

CANONICA-SARPI NEIGHBORHOOD:

Transformation Spaces, Existing Conflicts
between Chinese traders and local residents



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Abstract

As Canonica-Sarpi neighborhood is a unique and particular area in Milan, the discussions of contradiction, conflict, and appeals of improvement have never stopped. The research starts through a historical and cultural root to display the phenomenon of economic success of Chinese commerce as they occupied large territory in Canonica-Sarpi neighborhood. This ethnic colonization generated series of problems on economical, social, and urban issues.

The whole study will concentrate on urban spatial issues to disclose the conflict between local residents and Chinese traders in a transformational space: how had it been produced, how the transformational neighborhood is influenced this conflict, and has it get improved in recent years. Analysis by technical maps and drawings to discover the substances of existing conflicts, finally reaches a point of diagnosis the possibility of elimination or decrescence.

Siccome il quartiere Canonica-Sarpi è una zona unica e particolare a Milano, le discussioni di contraddizione, conflitto, e gli appelli di miglioramento non hanno mai smesso. La ricerca inizia con una radice storica e culturale per il fenomeno del successo economico del commercio cinese che occupavano ampio territorio nel quartiere Canonica-Sarpi. Questa colonizzazione etnica ha generato una serie di problemi su economiche, sociali e urbane.

L'intera ricerca si concentrerà su questioni spazi urbane per rivelare il conflitto tra residenti locali e commercianti cinesi in uno spazio di trasformazione: come se fosse stata prodotta, come il quartiere di trasformazione è influenzato questo conflitto, e ha di venire migliorata o non negli ultimi anni. Analisi su mappe tecniche e disegni per scoprire le sostanze dei conflitti esistenti, finalmente raggiunge un punto di diagnosi della possibilità di eliminazione o decrescence.

1. History and Background

1.1 The Chinese emigration in modern history

Three waves of Chinese emigration

The Chinese emigration could trace back to the first Opium War (1840-1842). While Europe and America have abolished the Slave trade system, they turned their eyes to China to ask for labors. These Chinese labors were lured or sold and transported abroad. They were called "barracoon" or the Chinese coolies. During the year 1860-1879, they were mainly transported to Cuba, Peru, Mauritius, Reunion, Australia and North America.

The first wave starts after the Second Opium War (1856-1860). A large quantity of Chinese labors was spare since the Chinese population aggressively increased during the middle period of Qing Dynasty. Under the aggression of foreign powers the Qing Empire of China had forced to allow the exportation of Chinese labors. Until the beginning of 20th century, there were more than 3 million Chinese contracted labors abroad.

At the beginning of 20th century, the Chinese emigrants distributed in Asia, America, Africa and Australia, among which 90% was in East-south Asia. There the illiberal labors had graunchy lives, unequal treatments, and ignoble social statuses.

The second wave started after the First World War. Since Europe and America had begun to exclude Chinese from the end of 19th century, the main orientation of emigration is south-east Asia, because the endless wars in China made people's life formidable. On the other hand, economics in south-east Asia was rising, which needs large quantity of low-cost labors. Until Pacific War (1941-1945), there were at least 7 billion Chinese emigrants distributed in south-east Asia.

These Chinese Emigrants are not illiberal anymore, although their social status was still low. They started the business with the "three knives": Hair scissor, kitchen knife and sewing scissor. A person who holds a simple hair scissor may found his own salon after years of hard work; a kitchen Knife may develop into a restaurant and a sewing scissor could be the beginning of a clothing factory.

In 1978 China started with the reform and opening-up policy, leading by Deng Xiaoping. Since then, the third wave of emigration had been started, for the reasons of studying, investment, and technical jobs abroad. Among 30 years after the reform, the number of Chinese emigrants reached over 4.500.000.

1.1.1 Chinese immigration to Italy

The history of Chinese immigration to Italy is quite recent. There were only tens of Chinese immigrants before the First World War. During the First World War, quotas of Chinese workers were called to Europe especially to France and Netherlands. Among these Chinese workers, people from QingTian (an outskirt belong to Wenzhou, Zhejiang) were most enterprising that they started street commercial activities.



Graf 001_Location of Wenzhou, Zhejiang

Respecting the chaos situation in China in 1920s, these Chinese people chose to stay in Europe after the First World War, even without the company of their family. Some of them chose to move to the other countries in order to find a best place for developing their business, one of which was Italy. In the mid 1930s, the Chinese in Italy had formed their first nuclei of Chinese immigrants from Zhejiang. After the Second World War, Chinese people from Zhejiang were dispersing in lots of countries of Europe, creating their own nuclei in different cities.

During 1900 to 1980, the Chinese immigrants were rarely seen in Italy, and the number increased slowly. In the 1960s, there were about 800 Chinese immigrants. Some people from Hong Kong, Tai Wan came to work or did business in Italy in the 1970s.

With the enactment of reform and opening-up policy and the adjustment of going abroad policy, the Chinese had increasingly arrived in Italy in the 1980s, mainly distributed in Milan. The population bursting started from 1989, while the implementation of amnesty attracted many Chinese immigrants in the other countries of Europe to go to Italy. The other period of amnesty was successively in 1995, 1998, 2000, and 2002 ⁽¹⁾. Until 2004, the population of Chinese immigrants had reached 111.712 (data from anagrafici), becoming the fourth immigration group in Italy. The central nuclei of Chinese immigrants even extended to Roma, Florence and Turin.

For now, there are 80% of the Chinese immigrants from Wenzhou, still as the largest Chinese immigrants group, 20% are from Northeast China, Shandong, Fujian, Shanghai, Beijing, and Anhui. They scattered everywhere in Italy, classified by three main districts: Milan, Florence and Rome. Most of Chinese immigrants in Milan and Florence came from Wencheng, while many immigrants in Rome came from Qingtian and its suburbs.

Chinese Population in Italy

	1955	1982	1990	2000	2005	2010	2013
Total Number	260	3,500	20,000	47,108	127,587	188,352	304,768

Note(1): From New Chinese Migrants in Italy by Antonella Ceccagno

Source: 1955, 1982, 1990: Farina P., Cologna D., Lanzani A., Breveglieri L., 1997. Cina a Milano. Famiglie, ambienti e lavoro della popolazione cinese a Milano, Abitare Segesta, Milano; 2000: Antonella Ceccagno, New Chinese Migrants in Italy; 2005, 2010, 2013: Wikipedia

1.1.2 Chinese immigration in Milan

The immigration in Milan could be divided into three periods.

The first period (1920-1950): the first Chinese immigrants settled in Milan. They came from the other countries in Europe especially France. They began with street trading, selling trinkets, necklaces and other small articles. With their great hardworking and confidence, they started to rent small shops as laboratories of leather by their gradual accumulated capitals.

The second period (1950-1970): The second period called "relative-called-relative". The new flow of Chinese immigrants came from not only France and Netherland, but also directly from China. Since Milan became a popular destination for accepting the friends of its existing immigrants especially for their relatives. Regards of this reason, the second period of immigration are organized by the flows of the family of original Chinese immigrants. At the end of 1970s, the majority of Chinese immigrants were replaced by people from Wencheng instead of the predomination of Qingtian. Except leather laboratories, the Chinese immigrants started to open Chinese restaurants in this period, the import-export stores of tableware, supplying for the restaurants and supermarkets for Chinese people.

The third period (1980-now): From mid 1970s, especially in 1980s and 1990s, Milan had witnessed an unprecedented flow of Chinese immigration. These immigrants had a substantial heterogeneity. Some still came to join their family, others were for searching the richness and better lives, the rest of them especially young people arrived in Milan because of the willing of getting rid of unendurable poor conditional lives in China.

The Chinese immigrants distributed everywhere in Milan, and it was formed into three main concentrated area: Canonica-Sarpi Neighborhood, Isola-Farini Zone, and the area

among Loreto, viale Monza, and viale Padova. Nowadays, the Chinese immigrants were involved into various kinds of jobs: factory, restaurant & bar, retail and wholesale of clothing, leather bag, and all kind of articles, services such as supermarket, hairdressing, butcher house, and clinic ect.

1.2 The characteristic of Chinese immigrants from Wenzhou

As people from Wenzhou occupy large portion of the whole Chinese immigrants and the Chinese businesses in Italy, it is important to see what's their characteristics, spirits and beliefs.

The merchants from Zhejiang were well known even in the past of China for that they have a mercantile tradition. They are brave, hard working, capable and flexible. The entrepreneurs from Zhejiang are the most distributed, influential, powerful group in China.

