

A Look at Human Mobility: The Food-Ethnoscapes in Rome. A Case Study: The Esquilino District

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Abstract: The objective of this work is to perform a diachronic analysis of the immigrants' flows, and the consequent human mobility, that rose to a considerable magnitude in the Capital during the years 2002 – 2012. In this first phase of the research, the aim is to evaluate how and how much the immigrants' entrepreneurship in the catering area has developed, spread and integrated in the social and economic fabric of the city. To this end, through a qualitative-quantitative analysis with particular emphasis to the Esquilino district, the spatial distribution of restaurants run by immigrants has been studied.

Keywords: Comparative analysis, human mobility, ethnic restaurant, Rome, Esquilino disrict, Tor Pignattara disrict.

1. INTRODUCTION

The present work stems from the interest of the undersigned to the topic of human mobility, the phenomenon of migration and food-ethno-scape at an international level, particularly in Italy, from a geographical interdisciplinary and multi-vector point of view over the past decade (2002 -2012). Having been part of the research unit of the PRIN 2008 (Scientific Research Program of Relevant National Interest: Migration and processes of cultural interaction. Methods of integration and territorial organization in some Italian companies) on the issue and having dealt with the entrepreneurial situations relating to the sale of food products, fruits and vegetables in Rome (by a foreign owner) I felt the need to address the catering sector.

Following in-depth examination of the international literature on the subject, the proposed case study is focused on the territorial distribution of catering business in Rome, particularly in Esquilino and Torpignattara districts. The hypothesis of heuristic search assumes the existence of a relationship between human mobility and migration. Special attention was paid to the relationship between immigrant entrepreneurship and local territorial reality on the basis of this cognitive approach.

The quantitative diachronic analysis in the decade from 2002 to 2012 carried out by the undersigned in a previous research has shown a strong dynamism in the field of entrepreneurship of foreign entrepreneurs in agri-food trade, especially, retail, on municipal and provincial macro-scale in Rome.ⁱ In fact, while the commercial activities of immigrants, especially in the early 70s of the last century, were inter-ethnic to meet the needs of their own ethnicity in a territory, in which it was difficult to find food and local indigenous products. Nowadays, the relations have become inter-ethnic in the phase of globalisation and also open to that market segment that has brought forward actions of contrast to prevent the proliferation of these activities considered as excessive.

Based on these considerations and by means of a qualitative and quantitative analysis available statistical data was then analyzed at the municipal micro-scale to understand why some particular ethnic groups have decided to take up catering services. Because their presence has become economically important in the capital, by developing the emergence of food-

ethno-scape, especially at a local level, as this is linked to the family and interpersonal networks, particularly in Esquiline and Torpignattara districts.

Therefore, the hypothesis assumes that entrepreneurship can serve as an important indicator for understanding the processes of territorialisation of the immigrant population, which, when it decides to undertake own business, in most cases, declares its intention to establish a lasting bond with the territory. For an assessment of the phenomenon adapted to the situation as much as possible, being a particular aspect of the complex phenomenon of human mobility, one chooses to use a structured collection of data available from institutional sources and not always consistent among themselves, because it is the result of different survey methodologies. At the same time, these are warnings of the intrinsic difficulty in detecting unambiguously and clearly a phenomenon steeped in submerged reality and so elusive to detect.

2. HUMAN MOBILITY, MIGRATION AND TOURISM

Mobility is a disarmingly simple concept for describing a complex and changing field of movements, which has significant implications for understanding sustainable tourism. In the late twentieth century there have been both quantitative and qualitative changes in mobilities (Williams, 2013). Data from the UNDP (United Nations Development Programme), 2009, for example, speaking about 700 million "internal migrants" and then considering that the migration is an integral part of human mobility, indicate only the "formal" part of the phenomenon, which presents itself as a kind of an iceberg, the submerged or unidentifiable part of which is far greater than visible one and is now one of the central themes of the social sciences in the world: it is therefore evident how this phenomenon is an intrinsic characteristic of today's human and social reality.

Increased mobility within the OECD countries, for example, is confirmed by the number of immigrants that reached 8.3 % of the population in 2011, a value approximately twice that of the mid-seventies. For a more complete and explanatory picture one must also evaluate the average increase of migration flows by 11% within the 5-year period of 2003-2007, which suffered a setback in 2008-2009 as a result of the international economic crisis, its effects on the labor market have also involved migrants. However, the growth trend had new signs of recovery in 2010 (OECD, 2010). With regard to Italy, year of 1973 is considered to be the milestone year that marks the shift from passive to active migration balance and puts our country into international mobility circuits as a destination in the given context and is no longer a place of emigration.

The migratory phenomenon involves approximately 200 million people each year. In fact, it is precisely in situations of fragility and imbalance that the number of potential migrants increases since mobility is also a response to the critical moments; it is worth noting to date the lack of a common vision to intervene in such crisis situations, which are therefore dealt with occasional responses without a underlying strategy. Responses to the crisis must also leave from reflections on inequality and effectiveness of measures to protect the population mobility in order to avoid the escalation of social tensions and instability that would weaken the society as a whole. Virtually any policy can have some impact on the movement of people and this reflection requires consistency in legislative policy and practice in order to consider the benefits that migration can make to economic and social dimensions of the countries of origin and destination.

The initial interest in the social sciences for the theory related to nomadic life and deterritorialization can be traced back to the colonial criticism on the methods that have characterized the human sciences of the twenty-first century (Bhabha, 1994; Clifford & Dhareshwar, 1989; Hall, 1990). Studies on migration, diasporas and transnational citizenships offered sharp criticism of the static ideas of nation, ethnicity, community, the place was in the context of many social sciences (Basch et al., 1994; Hannam, 2004a). These studies generated also by the humanities highlight the movements, acceptance, dissociation as widespread conditions of the individuality of the migrants in the world today. At the same time, they also featured movement of "homecoming" (Brah, 1996; Fortier, 2000) and "return to base" (Ahmed et al., 2003). The approach to such a big phenomenon is to identify methods of the system and shared synergies to handle even the most delicate historical moments in the times of economic, environmental crises, instability and natural disasters, which makes authorities and institutions much weaker.

Leaving a place migrants often bring with them parts of it, which are then reassembled into tangible forms of *souvenirs*, textiles, foods, fragrances, flavors, and traditions that reconfigure the arrival locations both figuratively and imaginary (Tolia-Kelly, 2006). And yet, as soon as possible return home to visit friends and relatives when there are holidays in their

country of origin (Coles et al., 2004). Therefore, the relationship between migration, return migration, transnationalism, diaspora, and tourism is very important to research on human mobility. This implies a focus on forms of travel, whether compulsory or voluntary. In many cases the journey is necessary for social life, making possible complex relationships both social and political (as in the case of refugees and asylum seekers). Furthermore, the mode of travel is also important in this context in terms of increasing social mobility. Moving physically or virtually between various locations can be also a source of status and power for wandering travelers who can afford this type of life (Richards & Wilson, 2004; Germann Molz, 2006). Instead, obligatory transfer from one place to another can generate deprivation as for many migrants and refugees around the world (Kofman et al., 2002) or systems of forced re-settlement of tribal people facing tourist mobility (the construction of resorts and large hotels near areas that become centers of international tourist attraction without taking local populations into account) (Hannam, 2005). This mobility becomes particularly evident in the so-called contact areas between different countries where the concept of citizenship may become highly questionable. The analysis of mobility then encompasses examination of the consequences for many people and places located in what we may call slowly and fast lanes of social life. There is an upsurge of places and technologies that improve mobility of anybody while reinforcing the immobility or immobilization of others (Van Blerk, 2005; Gough & Franch, 2005).

Some people are mobile beyond their will. In the U.S. this is particularly evident in the so-called "Greyhound therapy", whereby some states pay the bus fare to the homeless to get them out of their habitat (Joassart Marcelli et al., 2003). Of course, this mobility is heavily based on the gender difference of persons; Ackers (1998) has shown how the concept of the citizenship right in the EU with its implications for mobility and migration is often based on a male model, "bearer of income".

