked on 4/05/2020.
Maeci
The offers shown in this section of the site come from universities offers and are not managed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation.

Accademia del Design e della Moda (IUAD)
Accademia di Belle Arti di Sanremo - Istituto "I. Duncan"
Accademia di Costume e Moda
Accademia Italiana di Arte, Moda e Design
Accademia Nazionale di Arte Drammatica "Silvio D'Amico"
Centro di Lingua e Cultura Italiana "Torre di Babele"
Conservatorio di Musica "Arrigo Boito" di Parma
Conservatorio di Musica "Giacomo Puccini"
Conservatorio Statale di Musica "Arcangelo Corelli"
Conservatorio Statale di Musica "G. Verdi"
Domus Academy
Fondazione Collegio delle Università Milanesi
Fondazione Siena Jazz
Istituto d'Arte Applicata e Design (IAAD)
Istituto Europeo di Design (IED)
Istituto Italiano di Fotografia
Istituto Poliarte
- Erasmus Policy Statement
- General introduction
Istituto Superiore di Studi Musicali "Luigi Boccherini"
Italiano & Co. Lingua e Cultura
Le Arti Orafe (LAO)
Libera Università di Bolzano
Libera Università Internazionale degli Studi Sociali "G. Carli" (LUISS)
- Financial Aids
- The International Training Program
Nuova Accademia di Belle Arti (NABA)
- Graduate
- Postgraduate
Politecnico di Bari
Politecnico di Milano
Politecnico di Torino
Quasar Design University
Rome University of Fine Arts (RUFA)
Scuola di Italiano "Scuola Leonardo da Vinci"
Scuola IMT Alti Studi Lucca/Institute for Advanced Studies Lucca
Università Ca' Foscari
Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore
Università "La Sapienza"
Università Commerciale "Luigi Bocconi"
Università degli Studi di Bari - Aldo Moro
Università degli Studi di Bergamo

Università degli Studi di Bologna - Alma Mater Studiorum
Università degli Studi di Brescia
Università degli Studi di Camerino
Università degli Studi di Cassino e del Lazio Meridionale
Università degli studi di Catania
Università degli Studi di Firenze
Università degli Studi di Messina
Università degli Studi di Milano
Università degli Studi di Padova
- **<u>Scholarships:</u>** https://www.unipd.it/en/studying-padova/funding-and-fees/scholarships
- **<u>Waivers</u> :** https://www.unipd.it/en/fee-waivers

Università degli Studi di Perugia
Università degli Studi di Torino
Università degli Studi di Trento
Università degli Studi di Verona
Università degli Studi Internazionali di Roma – UNINT
Università degli Studi "Tor Vergata"
Università di Milano-Bicocca
Università di Pisa
- Opportunities for Chinese students
- Opportunities for International students
- Invest your talent in Italy

Università IUAV
- Study@Iuav

Università per Stranieri "Dante Alighieri"
- Grants
- Italian language courses

Università per Stranieri di Perugia
Università per Stranieri di Siena
- Futuri studenti
- Tasse universitarie, contributi, riduzioni ed esoneri
- ARDSU

Università Politecnica delle Marche
Università Telematica "E-Campus"
Università Telematica degli Studi "Niccolò Cusano"

ANNEXE n° 3.8 Where do Indians study in Italy and what? Uni-Italia data from 2017.[449]



data elaborated by Prof. Naldi (2017, UniItalia Chairman)

Distribuzione 1414 studenti dell'India

Tabella XIII

Studenti dell'India
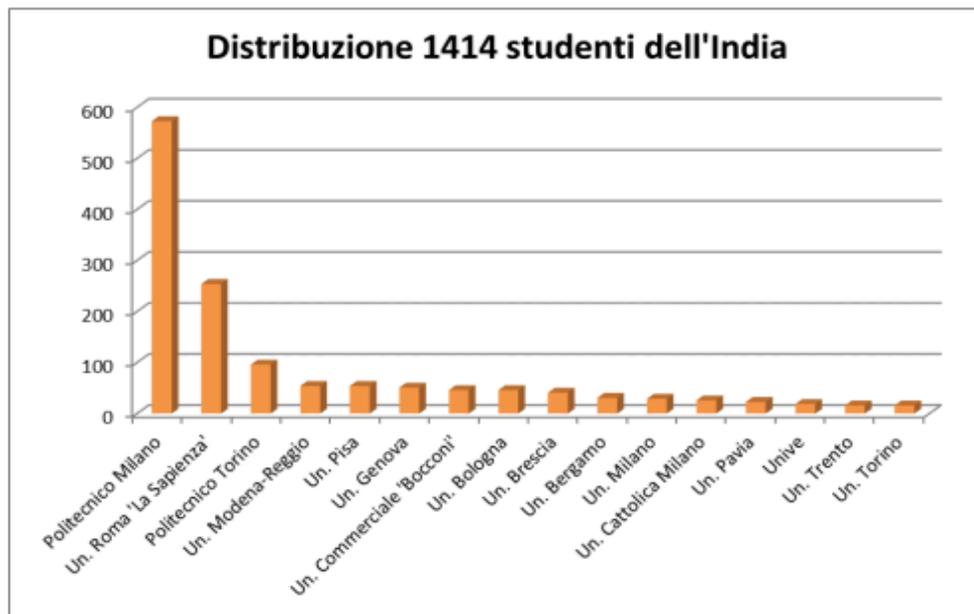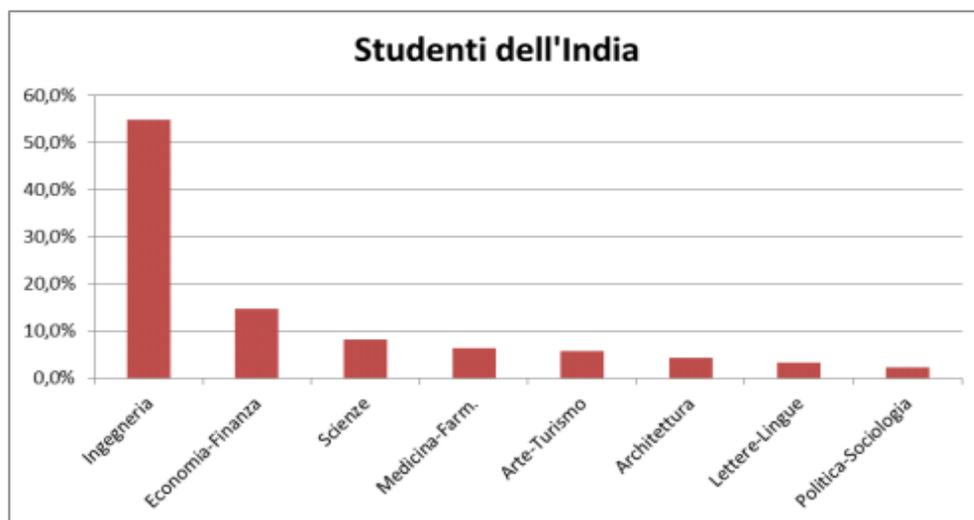
Tabella XIV