People from Wenzhou are a typical representative of Zhejiang merchants. It's a tradition to leave their hometown to search for better life. There's a logion among people from Wenzhou: "To be a boss during the day, to sleep on the floor during the night", which talks about the arduousness when they created their own businesses. They are very diligent, hardworking and tolerant. Their belief is to only create their own businesses, becoming bosses, never working for others.⁽²⁾

How could the immigrants thrive at the beginning? The book 'I CINESI NON MUOIONO MAI' gave three words: Hunger, Aspiration and Courage⁽³⁾. In fact, most of immigrants have to pay a lot to the owners of factories who accept them to enter in. For example, 18,000-20,000 euro has to be paid or you have to work 7 days per week for 15-18 months without payment. So, many of them start their new life with in debt. They thrived by their perseverance and courage. The working strength of Chinese immigrants is incredible for Italian and they save money as much as they can.

Note(2): From an article 'Quickly formed Chinese Community in Italy', <http://hk.crnnt.com/>, China Riview Academics Publish Limited

Note(3): From Chapter 2 of I Cinesi Non Muoiono Mai by Oriani Raffaele, Staglianò Riccardo, 2008. Chiarelettere, Milano

Family-based social network allows them to form a strong relationship and they pay particular attention to the relationships. This is important for Chinese that they could start their business quicker with the assistance from their family and friends. The network also plays a key role when they face difficulties of their businesses. Besides, wedding, birthday parties are normal way for them to collect money.

As a contrary, as People from Wenzhou are usually low educated, most of which are educated no more than high school. They arrived in Milan without bringing their own culture, which makes most of their second generations completely lose Chinese culture. They came with only one small luggage, thrived by fair means or foul, without realizing that they had already become a representative of China somehow.

2. "Chinatown" in Milan: Canonica-Sarpi Neighborhood

2.1 The Chinese settlements in Canonica-Sarpi Neighborhood

The Canonica-Sarpi Neighborhood is located near the historical center of Milan. It hosted low-classes who were doing marginal activities in the recent history. Then the first urban proletariat started to live in this area and it became one of the locations of first industrial settlements in the city. At the beginning, it was called the "Borgo degli Ortolani" (Village of Green Grocers). It began to develop because the farming system managed and consolidated the rural employment. Multi-storey buildings came out in lineal along Via Canonica at the beginning of 18th century, where ground floor was used as craftsmen's workshop and the higher floors as residences.

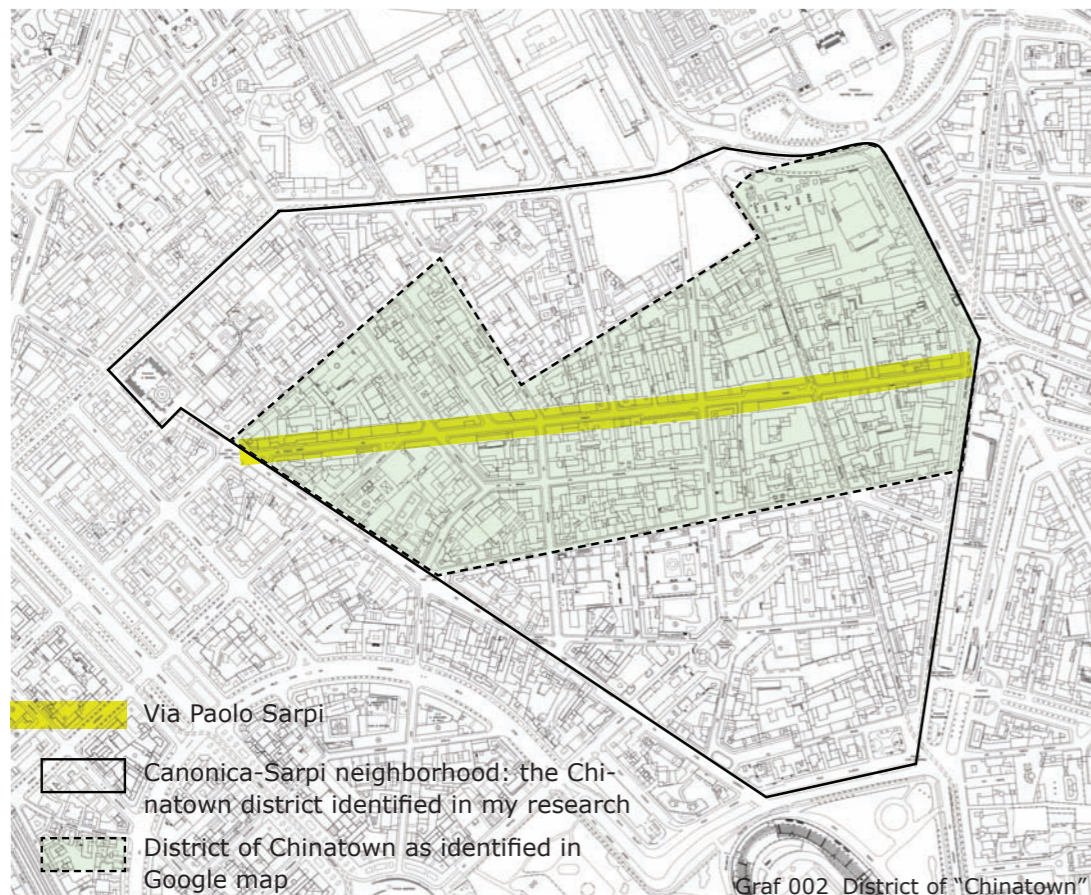
The industrial era began when the first factory appeared among multi-storey buildings in 19th century. There appeared a new typology of buildings, which was called "house for renting", with commercial and productive stores on the ground floor, wealthy people living on the lower floors while poor classes living on the higher floors. During the First and Second World War, new buildings were constructed in the north-east part. Industrial buildings came out between Cimitero Monumentale and Corso Sempione. Via Canonica was enlarged, surrounded by new buildings with high density.

The Chinese immigrants' settlement in this neighborhood is occasional, as the neighborhood is open to give a stable residence to any immigrants at the beginning of 20th century. Because of the availability of stable livings, family members of the settled immigrants continually arrived, even sometimes the houses were uncomfortable because of the inadequate maintenance and overcrowded. This environment created a dense network of social relationship between them and their compatriots, in which case the Chinese community was gradually formed and developed in Canonica-Sarpi Neighborhood.

The area generated an ethnic economy by various types of housing, collective labors, parts of Chinese residents. Hence, the previous economy of traditional commerce and handicrafts transformed to a flexible and informal economy, which represented by the coincidence between home and place of work, the possibility of continuous exchange of information with other small business owners employed in the same sector. The strong

spatial concentration was due to neither social segregation nor degradation and devaluation of the neighborhood, but stemmed from the necessities of the ethnic economy and informal proximity, and the strong network of local relationships. The early multi-storey houses and houses for rent were almost restructured, with a housing solution to adapt the Asian people and their economy. But the solution is not completely changing the territory for the new community, but to consolidate a cohabitation situation which allows an independent housing, economy and society for the new arrivals. ⁽⁴⁾

The coexistence of living, working and leisure makes this historical neighborhood different from other neighborhoods. It is necessary to be called a process of "regionalization" that the Chinese community created different social values, economy and culture. Later, this particular situation was witness in almost the whole neighborhood. Via Paolo Sarpi as the main axis, the area extended its both north and south parts. The district of Chinatown given by Google map shows where the Chinese immigrants are concentrating.



Note(4): From the research *L'impresa etnica a Milano. Tre quartieri a confronto: Canonica-Sarpi, via Padova, via Imbonati* by Fabrizio Fenghe, Vincenzo Granato, Raffaele Picariello, 2007.

2.3.1 Interrogation of the name Chinatown

Canonica-Sarpi neighborhood obtained its name "quartiere generale dei cinesi" (headquarters of the Chinese) during the Second World War, since the early group of Chinese settled and accumulated in this neighborhood. Later, with the expansion of Chinese commerce and the emergence of Chinese wholesale businesses at the end of 20th century, it started to be called "Chinatown".

However, compared with other well-known Chinatown, no matter in America or in the rest of Europe, this neighborhood is different. For one thing, it is not a special district that is divided by government only for Chinese immigrants but a local area gradually accepting the Chinese immigrants, which is still dominated by large proportion of Italian residents. Therefore, it is not an isolated ethnic enclave of Milan in which many Chinese people work but do not live. Besides, there aren't any cultural elements inside the neighborhood except the accumulation of Chinese stores that can make it a tourist attraction like the other Chinatown.



