# Global Perspectives on Human Rights and the Impact of Tourism Consumption in the 21st Century

Maximiliano E Korstanje
University of Palermo, Argentina

Vanessa G.B. Gowreesunkar
Anant National University, India

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Maximiliano Korstanje
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To all those whose basic human rights have been violated in the tourism industry, we dedicate this book to you. Your struggles and experiences have inspired us to write on this pertinent issue.

We recognize that tourism has often been linked to various human rights abuses, including labor exploitation, child abuse, displacement of indigenous peoples, and environmental degradation. We hope that this book will serve as a tool to raise awareness about these issues and provide solutions that can help prevent further harm.

Our dedication also goes out to the countless individuals, organizations, and communities who have been fighting for human rights in the tourism industry. Your tireless efforts have been instrumental in creating a more just and equitable industry.

Finally, we dedicate this piece of work to future generations of travelers, tourism professionals, and activists who will carry on the fight for human rights. May this book inspire them to build a more sustainable, responsible, and respectful tourism industry that puts people and the planet first.

Vanessa & Max

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Chapter 6
The Migrantour Experience at Porta Palazzo and Barriera di Milano:
Tourism Consumption in Intercultural Neighborhoods

Adriana Maria Offredi Rodriguez
Universitat Autónoma de Barcelona, Spain

ABSTRACT

Migrantour contributes to spreading a culture of respect for the human rights of migrant communities in European cities by encouraging interactions of mutual respect between people with different origins. Since 2009, it has involved over 11,000 participants in the intercultural itineraries and more than 300 people as intercultural companions. Currently, new projects are under implementation to promote its methodology in rural areas and new cities. Thus, as it will be explained in the chapter, it can represent a successful study case where tourism contributes positively to human rights within the frame of interculturalism. The contribution is a part of a broader study examining the experience of Migrantour in Porta Palazzo and Barriera di Milano, two neighborhoods of the Italian town of Turin, under different grounds. The aim is to further contribute to the debate about the implications of the transformation of intercultural neighbourhoods into places of leisure and consumption for migrant communities.

INTRODUCTION

The Migrantour Experience at Porta Palazzo and Barriera di Milano

This chapter is part of a broader study conducted in 2021. It examines, under different grounds, the experience of Migrantour in Porta Palazzo and Barriera di Milano, two neighborhoods of the Italian town of Turin. The aim is to further contribute to the debate about the relationship between tourism consumption, human rights, and urban space. It also represents an excellent opportunity to reflect on the implications of urban tourism for the human rights of migrants living in intercultural neighborhoods.

Migrantour is a European network of responsible tourism that works in the frame of interculturalism. It operates in more than 20 European cities and rural areas and has involved 11.000 participants in the intercultural itineraries and more than 300 people as intercultural companions. It was first created in 2009 when Turin, as other European cities, was in the middle of a process of de-industrialization which led to the development of alternative forms of economic production. Since the 2000s, indeed, cities with a strong immigration history had started considering tourism as a resource for socioeconomic development. And cultural diversity had become a means to transform intercultural neighbourhoods into places of leisure and consumption. Migrantour, however, has been designed following a different mindset which is more concerned about the implications of "(inter)cultural tourism" on the rights of the migrant communities involved. In this sense, it promotes the respect for cultural diversity and the rights of migrant communities by tackling the official discourse regarding intercultural neighbourhoods. This is done through intercultural itineraries: two-hour walking tours where participants are invited to engage with the territory and its inhabitants thanks to the mediation of intercultural companions. They are "citizens regardless of their land of origin or the one of their parents" who take the floor to self-represent and speak up for their communities of origin. Migrantour.

For these reasons, the author believes it represents a successful study case where tourism contributes positively to human rights within the frame of intercultural neighbourhoods.

BACKGROUND

Tourism and Intercultural Neighborhoods

During the second half of the 19th century, a new form of urban tourism started growing in medium and big cities due to the interest of a part of the upper bourgeoisie

to "visit degraded urban areas" and see how their inhabitants lived. These inhabitants were usually migrant groups and the degradation was the result of the combination between socioeconomic problems and institutional abandonment. Nevertheless, cultural diversity became the main attraction, and slowly, the so-called "slumming" led to the transformation of intercultural neighbourhoods into places of leisure and consumption all around the world (Rath, 2007). From the beginning, concerns were raised regarding the effects of this kind of tourism on the communities involved in terms of:

- The *touristification* of their traditions and lifestyle without taking into account the perspective of the people involved. That is the importance of these features to self-represent a common identity and preserve the relationship both with the land of origin and other peers in the hosting country.
- The promotion of processes of gentrification and urban transformation according to a logic of generalized "beautification" of the territory. In fact, economic and social benefits do not necessarily reach the resident communities while may determine the expulsion of (unwanted) inhabitants from the neighborhood (Semi, 2015).

Yet, it is as well worth mentioning those positions that defend the social potential of Slumming because it might also indirectly lead to value the cultural and social features of these areas:

The tours in the areas where 'the other half' of New Yorkers lived inspired philanthropists, intellectuals, and politicians, giving rise to the birth of charitable associations and important reforms in the social welfare field, including the fundamental one on public housing. (Vietti, 2022, pp. 175-176)

Migrantour has been created following this mindset: a more ethical, conscious, and sustainable perspective aimed to enhance relationships of mutual respect between people with different origins. The narrative proposed promotes the respect for cultural diversity and the human rights of migrant communities by tackling the official discourse regarding intercultural neighbourhoods. In this sense, the author believes it represents a successful study case where tourism contributes positively to human rights within the frame of intercultural neighbourhoods and their transformation into places of leisure and consumption (Rath, 2007; Skoll & Korstanje, 2014).

The Concept of Human Rights

This chapter refers to a notion of human rights that appeared for the first time in 1945 in the UN Charter, the founding document of the United Nations, and was officially established by the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR).. In this context, the idea of 'rights' is linked to the notion of what is 'right'. That is something that fulfils a standard of rightness and, in the case of human rights, finds its entitlement in moral or legal rules. Hence, the existence of universal basic standards of protection of the dignity and worth of the human person. "There is a wide gap between the promises of the UDHR and the real world" but abandoning the universal idea of human rights would mean giving up on the good reasons for supporting them (Freeman, 2011, p. 3).

Tourism was not immediately recognized as a sector where the framework of human rights could be applied. Nevertheless, human rights activists and some authors have often perceived conventional tourism as a form of cyclic violation of the rights of tourists, local communities, and employees. George & Varghese, for example, since 2007 have been claiming to ethics and sustainable tourism to advocate for a tourist practice respectful of human values and to positively accommodate the notion of human rights within tourism studies "as a yardstick for practice" (p. 46). This chapter intends to follow these ideas focusing on the consequences of urban tourism for the human rights of migrant communities living in intercultural neighborhoods under transformation into places of leisure and consumption.

Description of the Territory

Turin is a town in the Piedmont Region, in the North-West of Italy. From the beginning of the 20th century, thanks to a period of industrial expansion, it has welcomed the settlement of different industrial complexes: FIAT automotive company was created here in 1899. Progressively, it became an important centre for the industry sector and, slowly, a destination for people searching for jobs and fortune. The first flows of people arrived in early nighties from the surrounding countryside. Then, between the fifties and the sixties, many people attracted by industry-related jobs arrived from the South of Italy. From the eighties, instead, Turin started welcoming people arriving from all around the world, especially from China, East Europe, Northern Africa, and South America.

Since the 2000s, Economic crisis, deindustrialization, and the Winter Olympic Games (2006) triggered a process of "post -Fordist" transformation where manufacturing has been progressively replaced by alternative forms of economic production: the services sector, the cultural productions sector, and tourism, above all (Nofre et al., 2018). Yet, the path to balance is not easy to reach as cultural diversity,

and its tangible and intangible heritage, is not yet completely perceived by all. Today, the population is 861.636 inhabitants, who are distributed in 8 districts. Of these, 131.594 are foreigners, representing approximately 15% of the total population. The foreign communities most represented are the Romanian (47.437), the Moroccan (15.501), the Chinese (7.539), and the Peruvian (6.806) (Municipal Statistical Office of the City of Turin, 2021).

Porta Palazzo

Porta Palazzo today is located near the historical centre of Turin. Although it is not classified as a neighbourhood from an administrative point of view (it belongs to the *Aurora* neighbourhood), it is perceived as a unitary popular area in the collective imagination. The name "*Porta*", gate, and "*Palazzo*", palace, depends on its historic location: just outside of one of the old entrance gates. The market, instead, has spontaneously formed here due to an administrative order of 1835 that prohibited running markets in town to prevent the spread of cholera. Today is considered the largest open market in Europe and is the main reason why people reach this part of the town. Some for shopping, some others looking for employment, housing, or just help and company. The "immigrants" of the past have been gradually replaced by individuals coming from the most diverse points of the globe[3] who have spread around 60 between languages and dialects (Semi, 2009). However, economic opportunities and cultural and historical heritage converge with social problems and institutional abandonment. Therefore, in the collective imagination, it is perceived as a marginal, conflictive, and dangerous neighbourhood that hosts the highest number of people with migrant origins (Semi, 2009) and from which "locals" should stay away (Cingolani, 2018).

Barriera di Milano

The neighbourhood was created at the end of the 19th century just outside of the first "*cinta daziaria*", a customs checkpoint established to control the goods entering town from the North. It has been incorporated into the urban fabric during the 20th century because of the industrial development of the area which has shaped its urban fabric and the lifestyle of the inhabitants. With deindustrialization, processes of urban change have been encouraged by "state-led gentrification" which has pushed it into a deep social and structural crisis (Nofre et al., 2018). From a traditional working-class neighbourhood, it became an area with abandoned warehouses, unemployed inhabitants, and one of the highest rates of young NEET, young people Neither in Employment nor Education or Training. The diversity here is the usual means by which relationships develop between people. Each person identifies himself by

belonging to one specific group sharing certain characteristics, while migrants from yesterday and today are still perceived as invaders of the territory (Cingolani, 2018)[4].

METHODOLOGY

This contribution is part of a broader study case carried out in 2021. It has examined the experience of Migrantour in the neighborhoods of *Porta Palazzo* and *Barriera di Milano* under different grounds. It has mainly applied a qualitative approach due to the usefulness of this methodology for understanding the subjective meaning of the actions of individuals while paying attention to the context in which they take place. However, a small survey has been carried out to reach the opinion of the participants in intercultural itineraries which otherwise could not have been collected. The purpose was to study reality in its natural context, as it happens, trying to explain phenomena according to the meanings they have for the people involved (Coller, 2005).