Since the beginning of the decade it has been considered a problem of redefining the concepts of tourism and migration and the need to conduct further research on the symbiotic relationship that exists between them (Williams and Hall, 2000).

The high levels of corporeal mobility in recent decades have longer roots and stronger historical parallels than are often imagined, as evidenced in the long history of tourism (Towner & Wall, 1991) and the relative importance of international migration in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century (Chiswick & Hatton, 2003). However, the total mobility growth curve – at least in terms of distance, if not time, in more developed countries (Schafer, 2000; Hall, 2006) – has assumed a consistently steeper trajectory in recent decades than in any other period in the modern era. «This provides the quantitative framework, within which profound qualitative changes have occurred in the spatiality (the spatial characteristics), temporality and social composition of corporeal mobilities» (Williams, 2013, p. 2).

As stated above, many forms of migration generate tourist flows as immigrant communities can become a tourist attraction and can simultaneously activate return tourist flows to visit friends and relatives and to maintain relationships with the land and the culture of origin. These changes in the nature of human mobility grew in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century in a context of globalization relevant in terms of political, technological and economic changes (Montanari, 2013). These have also influenced the socio-cultural development and were in turn supported by information increasingly global in nature and that have influenced changes in both quality and quantity of human mobility.

The changes that have affected the human mobility can have various types of spatial implications: those of economic nature that affect, for example the reallocation of the expenditure and the organization of investment, thus causing processes of urban and regional restructuring in the countries of entry and departure. Those of social and demographic nature, because it would influence the real estate market, and of political nature in that they change the parameters of the host community by adding heterogeneous components that in some cases can lead to xenophobia. Those of environmental nature, such as the quality of water, air, waste management, landscape and those of cultural nature for both the host society and that of immigration. The meeting between communities of different cultural traditions, however, contributes to changes in the cultural identity of all communities that meet or clash (Montanari, 2012).

Migration is particularly strongly interwoven with tourism, especially in relation to what Larsen, Axhausen, and Urry (2006) term «de-exoticised» tourism; that is, the socially important mobilities that flow through and around social networks, as opposed to pleasure and relaxation seeking tourism (Williams, 2013).

3. INTERNATIONAL STUDIES ON IMMIGRANT ENTREPRENEURSHIP

The immigrant entrepreneurship has been a rich theoretical debate in the United States since the eighties. Light and Bonacich, American scholars (1988), are among the first to define the immigrant entrepreneurship as "typical of those groups, in which the rate of self-employed workers far exceeds the average of the members of the group". They also make use of the definition of ethnic entrepreneurship: "the specialization of an ethnic minority in the management of autonomous activities [...] the immigrant entrepreneurship becomes ethnic entrepreneurship as the second generation continues specialization in parents' self-employment" (incl., p. 18).

International literature shows that, according to Aldrich et al. (1990), there are three factors that influence the development of entrepreneurship: a) any issues prior to migration (the skills, language proficiency, experience in business, family network membership etc.), b) the circumstances relating to the migration process and its development (employee or seasonal worker); c) the characteristics relating to the period after the migration (aspects of economic, employment and discrimination nature).

The interactive Waldinger's model only focused on the American context, it has been revised in light of the European perspective by Kloosterman et al. (1999, 2001) who introduced the approach of *mixed embeddedness*. For these authors immigrants' participation in entrepreneurship is the result (1999, p. 257) "of intersection of changes in the socio-cultural [...] and the processes of transformation in the economics (urban). The interaction between these two types of changes is spread over a broad set of institutions at the level of district, city or state [...]." In turn, this structure is the result of the relationship between the demand for products and services, cost of production, technological development and the institutional level (Leung, 2005). From this new approach, which maintains the importance of ethnic networks the entrepreneurship of immigrants is considered to be the result of multiple items. On the one hand, the characteristics of the group (social, cultural nature and data from the migration experience) considered in relation to the structure of opportunities characterized by both structural factors (accessibility to the market and its growth potential) and the elements that are historically contingent outside the immigrant group. In addition, there are also conditions that are present in the economic sectors where immigrants work, as well as the market regulations, the business location, the process of harmonisation of entrepreneurial opportunities. All these elements are analysed according to three levels: national, regional-urban, and district. Therefore, the *mixed embeddedness* model takes into account that the ability to do business is not only due to a meeting between the group's characteristics and openings dates by markets and the institutions but also real opportunities for socio-economic nature, culture and politics accessible for immigrants in order to implement a self-employment activity (Codagnone, 2003).

According to Kloosterman et al. (1999) it is necessary to develop two types of openings in the low end of the opportunity structure that will intersect with the local dimension. The first one is application date for ethnic products and the second one is the increase of ethnic entrepreneurship in the areas of the district. It is easier for the authors at the first level of the structure of the entry into the world of business opportunities caused by the exclusion from the local market. Companies operating at this level compete thanks to the flexibility of prices rather than quality, cutting labor costs and applying a *labor intensive* model. The latter is given to companies that survive on the market employing unskilled and low cost labor. Furthermore, for Kloosterman et al. (1999) these companies use the resource of social capital given by the network of family members and members of the same ethnic group, allowing them to have access to capital, low labor cost, and information flow. Therefore, the use of social capital within the structure of opportunities provides entrepreneurs ethnic advantages to move into both formal and informal economies.

In the countries with the oldest immigration the attention has been given to the phenomenon of immigrant entrepreneurship for a number of years. The recent transformation of Italy from a country of emigration into a country of immigration and the growing number of companies with foreign ownership have meant that only since the 90s this phenomenon has attracted the interest of scholars. More recently and in relation with the rapid quantitative growth of the phenomenon numerous studies have been carried out on immigrant entrepreneurship in Italy that no longer consider a particular community rather than in a specific local context (individual municipalities, provinces or regions). The importance and visibility of the phenomenon have also given rise to a strong production of analyses and quantitative studies.ⁱ

The study of the phenomenon of immigrant entrepreneurship has been by far dominated by the social sciences. Although it can be considered a phenomenon as old as migration itself (Bade 2001; Palidda 2000), the majority of the studies

focuses on the last 15 years. As some researches indicate on immigrant entrepreneurship conducted by ISMU Foundation (Information and studies on multi-ethnicity), knowledge of the phenomenon of immigrant entrepreneurship in Italy is experiencing, as it is well-known, either a serious gap in terms of availability of statistical data used to configure the consistency and boundaries or an insufficient property of empirical research that only in recent years are beginning to develop, although it is always a limited pilot research as regards to the reference of territorial area and with regard to the methodological and scientific profile. However, beginning mainly from the second half of the nineties we find interesting analyses on the subject. The subject is analyzed in the literature through three main theoretical and methodological approaches that summarize the main aspects of the phenomenon: "the territorial dimension", which manifests itself through the creation of social capital and economic enclaves, "the relational dimension" in its transnational aspects, which develops within migration networks, "the developmental dimension" of the adaptation paths of entrepreneurial experience. If, on the one hand, the approach based on social capital emphasizes local and territorial dimension, focusing on the places of destination, trans-national one enhances the relational dimension and cultural characteristics of migrants, paying more attention to places of origin as opposed to the excessive territorialism of previous approaches.

In these studies the phenomenon of immigrant entrepreneurship is studied from two different angles: from the viewpoint of the characteristics and internal processes to the community under study or through an analysis of the distinctive characteristics and mechanisms of integration into the business market. In the first case they are investigated as social capital variables (networks of interpersonal relationships within/outside of the community based on trust), economic (resources available to immigrants) and human (education level, communication skills, previous experience, ability to learn) available to entrepreneurs. The degree of development of these three capitals is considered to be a decisive factor in the progress of any business and acquires even more importance in the case of immigrant entrepreneurship. In particular, the share capital is considered to be one of the most important factors of a successful business. Numerous studies in the field have been dedicated to the analysis of importance and the different facets of social capital.