Img 001_The entrance of via Paolo Sarpi, Chinatown, 08/03/2014

Example:

Chinatown in USA

The early Chinese immigrants assembled together and bought their own land for living together. Hence, Chinese ghettos came out in cities of United States. They developed all sorts of facilities and activities for themselves. The streets and architectures inside Chinatowns are fulfilled with Chinese atmosphere by traditional buildings and huge advertising banners with Chinese characters.



Img 002_China-town,
San Francisco



Img 003_China-town,
New York

Source: <http://www.panoramio.com>

Chinatown in London

Chinese migration to Britain dates back to the late 19th century, with sailors debarking and settling in the colonial framework. With the decline of the shipping industry, the first "Chinese Quarter" of London in Limehouse faded out, and finally disappeared with the area's intense bombing during the Blitz. The following decades witnessed large scale immigration from Hong Kong and the New Territories, stemmed by British colonial rule, the Chinese revolution and land reform in Hong Kong, at a time when the first Chinese restaurants had just started appearing in what was then the undesirable southern part of Soho. In the 1980s, the area was formally recognized as Chinatown by Westminster Council, and gradually came to become central to its regeneration programme, and Chinese gates, a pagoda and bi-lingual road signs were built. Today it represents an image of the success of multicultural London, an established feature of the city, celebrated in its successful Olympic bid. In 2006, the Mayor London launched the China in London celebrations, in recognition of one of the city's most visited tourist attractions, with over 80 restaurants frequented by Londoners, Chinese and others. Even the buildings of Chinatown are western style, but traditional Chinese structures and decorations can be seen everywhere.



Img 004_Entrance of Chinatown London



Img 005_A pedestrian inside Chinatown London, with lots of traditional structures and elements standing along the streets

Source: <http://commons.wikimedia.org>

2.3.2 An Interpretation of Canonica-Sarpi Neighborhood

What is "Chinatown" in Milan?

Here are represented some conclusions from different groups which came from reports, tourists' blogs on internet and personal interviews.

From the view of Chinese traders

- It is a place where we have been doing business together for a long time (usually a decade or two decades). We have clients who are already familiar with our businesses and the environment here, and it is hard for us to move out from it. (Zhou, Chinese Association of Wencheng in Milan)

- The area became more and more like a Chinatown with over 500 Chinese stores now. The types of services are gradually increasing and completing. (Zhou Bin, Chinese Association in Milan)

From the view of tourists (source: www.tripadvisor.com)

- After visiting the Chinatown of New York and San Francisco, I was disappointed about the place. I couldn't find any atmosphere and attractions similar as other Chinatowns, and also without architectures and structures representing Chinese culture. You can find a few good Chinese restaurants but it is far less than a tourist attraction. The shops are neither exotic nor interesting, and there are many freight traffic. Generally speaking, the zone has only stores that sell commodities especially to the Chinese customers. (Rita, Dec.2012)
- The Chinese shops and Chinese people with their bikes loaded with merchandise crowded on the streets, give a hint that this is an area of Chinese in the city. After the works of the pedestrian Via Paolo Sarpi, the district has gained in tranquility, order and cleanliness. But it is still a neighborhood without anything particularly interesting. (Tewa, May.2013)
- We walked through Chinatown on our way to the Monumental Cemetery out of curiosity. It is definitely not like the Chinatowns in other cities, just cheap, tatty shops and wholesalers. (Noel, Jan.2014)

From the view of developers

- The wholesale trading activities devalued this urban space which is potentially extremely profitable. However, the neighborhood is transforming especially after pedestrianization. (vivi sarpi)
- Retail traders, retail craft I believe being the best vocation for via Paolo Sari. It needs to go back to what it was during the Borgh di Scigolatt, when retail craft prevailed. (Riccardo De Corato)

From the view of local residents

- It is a place for people to live. I am glad to live with Chinese. They are good neighbors, always helping us. (Mariarosaria)
- My living place is quiet enough and very convenient to reach the city center. While speaking about the Chinese community coexisting in this neighborhood, I feel it is like another world and we do not know that much. They are silent, isolated and work pretty hard. (Corrado)

From the view of Italian traders

- The area is particular because of the coexistence of Chinese commerce and also Chinese customs. We are glad they also spend money in our shops. But the Chinese shops sell articles at really competitive prices, where in other areas of Milan the same products are sold for a price three times higher. They earn black money by paying fewer taxes which is a great threat and sufferance for us. (Via Paolo Sarpi 50)

The "Chinatown"-Canonica-Sarpi Neighborhood is a semi-gentrified and particular area near the centre of the city. The particularity is because it was given a name of "Chinatown" while the Chinese immigrants simply went in for getting jobs. It is a place characterized by the "dynamics of village" or "dynamics of global relations", with relationship of national and international trade and sharing. Unlike other Chinatowns which always present as enclaves, it is neither a predominantly Chinese residential nor a tourist area, but an ethnic economic and commercial zone cohabitating with mainly Chinese traders and Italian residents, services for national and immigrants from both inside and outside of the neighborhood.

3. The Neighborhood Transformed by Two Contradictory Groups

3.1 The Development of Chinese Commerce

The first Chinese immigrants settled were related to the processing of silk in 1920s, mainly located around Via Canonica. During the Second World War, the production of silk was converted into the leather for making military belts, providing for Italian and German contingents. After the Second World War, these Chinese immigrants remained in Canonica-Sarpi Neighborhood, continuing with the production works.

As mentioned before, the renting houses' typology activated the process of interdependence among the spaces of residence, ground-floor commerce and inside courtyard. It gave a foundation for the emergence of Chinese ethnic economy, which focused on leather workshops at the beginning. During the years 1960s and 1970s, they started and stabled their businesses with food services and external leather shops connected with the inside workshops. Meanwhile, it aroused certain complaints from medium-high classes' residents who are more sensible about the necessity of privacy and hygiene, which related with the Chinese overcrowded in their houses. They took handicrafts' work at home, and the noises created by their workshops even couldn't stop until late evening. On the other side, the renting prices rose because of the requalification of real estate, saturation of spaces used for workshops and the political control from USSR related with hygiene problems and underground work.

Although some Italian residents were unwilling to rent their apartments to Chinese immigrants and the price of real estate grew up, it was recorded that the Chinese community, with their ready cash, was becoming a more and more attractive buyer group used to self-finance their own businesses. In this case, they expanded their business contents which involved imports and exports, supermarkets and restaurants since the 1980s. Their territory was not limited around their original courtyards which were surrounded with leather workshops anymore, but also spread to other areas in the neighborhood.

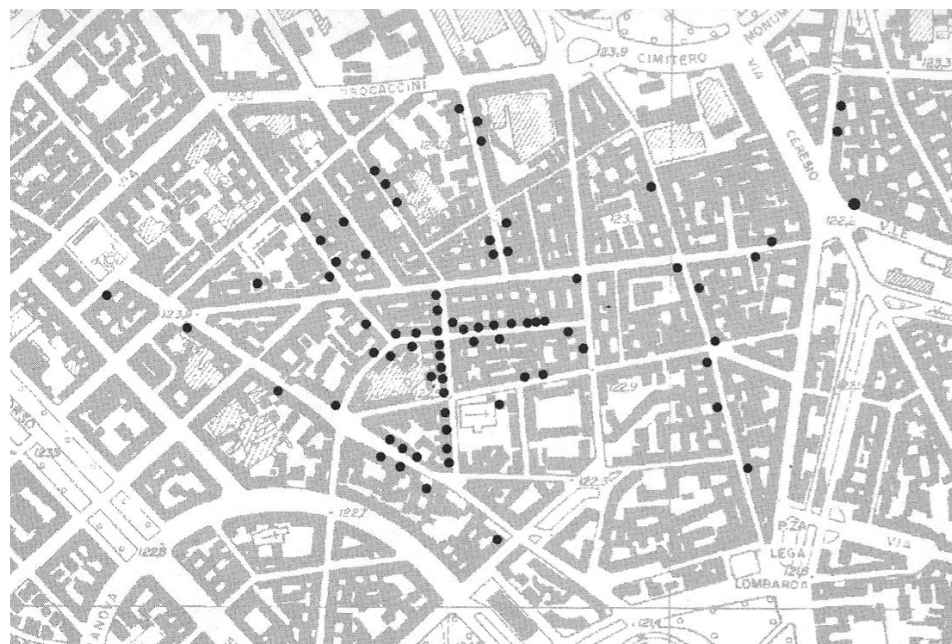
With the joining of a large amount of Chinese immigrants in 1990s, the Chinese community became a noticeable and leading economic ethnic group in the Canonica-Sarpi Neighborhood. With their mutual help social relationships, they opened various stores,

including food store, supermarket, different import-export shop, and service such as shop of video-cassette, Chinese bookstore, barbershop, real estate office ect. Expanded their territory, they settled among via Paolo Sarpi, via Bramante, via Rosmini, via Canonica and via Messina. The Chinese activities substantially tripled to nearly 250 from 1996 and 2001. This proliferation is an evidence of a clear investment by the Chinese community in the district, which reflects their strong willingness to strengthen its presence and dominant the economy in the neighborhood.