In this context, the hypothesis guiding the chapter takes into consideration both the tourist and the socio-political dimensions of Migrantour. The first is linked to the ethical principles of responsible tourism and aims to make visible portions of the urban space by enhancing the influence of migratory processes on the development of cultural heritage. The second is developed to offer alternative storytelling about migrations and to spread a culture of respect for the rights of migrant groups in both urban and rural areas. In this sense, the author believes that Migrantour represents a successful study case where tourism contributes positively to human rights within the frame of intercultural urban neighbourhoods and their transformation into places of leisure and consumption. Furthermore, she has a particular relationship with Migrantour: she has been part of the first group of intercultural companions ever trained in Turin and has been the local coordinator of Migrantour in the Italian town of Genoa between 2018-2019. The opportunity to research arrived in 2021 and it seemed an excellent occasion to analyse Migrantour from a distant and different perspective.

Objectives

General

Contributing to the debate about the relationship between tourism consumption, human rights, and urban space by analyzing the implications of urban tourism for the human rights of migrant communities living in intercultural neighborhoods.

Specific

Addressing theoretically the relationship between Migrantour and he processes of transformation undergoing in Porta Palazzo and Barriera di Milano neighborhoods.

Examining the implications of Migrantour for the human rights of migrant communities living in *Porta Palazzo* and *Barriera di Milano* neighbourhoods through the lens of touristification, urban transformation, and spatial segregation.

Reflecting on the sustainability of urban tourism in the frame of interculturalism by exploring its links with processes of discrimination and expulsion of vulnerable groups in the urban space.

Sources of Information

The fieldwork was carried out between May and July 2021 when sanitary restrictions due to Covid-19 were still in force in Turin. This affected both the number of intercultural itineraries that could be implemented in that period and the completion of the fieldwork. Information has been collected, mainly in Italian[5], through:

1. **Semi-Guided Online Interviews of 11 Individuals:** 7 Migrantour members with different roles; 3 members of NGOs and local organizations that collaborate with Migrantour; and 1 member of the International Cooperation and Peace Department of Turin's City Council. An interview guide was used to cover all the sensitizing topics connected with the research. Informed consent and confidentiality were ethical issues particularly relevant to the researcher. Voluntary consent was obtained from all interviewees. Each one also received a virtual copy of the research when it was concluded.
2. **A small-scale survey** was conducted among the participants in the 29 intercultural itineraries carried out between May and July 2021. Questionnaires have been distributed in person with the support of intercultural companions and the local coordinator. Only 48 questionnaires could be collected (45 for *Porta Palazzo* and 3 for *Barriera di Milano*). The author is conscious that these findings are from a small sample and so their generalizability is limited. Nevertheless, 48 people were generous enough to share their opinions about their experience with Migrantour for this study. Thus, their ideas should not be discarded but instead open up new ways of thinking about the relationship between tourism consumption, human rights, and urban space. In this perspective, some of their opinions about *Porta Palazzo* are mentioned throughout the chapter while the information collected about *Barriera di Milano* has been excluded as it was insufficient to be representative.

3.   **Other Sources:** The author has consulted (a) the final assessment about the impact of the project "*Le nostre città invisibili: Incontri e nuove narrazioni del mondo in città*"[6] conducted in 2019 by the International Research Centre on Global Citizenship Education (IRC-GloCEd) of the University of Bologna; (b) three of the articles composing the academic debate about Migrantour published in the Italian Journal "*Antropologia Pubblica*" between 2018 and 2019.

Analysis Techniques

The interviews have been have been transcribed to be analysed thematically together with the information collected from the documents consulted. Analytical categories and subcategories have been created and then grouped in analytical families. Table 1 shows the result of this work.

Table 1. Categorization and analytical families

Analytical Families	Categories	Subcategories
(A) ELEMENTS OF URBAN TRANSFORMATION	Relationship with the Territory	1. Direct Relationship 2. Indirect Relationship
	Effects of Touristification	1. Direct Effects 2. Indirect Effects
(B) INFLUENCE ON COLLECTIVE IMAGINATION	Spatial Dimensions of Economic Integration	1. Market Exchange Dimension 2. Redistribution Dimension 3. Reciprocity Dimension
	Urban Fragmentation	
Source: Self-elaboration based on thematical analysis of interviews and documents		

The information collected through the questionnaires has been codified under different dimensions. Two are relevant for this chapter: (a) perception of participants in intercultural itineraries about *Porta Palazzo;* (b) elements of *touristification* and urban transformation. The variables used to analyze the dimensions were age, initial perception of participants in intercultural itineraries about *Porta Palazzo*, and understanding of the neighbourhood.

In addition, the author could use her perspective to observe Migrantour from a double position -a researcher and an intercultural companion- because although she aimed for being objective, the result of her interpretation of reality has the same scientific value as the one developed by any other person involved in that reality (Coller, 2005, p. 64).

Limitations of the Case Study Method

The study case is a valuable method to "register the behaviour of the people involved in the phenomena under study". It also helps to "comprehend the dynamics operating within unique contexts" and for this reason is widely used by social sciences researchers (Martínez, 2006). Nevertheless, it has some limitations that will be briefly addressed, also introducing the "antidots" used by the author to improve the quality of this research (Coller, 2005).

1. Reliability refers to the possibility of replicating the study in another research. Albeit it is difficult to replicate a study case "under the same conditions in which it occurred" (Quintão et al, 2021, p. 278), introducing a triangulation of data may help to support reliability. In this sense, by using multiple data sources the author has intended to cross-examine the information collected. Moreover, the thematic analysis carried out for both interviews and documents allowed us to identify similarities and contradictions and reach the conclusions proposed.

2. Internal validity establishes causal relationships under specific conditions and their variations when conditions change (Martínez, 2006). In this sense, the construction of the causal argument that supports the results has been based on (a) consolidated literature about the phenomena under study; (b) the recognition of some interviewees as key informants regarding specific topics; (c) the analysis of topics about the territory and context in which the study case took place.

3. External validity refers to the capacity of the study to be generalized. Thus, through the ideas raised by the participants in interviews and questionnaires, the research design provided an opportunity to deeper understand the relationship between tourism consumption, human rights, and urban space. It is valuable to consider that, although the specific socio-territorial aspects of each case must be contemplated, a wider reflection concerning many European cities can be established: a lot of them incorporate portions of territory with similar characteristics to *Porta Palazzo* and *Barriera di Milano*, a feature that has been also crucial for the reproduction of Migrantour around Europe.

To conclude, it is worth adding that the research did not aim to be representative or an extensive sample. Still, analytical representativity can be recognized to some extent if one assumes that the conclusions reached cannot be related to a whole universe but to "the set of theories to which it addresses" (Coller, 2005, p. 56).

DESCRIPTION OF THE PROJECT

Italy, 2009. While Turin is in the middle of its own "post-Fordist" transformation period, the anthropologist and professor Francesco Vietti start a collaboration with *Viaggi Solidali*, a tour operator active in the field of responsible tourism. They have a common idea: organising intercultural itineraries to allow adults, youth, kids, locals or tourists, to discover the intercultural richness hidden in *Porta Palazzo*. These itineraries are two-hour walks where participants can meet and interact with people of different origins thanks to the "mediation" and guide of intercultural companions. A group of locals -locals irrespective of their region of origin or one of their parents- encourage the participants to interact with the neighbourhoods and understand their social background. The starting point is the reflection that worldwide many intercultural neighbourhoods have been transformed into places of leisure and consumption, but a more ethical and sustainable formula is needed. That is responsible tourism because thanks to its characteristics it can help to (a) promote dynamics of social cohesion that could limit social segregation and spatial discrimination; (b) enhance contacts between inhabitants belonging to different social groups; (c) spread a culture of respect for their rights within the bigger community.

The experience of Migrantour in *Porta Palazzo* (where it is now active for more than 10 years) rapidly attracts the interest of other areas. It starts to be replicated in other neighbourhoods of Turin (like *Barriera di Milano, Mirafiori, San Salvario* for example), in other Italian cities, and finally abroad. With the creation of the European Network in 2013, Migrantour has been growing. Nowadays comprehends over 20 cities (including the ones still under training) and some rural areas. Please refer to figure 1 to better understand its evolution between 2009 and today.

It is worth adding that, even if Migrantour is recognized as a network of cities, it remains closely linked to the local dimension. The main working level is portions of territory, urban or rural, neighbourhoods or parts of them, sharing a common characteristic:

Being in the balance between public representation that stigmatizes them and is connected to the idea that migrations block the valorisation of cultural local heritage, tangible and intangible, and the attempt to propose a new narrative that recognizes cultural plurality as an attractive qualification element of these territories. (F., Migrantour team)

Moreover, only the initiative of a local organization sharing Migrantour objectives and interest in creating intercultural itineraries can lead to the creation of Migrantour in a certain area. The implementation process should relate to the following stages:

Figure 1. Migrantour evolution from 2009 to today
Source: Self-elaboration on VenngageEditor
*Project "MygranTour: a European network of migrant driven intercultural routes to understanding cultural diversity" funded by the EU Commission.
**EU Project "New Roots. Migrantour intercultural walks building bridges for newcomers' active participation"; AICS Project "Le nostre città invisibili. Incontri e nuove narrazioni del mondo in città".
***EU Project "Rural Migrantour. Paths of Recovery"; EU Project "Migrantour Sustainable Routes".
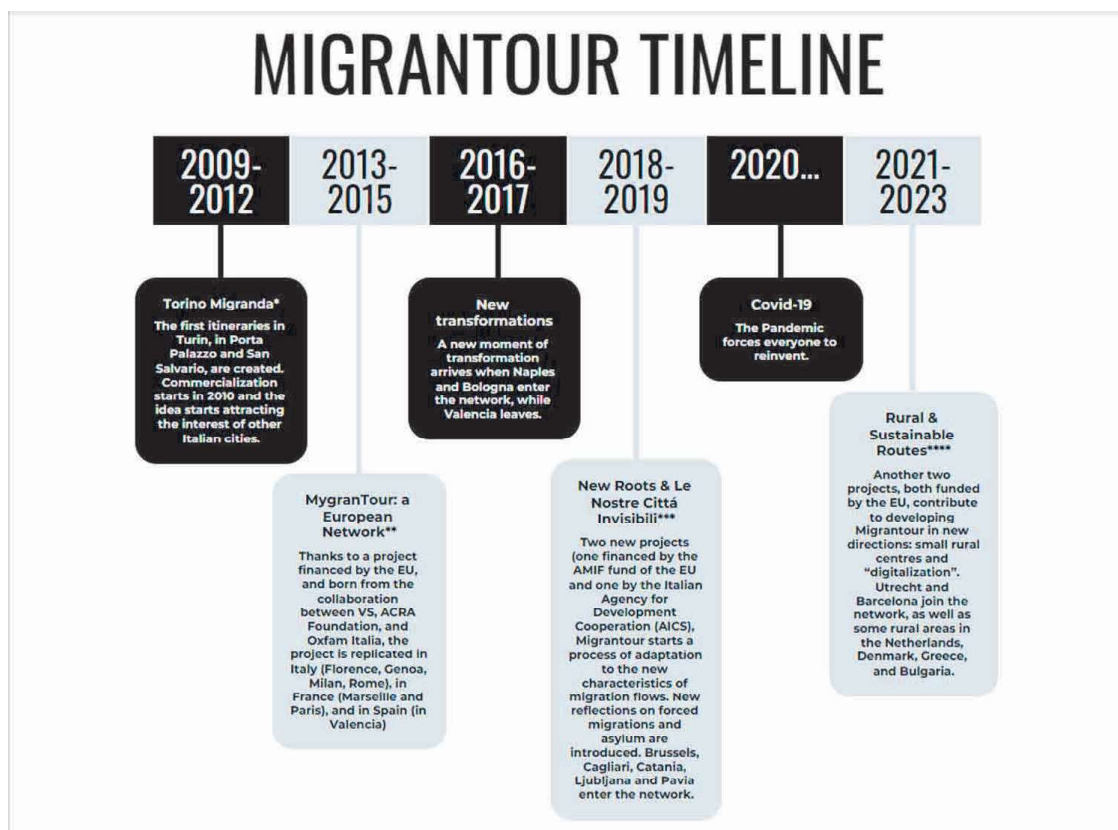
1. The organization in charge of Migrantour must identify at least one neighbourhood where intercultural itineraries can be implemented. Feasibility studies are conducted to identify elements of the cultural and architectonical heritage that can be observed from an intercultural perspective. Also, an analysis of local migration history and its influence on the transformation of the territory is carried out. At this stage, it is important to establish close collaborations with local entities and associations that somehow represent the migrant communities living in town and are willing to host the participants during the itinerary. Whenever possible, stigmatized are should be preferred to "use" Migrantour as a tool for promoting an alternative narrative.

2. Training courses for intercultural companions are designed and a selection process is opened to find the candidates to create the group of intercultural companions[7]. People interested in participating are usually very different in

terms of life stories, educational and professional backgrounds, skills, etc. However, they must share a few relevant characteristics. For instance, knowing the language of the hosting country and being highly curious about the area where the intercultural itineraries will be carried out. Moreover, be willing to share some information about their migration process (or the one of their family), as well as to get involved in the social, cultural, and economic life of the city. Finally, being interested in learning a new form of storytelling that promotes intercultural dialogue and respect for human rights.

3. Training courses have both a theoretical and a practical part. The first is supported by anthropologists, sociologists, geographers, historians, and other experts who are involved to provide participants with resources on different subjects[8]. The group of future intercultural companions must be actively involved in the field research to create each itinerary, which, in the end, should be designed thanks to their collective and participative work. Please now check the following maps to better understand what an intercultural itinerary is. Figure 2 represents the itinerary currently active in *Porta Palazzo.*

While the one currently active in *Barriera di Milano* is displayed in Figure 3a (standard option):
And Figure 3b (extended option):

STUDY CASE

Elements of Urban Transformation

The first analytical family takes into consideration the tourist dimension of Migrantour to understand its relationship with the processes of urban transformation and commodification of *Porta Palazzo* and *Barriera di Milano*. Table 2 summarizes it.

Table 2. Categorization of the analytical family "elements of urban transformation"

Analytical Families	Categories	Subcategories
(A) ELEMENTS OF URBAN TRANSFORMATION	Relationship with the Territory	1. Direct Relationship 2. Indirect Relationship
	Effects of Touristification	1. Direct Effects 2. Indirect Effects
Source: Self-elaboration based on thematical analysis of interviews		

Figure 2. Map of the intercultural itinerary of Porta Palazzo
Source: Self-elaboration on Google Maps
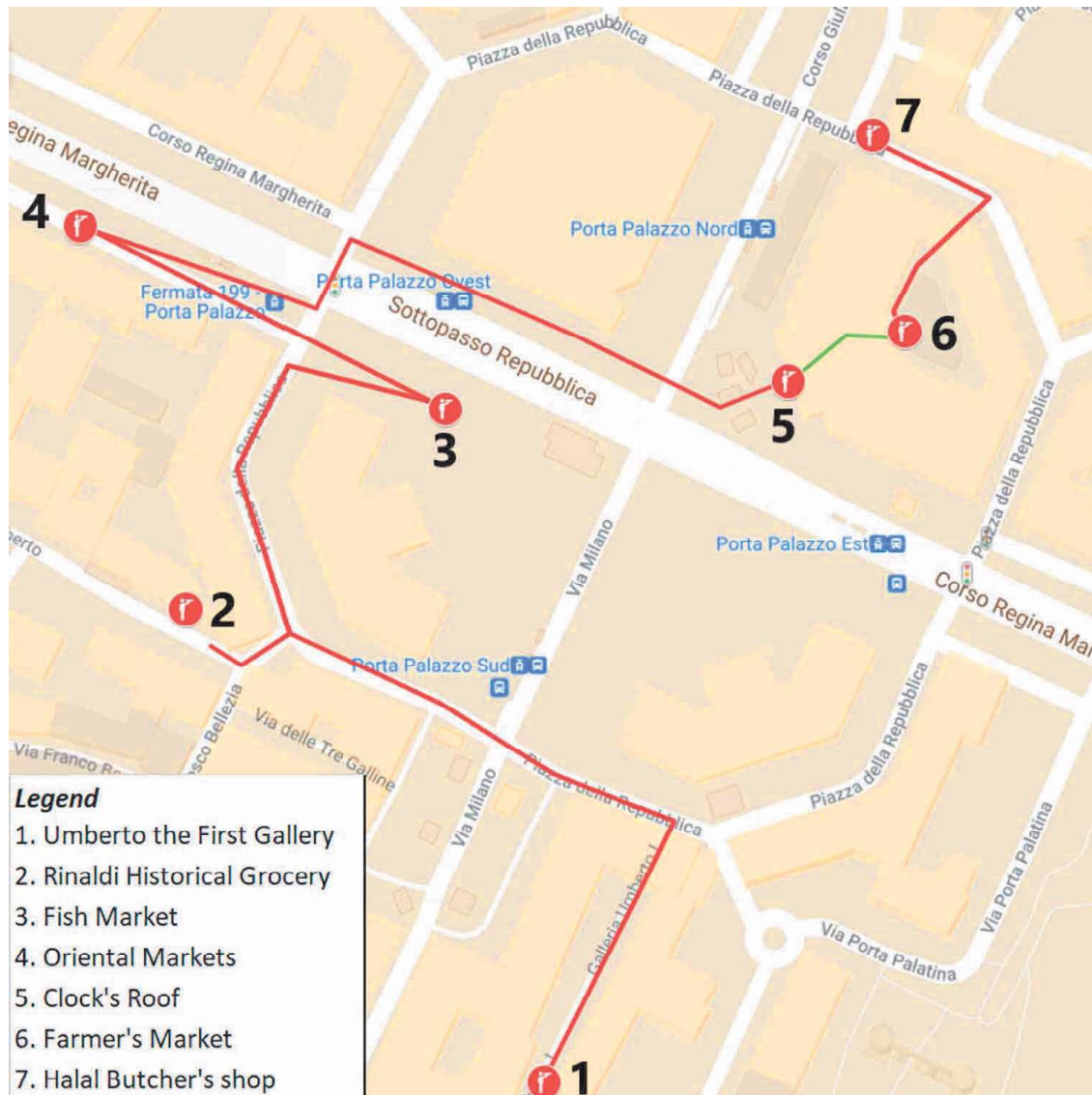
Relationship With Processes of Urban Transformation

Migrantour is implemented in close relationship with the territories where intercultural itineraries are carried out. For this reason, it seems relevant to understand to what extent it can contribute, directly or indirectly, to urban transformation processes and how these influence the communities living in *Porta Palazzo* and *Barriera di Milano*.

Figure 3a. Map of the standard intercultural itinerary of Barriera di Milano
Source: Self-elaboration on Google Maps