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[449] Relevant is the number of Indian students (6.50%) although, much more than for other populations, there is an evident concentration in engineering studies.

Picture 11: Anand's Italian certification made in the Italian Cultural Center of Delhi.(11/2019)

APPENDIX n°3.10: ROADSHOW UNI ITALIA INDIA 2019

List from a FB post.

¡¡CALLING ALL STUDENTS!!

Your Official Study Abroad Fair is back with a bang! Come and meet top universities and Foreign Government Representatives and find the right program for you!

🇮🇹 UNI-ITALIA 🇮🇹 will be present in the following venues along with Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore and University of Modena and Reggio Emilia. REGISTER TODAY and learn more about higher education in Italy! 📚📄🎓📖

PUNE - March 30, 2019

Venue: SHERATON GRAND PUNE BUND GARDEN HOTEL

Time: 14.00 PM to 18.00 PM

Seminar by Director of Uni-Italia in India from 14.30 - 15.00

MUMBAI - March 31, 2019

Venue: THE ST. REGIS MUMBAI

Time: 14.00 PM to 18.00 PM

Seminar by Director of Uni-Italia in India from 13.00 - 13.30

CHENNAI - 02 APRIL, 2019

Venue: HYATT REGENCY CHENNAI

Time: 14.00 PM to 18.00 PM

Seminar by Director of Uni-Italia in India from 15.50 - 16.20

BANGALORE - 04 APRIL, 2019

Venue: VIVANTA BY TAJ, MG ROAD

Time: 14.00 PM to 18.00 PM

Seminar by Director of Uni-Italia in India from 13.00 - 13.30

DELHI - 06 & 07 APRIL, 2019

Venue: SHANGRI-LA EROS HOTEL

Time: 14.00 PM to 18.00 PM

Seminar by Director of Uni-Italia in India from 13.30 - 14.00 (Both days).

Photography 27: All set to kickstart the EDUEXPO India tour in Pune organized by FPP EDU Media 🎠🎠👌👍🏰🇮🇹🌍🌍🎎

Visit the EduExpos website at https://eduexpos.edufindme.com/india for more information. Don't forget to register yourself ASAP!

Italy is waiting for you! 🇮🇹

New Delhi
Uni-Italia Office, at the Embassy of Italy
in New Delhi
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New Delhi 110021
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Kolkata
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Italy in Mumbai
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Ph: +91 22 23817838
HP/WhatsApp : +91 75064 97361
mumbai@uni-italia.it

Ph: +91 33 24493043
Instagram: uniitalia_india
Facebook: Uni-Italia India
Twitter: @UniItalia_India

Advertisement: Invest your Talent flyer distributed by teh Italian Embassy during the Extraordinary vision exhibition in December 2018, New Delhi