3.1.1 The Phenomenon of Chinese Wholesales

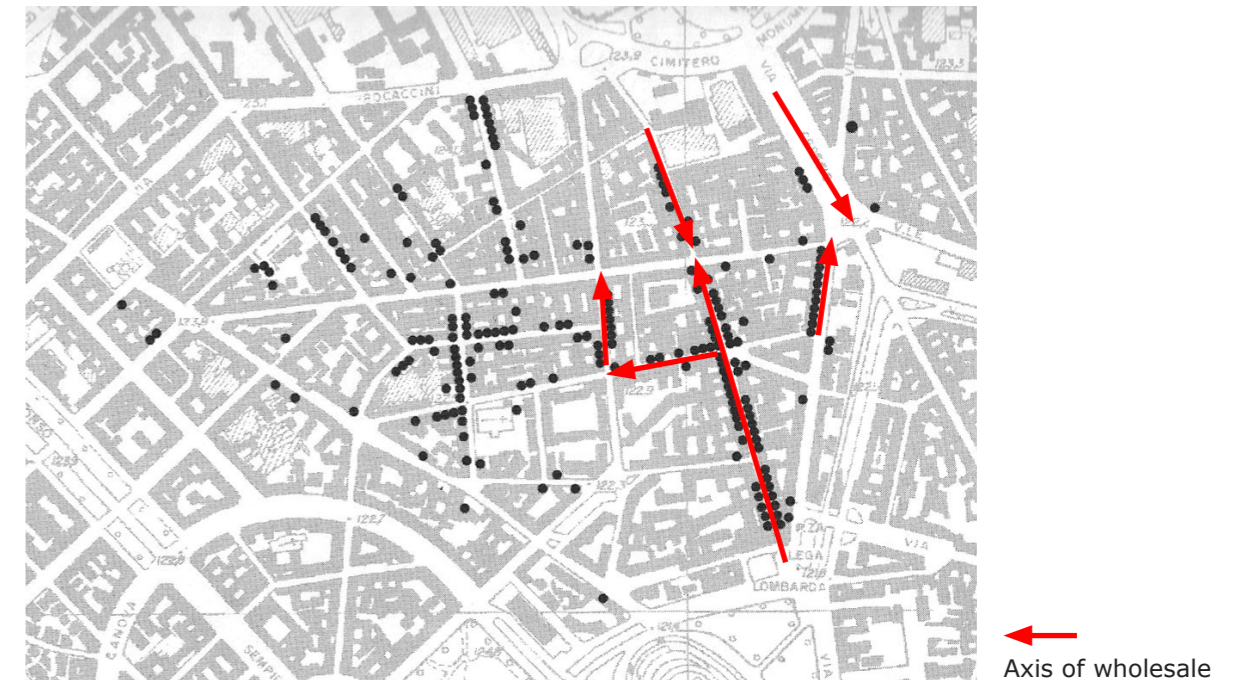
The activities were continually in multiplication, meanwhile, the Chinese started with a new activity which had never been seen before. After 1997, in the neighborhood appeared special stores of clothing wholesale. Just several years later, in 2001, the number of wholesale stores grew to about 70 with different types, among via Bramante, via Niccolini, via Montello, one third of the total Chinese activities. The wholesale activities adopted special offer of products, in order to further grasp the commercial market. The Chinese commercial type had transformed from a domination of craftsman's workshop to wholesale stores.

Graf 003_Chinese commercial activity in Canonica-Sarpi 09/1997 78 Activity



Source: Cologna, D 2002. (ed) La Cina sotto casa. Convivenza e conflitti tra cinesi e italiani in due quartieri di Milano, Franco Angeli, Milan

Graf 004_Chinese commercial activity in Canonica-Sarpi 05/2001 212 Activity



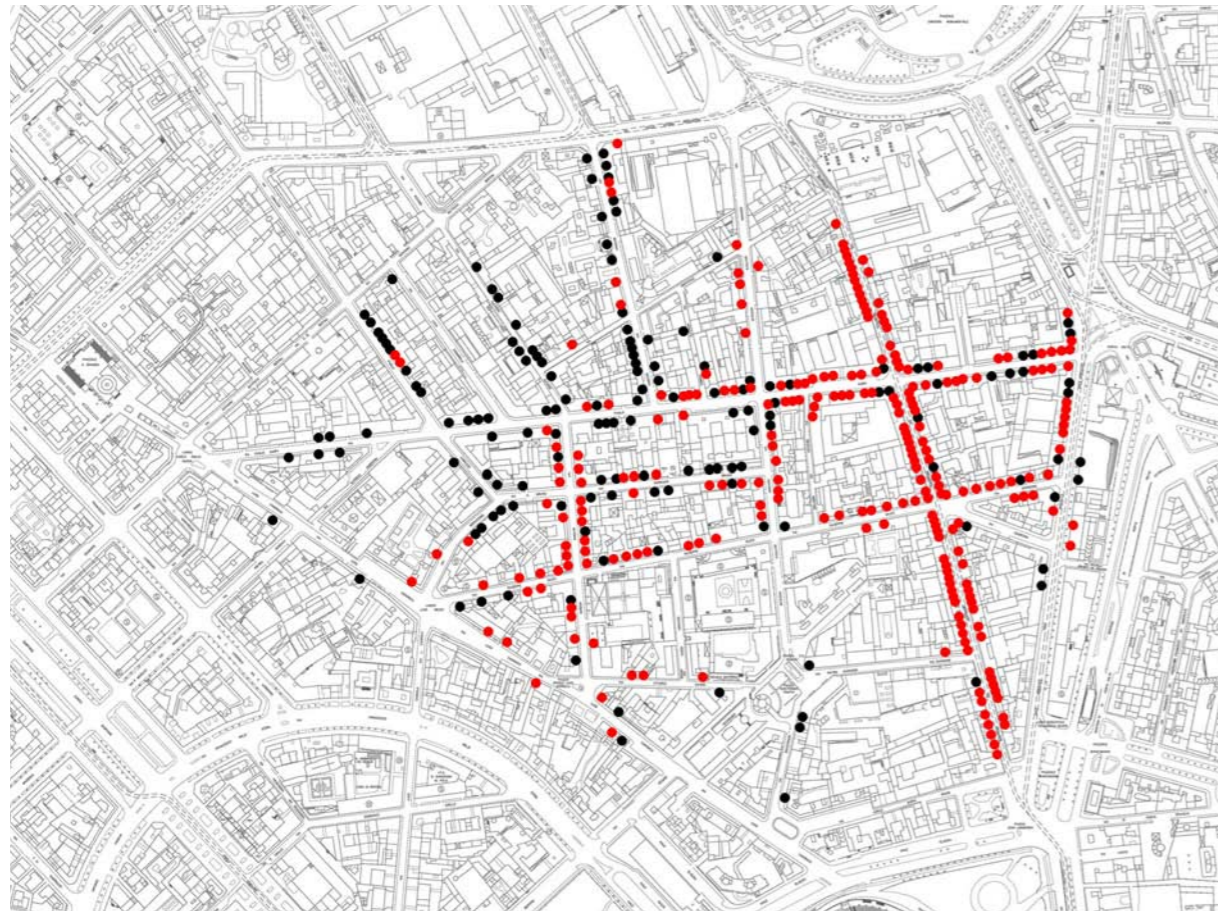
Source: Cologna, D 2002. (ed) La Cina sotto casa. Convivenza e conflitti tra cinesi e italiani in due quartieri di Milano, Franco Angeli, Milan

The wholesale number was continually growing, reaching up to 283 in 2007, widespread everywhere within the neighborhood. The growing concentration of wholesale businesses translated into transformations in the usage practices of the area. As commercial vehicles occupied larger amounts of public space during the day, walking, traffic and parking became difficult. Moreover, wholesale business practices left visible traces in the space, in the form of packaging, cartons and rubbish.