Legend

1. The ancient customs checkpoint
2. Public Bathrooms of Via Agliè
3. Maria Regina della Pace Church
4. Millo's Murales and the *Urban*
5. Foroni Square (mostly known as
6. Arsitide Gabelli Public School
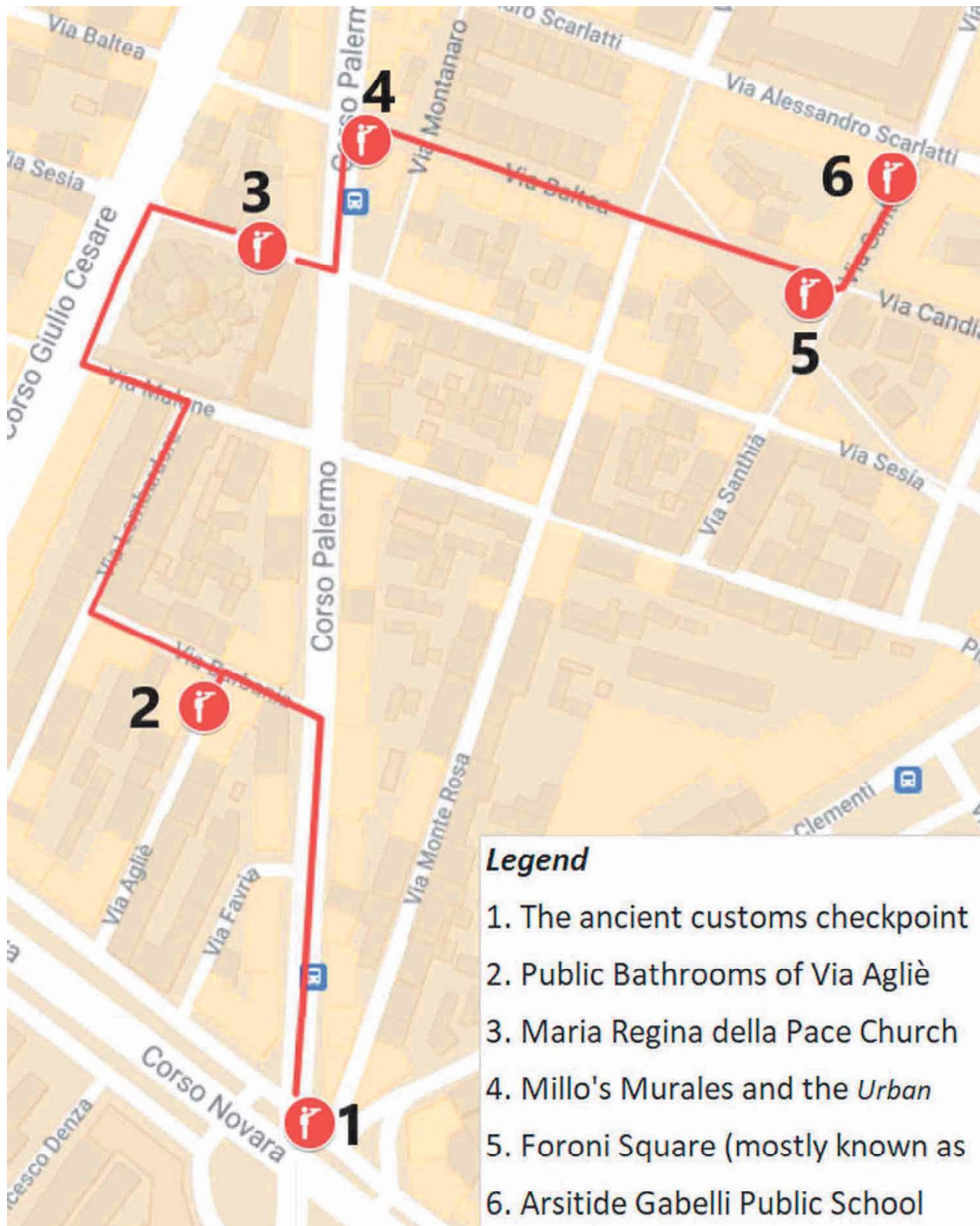
Figure 3b. Map of the extended intercultural itinerary of Barriera di Milano
Source: Self-elaboration on Google Maps
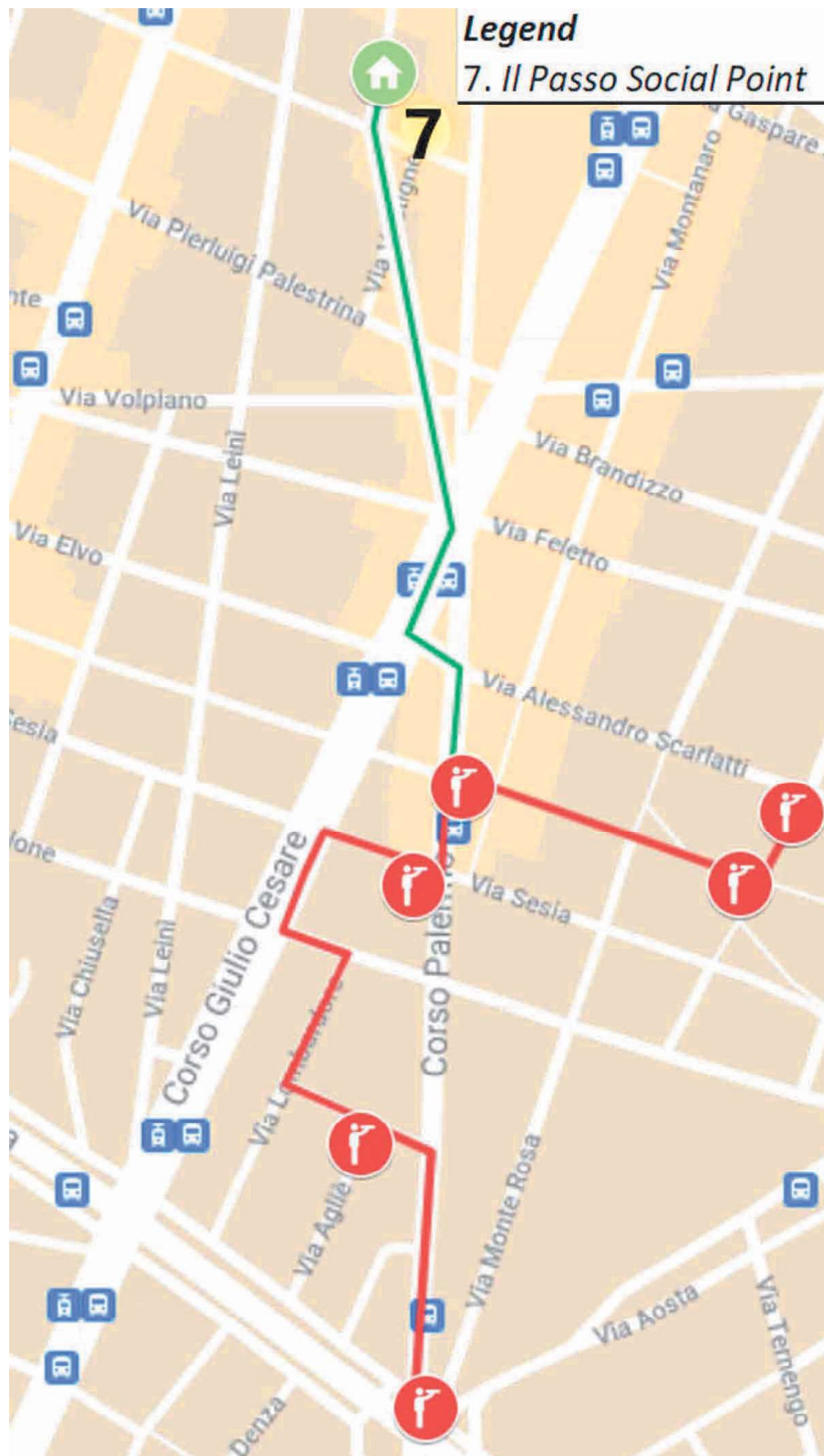
Intercultural neighborhoods are areas where the combination of (desired and undesired) migrations has created a sense of multiculturalism progressively identified by local authorities as a resource for urban socioeconomic development (Skoll & Korstanje, 2014). And tourism, a relatively new form of economic production that emerged because of deindustrialization, has become the main instrument to transform them into places of leisure and consumption (Rath, 2007). Hence, while at first glance "multicultural tourism" seems just another way to guarantee the socioeconomic inclusion of migrant communities, its effects may go in a different direction. They could establish a certain culture of exploitation of migrant communities, amplifying their segregation and the violation of their human rights (Rath, 2007).

The concept of cultural patrimony is based on selective characteristics of history. It highlights only part of desirable migration. Other ethnicities are often silenced or disciplined by coactive policies. (Skoll & Korstanje, 2014, p. 5)

The work of Sharon Zukin (1991) on this topic helps to develop further considerations. She affirms that transforming intercultural neighborhoods into "tourist destinations" is not a spontaneous process because takes place under the logic of "touristification". In this sense, only a neighborhood with shops, organizations, places of worship, etc. that provide an "ethnic flavor" to the area could be considered. Moreover, part of the community should be interested in transforming the neighborhood into a tourist attraction and seek for the support of the "critical infrastructure"[9] and public policies (Rath, 2007). Consequently, the preferences of the collective opinion would be influenced by the categories and conceptualizations widespread by the critical infrastructure and may end up granting opportunities on some groups while making others invisible. Whereas public policies supporting the transformation of the neighborhood may push to modify stereotypes already existing and "move" them to other areas of the city (Rath, 2007). Through this process, and with an official narrative of the site built, the neighborhood may become a tourist destination. Its attractiveness, in turn, might captivate new investments and ideas of urban refurbishment and heritagization (Skoll & Korstanje, 2014). In this context, "touristification" become one of the main elements of gentrification processes in intercultural neighborhoods (Semi, 2015).

In this sense, the outcomes of these processes for local communities should be examined under the framework of article 25 of UDHR which establishes the right to an adequate standard of living. According to the contribution of the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights to the 2014 United Nations ECOSOC Integration Segment[10], any process of urban transformation has a role in the enjoyment of human rights. Hence, any refurbishment project should consider its implications for the housing conditions of the people involved. Not only in terms of (concrete)

housing, but also regarding any consequence on the security of tenure, affordability, cultural adequacy, and access to services. On the contrary, focusing only on market development, private investment, or excessive privatization may violate article 25 as it could create inadequate housing conditions and promote forms of discrimination and exclusion.

In this context, the fight against gentrification processes, corruption, and speculation over housing and land is of particular importance. (OHCHR, 2014, p. 2)

In the case of Turin, for instance, most of the urban transformation projects would have been carried out following "top-down multiculturalism" (Schmoll & Semi, 2013 as cited in De Martini Ugolotti, 2018, p. 164). In other words, to promote a specific concept of diversity that does not encourage the social inclusion and mobility of (post)migrant communities in the urban space. According to most of the people interviewed, also *Porta Palazzo* and *Barriera di Milano* have undergone urban transformation processes in recent years. As illustrated by M., a member of Migrantour, it seems that they have not been truly respectful of the rights of the inhabitants because the actors involved had economic and commercial interests in the neighborhoods: "(In *Porta Palazzo)*, a space that should be public was left to private individuals who decided to make things a little more luxurious that are not accessible to the poor. In some way, (this has encouraged) more police controls and has pushed people towards the suburbs".