The most recent theories have focused on the analysis why businesses conducted by migrants have very different characteristics among themselves, a result not only of the place of settlement or the ethnic origin of the entrepreneur but of a particular path followed by individuals or individual companies. The distribution of immigrant businesses is not uniform and is highly *path-dependent*, that is influenced by its own historical experience. Prospective entrepreneurs are potential founders of new businesses but why doesn't everybody follow the same path?

In the evolution of this phenomenon a careful approach prevails to the analysis of the transformation component of the immigrants' behavior on the basis of a personal historical experience. Thus, following the evolutionary approach the entrepreneur's behavior is modified with respect to the accumulated experiences. In a *start-up* phase seized are the opportunities offered within the ethnic enclave, accumulating resources, acquiring skills and relying on commercial ties and then in turn developing their own path that can retrace the choices of community or differentiate adapting to change in the system by offering new specializations and economic processes (Volery, 2007).

4. METHODOLOGY

4.1. Research model and hypothesis:

The initial research model has provided a collection of data both quantitative and qualitative. The latter was done through administration of a questionnaire with semi-structured, open-ended and pre-coded questions in the form of an interview.

"There is a range of well-rehearsed arguments about the value of mixing methods, many of which centre on the concept of triangulation and its value in validating data or analysis, or in gaining a fuller picture of the phenomenon under study (Bryman 2004; Fielding and Schreier 2001)"(Mason, 2012, p. 10). The analysis of entrepreneurial reality has been contextualized on the basis of demographic data related to the official foreign resident population published annually by ISTAT (Italian National Institute for Statistics), resulting from the municipal register and its residents shown separately for the capital of citizenship. These values were, however, compared with the surveys and estimates compiled annually by Caritas according to a well-established methodology in the preparation of "Reports on Immigration", which also takes into account the unofficial component of the migration phenomenon. The geographical analysis of this quantitative contribution was conducted using primarily Infocamere data archive for statistical processing through two different ways: direct consultation Companies Registry with regard to sole traders in operation by December 31, 2012 where it is unambiguous association between the company and the owner who was born abroad (therefore, could not be taken into

account, all forms of joint-stock companies and people (SRL - limited liability companies, SNC - general partnerships, SPA- joint stock companies) which is too heavy the margin of uncertainty in the matter concerning the charges held by foreigners); consultation summary information extracted from the StockView database and processed by Caritas/Migrantes, useful to provide a brief overview of the overall entrepreneurial reality in Rome.

Thus, it was possible to measure the role of foreigners in the Roman entrepreneurial landscape particularly using as an indicator the 'persons' enrolled in the register of the Chamber of Commerce and having, with any title (partner, administrator, owner, or other), a position in an enterprise.

This way it was possible to estimate the overall entrepreneurial vocation of foreigners in Rome, evaluating the distribution by country of birth, macro-economic sector and legal nature.

The detailed analysis of the Register of Enterprises has allowed then to investigate the relative reality only to sole traders, which constitutes a significant capital's indicator of the situation and trends in general. It should be said, however, that the focus has fallen on two types of restaurant business in particular: restaurants and take-away food, i.e., out-and-out food service and ethnic "takeaway food" production activities.

The exclusive choice to favor one type of activity over another one could not explain a phenomenon that in recent years there has been branching out into different manifestations that find expression in various activities related to quality and kind of service. On the one hand, there are ethnic restaurants for which ethnicity is often synonymous with exotic that is typical for distant countries, particularly evocative manner of cuisines of the Far East, Africa and the Arab countries. Usually these locations have the most refined and exclusive traits with prices corresponding with the service, compared to the other large group of so-called street food, i.e. those local content distributed through less sophisticated, sometimes with folkloric aspect with reasonable prices and turned to a more "hasty" and less well off customers, who are offered a quick service (take-away). In recent years, the city administration of Rome has prohibited start up of new catering establishments owned by immigrants in the historical center. Such disposal has triggered, as expected, a heated debate on the legality, or otherwise, similar measures and their discriminatory nature.

The growth of these restaurants in recent years is experiencing an increase that is partly due to the periodic swing of trends that affect the taste, in part, to the changing habits of the people who increasingly eat out for work, study, travel, and look for alternatives to the classic sandwich or pizza.

With this level of analysis it has had a quantitative evaluation of the phenomenon with a good spatial detail so that crosschecking these characteristics and, for example, comparing them with presence of tourists to geographical areas in the 19 municipalities also within the decade 2002 - 2012 could be interesting to see whether human mobility agreement as the ratio between the number of restaurant business and tourist presence in the Esquiline district have gone hand in hand over the considered period, but this may be one reason to continue the research.

The aim of the course of qualitative research, however, was to understand how the immigrant presence has affected establishing itself under the entrepreneurial profile looking for spaces of competitiveness, introducing innovative elements wherever possible, expression of versatility able to find entrepreneurial success in Rome. The purpose was to investigate different worlds and observe how the economic entity changes over time that fits into both and deals with different socio-economic dynamics and what has affected the mobility of the countries of origin and destination. This process of progress and radicalization of immigrant entrepreneurship in the Italian economy can be observed from different angles, but in the present study it was decided to adopt the perspective of analysis as the *theory of networks (social network analysis)*. Through the interpretive paradigm of the network migrations are designed as embedded in social networks that cross space and time, arise, grow and decline. They are considered as self propulsion processes that have a continuation even when they are discontinued by the reasons that initially had generated them (Ambrosini, 2006).

In particular, many studies in the international literature in the socio-economic field attest that thanks to the network the migrants and potential migrants that have access to the labor market can implement not only migration projects and create entrepreneurship. The analysis of the networks, as it emerges from multiple orientations of economic sociology, highlights in various ways how they affect economic activity and how they are intended as informal relations within the labor market that intervene on business outcomes. So, social ties and economic exchanges that are conveyed by them are intertwined with a strong interconnection between friendship relations, reputation and trust that exist between the parties

(Waldinger, 1996; Bailey and Waldinger, 1991). Furthermore, the third factor is a part of a community or a family with a long migration tradition.

In particular, the selection in migration in the countries of departure focuses on young people with high level of education and considerable human capital (Massey, 1993). However, if this selection in destination countries contributes to economic growth, on the other hand, it leads to an economic downturn in departure areas increasing migration flows and strengthening causal, circular and cumulative process. So, according to Massey, as times goes by "migration can become a less selective process" (1998, p.56), which concerns individuals who from an average level of socio-economic hierarchy belong to increasingly lower levels.

As the international literature highlights (Freedman 1970, 1979, Redding, 1993) a family and ethnic networks are social structures of the primary reference for migrants. Therefore, choose how angle of the network analysis theory is meant to observe the catering sector from a perspective that could provide a real investigative capacity. In fact, studying the migration and employment of migrants through family and ethnic networks it is more likely to penetrate into the object of study by acquiring useful information for analysis.

Networks are the basic structures that the private and professional reports are based on. It is precisely for this reason that, investigating the actions that migrants perform through them and the company forecasts that can be implemented thanks to them, there is a likelihood of delving into sensitive issues. By observing the operation of the network there is an opportunity to understand what weight is provided by family networks and ethnic communities at different stages of migration. In particular, what their influence is compared to the self-employed, especially when the primary resources are lacking and the entrepreneurial immigrant lives the disadvantages arising from immigrant status. Considering the action of networks especially focused on understanding the dynamics of the catering sector in Rome. And this economic sector has been studied from viewpoint of production that the development of entrepreneurship and its chances of success at the local level.

Specific research hypotheses, explicable in three different sizes were the basis of the analytical path below. Although, for the purposes of research only the size of the individual and the enterprise have been developed.

4.2 Rome and the Esquiline:

Rome with its history and culture has always been a fundamental reference point for immigration. It's still a place of first destination for many immigrants, and, therefore, regarded as a vantage point to get to know and study the new trends of migration flows (*Caritas/Migrantes*, 2011). Rome is also a very diverse city in terms of social and cultural profile: areas of poverty and opulence alternate and often overlap, creating complex spatial configurations and the growing presence of immigrants from the countries of the so-called southern hemisphere joins the historical one from economically advanced countries owing to the network of institutions, enterprises, international initiatives. All of this has led and will continue to do so a continuous mobility of people, also because of the difficulty in finding employment and in compliance with the administrative and bureaucratic rules (see the case of residence permits).