Img 006-007_Images of Canonica-Sarpi Neighborhood before 2007, Source: vivi Sarpi, Libro Bianco, sul quartiere Sarpi-Canonica -Bramante dal 1999 ai nostri giorni, Milano, 30 settembre 2005 Rev.1

Graf 005_Chinese commercial activity in Canonica-Sarpi 04/2007



● Wholesale activities: 283

Source: Suvey done on 20/04/2007, from From the research L'impresa etnica a Milano. Tre quartieri a confronto: Canonica-Sarpi, via Padova, via Imbonati by Fabrizio Fenghe, Vincenzo Granato, Raffaele Picariello, 2007.

3.2 The protest of residents, urban conflicts

On 25th of November 2000, there was a first protest rally in the area by the Committee ViviSarpi, an association organized by a group of local residents living in Canonica-Sarpi neighborhood from 1999. This was not absolutely in opposition to the Chinese presence, but against the degradation caused by the increase in wholesale, resulting in eradication of the local trade. The protests of the committee, repeated over time. They obtained that the City stabilizes in regulation time in which it is allowed loading and

unloading of goods in warehouses and shops, in the face of practice to regulate the activities managed by the community of the district, whether Italian or Chinese.

According to the survey on March 2013 ⁽⁵⁾, there are 18.918 residents in the whole neighborhood, among which about 96% are Italians, 4% are Chinese, and few other nationalities. The loading and unloading activities, trucks and noises did disturb the local residents for several years. However, the sounds of resistance were small at the beginning of emergence of wholesale practices, which were only organized by few local residents. Thus the existing Chinese wholesale sales had been once ignored by the authorities and were connived for its ambitious development.

The balance was broken on 12 April 2007, which was also the first major ethnic riot in Italy. The battle between Chinese migrants and police started with an everyday dispute over a parking fine when two traffic wardens stopped a Chinese trader unloading shoes into her shop in the heart of Milan's Chinatown. According to some journalistic reports, cars were overturned, bottles thrown at police from everywhere and also from some windows, 2-300 people were prevented by police from marching towards Piazza Duomo. The Chinese consul tried to bring calm while some fellow nationals incited the crowd. The unrest went on hours until nightfall when protesters calmed down. About 10 police officers were injured, none of them seriously, and a similar number of Chinese people received hospital treatment. 'Protesters weaved the red flags of the Popular Republic of China and displayed placards with 'I love Italy' written on them. About 10 police officers and a similar number of Chinese migrants were injured. In short, it was an urban guerrilla in a district which is at the heart of disputes triggered by car traffic created by hundreds of Chinese businesses, although the Chinese community normally keeps a very low profile and causes little trouble to the authorities. ⁽⁶⁾

After the riot, local authorities have started to negotiate with the Chinese community to move the wholesale stores to a peripheral area outside of Milan. Although the move implies negotiations among the two parts, immigration policy towards the Chinese community has not changed. The local authorities realized the serious problem led by wholesale practices, and hoped to give the neighborhood back to a zone with only

Note (5): from Ztl, gli abitanti ci guadagnano e i commercianti anche, the research of Politecnico di Milano, by Lidia Baratta e Silvia Favasuli, 2013

Note (6): from the article: Contested Chinatown: the space of Chinese in London and Milan by Nicola Montagna and Panos Hatziprokopiou, Middlesex University, 2009

retails.

At the end of 2008, the municipality had made via Paolo Sarpi area ZTL (Limited Traffic Zone), while in 2011 the same street was closed to traffic, making it a long paved promenade. According to this action, it has been forbidden for all the vehicles to pass the street, the exception was considered for residents, motorcycles and taxis. The CCTV cameras have been located to monitor the traffic of that area. The hope of the administration was that these interventions would promote the movement of wholesale activities elsewhere and revitalize retail and orient the neighborhood towards effective multi-ethnicity, emphasizing at the same time the history and traditions.

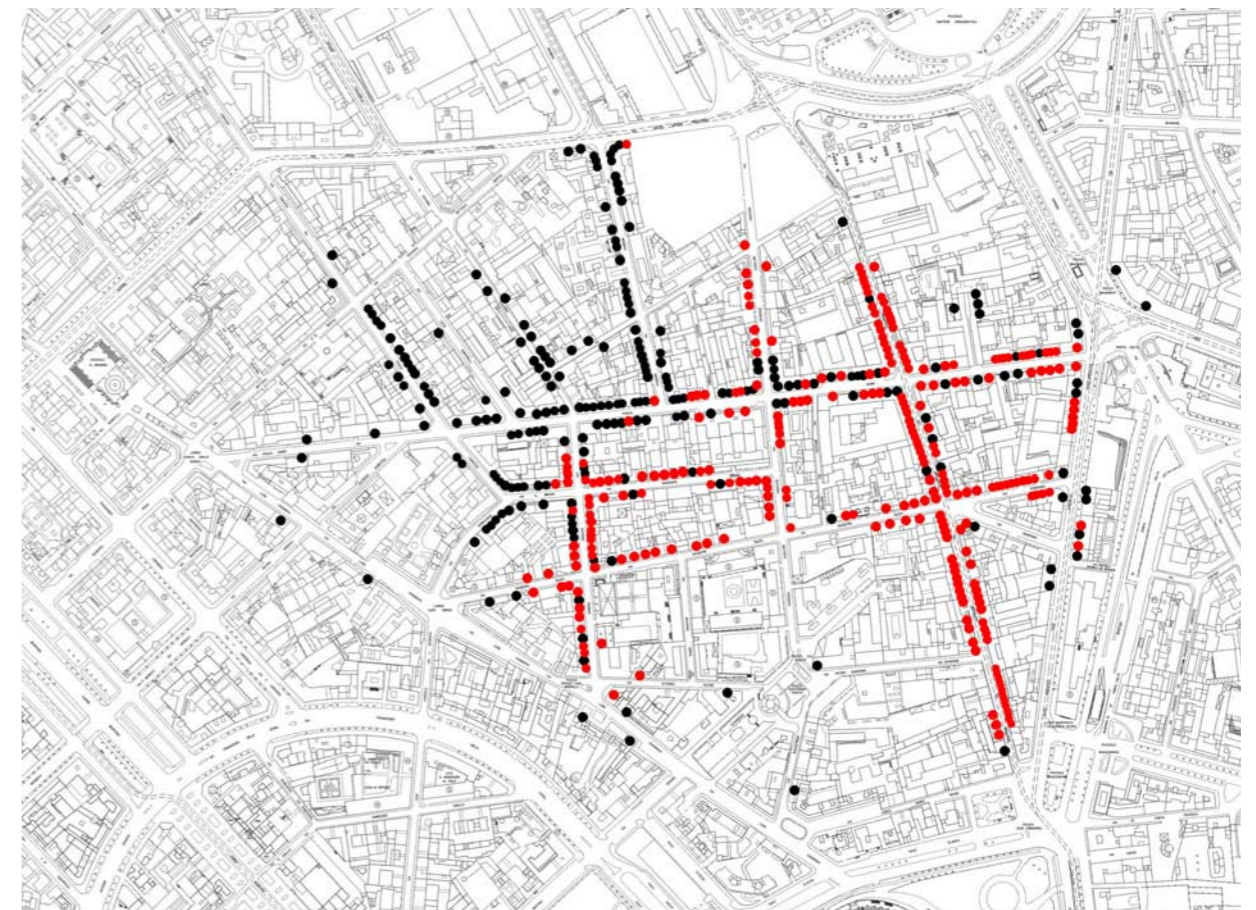
However, the Chinese migrants also posed their challenge. Most wholesale traders did not move outside the area after 2011, but simply adapted their business practices to the new regulatory system. Specifically, they accepted the fines as another business cost. Moreover, a new association, the Italy–China Union of Entrepreneurs (UNIIC), which is headed by bilingual second–generation migrants, has finally emerged as a viable representative of the migrants’ business interests. In 2013, the Association gained its first significant victory when it successfully challenged the ordinance regarding the circulation of commercial vehicles in the Regional Court. Consequently, the extension of the limitations was suspended in May 2013, strongly legitimizing UNIIC in the eyes of the immigrants. The courts explicitly ruled as unlawful the attempted translation of a top–down imposition of an intended use of the area into provisions regarding traffic regulation. This chain of translations was therefore recognized and blocked.

3.2.1 The Influence on the Wholesale Practice

The circulation of commercial vehicles and trolleys carrying goods for wholesale traders were limited to 4 hours per day since 2008. From May 2013, the limitation had become stricter, loading and uploading goods for wholesalers was only allowed from 10:00am to 12:30pm during a day, which is a unique situation in a city where this kind of traffic is officially allowed for four hours per day and these limitations are largely disregarded.