Focusing on Migrantour, it is now important to understand how it relates to processes of urban transformation in the neighborhoods under analysis. Interviewees agreed that there might be a limited relationship because of the essential characteristics of Migrantour. In other words:

- Its ethical values are linked to the principles of responsible tourism. According to these, local communities are the ones in charge of deciding whether to open to tourism or not and under which terms. Moreover, *Viaggi Solidali*, the cooperative that manages Migrantour in Turin, is a member of the AITR, the Italian Association for Responsible Tourism[11]. For these reasons, it is unlikely that Migrantour collaborates with actors going in opposite directions.
- Following the previous point, Migrantour in Turin would be open to collaborating only with initiatives that promote participatory urban transformation. That is through strategies based on participatory approaches that are crucial to assess the needs of the people.
- Lastly, Migrantour is not considered powerful enough to negotiate with the kind of actors who oversee these processes: "Unfortunately (they) are already being implemented and are poorly mediated. I do not think Migrantour has

the power to decide what to gentrify, those are political plans, and it is a different dimension" (M., UPM - *Porta Palazzo*).

At the same time, the interviewees spoke about the "insufficient" power and dimension of Migrantour when considering its indirect relationship with gentrification and urban transformation processes. That is the ability to attract "certain gazes or interests" to the neighborhoods for the simple fact of carrying out intercultural itineraries. However, some of them admitted that a risk exists, especially in *Porta Palazzo*:

There is this new market, Mercato Centrale[12], where there are small fast foods and restaurants and we can ask ourselves what kind of changes they are bringing to the communities. (L., Migrantour team)

This risk could anyway be reduced by not including these places within the stops of the itineraries:

We have somehow chosen to stay away from places that appeared as products of gentrification. . . . We have decided together to not go there because it is true that stopping by may advertise them, and this did not seem logical to us. (M., Migrantour team)

Finally, it is worth mentioning that for some interviewees the relationship of trust existing between Migrantour and both neighborhoods could be a positive tool to mediate urban transformation processes. In this sense, Migrantour could represent "a joining link so the actors who oversee these processes understand what this neighborhood needs before doing anything. . . . And maybe it could help the administration as well to understand who the inhabitants are" (A., Migrantour team). Especially because Migrantour could transfer the message "that it is not by making everything the same that something is embellished" (M., UPM - *Porta Palazzo*).

Effects of Touristification

Provided that Migrantour works in intercultural neighborhoods at risk of transformation into places of leisure and consumption, it is important to understand its relationship with commodification dynamics. Especially when these dynamics could violate the rights of the inhabitants of *Porta Palazzo* and *Barriera di Milano*, whether they are directly involved in the intercultural itineraries or not. The reflection can start with the ideas of Córdova (2007) who refer to multiculturalism as a call for *recognition of the right to enunciation and representation of cultural difference*s:

This call is often coupled with the expectation of the protection of civil liberties by democratic regimes. Consequently, such a right to the enunciation of cultural difference is, in effect, often a demand for freedom of expression, an individual or collective right to speak. (p. 228)

In this respect, the interest of migrant communities to self-represent their common identity in the urban space could be explained as a fundamental part of the right to representation of cultural diversity. Thus, under the logic of freedom of expression defined by article 19 of UDHR, it may go in the opposite direction to "top-down multiculturalism"[13] (De Martini Ugolotti, 2018). In this sense, under Art. 19, strategies aimed at separating those who may embody the notion of diversity institutionally promoted from the ones who "do not have the right characteristics" to be culturally diverse appear to be unjustified. This is because the first could be seen in their "pleasant and exotic diversity", while the latter may find their freedom of (self)expression inhibited within the urban space (De Martini Ugolotti, 2018, p. 166). Therefore, if it is true that thanks to touristification some groups could have access to new opportunities, for many others it might mean the cyclical reproduction of divisions based on "class, gender, and economic achievement" (Rath, 2007, p. 13). In other words, it a discrimination and a violation of their human rights in terms of employment and distribution of resources[14].

And it is exactly on these aspects where Migrantour tries to work, spreading positive storytelling about *Porta Palazzo, Barriera di Milano,* and the other neighborhoods where intercultural itineraries are carried out. As a result, it appears to be able to promote a culture of respect for the rights of migrant communities, also opposing the prejudicial information widespread by the media.

Surely this is an idea that those who do not know the neighborhood still have, and it is unfortunately highly encouraged, in my opinion, by the press. In 90% of cases, they talk about Aurora and Barriera di Milano only when something negative happens, and mostly when these negative things involve migrants. (M., UPM - Porta Palazzo)

Therefore, Migrantour would represent a protected space where "exotic migrants" take the floor to speak about their stories and experiences as migrants.

It is one of the reasons why we do Migrantour. We want them to know us, so they are less afraid of us, and we have the chance to explain that being a foreigner (a migrant) doesn't necessarily mean being a criminal. (M., Migrantour team)

When we talk during the intercultural itinerary, we invite people to enter the place and get to know that community. It's one of the biggest assets of Migrantour, we speak

about facts because it is important to consider who the intercultural companions are: people who represent at least one of the cultures (and communities) met during the itinerary. (L., Migrantour team)

As illustrated by R., a member of Migrantour, this is the reason why all intercultural itineraries are designed collectively by the group of intercultural companions and the local coordinator: women and men who have migratory experiences and know the neighborhoods. Moreover, their ideas are supported by statistical and theoretical reflections learned during training courses and moments of group exchange. The storytelling offered to participants is, indeed, not an external story of migrations in the neighborhood, but the self-representation of intercultural companions and the communities to which they belong. In this sense, as underlined by some of the members of local organizations interviewed, although sometimes "people go to visit as if (they) were a safari" (Er., Bagni Pubblici di Via Aglié - Barriera di Milano), Migrantour disseminates a different perception of intercultural neighborhoods. Essentially through the voice of their inhabitants who become "promoters of themselves" (L., Turin City Council).

The opinion of the respondents to questionnaires in 2021 appears to confirm this statement. As Figure 4a shows, for the respondents the main reasons to recommend Migrantour are the "strong educational value" (of intercultural itineraries) and the "opportunity to interact with people (they) usually do not interact with".

Figure 4a. Representation of answers to Q.5 of questionnaires done in 2021
Source: Self-elaboration from data collected
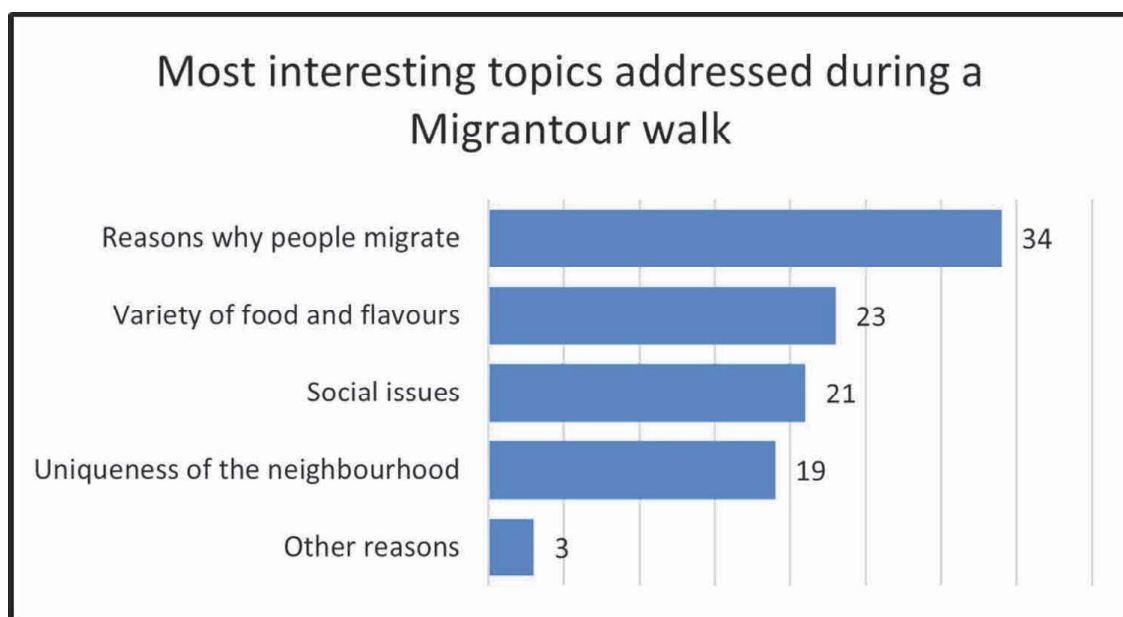
Additionally, as presented in Figure 4b, the "reasons why people migrate", the "variety of foods and flavors", and "social issues" are considered the most interesting topics addressed during the itinerary. Crossing the ideas, Migrantour seems to be able to enhance the interaction between participants and the inhabitants of the neighborhoods where the itineraries are carried out. Besides, choosing to speak about the social concerns and rights of the people, appears to control the use of touristification in the sense previously enunciated.

Figure 4b. Representation of answers to Q.11 of questionnaires done in 2021
Source: Self-elaboration from data collected
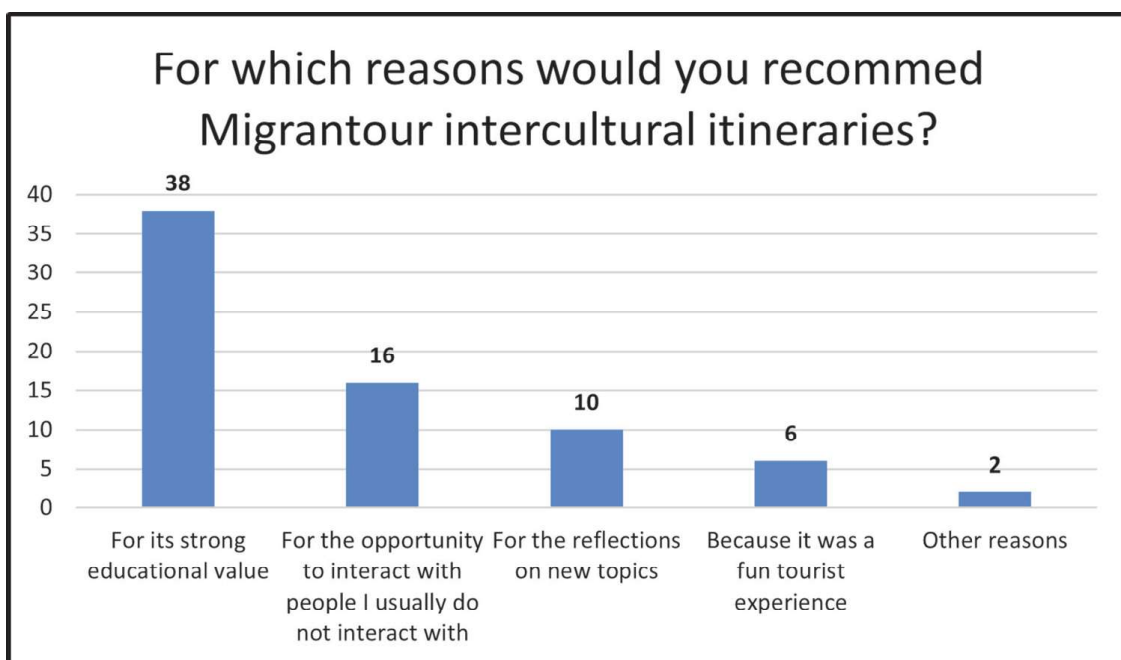
Finally, it is worth pointing out that the positive effect recognized by Migrantour by most of the interviewees tends to fade as the involvement of people within the project decreases. Some of the people interviewed considered this aspect as something to work on to improve the chances of people telling their "neighbors and friends" where "they have been with a Migrantour companion" (H., Migrantour team).