Spatial analysis of the distribution of catering businesses with an immigrant owner in the capital offers so many opportunities for reflection that override the pure quantitative aspect because they allow us to understand some commercial elements that are a part of a social system in profound transformation characterized by a foreign structural presence and now no longer contingent.

The choice of studying the business sector was determined by the fact that this area along with the ethnic trade has been a preferred gate for foreign entrepreneurs, at least, until the massive influx of the Chinese. In addition, this is likely to be sectioned into various angles as a social complex and allows evaluating not only the entrepreneurial ability of foreigners but also helps perceiving the degree of acceptance from the part of host communities towards different styles of consumption.

4.3 Quantitative analysis: data collection and variables:

The project analyzed diachronically migration flows that have taken relevant dimensions at the municipality scale of the city of Rome in the decade 2002-2012. In that regard the data from the Office of Vital Statistics of Rome were examined which, compared with data provided by ISTAT, show higher values as they reference the population registered in the registry office, while the latter relates to the resident population as recorded from census data (which may not correspond

to reality). Furthermore, the source registry data only detects the regular and stable component of immigration. The population with foreign nationalities residing in the City of Rome on the 1st of January 2011 has a total of 345,747 units, an increase of 7.9 % or 25,338 people compared to the same date last year.



Fig. 1

As shown in Fig. 1 from 2001 to date foreigners have more than doubled in the capital (an increase of 104.5 %) and their impact on the total resident population has reached 12% (it was 6.7% in early 2001 and 11.2 % in 2010). This confirms the position of Rome ranks among the municipalities with the highest incidence of foreigners in the total population well above the national average recorded by ISTAT (7.5%) (Caritas/Province/Chamber of Commerce of Rome, 2011, p. 138).

The majority of foreign citizens residing in Rome come from the European continent with their 158,300 units representing almost half of these.

The communities of Asian origin hosted in Rome are those with the highest growth compared to 2011 with a value equal to +9.8%. Overall, there are 95,424 individuals representing 27.6 % of the total allocated as follows: Filipino (34,995), Bengali (16,354), and Chinese (13,648). These three communities make up 68.1%, more than half of the Asian population that lives in the capital.

But those from the African continent are more than 46,000 representing 13.5% of the total number of foreign residents, an increase of 6.1% compared to 2011. The largest communities are: Egyptian (10,224), Eritrean (4,906), Moroccan (4,814), Ethiopian (3,799), Somalian (3,529) and Nigerian (3,446).

At the national level the number of foreign investors has more than doubled between 2005 and 2011 (from 116,694 to 249,464), an increase of about 20,000 units in 2011. Nearly half are craftsmen (48.9%) and almost a quarter is women (22.4%). In this context, a number of entrepreneurs of Asian origin has risen from about 25,000 in 2005 to over 60,000 in 2011, and currently make up about a quarter of foreign business owners in our country (International Social Affairs, 2013, pp. 70-71).

The first analysis of the data at the municipal level as regards the characteristics of the system of Roman enterprises owned by immigrant citizens revealed the following: in 2010 there were 57,177 positions attributable to people born abroad, of which 70% assigned to non-EU citizens. In the 49.9% of cases they are business owners, 34.3% is composed of directors, 11.4% - shareholders and 4.5% occupy other positions. 8% are less than 30 years old, 60% - between 30 and 49 years, and 32 percent were 50 years or older (Provincia di Roma, 2011, p. 8).

The list includes all foreign companies that were evaluated analytically, considering the individual business units either synthetically through various dimensions of analysis or made through visually explanatory graphics: sex, age, entrepreneur's country of birth, business sector according to ATECO 2007 encoding, territorial distribution, tax codes. From the latter it was possible to infer the nationality, gender differences and their actual age.

The data analysis made it possible to deepen the realities related to sole trader that are, at least, in Rome a significant indicator of the status and trends in the general level of the catering sector.

In the first phase it has been identified the territorial distribution of catering operations, with an immigrant owner using data updated to 2012 provided by the Chamber of Commerce of Rome in the form of sole trader (DI) according to the classification of economic activities (ATECO coding, 2007). It was not possible to analyze the limited liability company (SRL), joint stock company (SPA), the partnership company (SNC) because it is inherently impossible to assign a specific nationality to their corporate structure.

It was then created *data-base ad hoc (Excel)*, in which for each contractor data was reported on: year of setting up the company, tax code, street address, zip code, VAT number, number of employees, registered capital, type of activity and code of assets according to the ATECO 2007 coding (code 56.10: Mobile catering and food service; 56.10.11: Catering with administration; 56.10.20 : Catering without administration but with preparation of take-away food), Municipality representing the administrative division of the territory of city of Rome pursuant to the objectives of decentralization of powers established by law (Fig. 2).

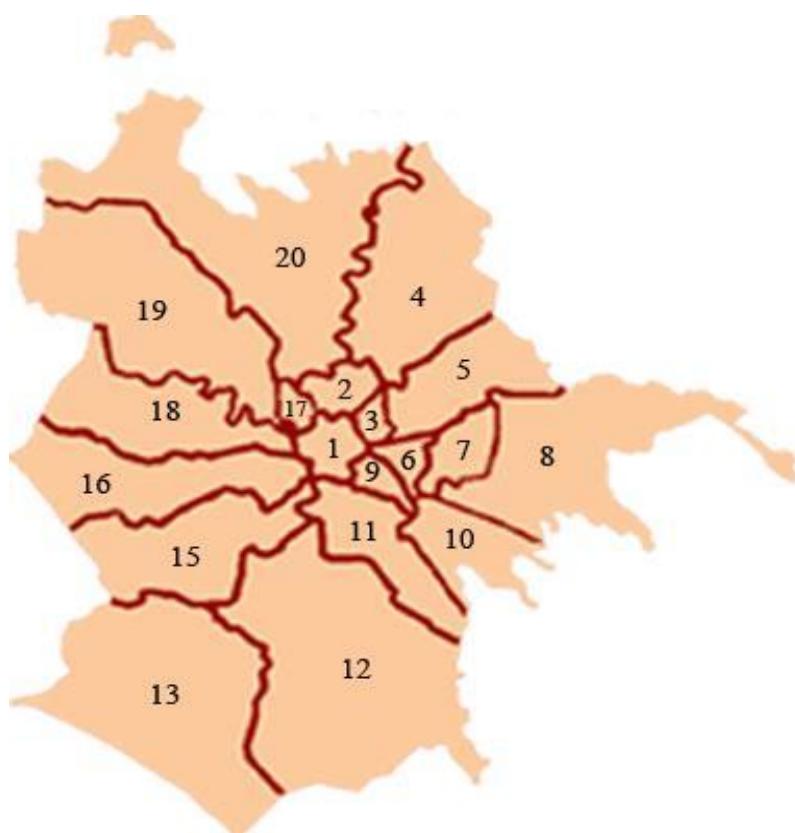


Fig. 2 - Explanatory Map of 19 municipalities of the City of Rome Source: elabor. graphics of the Municipality of Rome, 2013

Analyzing the available data the following top 10 nationalities that are present in Rome were selected in terms of percentage of entrepreneurs in the restaurant industry: Egyptian, Chinese, Bengali, Romanian, Pakistani, Peruvian, Albanian, Syrian, Tunisian and Moroccan with a high prevalence of non-EU citizens. These 10 nationalities representing 20% of the total sample of entrepreneurs and own 80% of the sole trader. The remaining 80% of other nationalities and owners hold the remaining 20%. According to the available and regularly declared data the number of *food-ethno-scape* in Rome is 474.