Since the pedestrianization, some Chinese wholesale businesses have indeed relocated – but simply became more concentrated, from the main road to nearby thoroughfares and side streets. In effect, the spatial practices entailed by wholesale businesses have remained almost unchanged especially on the side streets. In another fact, the number of wholesale stores only decreased slightly since 2007 and remained stable in recently years although the wholesale business was suffered by the traffic limitation. Some wholesalers moved out but it doesn’t mean they would close their original stores immediately in this neighborhood. Some were closed but they might be replaced by other wholesale stores.

Graf 006_Chinese commercial activity in Canonica-Sarpi, survey on 20/12/2013

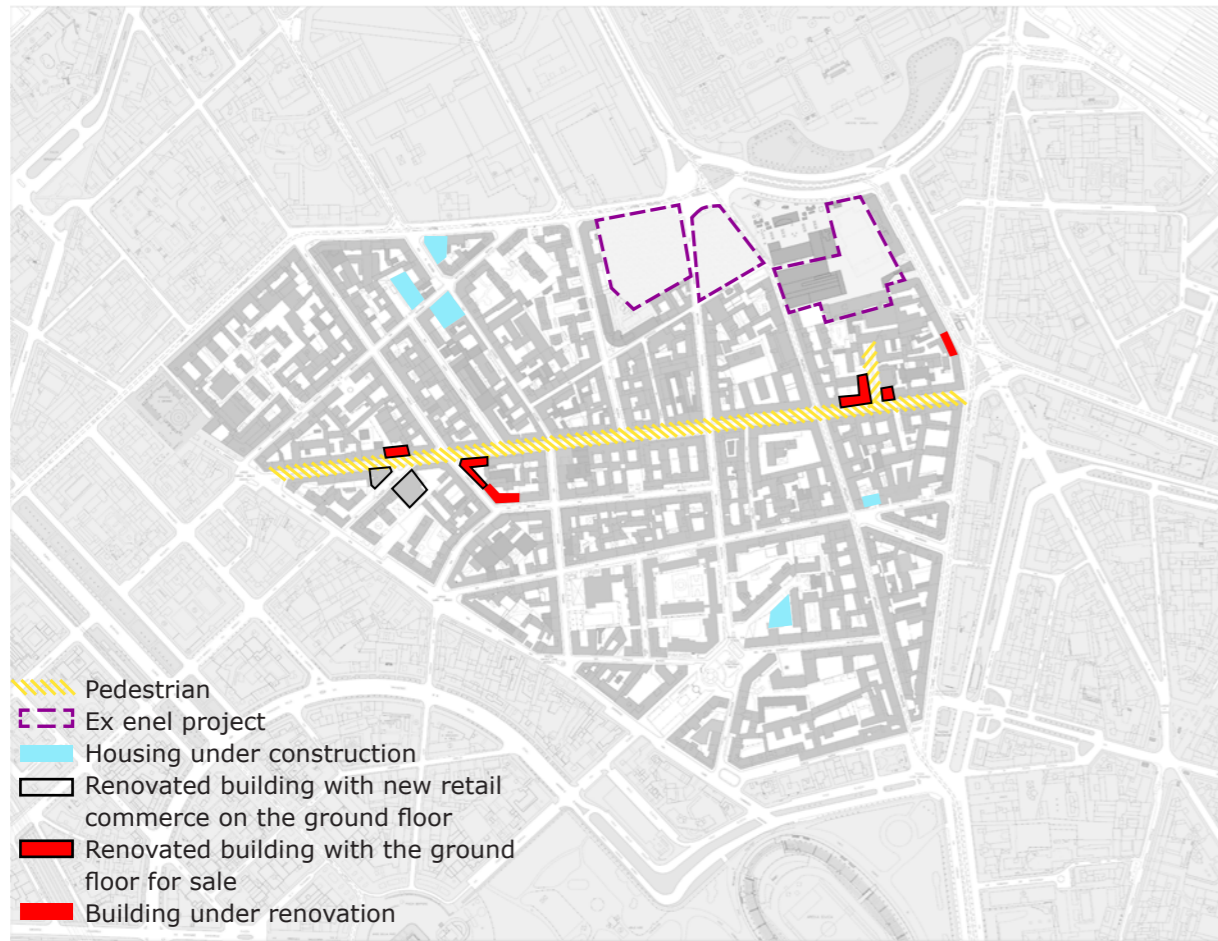


Source: my own drafting, 14/01/2014

● Wholesale activities:268

3.3 The Recent Transformation

Via Paolo Sarpi was inaugurated as a main pedestrian axis since April 9th 2011. As it is a semi-historical area with a noticeable location in the city, Canonica-Sarpi neighborhood is on its way to accelerate the transformation since the first process, considering it could catch more tourists' eyes with the approximately arriving of 2015 Expo in Milan. After the pedestrianization and limitation of the traffic, the housing and commerce surrounding via Paolo Sarpi was simultaneously following its gentrification step. The unused buildings in ex Enel area was torn down unexpectedly at the end of 2013. Several A-class residences are under construction with their already sold-out real estate properties. Several buildings were renovated around via Paolo Sarpi.



Source: my own drafting, 18/01/2014

Graf 007_transformation of Canonica-Sarpi Neighborhood

3.3.1 Transformation around via Paolo Sarpi

Obstacles, such as concrete flowerbeds, benches, bins, and trees, were installed on the sidewalks on via Paolo Sarpi. They are serving as urban beautification and socialization areas, at the same time also preventing cars' and trucks' parking for loading and unloading operations.

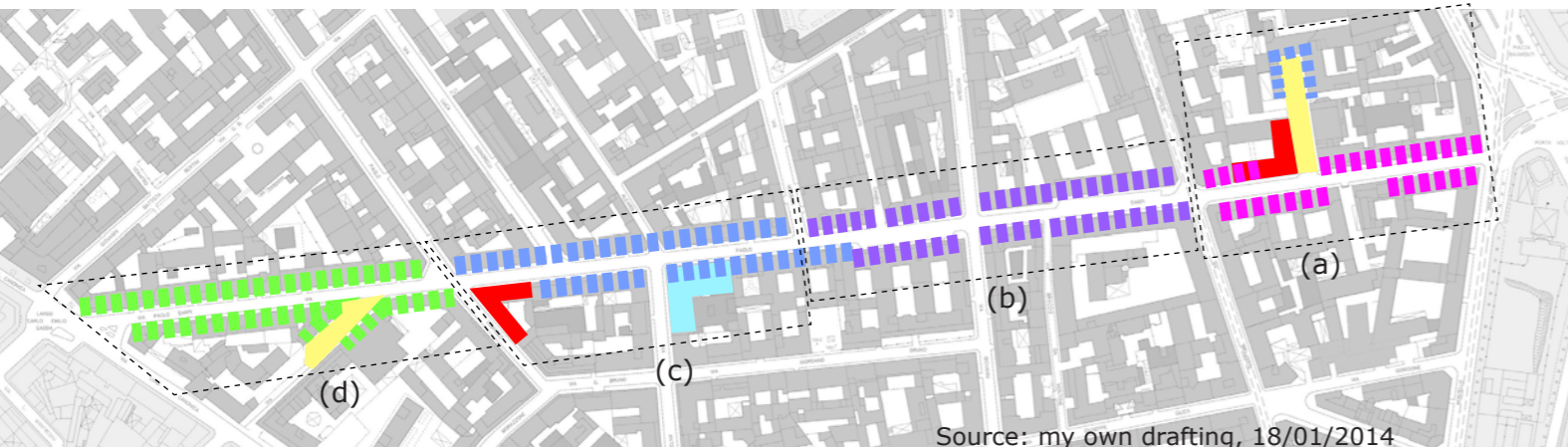


Img 008_Via Paolo Sarpi 04/2008, source: google map



Img 009_Via Paolo Sarpi, 14/01/2014

Graf 008_Recent Distribution of Commercial Types around Via Paolo Sarpi



- Major Chinese Wholesale of clothes
- mix with Chinese wholesale of several type, retail and service
- Major Chinese retail and service
- Shopping mall run by Chinese
- Major Italian retail and service
- Open square
- Renovated building with empty shops for rent on the ground floor

The buildings were largely refurbished in the first segment (a) of via Paolo Sarpi from viale Montello to via Bramante. The clothing stores were transferred to do both retail and wholesale businesses, and exhibited more fashion things. Most of them changed their shops' name to "xx Moda". A pedestrian area will be used as an open square to the people, surrounded by new commercial stores in the near future.



