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The silenced paradoxes of urban renewal: morality, welfare reconfiguration and precarious labour in Collective Food Procurement in Turin

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Conclusion

Epilogue

Almost two years and a half have passed since I finished my fieldwork. As I conclude this dissertation it is now January 2023. While I wrote, Italy continued to be hit by the pandemic and its socio-economic consequences, which expanded with the war in Ukraine. With the crisis of the national unity government led by Mario Draghi, a right-wing parties coalition won political elections in September 2022. Meanwhile, the slow arrival of the funds of the Recovery Plan (approved in 2021 to boost the economic recovery of the country after the pandemic) inaugurate a new, different wave of austerity yet to be analysed. The allocation of these funds, mostly employed for the digitalisation and “sustainability transition” of the country, did not come without controversies. For example, only limited funds seem to be allocated to public policies supporting the economic, social and health needs of the population mostly hit by the crisis.

A few days ago, I decided to walk through my neighbourhood to try to visualise the changes which have occurred. Porta Palazzo market was still lively and colourful. I bought some red cabbage and green leaves at the farmers’ market. “They don’t look very good because of the cold” explained to me my favourite farmer, while cutting part of the red cabbage away, before he put it on the weighing scale. I had heard many similar comments in the last months, as local farmers were highly impacted by extreme climate events. Among other things, last summer’s drought jeopardised their production and reduced their offer. I then moved to the other section of the market, where one finds a greater variety of fruits and vegetables coming from global supply chains. I bought some oranges from Sicily. I also got some homemade bread from a Moroccan lady selling it on the street, right at the margins of the market. She said that she had to ask me twenty cents more than usual, because the costs of flour and oil had increased. Everywhere at the market food prices increased.

As I walked back home, I saw different posters glued or taped at bus stops, which called for mobilisation, and more precisely, for people to

stand up for their rights and self-organise in the face of the increasing costs of living. One was related to the local right-to-housing movement. In a few words, it explained about the possibility to get some support and organise collectively in the face of evictions. Housing (e.g., in the form of access to appropriate housing and accessible housing costs) grew as a widespread social problem in the area. The number of evictions increased after the pandemic together with structural problems such as the lack of investments in social housing (Redazione Info Blackout 2022). While grassroots collectives such as the right-to-housing movement had pointed to these issues for several years, in the last months, some third sector organisations in Aurora also started to take a political stand. As I walked, I was reminded of one of their latest interventions in this sense, namely a motion which they forwarded to the municipal board asking to request, at national level, the reintroduction of economic support for housing in the budget law (Comune di Torino 2022).

More generally, the worsening of the economic situation in the area made it difficult for anyone to avoid talking about it. I greeted one of my neighbours as we crossed each other. A few days before, I had surprised him while having a heated conversation at the bar, together with another man living in our building. The issue was that many of our neighbours were unable to pay their bills. Electricity, gas, heating, shared maintenance costs: they argued about who paid and who did not and what to do about our shared debts. The increase in prices (especially for gas in autumn 2022) complicated the economic situation of many households, created tensions between people in the building and accentuated economic disparities.

Meanwhile, new construction sites were inaugurated. After crossing the bridge over the Dora River, I passed in front of one of these sites. There, an entire building was demolished over the summer to make space for The Student Hotel – a Dutch business present worldwide recently renamed The Social Hub. The construction phase had started not long ago and new blue barriers made it difficult to observe what was going on in that large area of almost 25 thousand square meters. Similarly to many other public areas and buildings in Turin, this space was sold off to the private sector in recent years (Redazione Monitor Torino 2022). The way in which this project was presented was

exemplificatory of the narrative adopted by local institutions around urban renewal. This hostel was promoted as an opportunity for a future physical and economic renaissance of the area, bringing with it the possibility to ameliorate its image and to create new economic opportunities for local businesses¹⁴⁹¹⁵⁰.

With the start of the new year, the promise of urban renewal seemed present more than ever in the local news. As I opened the local section of the newspaper *La Stampa*, I found updates about many construction sites planned for 2023. The article, titled “the year of revival: here are the ten projects which will make Turin transform in 2023”, referred to large scale events, tourism and restored infrastructures. The centrality of physical urban renewal was also highlighted in another article about the allocation of the Recovery funds in the city, mostly targeted to the “restoration of symbolic venues” (D’Arcangelo 2023). These (long-dated) plans represented a continuity in the promise of a greater, more beautiful tomorrow, and confirmed the centrality of city branding in the municipal agenda.

I was almost home and stopped in front of the new graffiti covering the walls around the abandoned industrial plant *Officina Grandi Motori* (OGM). Huge representations of teeth, angry animals and colourful graffiti tags with no clear meaning. These were made a few months ago by professional taggers paid to cover these walls with “new street art”¹⁵¹. Their intervention completely obscured the many writings made over the years by local inhabitants. These ranged from writings against the police to political statements such as “From Colombia to Palestine, rebel people are writing history! Against any imperialism, let’s mobilise”. Other writings also explicitly contested gentrifying projects in the area – similarly to what observed on some walls of Rotterdam by Walstra (2020). While these illegal writings were categorised as part of the urban *degrado* in Aurora, the new mural was

¹⁴⁹ E.g. Fieldnotes, 28/01/2022. IV Commissione Circoscrizione 7: Area Ponte Mosca: Progetto “The Student Hotel”.

¹⁵⁰ To learn more about the debate and critics around The Student Hotel project, see Berton (2021) and Comitato di Zona Aurora (2021).