By analyzing the territorial distribution of food-ethnoscapes in the 19 municipalities of Rome (Table 1) (the municipalities of Rome have been taken into account under the old joint Resolution No. 22/2001 since the collection and analysis of data is started before the incorporation of new municipalities, Resolution No.11/2013). Having used the urban areas as a reference scale the data will be updated according to the new structure as soon as the new urban areas are formalized.

It is noted that the areas, in which the majority of these businesses are located are those of the Historical Center (Municipality I) and the Prenestino (Municipality VI). By splitting the business activities according to ATECO 2007 codes is a slight prevalence of restaurant business with preparation of takeaway food, 270 businesses compared to 204 restaurants (Table 1). At the regional level the largest differences concern the combination of center-periphery (Municipality 1 and Municipality 6). There is a higher concentration of real restaurants in the inner zone of the Aurelian Walls while in the suburbs, especially, in the South East and South-West of the capital the exercises with preparation of takeaway food take precedence over the others, in some cases significantly. The Municipality I (historical center, Trastevere, Esquiline, Aventine, and Testaccio) has the highest density values of the foreign population (Table 2). According to the Caritas/Provincia and Chamber of Commerce of Rome 31-12-2010 (2011, p. 380) out of a total population of 131,881 residents 42,345 are immigrants, 9,126 of which are residents of the Esquiline.

Table 1 - Localization of 474 food-ethnoscapes in the form of sole trader in the 19 municipalities of Rome by gender and type of restaurant business

Municipality	Food-Ethnoscapes	Owner gender		Activity	
		M (%)	F (%)	56.10.20 Take-away	56.10.11 Restaurant
I - Centro Storico	54	75.93	24.07	22	32
II - Parioli	19	78.95	21.05	10	9
III-Nomentano-San Lorenzo	12	91.67	8.33	7	5
IV - Monte Sacro	17	58.82	41.18	9	8
V - Tiburtina	31	67.74	32.26	15	16
VI - Prenestino	53	81.13	18.87	26	27
VII - Centocelle	37	83.78	16.22	21	16
VIII - Delle Torri	22	77.27	22.73	11	11
IX - San Giovanni	35	77.14	22.86	24	11
X - Cinecittà	26	92.31	7.69	19	7
XI - Appia Antica	21	90.48	9.52	14	7
XII - EUR	3	66.67	33.33	0	3
XIII - Ostia	32	78.13	21.88	21	11
XV - Arvalia	23	78.26	21.74	14	9
XVI - Monteverde	22	86.36	13.64	15	7
XVII - Prati	13	84.62	15.38	8	5
XVIII - Aurelia	19	68.42	31.58	10	9
XIX - Monte Mario	28	82.14	17.86	21	7
XX - Cassia Flaminia	7	85.71	14.29	3	4
Comune di Roma	474	79.24	20.76	270	204

Source: Chamber of Commerce of Rome, 2013. Proces. Own graphics

Type of activity: 56.10.20 - Catering without administration but with preparation of takeaway food; 56.10.11 - Catering with administration (ATECO 2007).

In Municipality VI (Prenestino, Casilino, Quadraro, Labicano, and Collatino) out of a population of 122,961 immigrants are represented by 16,285, of which 7,751 are residents of Torpignattara (*ibid.*), without considering those not regularly enrolled into the birth registry. The correlation between the distribution of residents and sole traders is not always direct, however, since the high proportion of foreign residents could instead be a better index of the labor market promoting employment, could depress the number of sole traders as in the case of Torpignattara.

Table. 2

Roma Capitale-Popolazione straniera iscritta in anagrafe per paese di provenienza e municipio (1.01.2011)																				
Paese	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	TOTALE
Romania	2.597	1.477	507	2.817	2.927	2.413	3.866	18.341	1.678	3.506	1.756	3.327	7.523	4.625	2.509	725	3.458	3.879	6.33	74.583
Filippine	2.374	3.839	754	2.303	872	1.292	886	785	1.688	584	1.455	1.485	892	2.209	2.142	1.246	2.421	3.144	4.476	34.995
Bangladesh	2.873	171	148	555	669	2.802	1.385	2.229	909	993	985	243	303	762	347	252	237	236	210	16.354
Polonia	1.063	532	239	797	586	496	569	786	600	541	602	608	2.159	859	930	467	987	1.309	893	15.124
Cina	3.251	219	93	352	502	2.451	807	2.032	649	855	522	206	230	476	149	189	264	227	129	13.648
Perù	699	935	245	687	680	591	664	890	713	661	610	362	506	518	527	387	738	1.157	1.47	13.077
Ucraina	890	656	161	689	574	351	367	619	588	504	656	580	960	391	421	385	494	687	551	10.546
Egitto	398	286	100	370	391	710	900	825	411	284	428	191	1.231	1.391	554	235	461	560	375	10.224
Ex Jugoslavia	637	169	58	220	634	193	627	899	155	182	451	824	332	400	145	95	688	541	388	8.045
Sri Lanka	475	852	140	198	167	247	171	263	127	112	312	395	1.151	183	195	214	270	626	1.706	7.837
Ecuador	416	572	135	403	236	365	299	526	337	326	355	242	230	221	208	220	458	884	1.351	7.804
India	1.123	340	150	256	140	324	307	468	305	192	345	284	247	426	566	263	852	542	545	7.736
Albania	171	180	108	275	583	359	390	1.348	195	336	221	346	401	211	168	49	360	437	182	6.343
Moldova	253	243	60	373	295	220	383	785	287	297	293	512	559	194	227	98	247	347	665	6.341
Francia	1.292	720	200	194	105	92	62	96	183	112	318	300	291	136	295	275	338	258	712	6.084
Altri paesi	23.833	6.342	2.558	4.392	3.583	3.379	3.626	6.876	3.361	2.534	4.016	4.111	5.613	3.009	4.92	2.753	6.828	4.651	8.568	107.006
TOTALE	42.345	17.533	5.656	14.891	12.944	16.285	15.309	37.767	12.186	12.018	13.325	14.016	22.628	16.011	14.303	7.853	19.101	19.485	28.551	345.747

Source: Caritas/Province/Chamber of Commerce of Rome, 2012

In a business landscape characterized by a predominantly male model on a national scale the presence of women reach an average of 30 % between both the nationals and among immigrants. Asia is to record important exceptions with a significant presence of women among Chinese, Japanese and Filipinos of 44% of the total, an increase of 8 percentage points from 2005 (International Social Affairs, p. 73, 2013).

At the municipal level disaggregation of data on the gender difference in the total number of catering businesses (474) currently present in Rome showed that 20.7 % have a woman as the owner, and only in two of ten considered ethnic groups: Romania (54%) and Peru (50%) the percentage of these is greater than or equal to that of men (Fig. 3). The nationalities with fewer entrepreneurs appear to be Egypt (6% out of a total of 215 units) and Pakistan (0% out of a total of 16 units). Certainly the spread of female entrepreneurship is strongly conditioned by cultural and religious characteristics of the community.

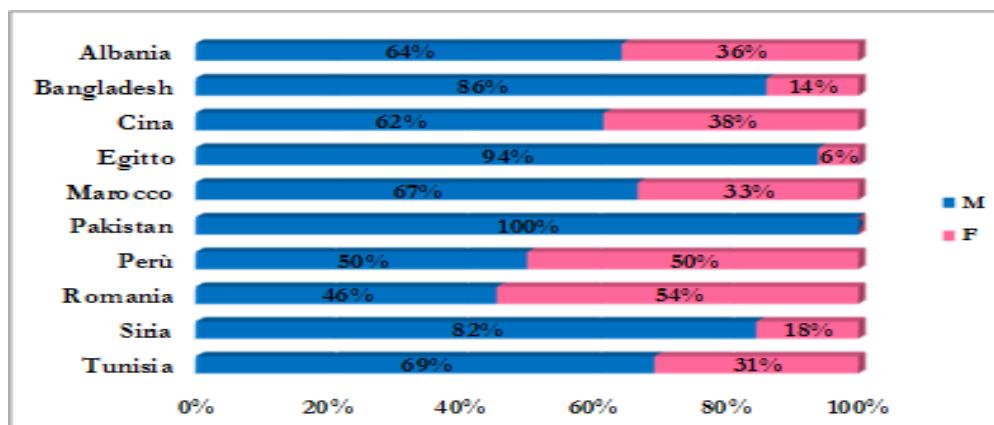


Fig. 3 - The top 10 nationalities by gender differences

Source: Chamber of Commerce of Rome, 2013. Proces. Own graphics

Also on the bottom of the demographic pyramid we observe a wide variety of situations depending on the community of origin, with an average age of entrepreneurs among foreigners not exceeding 40 years old, thus contributing to the rejuvenation of the Italian entrepreneurial scene. In particular, the Chinese entrepreneurs are in class 30-39 years while the Egyptians are in the 40-49 (Fig. 4).