Img 010_The entrance of via Paolo Sarpi from viale Motello, 25/01/2014



Img 011_A clothing wholesale store in via Paolo Sarpi, 4, 25/01/2014



Img 012_New attractive area, via Paolo Sarpi, 10, 25/01/2014



Img 013_New shops for sale around the pedestrian area, 25/01/2014

The second segment (b), from via Bramante to via Messina, which was occupied almost by Chinese wholesale stores before the pedestrianization, has become a mixed area with different types of commercial activities, although it is still dominated by Chinese traders. The commercial type includes clothing retail, telephone and electronic products, wholesale and retail store of accessories, bar and restaurant ect.



Img 014_View from via Braccio da Montone to via Paolo Sarpi, 23/01/2014

The third segment (c) could be characterized from via Messina to via Lomazzo. Except two leather wholesale stores, it assembles more various Chinese commercial activities which are all retail and services. A new shopping mall was open at the corner of via Rosmini in July 2013, taking place of an Italian clothing outlet. The Chinese retail stores obviously increased in this segment, compared with the number before the pedestrianization.

These years, Chinese traders also started with fashion retails, the products of which are usually imported from China.



Img 015-016_Stores of fashion retail in via Paolo Sarpi, 25/01/2014



Img 017_The Oriental Mall, 25/01/2014

From via Lomazzo to Largo Carlo Emilio Gadda is the fourth segment of via Paolo Sarpi. Few Chinese activities are located here. On the contrary, lot of new Italian services and retails was opened. Some new exquisite bars by Italian owners were opened recently just in two years time. The area became more vital with these new local activities, one propose of which is the fact that the authorities want to control the Chinese commercial expansion in the neighborhood. The refurbished buildings surrounding via Alfredo Albertini are intended to sell their properties to the high-level retail stores.



Img 018_Open space of via Alfredo Albertini, with stores surrounded for sale, 14/01/2014



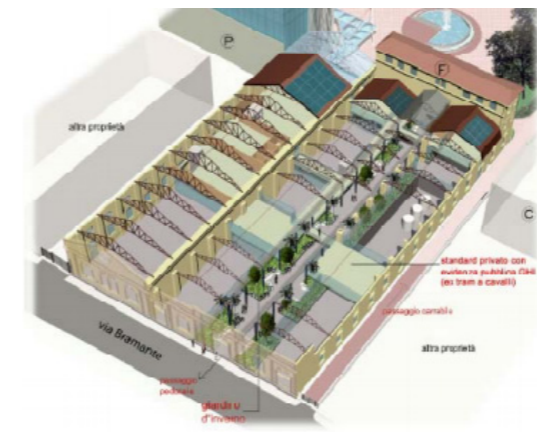
Img 019_View from Largo Carlo Emilio Gadda 14/01/2014

3.3.2 Area ex Enel

The area was dismissed for a long time. So far only one building had been restored between 1937 and 1940, designed by the technical department of Edison which later became Enel. The new master plan is proposed by Studio Architettura Perotta, Massimo Bodini, with a total site area of 31.305 m², consisting with three sub areas of different functions.



Area 1 intends to become a public building with mixed functions, including headquarters of the Association for Industrial Design with the new museum, tertiary industry such as health, welfare, leisure ect.





Area 2 intends to a hotel of an area of 5203.5 m2 with an underground garage of 243 parking spaces. It was under constructed from May, 2013.



Area 3 includes two blocks of residential buildings with commercial shops on the ground floor.



All the sources from: <http://areaxenel.com>

The new projects will be realized in three years.

4. Interviews: evaluations of Canonica-Sarpi Neighborhood through different groups

In order to understand the existing problems and the opportunities within Canonica-Sarpi Neighborhood, it is necessary to carry out an interview to the people working and living inside the neighborhood.

The interviewees have been selected among both local residents and Chinese traders.

Via Paolo Sarpi, as the main street in Canonica-Sarpi Neighborhood, experiences the largest transformation in recent 5 years. Via Bramante, a street going through the public transport is crowded and noisy all the time, with the assembling of huge amount of wholesales. In via Giuseppe Gusti and via Rosmini are located mostly leather wholesale stores, where the first trade business started by Chinese immigrants.

4.1 Questions to Chinese wholesalers

1. Personal information

Date: Address: Interviewee:

Gender: Age: Place of birth:

When did you arrive at Milan? What is your first job?

How long have you been working here?

When did you start your wholesale business?

Where do you live, with whom?

What kind of business you mainly engage to? How is your business recently?

About how many clients you have for now (total or average), where do they from?

Why you chose to work here?

2. View of Canonica-Sarpi Neighborhood

What do you think is the main character of this area, how could you describe it?

Is it correct to be called "Chinatown" here? What is lacked of comparing with other well-known Chinatowns?

What has it been changed since you arrived here?

How does the traffic limitation policy affect your work? (Lists of problems, conflicts) Do you think this limitation will be enlarged or stricter?

The general situation and environment of the neighborhood becomes better or worse?

3. The relationship with the residents

Do you have friends or acquaintances living in this area? Who are they, Italians or Chinese?

Do you get on well with each other?

Have you ever met with some local residents complaining to you?

If there were, what had you done when it occurred?

What do you think the main existing conflicts are?

Do you think the conflicts will influence you a lot? Your businesses, your daily life...

In which way you think could possibly decrease this gap?

Do you expect the locals getting close to your community and knowing your cultures?

Despite of questions all above, do you like working here? Why?

4. The future prospect

According to you, what is the most important necessity for commercial activities in the neighborhood?

Is it realistic that you think for all wholesalers move out of the neighborhood?

Do you think some cultural elements are necessary in the neighborhood? Galleries, decorations, culture schools (like the ones in China) for both Chinese and locals.

How do you expect the near future of the neighborhood? Any necessary further intervention in this urban space, including facilities, environment, open spaces

The five Chinese interviewees were picked up according to the different type and scale of the businesses they do, how long they have stayed here, the locations mainly among the four streets mentioned above. All of them and their stores stayed here for long times, at least 10 years. They do different kind of businesses. Two of the stores are the largest ones, located on the south part of via Bramante and the west part of via Giusti, two are middle sized located on via Paolo Salpi and via Giusti, the last one is a small sized among lots of small clothes wholesale stores on via Bramante. Two of these five owners also belong to the Chinese associations and they could know more about the development and opportunity of their neighborhood and the Chinese community.

1. Date: 11.7 Address: Via Bramante 14

Interviewee: Zhou, Vice President of Chinese Association of Wencheng, Milan

Gender: M Age: 44 Place of birth: Wencheng, Wenzhou

Mr. Zhou arrived in Milan in 1992 with his parents. He started his own business of handicrafts in via Rosmini in 1995, including part of wholesale activities, later moved

his store in via Messina, and finally settled in via Bramante from 2003. Recently, more Chinese people bought their house in this zone. He lives in via Giovanni Battista Nicolini with his family. Zhou processes the largest wholesale store of tableware, handicrafts and various costumes, with about 2000 clients in total within the whole Italy, in which mostly are from Lombardia, 10% from other nearby countries.

The zone is a place assembling with many Chinese people. But considering as a Chinatown, it lacks a representative arch structure. The Chinese stores and their categories were gradually increasing these years, especially around 2006. The quality of life was improved. The enactment of ZTL led the business obviously sliding, especially in 2008, when the supervision was very strict. From 2010, a new regulation restricted the time of loading and unloading in a day: 10-12:30am. However, the Chinese association has long been battled with the local government. The latest one is on April, 2013, when the government wanted to install several cameras at all the entrance of streets located with wholesales. The business became worse, instead the environment became clearer and better.

Zhou has many friends here, basically Chinese. The residents sometime had complained with him because of the noise and pollution. As Chinese people usually do, his reaction was to keep silence. Zhou insists that Chinese people had their own habits that the conflicts are difficult to avoid, but they should try to act properly.

The zone has so far become a "hot potato" so that almost all the residential real-estates has been sold out, even the new ones which are still under construction. Zhou believed the Chinese stores will still on-going, and their existing should be approved by the residents and government. The problem is it lacks too much parking places in this neighborhood. Further, some supermarkets, facilities for leisure could be provided in this zone in the future. For the wholesalers Zhou mentioned they would like to move out from this neighborhood, as if the government will provide them enough space with convenient transportation. For the cultural part, he showed unconcern about this. "It's none of my business, but of course it would be better if there are."