The final assessment about the impact of the project "*Le nostre città invisibili: Incontri e nuove narrazioni del mondo in città*" carried out in 2019 reached similar conclusions. According to this study, those inhabitants directly involved with Migrantour (being stops –*tappe*- of the intercultural itinerary), adhere to the initiative because they aim to spread their perspective about their culture. It is not the same thing for inhabitants who are not directly implicated because it is unlikely that they

even note "when intercultural itineraries pass by" (p. 20). Different conclusions can be reached if one analyses this "fading effect" of Migrantour from the perspective of "ethnic commodification." It can be interpreted as another strategy to mitigate the risk of touristification and exploitation of diversity in *Porta Palazzo* and *Barriera di Milano*. As well as a form to limit its effects in terms of violation of the human rights of people "indirectly touched" by intercultural itineraries:

Thus, if the effect of Migrantour is not so evident for the inhabitants of the neighborhood, it means perhaps that it can properly blend with the components of the neighborhood. It is not an alien element acting on the neighborhood. It rather embraces local dynamics, and, for this reason, it is perceived as part of the neighborhood. (R., Migrantour team)

The challenge today, as illustrated by F., a member of Migrantour, is "to include in the storytelling the dimensions of conflict and inequality. Not transforming Migrantour in a form of activism, but fully embracing the idea of including these elements of conflict as they are a good antidote to producing simplified and stereotyped narratives".

Influence on the Collective Imagination

Through using the lens of spatial economic integration and urban fragmentation, the author will examine to what extent *Porta Palazzo* and *Barriera di Milano* can be considered segregated neighborhoods. The analysis will consider also what is the position of Migrantour in this context. Table 3 summarizes this analytical family.

Table 3. Categorization of the analytical family "influence on the collective imagination"

Analytical Families	Categories	Subcategories
(B) INFLUENCE ON COLLECTIVE IMAGINATION	Spatial Dimensions of Economic Integration	1. Market Exchange Dimension 2. Redistribution Dimension 3. Reciprocity Dimension
	Urban Fragmentation	
Source: Self-elaboration based on thematical analysis of interviews		

To begin it is worth briefly going back to the right to an adequate standard of living established by Art. 25 of UDHR in connection with discrimination and spatial segregation. In this regard, according to the Special Rapporteur on the

right to adequate housing (2022), spatial segregation is one of the external factors influencing the distribution of social groups in the urban space in an infinite variety of combinations. It is an imposed separation (tangible or intangible) due to factors like "race, caste, ethnicity, language, religion, disability, income or another status" that causes severe inequalities among two or more social groups.

Whether de jure or de facto, spatial segregation is a reflection of multiple, compounded and intersectional forms of discrimination and an incursion on the equal enjoyment of the right to adequate housing. Spatial segregation is also linked to the violation of a wide range of other inter-related human rights. (SRAH, A/HRC/49/48, 2022, p. 3)

Different vulnerable groups are affected by these mechanisms. For this chapter, one will focus on migrant communities:

Systemic housing discrimination is faced by migrants, refugees, and internally displaced persons, in particular in conjunction with multiple other grounds of discrimination, namely, but not limited to, racial, ethnic and gender discrimination. . . . . Migrants face discrimination in gaining access to both private and public housing, including increased vulnerability to violence, forced evictions and segregation, and disproportionately experienced inadequate and unhealthy housing conditions. (SRAH, A/76/408, 2021, pp. 13-14)

Spatial Dimensions of Economic Integration

Urban and residential segregation are two of the phenomena influencing the distribution of social groups in the urban space and for this reason, have been studied by different authors. Massey and Denton (1988), for example, have introduced a quantitative method to measure and compare levels of residential segregation by conceiving five dimensions of spatial variation:

We hold that residential segregation is a global construct that subsumes five underlying dimensions of measurement, each corresponding to a different aspect of spatial variation: evenness, exposure, concentration, centralization, and clustering. Each of these distributional characteristics has different social and behavioural implications and each represents a different facet of what researchers have called 'segregation'. (p. 283)

Similarly, Murie and Musterd (2004) introduced important reflections on the relationship between the mechanisms of social exclusion, the models of the economic integration of Karl Polanyi (as cited in Murie & Musterd, 2004), and the socio-

spatial dimension in which the previous ones take place. According to this theory, it is possible to identify three spatial dimensions of economic integration that are crucial for the distribution of people within the urban space. These are:

- The dimension of market exchange which is influenced by the private sector which might distribute resources to generate profits. It can determine the distribution of people based on their economic position when the quantity and quality of resources, services, and facilities allocated are not equal for the whole city.
- The dimension of redistribution of resources and services which is shaped by Welfare State policies that aim to compensate for market dynamics.
- The dimension of reciprocity implies the existence of bonds and mutual support networks among the inhabitants. It emerges when market dynamics and public policies are felt not favourable for the people and usually depends on the geographical proximity of social groups sharing similar conditions (Murie & Musterd, 2004).

According to interviewees, *Porta Palazzo* and *Barriera di Milano* could be considered places relatively segregated or, in the words of Ciampolini (as cited in Cingolani, 2018, p. 95), *"emiferias"*, places geographically close to the centre of town but represented as marginal and distant in the collective imagination. The reason would be the increasing maldistribution of resources and services, especially considering housing and employment.

(In Barriera di Milano) there is a higher concentration of social housing. There are also apartments at lower prices compared to other parts of town. For this reason, it is a neighborhood inhabited by families who receive assistance from social services because they have many problems and they have even more difficulty getting in touch with the rest of the neighborhood. (E., Mais Ong – Barriera di Milano)

In other words, these neighborhoods would gather (a) "people without work who lack cultural tools, are not qualified, are not graduated and find it difficult to find employment" (Er., Bagni Pubblici di Via Aglié - Barriera di Milano); and (b) people who have recently arrived in Turin and so "go through a period of initial economic difficulty because they have access to less prestigious and less paid jobs compared to the average standard" (F., Migrantour team). As a result, vulnerable groups, especially migrants, usually "choose" to settle here after having a hard time finding an economic place anywhere else in town. Besides, they may be influenced by a perceived sentiment of rejection coming from inhabitants of other neighborhoods. This, in turn, leads them again to prefer areas where there are "people identified as

similar and where they feel more protected and less exposed to (negative) comments" (M., Migrantour team).

This process has been explained by the theory of "racism of exclusion" developed by Michel Wieviorka (as cited in Vargas Llovera, 2020). Migrant communities would be often exposed to a generalized rejection linked to the representation of "their culture" which is perceived as very different from the "local". This would be not only because of their language, customs, and appearance but also because their culture is considered an obstacle to the desired progress and modernization. In this sense, the exclusion of migrants could be identified as the "main orientation of racist action" that arise under three dimensions:

- The social dimension is implemented to expel unwanted individuals from social relations.
- The political dimension is mainly connected to limitations of access to citizenship and related rights.
- The cultural dimension is determined by both rejecting multiculturalism and limiting the participation of migrant communities in the dominant culture. This implies the presence of minority groups who are "diverse" because of "their ethnicity, their religion or their memory" and are enclosed "in their specific identity" (Vargas Llovera, 2020, p. 96).

Focusing on *Porta Palazzo* and *Barriera di Milano,* the theory of Wieviorka seems to be applied through the widespread negative reputation of the neighborhoods. This relates to structural factors (the architectural state of buildings, institutional abandonment, etc.) and the stigmatization of the inhabitants.

More than a cultural diversity issue, I think that it is something linked to social and class stigmatization. People living in these neighbourhoods, beyond being variously different, think of themselves mostly as (people) socially and economically in default about what is desired. Neighbourhoods identified as poor are neighbourhoods that risk stigmatization because they could spread their negative characteristics to other areas of the city. (F., Migrantour team)

This issue emerges also analyzing the opinion expressed by the participants in intercultural itineraries surveyed in 2021. As presented in Table 4, 29 people over 45 believe that *Porta Palazzo* has changed over time.

While, as shown in Figure 5, 40% of these considerations that the main reason for the change is the intercultural composition of the population.