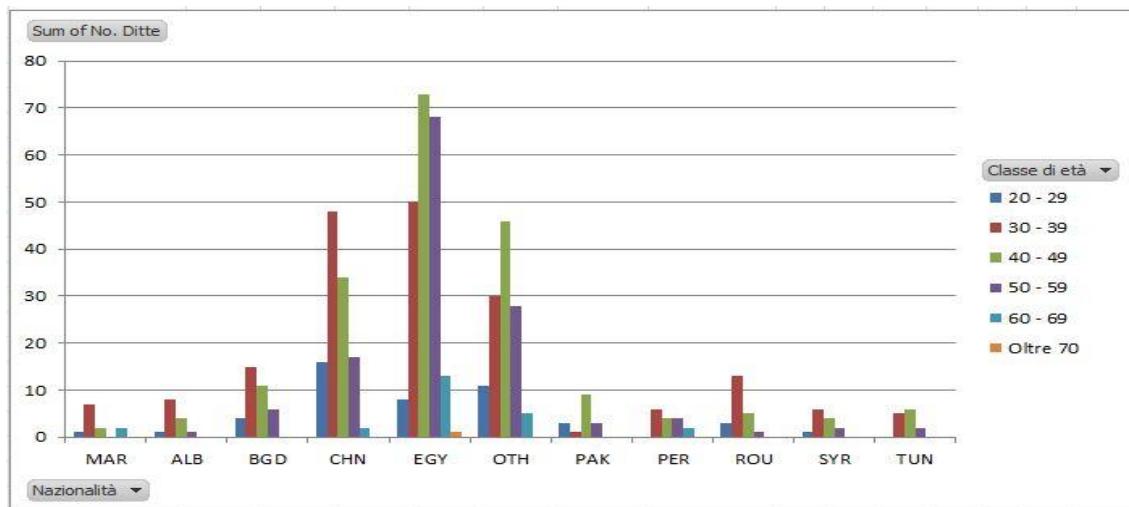


Figure 4 - Distribution of sole traders by age of the entrepreneur in Rome

Source: Chamber of Commerce of Rome, 2013. Proces. own graphics

Remarkable is the difference between the two nationalities of entrepreneurs who together account for the remaining 80% of the owners of Roman *food-ethnoscapes* (Fig. 5): the sole traders (restaurants) registered to a Chinese citizen account for 80% of the total, whereas take-away food companies with an Egyptian owner account for 78% of the total.

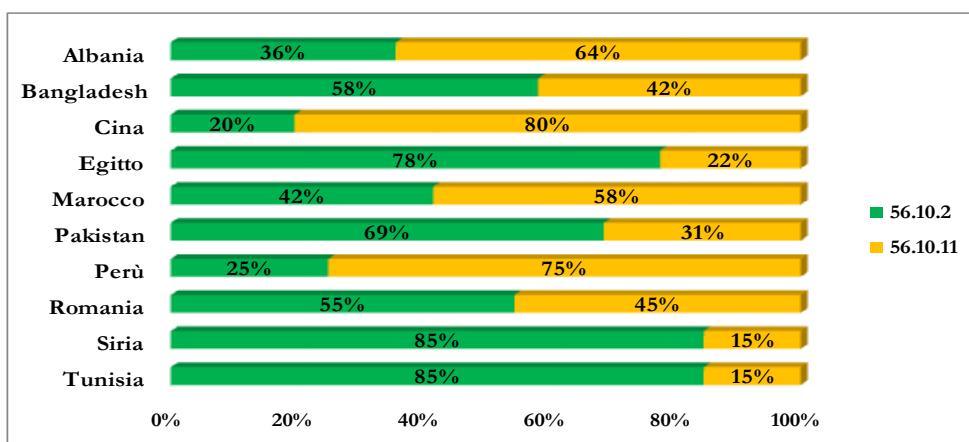


Figure 5 - % distribution by the type of restaurant business and nationality in Rome

Source: Chamber of Commerce of Rome, 2013. Proces. own graphics

5. QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

The field survey (Bourdieu 1990) was held in Rome from March to October 2013 by subjecting a sample of five foreign-born entrepreneurs and owners of sole traders in the quarters of Esquiline and Torpignattara for an interview in the form of the questionnaire (20 questions). The semi-structured interview was chosen by me as a methodological tool in addition to and possible confirmation of the hypothesis theorized in the introduction of the research. It allows greater flexibility and adaptability than the structured interview, whose predetermination of the application may constitute a limit to the interaction with the subject. In fact, establishing a smooth communication is one of the primary objectives and more difficult to achieve with migrants given their distrust towards the curiosity of others and, in this case, without the presence of cultural mediators. I was able to catch their attention as a customer in most of these places, and then I gained their trust over time.

The questionnaire (annex 1) was divided into 20 questions aimed to understand what the migrant's area of origin is and the places where he has lived in Europe and Italy; what has happened on the trip, the kind of support that the subject has received, also, if any, from illegal organizations and, finally, what documents he arrived with into Italy and his current legal status.

The education and employment status and that of his family members and the nature of his links with the family and ethnic networks are also investigated. In particular, the reasons that led the subject to emigrate and the support that the nuclear family, also enlarged to friends and countrymen, provided in moral terms, housing accommodation and economic help. This being the basis to understand the expectations that members of the family and ethnic networks feel on the migration project of the subject and its realization. Finally, the series of questions is intended to frame the migrant's status of residence and, if married, acquire information on spouse and their marriage history. Lastly, it is focused on the relationship that the subject has with the country of origin and his intentions regarding a return there.

Then the labor questions come along. The aim is to know the stages of migrant's labor in Europe and Italy. In doing so, the subject's career is reconstructed by asking for each work what support was provided by the family and ethnic networks and what were the reasons that have motivated the change of job. So, motivations are investigated to enter a sector or another and the qualities and skills necessary to enter. From here, depth is the kind of support that the network of family and ethnic provided to the migrant and the consequent contraction of debts or favors. In particular, for migrants in the restaurant industry and, especially, in this case of self-employed workers some questions deepen the importance of the family network and ethnicity in facilitating entry to the sector, the distribution of tasks among the members of the family context and enlarged and relationships with family members in the workplace. Hence, the kind of working progression guaranteed within the family business and acquired human capital as well as work experience carried out outside the family context.

M. is a Syrian businessman who has lived in Italy for twenty years and that around 10 taken restaurant business in the heart of Rome, the restaurant he owns is the first Arabic *fast-food* in the city. In its country of origin he was a chef, having worked as an employee at other restaurants he decided to start his own business to improve his living conditions and make more money:

" It's not that the work the Italian Revenue Agency makes me ask critical questions [laughs] When I decided to undertake this activity I was very depressed because I had been working without a contract, without insurance, and I was really tired of being subjected to such injustice . Then, at the beginning of 2000 I realized that there was a real fast-food only of Arabic cuisine in Rome and I rushed into this madness My employees are all fellow countrymen and the customers are mostly Italians of a certain economic and social level of, because the restaurant is located in the Esquiline area, the historical center where the cost of living is higher and therefore not really suitable for immigrants. I obviously prepare only Arabic take-away meals, and I see that are much appreciated."