¹⁵¹ Informal conversation with one of the street artists involved, 04/10/2022.

proposed to beautify the area. As highlighted by Heck (2021), in many cities, street art became a tool for developing the image of the creative city: it can play with the idea of a young and undisciplined suburb, while appropriating and reinterpreting it for urban branding purposes. In Aurora, it now covered and, to a certain extent, prevented expressions of discontent and protest over the use of the public space.

Sustainable Turin?

With this dissertation I took the reader around different, what we called, Collective Food Procurement networks in Turin. I discussed the case of urban gardens (part one), open-air food markets (part two) and food aid initiatives (part three). In the different chapters, I described related sites, people, practices and narratives. Ethnographic observation allowed me to call for diversifying our outlooks on certain areas of the city as well as certain practices and for moving away from incautious optimism around widespread understandings of urban renewal and sustainability. To problematise these aspects, I focused particularly on two sets of considerations around civic engagement and morality, which represented red threads throughout the text.

The first set of reflections highlighted the continuities between urban transformations and changing notions of civic engagement. As revealed through several examples, Turin urban renewal interventions occurred through the circulation of new understandings of the role of citizens and related practices, such as volunteerism. Put differently: in a context characterised by a problematic entanglement between welfare state retrenchment and the need for diversifying the city economy and reviving its spaces, urban renewal was mostly forwarded thanks to the direct and active engagement of citizens. In most of the cases which I analysed, engagement happened thanks to the intermediation of non-profit organisations, whose professionals framed the way of going about urban renewal as well as the margins for citizens' direct intervention and "right to the city". I argued that these forms of mediated engagement should be problematised in terms of some of their features namely the way in which they might silence discontent, exclude marginalised practices and knowledge and limit citizens' possibilities to be part of actual decision-making, ownership and governance processes.

The second and consequent set of reflections related to the morality that surrounds these processes. I used morality as a common denominator to investigate the similarities and differences between the various cases - and examine their linkages with broader processes such as welfare reconfiguration, precarious labour and gentrification. I highlighted how, through morality, certain working cultures and related features, such as low remuneration as part of the non-profit sector, are justified - and became interrelated with contemporary understandings of urban sustainability. I problematised the idea that one initiative can be regarded as sustainable while based on precarious labour or discretionary understandings of deservingness. I highlighted how several practices considered as sustainable are embedded in mechanisms of discrimination, dismantlement of the welfare state, dependency from private funding and reinforce a shift away from a right-based approach to the city and welfare provision. I have shown how, in this context, specific moral apparatuses, such as community care, play a crucial role for creating and ensuring consensus around these practices. To refer to the title of this work, I named these tensions “silenced paradoxes” because of their invisibilisation. Silencing was also part of the cultural and moral process of subject-making within many initiatives, as part of which no collective space was given to debate, to voice discontent, diversity of opinions and forms of knowledge. In this way, as part of neoliberal urbanism, sustainability and renewal most often became a “civilization-based project” (Newman 2015, 128) based on global standardised language and aesthetic features and implanted in urban suburbs with the idea of transforming uses and users.

Moving forward

How to talk about Turin? For decades, scholars, journalists and politicians have attempted to describe Turin around key words such as the “factory city” (*città-fabbrica*) or the “city laboratory” (*città laboratorio*). This last term was often employed in relation to the fact of it being a site of experimentation (such as in the case of public policies or new economic investments) to be eventually reproduced at national level (e.g., Tropeano 2022). Similarly to other post-industrial cities, Turin attempts to affirm its new identity as a green, smart, young and attractive city and its role as part of a supposed vibrant European economic market. As part of these processes, the transformation of the urban space and, more specifically, the renewal of its peripheral areas are to be critically analysed. Many scholars and critical urban dwellers have invited already to examine how funds are allocated, to what is given priority, and who benefits (and who does not) from these plans. In other words, to look at processes of privatisation, gentrification and financialisation of the city and the inequalities these reproduce and increment (e.g., Semi 2015; Lofranco and Zanotelli 2022; Portelli 2021).

With this dissertation, I argued that unpacking how people mature their understanding of their rights and duties as citizens and urban dwellers is key to examine contemporary urban transformations. I suggest that it is important to investigate the social, cultural and moral dimensions which create consensus around these processes, and the role of the non-profit sector in this sense. It is important to keep a critical eye on the widespread rhetoric of participation (e.g., but who participates in decision-making and how?), ownership (e.g., who owns and who has access to these renewed spaces?) and the context of the intervention (e.g., meanwhile are public goods and services available, accessible and maintained?). In particular, I find important to further investigate why these transformations do not generate (if not to limited extent) critical debate or reactions, while they represent open conflicts over resources and space use. Among the many potential reasons, I mentioned the intermediation of the non-profit sector because, while it holds a vital role in welfare provision, it also reinforces the stratification of citizens. Such stratification occurs through the normalisation of the transition from an entitlement to a need-based

approach to welfare. As part of this shift, it becomes increasingly difficult for citizens to reconfigure city space as a right and self-organisation as a potential. At the same time, the presence of the third sector contributes to the invisibilisation of the public administration and their responsibilities in the social realm. This calls for a critical debate within and about non-profit organisations, on their internal functioning but also on their political positioning within urban renewal processes (e.g., which organisations take a position? When do they have the margins to do so? Through which forms of engagement and what is their leverage potential?). I believe that these themes are key elements that remain to be further investigated to critically analyse contemporary urban transformations.

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