APPENDIX n° 3.12 : Actors' map
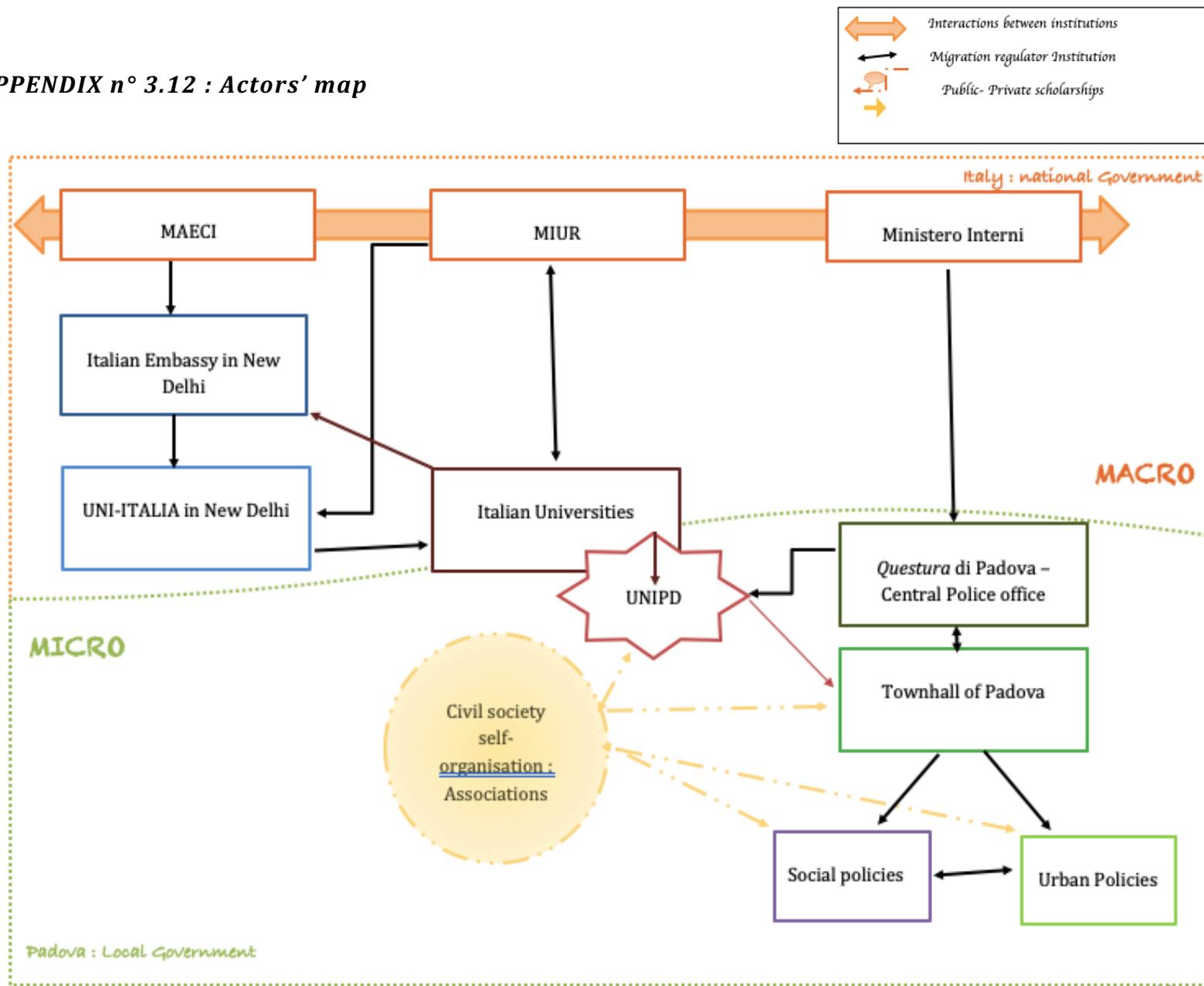
Figure 16: Actors'map. Institutions interacting at international and local level impacting on Padova's local government. Personal elaboration, 09/19.

APPENDIX TO SECTION 3.3 : A network of actors roaming around Indian students'migration to Italy.

The arguments given above prove that there is a network of policies and institutions enabling the migration of people. To attract Indian students in Italian Universities, the Italian government has invested on programs and scholarships- as a result of the designed strategies previously discussed - in a complex interaction between different actors (see figure Appendix 3.12, p.409).

      o *A good practice: "Invest your talent in Italy".*

Among the best practices, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the agency for the promotion abroad and the internationalization of the Italian company (ICE) and Uni-Italia, in collaboration with Union Camere and Confindustria, have launched the fifth edition of the "*Invest Your Talent in Italy*" (IYT) program in 2020 which aimed at attracting young foreigners from '*priority countries'* (See Map n°5.4) to Italy for the internationalization of Italian companies. From the information gathered from the website and those contained in the 2018 EMN Report, the Programm IYT provide a training course in one of the participating universities and provides a mandatory period of internship in a partner-company (indicatively lasting three months). Scholarships are made available by public and private partners as an incentive for the most deserving students (approximately € 8.000 / year), granting the scholarship exemption from university fees (see Advertisement in Appendix 3.11, p.408).

The training areas envisaged by the project IYT are those of Engineering and High technologies, design & architecture, economics & management for bachelor's degree, and university master's courses[450] (EMN, 2018, p.29). These areas are the same as the one identified in Chapter 3 while

Map A.1: Countries involved in specific interventions in the high education sector (Invest your Talent countries in red; Uni-Italia offices with dots). (MIUR 2017, personal revisitation, 04/2020).