He reports that, among the difficulties of successful immigrant entrepreneurs there is lack of knowledge of management practices of a company by many business owners and the difficulties by others in the choice of the area in which to open up the business. In his case a network of fellow countrymen were of great help when he arrived, hosting him for sleeping and eating so that he could put the money aside to fulfill his dream. He has good relations with the Italian restaurateurs that are his neighbors, although, he says, it wasn't easy for the distrust and fear *that brought through the customers*. The way in which he opened his business is now inaccessible due to high rental fees, lease claims. He considers Rome a favorable place for the start of catering business thanks to tourism; has two sons that already attend elementary school hoping to enroll at the university and not to continue his activities.

"it is too difficult to do this work, you don't see your children grow, you can't be in the most important moments such as a school performance or when they have a fever. You can't take a vacation and so I hope to do more maybe as a Mayor of Rome (M., 40 y.o., Egyptian, take-away food restaurateur, interview conducted in March 2013).

Y. is a citizen of Egyptian origin, owner for more than ten years of a restaurant in the south-eastern suburb of the capital, where he also bought a home. He graduated from the University of Cairo with a degree in economics, decided to immigrate to our country in August 1989 and began working as a bartender (illegally). He catches up with an older brother who arrived in Rome at the end of the 70s, at first he thought to come to Rome and become rich immediately, this was the idea that his brother had made him understand. Then he encountered the sad reality of exclusion until he was able

to start working in a bar run by Italians [during the interview I have been given personal confidences about Y.'s brother, but to respect the request of the interviewee I decided to omit]. After years of working behind the counter and a brief but intense period at a car dealership (always illegally) he was able to put aside a decent amount of money and only with this, "*nobody has helped me*", succeeds to open his current business. He spent years making great sacrifice, eating at Caritas to save money and be able to realize his dream:

"The desire to open a place of my own and need to stop working for others led me to start my own business facing great sacrifices. I work together with my wife and have no employees. I have never asked for loans in banks until the moment I had to apply for a mortgage to buy a house, only in this case I had some difficulty, however, related only to the property guarantees. My customers are mainly Italians, and I consider myself a person quite integrated in your society: most of my friends are Italians and my children attend an Italian school. I learned cooking some dishes of Roman cuisine [sees my slightly astonished expression and chuckles] but don't worry I will not make you taste them..... carbonara and amatriciana, I did it to adapt to the customers' needs. Sometimes they are couples, in which one of the two does not eat because he does not like ethnic cuisine. Then I folded over this shortcut. My wife is very good at making tiramisu." [Indeed, it's true, the tiramisu is very tasty].

Among the problems that an immigrant may encounter when opening a company refers in particular to knowledge of Italian. He is absolutely satisfied with his business (he never thought about closing it), and has plans for the next five years to expand itself in order to open up a pizzeria. As for the children, I prefer them to study "*must do their duty*", but even if they don't continue studying I don't see anything wrong for their involvement in the local administration, which occasionally happens right now. He doesn't feel the need to return to his country, especially, after the recent clashes and then adds: *I would not be able to adapt to a simpler life without all the amenities that I have here in Rome, and then "aho, sò Romano de' Roma pe' adozione"* ("I'm real Roman by adoption", told in pure Roman slang!) (Y., 45 y.o., Egyptian, restaurateur, interview in March 2013).

Y. is an Egyptian immigrant who arrived to Italy in 1995. He is a manager of an ethnic restaurant in Rome, has a shopkeeper's experience because his family had already owned a grocery store in Egypt:

"My experience of emigration began with a fellow employee at the other countrymen (I made pizza for years without a contract) and then continued as an entrepreneur once I made the decision to start my own business. A push to make this choice was desire to feel free and to stop working "for the boss ". I wanted my space and do my own thing, and above all, I wanted to stay in compliance with the Italian law. Actually my two employees are hired on a regular contract."

He had to borrow money from the bank not being able to rely on family support because it is him to send remittances to his home country where his wife and daughters live. The clientele is mostly foreign, and above all Arabs. His suppliers are Tunisian, Moroccan and also Italian ones. He claims to have good relations with Italians and feels very well integrated in our society. He is strongly affected by the lack of his family and dreams of returning to his country. He doesn't want to make the family reunion because he does not like the way Italian women live - too loose, without "restraint in dress" and then does not want to raise his children this way [sees my expression, but lowers his eyes and I do not deepen, I respect his way of thinking]. This entrepreneur finally makes constant reference to the crisis and admits that he thought several times to close the business: in this period he is not satisfied with his work because profits are too low, having to provide the support for two daughters and his wife who does not work:

"I must think about three of them, my wife just has to manage the household and take care of the growing children in accordance with Koran and Islamic religion as we were taught by our parents" (Y., 50 years old, married, the interview was conducted in April 2013).

T. is an Ethiopian entrepreneur who runs a typical Eritrean and Ethiopian restaurant in Roman district of Tiburtina:

"In my home country I was a student but also worked part-time as an electrical mechanician. After graduating in 1990 I decided to emigrate and reach Italy (the dream of many Africans, Italy is the country where life is good, free, where you can have contact with women without having to marry, you can drink) In Rome I've been running a restaurant since 1999, although at that time it was still in Viale dell'Università. To start business I resorted to bank loans and savings that I had accumulated working over time as an employee. At the moment I have no employees and work alone with my wife; my clients are 70% Italian (and is increasing). My customers really like the zighinì that I serve with ingera bread, as it is

done in my country. Many people ask me how to prepare this bread, but I'd rather not give the exact recipe ...[laughs] otherwise my craft will be stolen."

Suppliers are mostly Italian ones, only spices and decor of the room (which is really characteristic) are imported from Ethiopia. The idea for the restaurant came into being thanks to his wife who grew up in various restaurants of Ethiopian and Eritrean cuisine. The desire to get away from dependence to work and the willingness to try creating something together and earning more money has led the two spouses to try the road of self-employment. The relationship of T. with Italians is good and he feels integrated, although would like more Italian customers. He plans to further accommodate the restaurant and raise his children well. He is considered very lucky, he says: "*it's hard to get to where I got to*" compared to other immigrants. If the relationships with the banks weren't particularly complex, on the contrary, the bureaucracy has created some problems (T., 40 years old, interview in early May 2013).

A. is an Egyptian businessman who has been an owner of an ethnic take-away restaurant in the heart of Rome for the past three years:

"I arrived to your country in 1996, I worked in the kitchen and as a waiter for about ten years; in Egypt I painted and also attended the arts high school. To start my own business I put aside some money and sold a house. I preferred not having to resort to the banks to get a loan, so I never had any problems with them. I have only one employee, my countryman, and I often get help from my wife, while customers and suppliers are mainly Italians. Initially I only prepared Egyptian food (Kebab, felafell etc.) and then with the crisis I had to adapt to the needs of everybody. To attract more clients I started preparing even the sliced pizza, French fries, calzoni and so on. So the gains have increased, but my dream is always to have a restaurant of only Egyptian cuisine with Egyptian-style furniture, in short, a dream I decided to start my own business for not having to work any longer for others, although I struggled in the early years when I worked for fifteen hours a day, but finally I finished being an illegal worker."

In Egypt you hear people talk very good about Italy and its people, and he has known many good people who are now his friends. His integration was not easy, especially for the language and then to have also suffered racist attacks from bullies in the neighborhood he lives in, but he held firm, attended a night school to learn Italian. He spent long periods of isolation and was about to fall into the trap of alcoholism, especially because his religion forbids its use and, hence, the temptation in a free country like ours has been very strong. But then, thanks to some countrymen he managed to get out, and now he is satisfied with his life and feels fortunate to be in Italy. His clientele is mainly composed of Italians who work in the neighborhood and prefer eating kebab instead of sandwich or pizza. He often refers to work and rent related difficulties, but he is happy with his job because he manages to feed his children. Eventually he plans to buy a house and get rid of the weight of the lease (of course in a suburb of Rome where prices are more affordable). He would like to see his children studying to pursue a degree and dreams about their future as a doctor or an architect. He is happy to have arrived in Italy since he slowly managed to gain a position, in Egypt probably also due to the disappearance of his parents it would not have been so. His sons, that are present at the interview, have the Roman accent and represent a mix of Arabic beauty and Italian sympathy (T., Egyptian, 50 years old, interview on May 15, 2013).