Table 4. Summary of answers to Q.4 of the survey done to participants to Migrantour itineraries in 2021

Do You Think Porta Palazzo Has Changed Over Time?	
YES	29
NO	2
Does Not Know	13
Does Not Answer	1
Source: Self-elaboration based on data collected through questionnaires	

Figure 5. Representation of answers to Q.4b of questionnaires done in 2021
Source: Self-elaboration from data collected
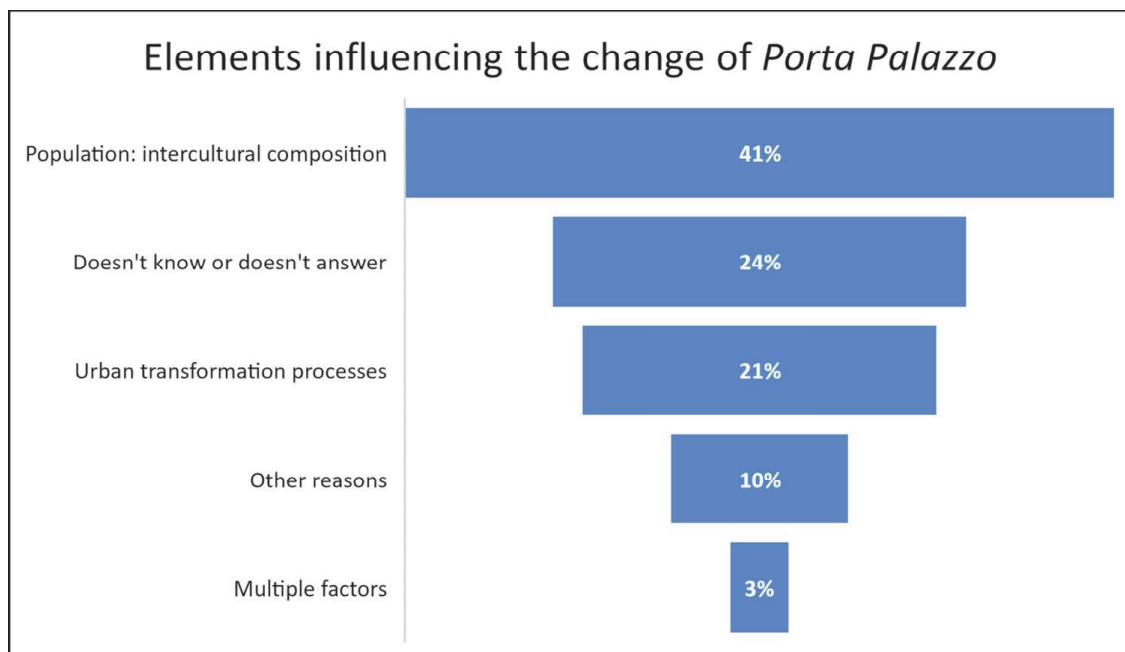
In this context, Migrantour tries to mitigate these dynamics by offering alternative storytelling which is based on a culture of respect for the rights of migrant communities.

I believe that it can indeed be a useful instrument, especially for the members who work in the Communal Council (council of the Turin's City Council) (…) The reality for example of diasporas, understanding it through the citizens of foreign origin in the territory, instead of through the organizations to which they belong, it has been very useful. (L., Turin's City Council)

This ability to promote positive values is carried out thanks to the dissemination of complete and real information. It does not exaggerate with positive stories nor hides the most difficult and complex aspects of the neighbourhoods, as mentioned by M., a member of Migrantour. And the credit goes to the coordination of intercultural itineraries, suggests L. from the International Cooperation and Peace Department of Turin's City Council:

They involve people that have experience on a local level. They can speak about their story, the context in which they live, and about those who live in the neighborhood in the same conditions as them.

From a broader perspective, it contributes to the development of a more thoughtful look at the relationship between interculturalism and respect for human rights:

In my opinion, I would not have been able to do this job (as a social worker) if I had not had an intercultural experience. Because 80% of the boys we assist come from other cultures. For example, not even knowing on which pillars their religion is based, sometimes we risk making empty interventions that have no results nor lead anywhere. (R., Migrantour team)

Nevertheless, Migrantour cannot be given a bigger role than the one it has. It gives an important contribution to "reduce prejudices or at least to invite a person to wonder a couple of things" (L., Migrantour team). But it is still a two-hour intercultural itinerary that has not to have enough time, resources, or strength to provide an immediate response to all the concerns of the people involved.

Also, by reading through the answers of the participants surveyed in 2021, it appears that participating in an intercultural itinerary may help people to change their perception of *Porta Palazzo* to some extent. As presented in Figure 6, 95% of the respondents have admitted that the intercultural itinerary had a positive effect on their perception of the neighborhood. The measurement has been done on a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 was "no change of perception" and 5 was "significative change of perception".

Urban Fragmentation

Given the considerations treated in the previous paragraph, it is relevant to also introduce the concept of urban fragmentation.

Figure 6. Representation of answers to Q.6 of questionnaires done in 2021
Source: Self-elaboration from data collected
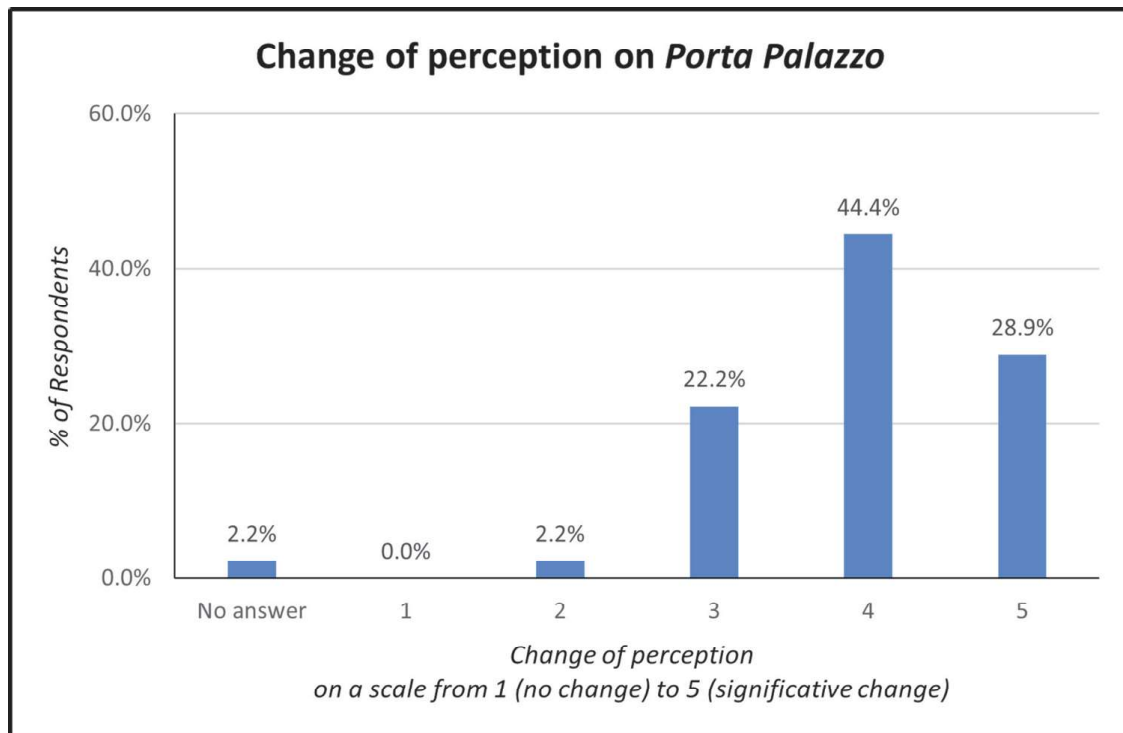
According to Caprón and González Arellano (2006), urban segregation happens when there is an intention to discriminate against a social group that adds to situations of social separation in the urban space. At the same time, urban fragmentation can be defined as a process of "new segregation" resulting from urban policies designed without considering the tendency of cities to divide into separate and unequal portions:

This is important when we accept that segregation relates to the way of occupying the space daily. It is a concept that goes beyond just being in town. Everyday life allows us to identify different aspects: housing, employment, studying, etc. This (indeed) questions those projects based only on the residential space. (p. 74)

In the case of Turin, the reproduction of segregation and spatial discrimination of migrant communities is done by "trapping" them in areas of lower resources. This has led to the construction of symbolic borders, tangible and intangible, between people belonging to different social groups. Thus, the fragmentation perceived is a consequence of the stigmatization and the lack of economic integration of migrant groups that influence the way people live in the space (Murie & Musterd, 2004).

I know many people who came to live here in the last four or five years and are part of the group of 'intellectuals' (of Barriera di Milano) but never really interact with the neighborhood. For instance, they do not register their children in the schools of the neighborhood. They prefer the schools of the city centre. (Er., Bagni Pubblici di Via Aglié - Barriera di Milano).

This idea of urban border is quite evident, and it is one of the ethical and political objectives of Migrantour. (F., Migrantour team)

In this context, Migrantour acts, again, by offering positive storytelling of the neighborhoods through the voice of those inhabitants who are usually discriminated against because of the areas where they live and how their "cultures" are perceived. This may happen because social and cultural diversity are perceived "more as daily life codes and general behaviour rather than as cultural baggage" (Er., Bagni Pubblici di Via Aglié - Barriera di Milano). In this sense, the intercultural dimension would be lived more as a form of multi-society than actual interculturalism.

The work of Migrantour can be read also by analysing the answers of the participants in intercultural itineraries surveyed in 2021. As the graph presented in Figure 7 reveals, the main elements influencing their change of perception about the neighborhoods were meeting intercultural companions and walking around them.

Figure 7. Representation of answers to Q.9 of questionnaires done in 2021
Source: Self-elaboration from data collected
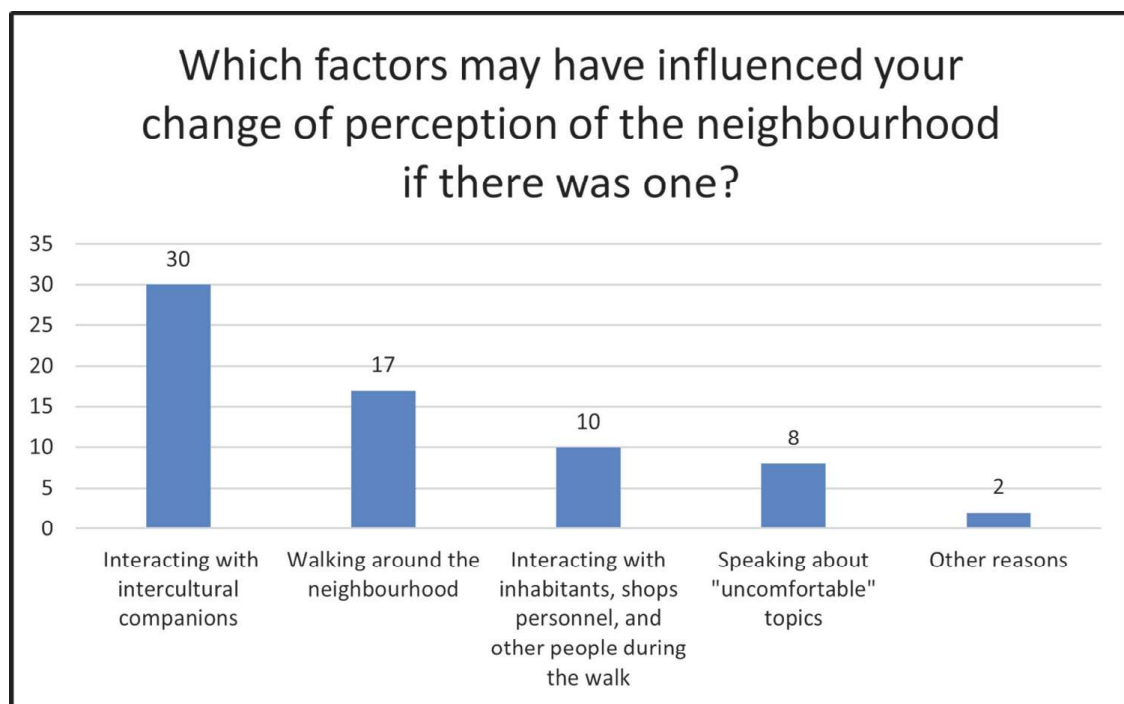
This could be interpreted as an ability of Migrantour to break the imaginary barriers existing between inhabitants of Turin living in different areas.