Paesi coinvolti nell'iniziativa *Invest your talent in Italy*:
Azerbaijan, Colombia, Egitto, Etiopia, Indonesia, Ghana, Kazakhstan, Messico, Turchia e Vietnam

Uffici attualmente esistenti della rete Uni-Italia presenti:
Cina, Mongolia, Indonesia, Vietnam, Iran, Brasile, dal mese di febbraio anche in India

Fonte: MIUR – DGSINFS 2017

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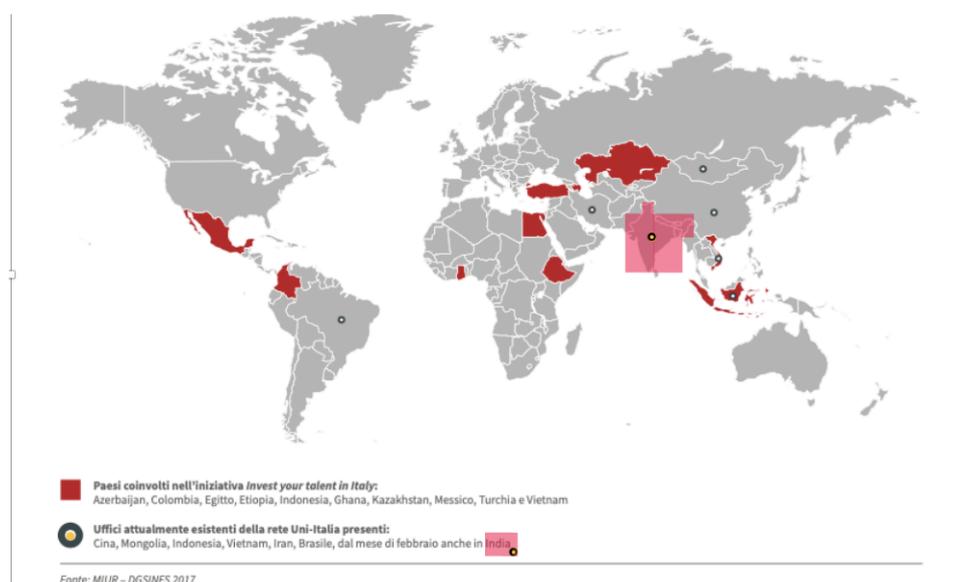
[450] See: http://investyourtalent.esteri.it/SitoInvestYourTalent/sinte si.asp

listing the 'study-fields' on which EU has invested ressources to attract international students and of course Indians.

What we have learned so far is that Universities seem to rely upon a chained more or less gerarchical system of actors impacting directly on migration policies of knowledge students.

I have mapped these relationships in a networked figure- available in appendix n°2.1 & 6.3- during my fieldwork in Delhi (2018). In the next part, I will reveal the connection between this "macro political level"- Italy's national government decisions- and the "micro one"- Padova's local government decisions.

Next, beyond the best practice the question is how Italy makes the difference in the competition for talents?

   o *The added value of the Italian Universities.*

The agreements fostering Indian students'attraction are focused on a range of fields of study currently related to the sectors of creativity and planning/ design- involving public faculties of humanities, architecture, and design and of the higher artistic private institutions (Academy of Fine Arts, Music Conservatories and Institutes of Design (16)- Academia of fashion (4); Academia of Fine arts (3); Academia of music (6); Academia of Drama (1); Academia of Italian language and culture (1); Academia of photography (1) (EMN 2018, p.9; MAECI 2020[451]). The added value that the Italian university system is able to give, in fact, is more evident in the humanistic area usually associated with Italy (design, art history, restoration, tourism, etc.), whose courses are increasingly provided in English. Besides, for these fields, some Italian Universities provide appealing scholarships listed in Appendix n°5.2.

In addition to the fundings provided the by macro-level institutions, some Italian universities[452] provide scholarships for foreign students who are not funded by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation but by local private investors as Foundations or Banks and by European funds. Chapter 5 will present which study fields have been selected by my informants in the University of Padova and will underline under what type of scholarships (or not) did they moved to Italy. Then, through the case-study I'll be also showing that at the national level, many universities have intensified their efforts, for example by organizing information campaigns in third countries (*Global Engagement Team*) and increasing their presence on social media (*FB page: University of Padova*). The local level will be then added to the 'Actors' map' in the appendix 3.12, p.409.

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[451] https://www.esteri.it/mae/it/servizi/stranieri/opportunita/progetti-speciali

[452] Which list is available in Appendix n°3.7, p.403: https://www.esteri.it/mae/it/servizi/stranieri/opportunita/borse-di-studio-offerte-dalle-universita.html

APPENDIX n° 4.1: Contextual elements on the city of Padova

BOX N° 1- ECONOMIC FEATURES OF PADOVA

Padova is an entrepreneurial city: 88.615 enterprises located in town and 19.332 in the nearby province, resulting in a vital entrepreneurial ecosystem of 107.947 enterprises, typically SMEs but also large companies, generating a turnover of 38,7 billion euros. Padova is the first province of Veneto region in terms of number of operating companies, ranking 9th in Italy (10th, excluding agricultural activities, with a total of industrial and tertiary companies reaching 76,223 units).

Main sectors: agriculture, manufacturing industry – such as design, furniture, fashion, mechatronic, construction – tertiary sector (wholesale and retail, real estate, HORECA, and ICT which recently showed a *boom*: 2905 ICT and digital companies in Padova, ranking 1st for the Veneto region and 7th at national level, craft trades (26.043 units; 10th at national level and 1st at regional level). The labour market shows 387.000 employed people, ranking 2nd for the Veneto region and 11th in Italy. The employment rate - as the ratio between employed and population in age work (over 15 years) - is equal to 63.3%, a value significantly higher with respect to the national average (57.2%).

The industrial area of Padova was created in the eastern part of the city in 1946; it is now one of the biggest industrial zones in Europe, having an area of 11 million sqm. The main offices of 1,300 industries are based here, employing 50,000 people. In the industrial zone, there are two railway stations, one fluvial port, three truck terminals, two highway exits and a lot of connected services, such as hotels, post offices and directional centers.