6. DISCUSSION

Having reconstructed the path of the subject's life and work, the trace of the interview is reassessing previous experience that the respondent has had in the restaurant industry. Then, the reasons for the entry into this industry, the talents and the skills needed to access have been investigated. Here, we discussed the type of support that the network of family and ethnic provided to the migrant and the consequent contraction of debts or favors. What were the conditions and the level of economic satisfaction, but also the tasks performed and the possibility of job progression although the subject had been deprived of contractual protection. In the latter case, it has been focused on the relationship between the worker and the employer to understand whether it has resulted in clashes and has pushed the subject to look for job opportunities outside of each of the two sectors.

The questions were aimed to understand how the transition to self-employed position took place and in what moment of career the subject has taken such a decision. In particular, the trace was intended to seize the reasons that led the migrants to become self-employed, emphasizing the benefits but also the required efforts and the skills necessary to run a business. Obviously, the contribution of the family network is equally important to understand the terms of the moral, logistical and economic aid, grasping the differences between the support of the families of origin of spouses. In particular, the trace

delved into the economic support activities from the family and ethnic networks, and what kind of debts and favors has entailed involving both the network of the parents and children. On the contrary, if there was no help from family and ethnic network what the reasons were and if they give a glimpse of a distance between the migrants and the network. Finally, to understand if and in what manner managing self-employment fuels the call of the migration chain.

With regard to the working environment, the questions were aimed at the management of the business. Then, how many members of the production unit - family and ethnic network belong to and how it articulates the relationship between the owner and his employees and associates belonging to the family or outside of it. In particular, what the working atmosphere is, if it affects the turnover of the labor force and, if so, what factors motivate him. Hence, to understand what area of responsibility a business owner reaches on the basis of the relationship of trust with the members of the family, to which the importance of the relationship with friends and acquaintances is added.

Finally, some of the questions have been focused on understanding the development of catering in terms of culinary tastes, customers and economic trends. This has been associated with the questions about the relationship that the migrant has with other restaurateurs, indigenous and not, to understand whether it is collaborative or competitive type in addition to the involvement that he may have with trade associations and local institutions. What kind of cuisine, what kind of clients visit the place and whether he is satisfied with the results so far.

The objective of the last section is to draw attention to the migrant's planning and his willingness to continue working in this sector. The trace is aimed at understanding whether the migrant has intention to escape from this economic sector and continue to work in the economy of his country, or fit into other areas of the local market. Hence, whether he intends to return to his homeland and continue his career there while remaining in the same sector or investing in other career paths. Practically speaking, in the course of observation and collection of interviews strategies have emerged, through which immigrant entrepreneurs strive to put into play, maintain or increase their share capital. The need to reconstruct the system of objective rules, material and symbolic implications of social and economic dynamics of the country of origin, when placed in the context of migration gives rise to designs that aim to strengthen share capital and the ties within the community it belongs to. However, this statement may be difficult to apply in the case of the nationality characterized by "weak" social capital (for example, in the case of Albania and Romania) that would rather be export oriented towards the country of destination.

7. CONCLUSIONS

Rome and its hinterland is a real attraction pole of ethnic groups and economic activities that are at the basis of the phenomena related to human mobility. Many districts are home to residences with a strong multiethnic connotation and scattered businesses that have more or less visible signs in the area.

The restaurant business, however, represents a real showcase for the analysis of spatial phenomena and transnational mobility. Those restaurants and take-away diners are now an observatory not only for the lifestyles of foreigners but also local people. Their distribution in the metropolitan area also follows the distribution of the foreigners' residences drawing to areas with a high concentration especially in Esquiline and Torpignattara districts, close to the railway stations, consular roads and areas of low-cost leasing.

The analysis of the available data refuted by the international literature on the subject has produced a very precise picture of the distribution of sole traders in Rome. But the qualitative analysis has provided even more explanatory framework about the reasons that pushed the interviewees to open up these activities and how fundamental family networks have been for the continuation of the work.

In Italy, where research on immigrant entrepreneurship has developed late compared to other countries with the oldest immigration, the concept of capital and importance of social network in the study of the phenomenon have been incorporated as an analytical tool and a key to understanding from the beginning. Ambrosini and Zincone (Fieri 2005) emphasize the importance of social and human capital in their work on immigrant entrepreneurs in Turin. Compared to the first one the qualitative survey concludes that relatives and friends willing to share the business risk by providing necessary capital are the main obstacle to the development of self-employment represented by the difficulty to access ordinary loans.

Even though such participation is not always impartial and free from personal interests, it demonstrates how networks of ethnic-based relationships can fill the voids left by the institutional regulations.

Scholars also point out that the grounding in networks of relationship affects other important aspects of self-employment: recruitment of workforce provided predominantly by ethnic-based circuits of relatives and friends and positioning of companies in terms of product/market.

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ANNEX - 1**Questionnaire:**

Interview date:
Country of birth:
Activity sector:
1. Personal data (gender, marital status, age, num. of children, age of children, spouse's age, nationality of the spouse and children, education) How long have you been in Rome?
2. Which was your activity in your home country?
3. When did you start your current activity?
4. What kind of clients you have? Autochthonous/compatriots only/mixed?
5. What kind of relationship you establish with your customers?
6. Do you offer your country cuisine only or also international?
7. And what about Roman and Italian cuisine?
8. What is your relationship with the Italian restaurateurs nearby you?
9. Before starting your current food service activity, have you ever worked in different areas or this was always your field?
10. In general, what kind of relations are the most useful in the management of your activity?
/__/_ family relations
/__/_ relations with other compatriots (not relatives)
/__/_ relations with other foreigners (not compatriots)
/__/_ relations with Italians
/__/_ relations with associations of compatriots
/__/_ relations with Italian associations
/__/_ any other kind of relations:
11. How would you describe your relationship with banks or other financial institutions? Have you had any particular problem with these institutions?
12. How would you define the Italian bureaucracy? How much, in your opinion, is the current system efficient?
13. Thinking about your experience, how important were the following aspects in starting and managing your business?
/__/_ education
/__/_ initial assets
/__/_ knowledge of Italian language
/__/_ knowledge of foreign languages
/__/_ knowledge of Italian people
/__/_ family support
/__/_ traditions and professional experiences of your family
/__/_ desire to work
/__/_ professionalism and experience
/__/_ the help of Italian associations or local institutions
/__/_ the help of groups or associations of compatriots
14. Overall, are you satisfied of your current activities?
_ major positive aspects?
_ Major negative aspects?

15. What are your plans for the next five years?
16. Thinking about the future of your children: would you like them to continue your activity or you would like to see them study at university and then pursue a career of their own?
17. Are you satisfied / dissatisfied with your experience of emigration? Why?
18. Have you ever thought to close your business? (yes-no, why?)
19. Do you think to go back Home?

¹Belluso R., *Un esempio di distribuzione spaziale nella scelta imprenditoriale e insediativa: la Comunità Bengalese a Roma*, Geotema, Anno XV-XVI, n. 1-2-3 gennaio-dicembre 2011-2012, pp. 41-46.

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ⁱfor example, ‘Muove in questa direzione’ (move in this direction) is the service offered by Movimpresa-Union chamber in charge of the development and dissemination of statistics on the numerical aspects, market segments with higher incidence of immigrant businesses, their territorial distribution.

ⁱⁱⁱ Statistical data on the size and geographical distribution of Italian companies up to a municipal level and by category of activity through the use of the Stock View database developed by Infocamere S.p.a system that on a quarterly basis allows getting up-to-date information about: consistency and demographic changes of enterprises, local units, craftsmen; information about persons listed on the legal forms of businesses and declared capital of companies; in-depth investigations on business and female responsibilities.