Just for the fact of bringing participants to walk the streets of Porta Palazzo and Barriera di Milano which usually create concern and fear and meeting some of the people living there. (E., Mais Ong – Barriera di Milano)

In conclusion, it is worth noting that many interviewees conferred to Migrantour the responsibility to further engage the inhabitants of *Porta Palazzo and Barriera di Milano*. Some suggest involving them as participants in intercultural itineraries to speak about "the area where they live and explain to them that they do not live in the Bronx" (M., UPM - *Porta Palazzo*). While for others, Migrantour should create occasions where people who have lived in these neighbourhoods for many years could tell others about their life there.

CONCLUSION

During her time as a member of Migrantour, the author has witnessed its evolution in terms of social action and respect for cultural diversity. The opportunity of taking distance and examining Migrantour from a different perspective arrived in 2021. In this line, she conducted a study case about the experience of Migrantour in *Porta Palazzo* and *Barriera di Milano*, two neighbourhoods of the Italian town of Turin. The hypothesis guiding the reflection took into consideration both the tourist and socio-political dimensions of Migrantour through the lens of touristification, urban transformation, and spatial segregation. Besides, the author developed the analysis under the framework of the rights 19 (freedom of expression) and 25 (adequate standard of living) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The general objective was contributing to the debate about the relationship between tourism consumption, human rights, and urban space by analyzing the implications of urban tourism for the human rights of migrant communities living in intercultural neighborhoods. The field work was conducted between May and July 2021 through interviews, document consultation, and a small-scale survey.

Firstly, the author analyzed the relationship between Migrantour and processes of gentrification and touristification happening in *Porta Palazzo* and *Barriera di Milano*. The analysis has shown that Migrantour does not seem to be involved in any kind of relationship with these processes. Not only because of the principles of responsible tourism guiding its work, but also thanks to the "limited" power it has when relating with the actors who oversee those processes. Besides, Migrantour appears to be able to build positive and respectful relationships with the people

involved in the intercultural itineraries. This ability is perceived as stronger in members, participants, or local dwellers who take part in the itineraries, while it tends to fade as the involvement of people within Migrantour decreases. This is an ingredient that, after all, seems to have prevented it from falling into logics of commodification of diversity and limited its effects in terms of violation of the human rights of migrant communities. In this sense, the central role of intercultural companions cannot be forgotten. They are people with migrant origins who are often inhabitants of the neighborhoods where the intercultural itineraries are carried out. Also, it is thanks to their collective work that intercultural itineraries are designed: the result is a neighborhood that narrates itself while the "exotic migrant" takes the floor to self-represent. Moreover, Migrantour is given an important role: differentiating external actors and avoiding collaborations with the ones that intend to "clean out" vulnerable groups.

In the second part, the author examined to what extent *Porta Palazzo* and *Barriera di Milano* could be considered neighborhoods affected by processes of spatial segregation and urban fragmentation. The analysis also considered what is the position of Migrantour in this context. The fieldwork highlighted that both neighborhoods are characterized by social problems, maldistribution of resources, and institutional abandonment. Moreover, they are represented in the collective imagination as marginal and conflictive areas from which the rest of the population chooses to stay away. This situation seems to influence the way migrant communities live Turin as their choices appear to be expression of economic difficulties and fear of rejection. Migrantour works in this scenario trying to influence positively the collective imagination by offering a more thoughtful look to the relationship between interculturalism and respect for human rights. However, it cannot be given a bigger role than the one it has. It contributes to modify the representation about the neighborhoods, but it cannot provide an immediate response to social concerns. In this context, part of the interviewees suggested Migrantour as a mediator between neighborhoods and public authorities willing to develop common strategies.

In conclusion, Migrantour could be considered a positive example of tourism consumption in intercultural neighbourhoods as it is implemented responsibly, ethically, and with respect for the rights of the migrant communities "touched" by its activities. This is also confirmed if considering the variety of actors interested in these neighbourhoods. In this sense, projects like Migrantour should, not only learn how to deal with these stakeholders, but also start thinking which kind of role they want to assume in this context.

Following these considerations, more comprehensive and in-depth research is needed to further explore the issues raised in this chapter. Such research should look to other cities where Migrantour is implemented and propose a comparative analysis of two or more of them. Indeed, comparing different territories could help

to understand how their specificity influence the relationship of Migrantour with the communities involved. Further research is crucial as tourism consumption in the urban space is increasing as well as social concerns linked to it.

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KEY TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

Commodification of Diversity: The strategy used by local authorities to transform intercultural areas into tourist destinations aiming to foster economic development.

Intercultural Companion: A person with migrant background living in one of the cities that are part of Migrantour network who has been trained to guide intercultural itineraries in her/his city.

Intercultural Itinerary: A two-hours walk around an intercultural neighborhood or rural area organized by Migrantour in one of the cities that are part of the network. The aim is encouraging participants to walk in the area and interact with people with different origins. It is guided by an intercultural companion.

Post-Fordist Transformation: A concept used to identify the deindustrialization period that has taken place in European cities. It refers, in opposition, to the Fordism, a period started in the early nighties and named after Henry Ford, the inventor of the assembly-line model for industrial production.

Special Rapporteur on the Right to Adequate Housing: A mandate established by the former UN Commission on Human Rights at the beginning of the 2000's with the purpose of further developing strategies of protection of the right to adequate housing around the world. Currently, the mandate is covered by Mr. Balakrishnan Rajagopal.

Top-Down Multiculturalism: A concept created by some authors (Giovanni Semi and Camille Schmoll in particular) to identify an institutional form to promote diversity in a given society. It refers to the use of pleasant multicultural features (such as food or big celebrations) in specific places (restaurants, textile shops, festivals…) to foster interculturalism among part of the population.

Young NEET: Young people Neither in Employment nor Education and Training. It refers to the percentage of young population who is unemployed or inactive and who has not been involved in any form of education (formal or informal) in a given period.

ENDNOTES

[1] Cf. UN Conference on International Organization. (1945). *United Nations Charter*. San Francisco. Available at: https://www.un.org/en/about-us/un-charter/full-text

[2] Cf. UNGA. (1948). *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. Paris. Available at: https://www.un.org/en/about-us/universal-declaration-of-human-rights.

[3] In *Porta Palazzo* live 5.139 people of foreign origin, corresponding to 50.61% of the total population (Municipal Statistical Office of the City of Turin, 2017); while in *Aurora* neighbourhood live 11.783 people of foreign origin out of a total of 39.151 inhabitants, corresponding to 30% of the population (Municipal Statistical Office of the City of Turin, 2021).

[4] In *Barriera di Milano* live 17.591 people of foreign origin, out of 50.135 inhabitants, corresponding to 35% of the total population (Municipal Statistical Office of the City of Turin, 2021).

[5] Italian was the common language spoken by all the people involved in the fieldwork. However, the quotes are here included translated in English to harmonize the reading.

6   The project "*Le nostre città invisibili: Incontri e nuove narrazioni del mondo in città* has been implemented between 2018 and 2019 in different cities part of the Migrantour network. The IRC-GloCEd carried out a qualitative evaluation of the effectiveness of intercultural itineraries. The goal was to verify the degree of achievement of the objectives of the project and its impact on the participants and the context.

7   All trained intercultural companions receive economic compensation for each intercultural itinerary carried out. This is possible thanks to the commercialization of the itineraries: from the beginning, Migrantour wanted to establish an economically self-sustainable approach to be able to cover the compensation of intercultural companions, as well as coordination and administrative expenses.

8   The most common topics addressed in a training course for intercultural companions are (a) the relationship between migrations and territory; (b) interreligious dialogue; (c) world food and cuisine; (d) museum heritage and intangible heritage; (e) group guiding techniques; (f) group management and public speaking.

9   "A group of people who can influence the popularity of cultural products, regardless of their intentions. This is possible thanks to their involvement in different fields of cultural production and consumption. Thus, we are speaking about connoisseurs, cultural mediators, marketing bureaus, business associations, tourist boards, parts of national and local governments, etc. (Rath, 2007, p. 8).

10   The Integration Segment of the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) is organized annually to support UN Member States to achieve the three pillars of sustainable development (economic, social, and environmental). Any Member State, ECOSOC subsidiary body, UN organization, or relevant stakeholder interested in contributing to issues of global concern can participate in the sessions of ECOSOC. For more information please see: https://www. un.org/ecosoc/en/.

11   "Since 1998, AITR works in Italy for the establishment and respect of culture and the principles of responsible tourism. More information about this issue can be found on their webpage: https://www.aitr.org/documenti-e-materiali/ carte-etiche/.

12   *Mercato Centrale* is a project started in Florence in 2014 (then reproduced in other Italian cities) by a "food entrepreneur" and an Italian company. It aims to promote "open-air" tourism by refurbishing buildings belonging to abandoned historic market areas. When interviewed about urban transformations in Turin (2019), Sociology professor Giovanni Semi defined *Mercato Centrale* as "an intervention for culturally poor. . . . Creating a distinctive pavilion that aims to

bring tourists to a market that is already known to all, is like offending Porta Palazzo. . . . There is no need to redevelop it. Because it is like saying that a place does not exist or does not work". And "the consumer is not the popular class". Interview available at: https://www.lavoroculturale.org/trasformazioni-urbane-il-caso-torino/matteo-lester-viora/2019/.

[13] To reflect on the notion of "top-down multiculturalism", please go back to page 15.

[14] Some people might be forced to take low-paid or low-skilled jobs, or even accept certain forms of exploitation. This, in turn, could create new discriminatory divisions between those who "control" the income and those who are just the "labor force" as well as feed new cultural and social stereotypes (Chang as cited in Rath, 2007, p. 11).