Source: https://www.themayor.eu/en/italy/padua

BOX n° 2 PADOVA - CRADLE OF CULTURE AND KNOWLEDGE

Padova is a mixture of the architecture and memories of the renowned past together with the lively University, which is among the oldest universities in Europe. This feature has always nourished the town. From Giotto to Mantegna, Donatello to Galileo, Padova has been host to the greatest artists and scientists of the ages, making it a temple of knowledge. Not only arts, history and nature, Padova is **a conference-friendly city** as:

- ***an accessible city,*** *from all destinations, with several airports in the surroundings*
- ***a medium-size city,*** *which allows short transfers from one point to another*
- *a destination with reasonable hotel rates, in all categories*
- *a full immersion in arts, history and culture*

Source: https://www.epc2020.it/the-city

This is a list of the mayors of Padua since 1946:

Mayor	Term start	Term end		Party
Gastone Costa	1946	1947		PSI
Cesare Crescente	1947	1970		DC
Ettore Bentsik	1970	1977		DC
Luigi Merlin	1977	1980		DC
Ettore Bentsik	1980	1981		DC
Guido Montesi	1981	1982		DC
Settimo Gottardo	1982	1987		DC
Paolo Giaretta	1987	1993		DC
Flavio Zanonato	1993	1995		PDS
Flavio Zanonato	8 May 1995	27 June 1999		PDS
Giustina Mistrello Destro	27 June 1999	27 June 2004		FI
Flavio Zanonato	27 June 2004	10 June 2013		PD
Ivo Rossi *(acting)*	10 June 2013	9 June 2014		PD
Massimo Bitonci	9 June 2014	12 November 2016		LN
Michele Penta* *Paolo De Biagi**	12 November 2016	26 June 2017		
Sergio Giordani	26 June 2017	*incumbent*		PD

* Special prefectural commissioners, nominated after the majority of the members of the City Council resigned in order to remove the mayor from the office.

A focus on Sergio Giordani

Town Mayor 2017-2022 Sergio Giordani

Mayor of Padova is Sergio Giordani, elected on 28th June 2017. He was born on 10th May 1953 in Padova, in the working class-area of Chiesanuova. He is married to Lucia and has two children and four grandchildren. He started working in the family business while studying at University to become, soon after, Managing Director. Then he founded, with two business partners, a national network of sportswear shops, fulfilling the role of Managing Director until he was elected Mayor.

The love for his town led him to be President of Calcio Padova from 1994 to 1996, during the years of Premier League (Serie A) and to perform various roles in society and in public bodies in town, such as the last corporate office of President of Interporto, from which he resigned as soon as he announced his candidacy for Mayor.

Among his several commitments, he is now developing, together with his council members, a series of projects to lead Padua to be digitally competitive.

BOX N° 4: THE 'WALL OF PADOVA': VIA ANELLI

Picture 12: From Wood's slides (2009). The walls against interculturalism. Screenshot, 03/2020.

The wall on the picture below, was built to close an area which had suffer for years of violence and troubles. Behind these walls, the 'Serenissima' residential complex was meant to host students. It turned out to be occupied by migrants as a consequence of the refugee wave in 2007-8. In September 2020, after years of discussion on this 'hole' behind the wall, the vice mayor has succeeded in demolishing these scrambling building. Soon, the area will host the police headquarters of Padova to blow away the bad memories of disorders which occurred almost 10 years before in this area. Ironically, Padova is #EVC2020 and Berlin will be #EVC2021. See (Vianello & Butticci, 2006)

Cfr:https://www.vice.com/it/article/nn8ggq/storia-muro-padova-ghetto-via-anelli-716

Tav. 2.72 Cittadini stranieri per unità urbana e sesso, minorenni e maggiorenni al 31/12/2018

| Quartiere	Unità Urbana		Maschi	Femmine	Totale	di cui	
						Minorenni	Maggiorenni
Centro	1.1	Piazze	273	497	770	82	688
	1.2	Savonarola	325	464	789	110	679
	1.3	Santo - Portello	364	511	875	80	795
	1.4	Prato della Valle	134	170	304	25	279
	5.2	Stazione ferroviaria	446	336	782	140	642
		Totale	*1.542*	*1.978*	*3.520*	*437*	*3.083*
Nord	23	Pontevigodarzere	660	611	1.271	294	977
	24	San Carlo	2.187	2.085	4.272	997	3.275
	25.1	Arcella	2.566	2.276	4.842	997	3.845
	25.2	San Bellino	419	432	851	205	646
		Totale	*5.832*	*5.404*	*11.236*	*2.493*	*8.743*
Est	5.1	Fiera	376	332	708	142	566
	6	Stanga	600	529	1.129	246	883
	7	Forcellini	411	567	978	167	811
	26	Mortise	534	589	1.123	280	843
	27	Torre	230	267	497	115	382
	28	San Lazzaro	143	173	316	69	247
	29	Ponte di Brenta	293	320	613	138	475
	30.1	Zona Industriale	49	59	108	25	83
	30.2	Isola di Terranegra	5	10	15	0	15
	31	Camin	303	330	633	180	453
	32	Granze	63	55	118	29	89
		Totale	*3.007*	*3.231*	*6.238*	*1.391*	*4.847*
Sud-Est	1.5	Città Giardino	115	206	321	27	294
	8	Sant'Osvaldo	449	674	1.123	162	961
	9	Madonna Pellegrina	354	487	841	129	712
	10	Voltabarozzo	279	320	599	122	477
	11	SS. Crocefisso	153	202	355	76	279
	12	Salboro	34	62	96	16	80
	13	Guizza	1063	1219	2.282	484	1.798
		Totale	*2.447*	*3.170*	*5.617*	*1.016*	*4.601*
Sud-Ovest	2	Sacra Famiglia	268	393	661	107	554
	3	San Giuseppe	348	495	843	164	679
	4.1	Porta Trento sud	149	180	329	53	276
	4.2	Porta Trento nord	45	38	83	13	70
	14	Mandria	456	532	988	186	802
		Totale	*1.266*	*1.638*	*2.904*	*523*	*2.381*
Ovest	15	Brusegana	726	840	1.566	364	1202
	16	Cave	501	486	987	173	814
	17	Brentelle	330	382	712	159	553
	18	Sant'Ignazio	185	221	406	95	311
	19	Montà	26	35	61	5	56
	20	Ponterotto	94	116	210	51	159
	21	Sacro Cuore	365	383	748	144	604
	22	Altichiero	156	216	372	89	283
		Totale	*2.383*	*2.679*	*5.062*	*1.080*	*3.982*
		Senza fissa dimora	39	3	42	1	41
	Totale		16.516	18.103	34.619	6.941	27.678

Fonte: Comune di Padova - Elaborazione del Settore Programmazione Controllo e Statistica su dati dell'Anagrafe

Appendix n° 4.3: The Indian population in Padova in the landscape of foreigners by gender (elaboration on town hall data, 31/12/2018)

Indian resident population in Padova (31.12.2018)

900	
675	
450	
225	
0	India

Female Male Total

Other residents with foreign citizenship in Padova (31.12.2018)

70000	
52500	
35000	
17500	
0	India

Female Male Total
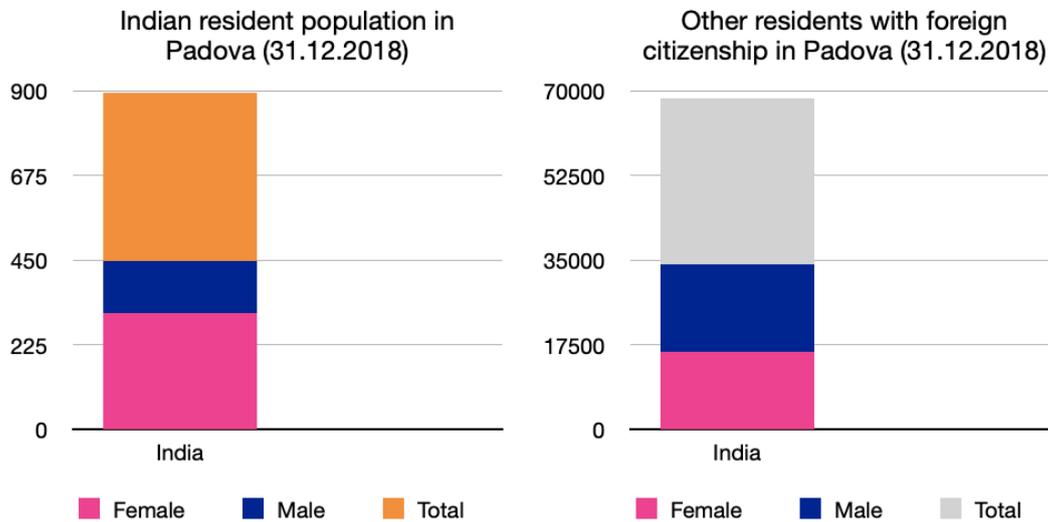
Distribution of the foreign population in Padova (31.12.2018)

Country of origin	Total in the 6 neighborhoods
India	447
Pakistan	483
Bangladesh	1 338
Other foreign citizenships	32 351

India
Pakistan
Bengladesh

Distribution of the foreign population in Padova (31.12.2018)

Other foreign citizenships
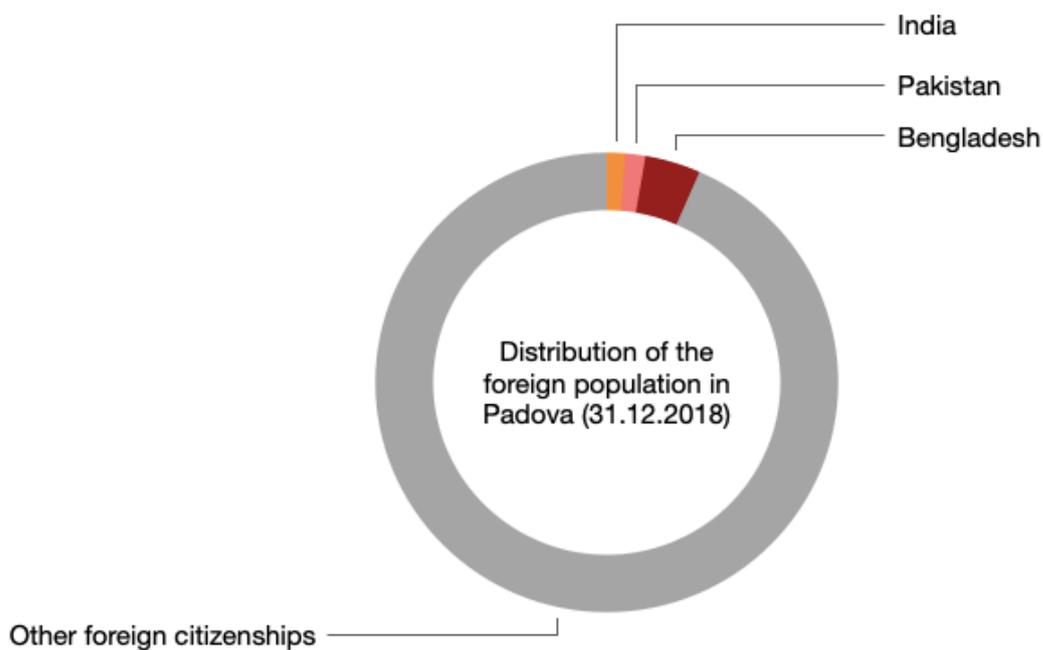
Figure 1: "What immediately comes to your mind about India?"- Visual representation to data collection PD#/3. (06/20)

APPENDIX N° 6.1: List of mandatory documents to enter Italy


EMBASSY OF ITALY
NEW DELHI
REQUISITE DOCUMENTS FOR A STUDY VISA.

MANDATORY DOCUMENTS: Please show original documents at the time of submission of application. <u>Kindly be informed that students whose admission is subject to a selection test at the University in Italy will need to apply for a Tourist Visa.</u>

1.	**Application form** fully completed and signed by applicant
2.	**One recent passport-size** photograph (white background)
3.	**Passport/Travel Document must:** a) Have been issued within the previous 10 years, and the validity must not exceed 10 yrs. b) At least have a validity of 3 months after the intended stay. c) Have at least 2 blank pages.
4.	**Two set photocopy of applicant's Passport.**
5.	**"Dichiarazione di Valore" (Declaration of Value)** of the applicant's educational certificates duly legalized by the Consular office of this Embassy. The local Institution or School should advise this Embassy directly in case it is not required.
6.	**Education Certificates** duly Apostilled by Ministry of External Affairs.
7.	**Acceptance** of enrolment by the Italian School or Institution, stating the duration of course
8.	**Receipt** of full payment of Tuition fees (if required)
9.	Documentation regarding the applicant's economic status: 1.- **University Courses or Post graduated courses :** Proof of means of support in Italy of not less than Euro 448.52 for each month (Euro 5382.24 per year) of the academic year. This availability can be proven through: a) Bank Statement of applicant or family OR b) Bank loan 2.- Scholarship from Italian Government : Proof of scholarship in original. Where the amount of the scholarship does not satisfy the minimum established by law (see annexed table) the availability can be proven through : a) Bank Statement of applicant or family OR b) Bank loan c) Bank guarantees (fidejussione bancaria") covering the expenses for the duration of stay foreign exchange value (see annexed table) 3.- Non University courses: a) Adequate financial guarantees (see annexed table) OR b) Bank guarantees (fidejussione bancaria") covering the expenses for the duration of stay as per the foreign exchange value c) adequate means for repatriation OR return flight ticket or booking (for courses for period up to 90 days). *Please note that the applicant is required to provide an overview of his/her financial availability, including the one pertaining to his/her family, in case the expenses are going to be covered by parents/relatives.*
10.	**Adequate proof of Boarding and Lodging** (if required).
11.	**A return flight ticket or booking (for courses up to 90 days) and one side air ticket for D type.**
12	Insurance Coverage For Medical Treatment And/Or Hospitalization (Not Required If The Italian University Provides You One. In Case Your University Is Providing You With An Insurance Coverage, This Must Be Mentioned In The Letter Of Admission).
13.	**(For visa requested more than 90 days)**The applicant has to submit his/her original (not scanned) admission letter stapled with the passport. At the time of collection of the passport applicant has to make sure that the admission letter or the declaration letter by the university is duly stamped by the Embassy.

NOTE: This Embassy reserves the right to ask for a Personal Interview or Additional Documents.

Appendix 6.2

Table : The number of Indian students between 2015 and 2019 by school attended in UNIPD – Refers to graphic below

AGRICULTURAL FORESTRY AND FOOD SCIENCES	17
ASTRONOMY AND PHYSICS	12
ECONOMIC, FINANCE, BUSINESS, MANAGEMENT	23
ENGINEERING, ITC	28
LAW, HUMANISTIC AND LITERACY STUDIES	5
MEDICINE AND SURGERY	2
PHARMACY	1
POLITICAL SCIENCES, INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS	6
PSYCHOLOGY	1
SCIENCE	3
SOCIOLOGY	
STATISTICS	5
VETERINARY MEDICINE AND ANIMAL WELFARE	3
BILATERAL AGREEMENTS,	2
ERASMUS MUNDUS	*26*
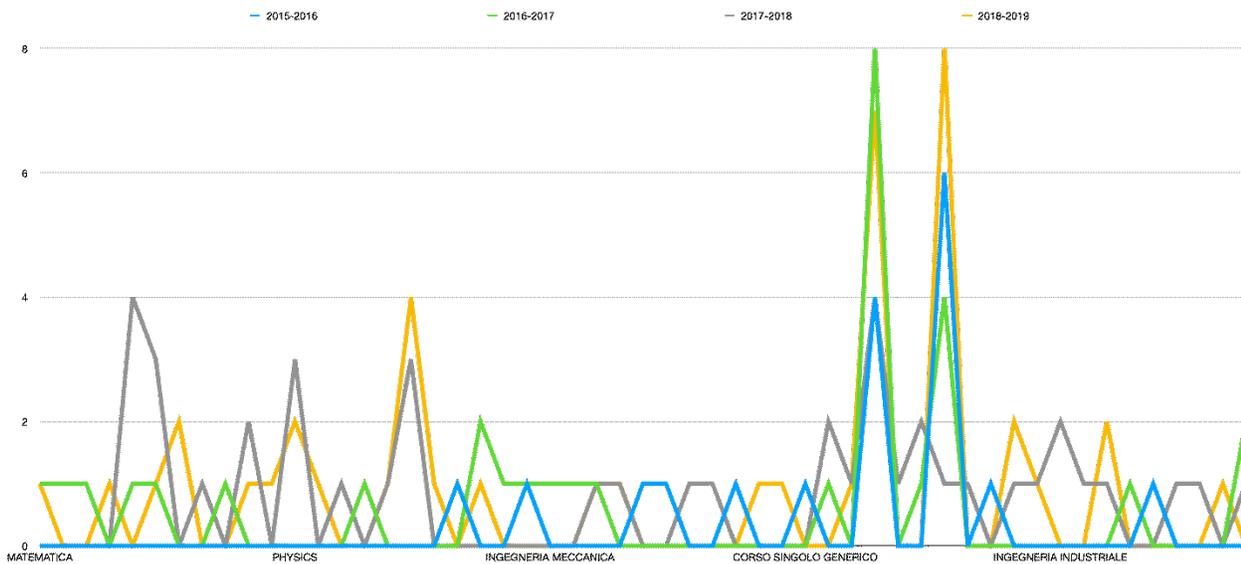
I have reported the different profiles related to the case studies of this section which can be extended to my whole #42 informants (See table1 below).

Special informants Case studies	Mobility profiles[453]	Perception of the mobility experience	Other informants with similar case
Hanee- PD#3/2	#1[+] ABROAD MISSION COMPLETED'	POSITIVE	None
Raj Kumar- *PD#5/2*	#1 ABROAD MISSION COMPLETED'	POSITIVE	Govind- PD#24/2 Vikram-PD#2/2 Siva-PD#17/2 ; PD#16/2- PD#17/2; PD#26/2
Parvati-PD#30/2	#2A 'GENIOUS CALLED FROM EUROPE'	AVERAGE	**Anjana-PD#29/2 ;** PD#6/2; PD#8/2; PD#12/2; PD#36/2-; PD#37/2; PD#41/2
Kavita- PD#27/2	#2B 'TIME TO FOLLOW THE RULES'	POSITIVE	PD#11/2 ; -
Shabanu- PD#1/2	#2C BRAVE'	POSITIVE	PD#13/2; PD#22/2
Anand- PD#42/2	#3 'COSMOPOLITAN'	POSITIVE	PD#4/2- PD#20/2; PD#23/2; PD#31/2
Inbana- PD#10/2	#4 *'CARPE DIEM'*	POSITIVE	PD#19/2; PD#28/2; PD#35/2
Sareena- PD#34/2	#5 'SOCIAL MISFIT' :	NEGATIVE	None
Laxmi Kartik- PD#38/2	#6 'UPWARD MOBILITY'	AVERAGE	Harsha-PD#14/2 Mohan-PD#9/2 PD#15/2
Nilesh- PD#25/2	#7 'MARRIED STUDENT'	POSITIVE	Metha-PD#40/2
Jobah- PD#33/2	#8 'SIKH COMMUNITY'	AVERAGE	PD#32/2
Krishna-PD#7/2	#9 'LOCALLY EMBEEDED'	POSITIVE	None yet
Amitab- PD#18/2	#0 'DISORIENTED' :	NEGATIVE	Aroti- PD#39/2

Table A.1: Indian students #42interviews in perspective evidencing 10 profiles. Personal elaboration based on interviews'coding system, 08/20.

The table n°2 summarizes the perception of the abroad experience by the special informant cases as well as the mobility profile to which they belong based on the contents of their migration narrations. The last column discloses the codes of the other informants whose profile was similar to the one deepened in Chapter 6.

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[453] Please refer to the methodological Chapter in Appendix p.332, for the profiles' unpacking.

Experiences in Padova #keywords		
Positive	**Average**	**Negative**
#BEAUTIFUL -Stunning history, culture & architecture. -Natural beauties & marvelous and peaceful environment	#Similar to India	
#GOOD		#NOT SO GOOD
- Delicious food & wine - Amazing friendly people -**Happiness, love** - **Enjoyable, satisfying,** - Fun, trips & adventures	#Few human interactions	**#Lonely** #Not pleasant - No friendly-inclusive-welcoming behavior -Hell
#EDUCATIVE		
-Enriching, self-learning, self discovery, fulfilling - Outstanding research quality		#**Disappointing** education quality
#INTERESTING		
-Incredible, wonderful time -Fantastic international exposure - Best choice ever; worth more exploration	#Expensive	#Too much Italian language

Table A.2: Feedbacks on the mobility experience in Padova. Personal elbaoration based on interviews' codes, 08/2