2. Date: 11.8 Address: Via Paolo Sarpi 3

Interviewee: Zhou JianH, Secretary of Chinese Association in Milan

Gender: M Age: 54 Place of birth: Ruian, Wenzhou

Zhou JianH moved to Via Paolo Sarpi in 2011 to manage the clothing store together with his niece. Before he was operating his restaurant in Varese from 1990 when he arrived in Italy. During these 20 years, Zhou JianH had been frequently visiting Canonica-Sarpi Neighborhood, because of his relatives in this area and his responsibilities in the Chinese association. Finally he decided to join the business in Via Sarpi, even if the whole situation was not as good as several years ago. But he prefers to stay with the Chinese community, which makes him feel like a family. He has 40 or 50 clients per week now, of which 90% are Chinese.

“Via Paolo Sarpi had completely become a Chinese street, the people on the street are basically Chinese.” However, here lacks the cultural atmosphere as the Chinese coming here only for money. There was once a Chinese bookstore, but it was bankrupt in 2012. The local government wanted to move all the wholesales out of this area. There were series of lawsuits between the Italian and Chinese community before 2011, which were about the management and restriction of the wholesale activities. The whole wholesale business decreased at that time. Especially on the north part of via Bramante closed some wholesale stores, where was full of stores before. Via Paolo Sarpi has changed a lot, not only on the environment, but exactly also the businesses. Both of the retails and wholesales’ businesses have grown up in recent years owing partly to the pedestrianization. The quality of stores has gradually transformed. The stores on via Paolo Sarpi have introduced more fashion elements and variety types. Via Bramante, on the contrary, are still keeping with all the unitary type of stores which has lower quality. Zhou JianH indicated the ZTL policy does not influence stores on via Paolo Sarpi a lot, whereas the most pivotal reason influenced them could attribute to the economical crisis in Italy and the severity competition with their colleagues. Totally speaking, the situation has become better, you could tell just from the ongoing price of real estate.

Zhou JianH’s family has few local friends here. As he said, they don’t feel the existing of local residents here, let along the conflicts and quarrels with them. The east part of

via Paolo Sarpi are located basically all Chinese stores, with their guests of Chinese and other nationalities from outside the area. Even the situation of via Bramante has been improved. It’s hard to imagine how dirty and chaotic it was several years ago. But there still exists the problem of uncleanness which is the main conflict in this neighborhood. The Chinese traders should pay more attention to their behaviors.

Zhou JianH thinks the Italian residents don’t want to know the Chinese community and their culture. “We would like to share, but I know it is difficult.” Anyway, he is satisfied with the current situation. “We have no idea of the next step. But Chinese people are brave that we can always adapt the changing policies and new situations.”

The wholesale activities will be stable in the near future. Instead the quality of retails will be improved and the service types will be increased. In via Paolo Sarpi already opened a new shopping mall. Meanwhile, the wholesale control will be enlarged. For example, the zone might be refused the entering of large vehicles and the entering of small ones would be charged. It is possible for the wholesale to move out, but they need time. For the area itself, he emphasized cultural elements are necessary such as cultural clubs and library. Chinese people should be involved in Italian society in order to improve their relationship. The zone lacks activity centers for elders and children according to Zhou JianH, which is quite important in China. The custom is different in Italy that often elder people have no place to go except going to bars.

3. Date: 11.8 Address: Via Bramante 40

Interviewee: Pan Gender: F Age: 40 Place of birth: Ruian, Wenzhou

It is a small store of clothes in Via Bramante. The interview goes together with Pan and her younger sale assistant. The owner Ms. Pan arrived in Italy in 1980 and arrived in Milan in 1992 with her parents. She had been working in factory, until 2000 opened her own clothes’ shop in Via Bramante. She and her family live in via Giusti. The situation has become tough for them. “We are losing the clients.” Some people went to their store just to buy one or two articles, while their profit depends mainly on the wholesale part.

They said their lives here were better before. With the arriving of more Chinese, the locals started to behave worse with them. "There is no ensuring for us. The local community doesn't help us." From their point of view, the Italians dislike them, even no one help them to clean their area. The place around them hasn't changed too much. Moreover, the limitation of traffic could only worsen their business.

They know few Italian residents here, and not in good relationships. In their residence live almost elder people. They always complain to them because of the noise and uncleanness. "The Italians have discrimination of us. Sometime it was not our faults." Sometime the locals came to complain in the store. Before Pan quarreled with them, soon she realized what she and her employees could do is to keep silence to avoid unnecessary troubles. The main difference between the Italians and Chinese is the different customs that they treat each other a queer. For example, sometimes the Chinese finish the work then back home around midnight and make noises; too much people rent together in one apartment. "But since we are here in Italy, we have to adapt their custom. Keeping silence as much as possible, avoiding communication with them, our existing would be ignored by them." When asking about the evolving in local community, Pan and her colleagues said they had never thought about it "We just care about our own business that we came here just for money. If we don't bother them, they shouldn't bother us." But if there is a better place for working, they would like to change.

The zone lacks parking place. It is too difficult for export as there is a limitation of maximum 100kg load capacity. But as everyone get used to this area, it is hard for the wholesalers to move out. The cultural school may help their children. Some place and parks for elders would help the Chinese staying in this neighborhood.

4. Date: 11.8 Address: Via Giusti 5

Interviewee: Xiang Gender: M Age: 35

Place of birth: Fushun, Liaoning Province

Xiang and his colleague are two of few immigrants who came from northeast part of China in Milan. They are a bit different from people from Wenzhou who usually have no

other choice than working and living in Milan. They almost graduated from university, and could consider going back to China at any time if the crisis continually aggravates. Xiang lives in Maciachini with his friends. He chose to work in Canonica-Sarpi neighborhood because there the communication and life is more convenient for them even if they don't speak well Italian.

Arrived in Milan in 2004, Xiang started to work in Via Giusti from 2005 after one year working in the factory. The store was opened in 1998, selling leather products, bags, articles of daily-use. The clients are generally Chinese and Moroccans. The business was once good before 2009, whereas the benefits have been falling by half among the 3, 4 years. They have to do more retail than wholesale to make up the loss.

Xiang was pained of their works. This zone could be activated just because of the Chinese people. "You should know it was inanimate many years ago when there were only few Chinese."

However, he had more dissatisfaction. His first impression to this area is dirty, disorder and poor-condition. Instead of Chinatown, it is just a Commercial zone of Chinese. During their traditional festivals, there isn't any atmosphere of celebrating. The local community doesn't allow them to paste couplets or hang traditional pendants outside their stores. The Chinese associations are too low-efficient, and they never did something helpful for their compatriots. This zone hasn't changed a lot since he arrived. Maybe via Paolo Sarpi was better, but it doesn't influence their part. "This street is still dirty. Look at the dogshit here." According to Xiang, the directly attribution to their recession is the crisis in Italy, the secondary reason might be the restriction of traffic.

Xiang and his friends came to Milan working just for Chinese group. They don't speak Italian. There are always complains from the residents, although it has been better during recent two years. They know sometimes they were noisy, which can't be avoided, because they have to work. Xiang shows no favor of the Italians. For him, it's better to keep away from the locals to avoid unnecessary trouble. Maybe the next generations could do better communications together. Comparing working here, Xiang prefers to go back to China in the future.

The wholesale activities won't be increased anymore, instead restaurant, entertainment will be expanded. But the existing wholesale stores in the zone are hard to move out. Some traders had already bought the real estate. Even if the store was rented, the landlord will be happy if they continue to rent. "If we don't, who could rent these stores?" The cultural facilities are useful, but they are too difficult to be realized since there are few resources and persons of abilities. There are many people with low-education from Wenzhou. Xiang hopes the zone could have an arch structure, more entertainment and cultural facilities if it is possible.

5. Date: 11.12 Address: Via Giusti 37

Interviewee: Roberto Gender: M Age: 40

Place of birth: Ruian, Wenzhou

This is the largest leather wholesale store in Canonica-Sarpi area. The owner Roberto arrived in Milan in 1980. He studied at first and then worked in his grandfather's leather store in via Rosmini from 1988. Around 1995 he opened his own leather business in via Giusti. It was once very busy and booming. Since 2008, his business started to decline. Roberto only does wholesale business, and for now there are only 10 or 20 clients per day. His clients are all non-Chinese: 60%Italians and 40% other nationalities.

Roberto lives in via Paolo Sarpi. The environment has changed a lot, no congestion of trucks on the road anymore. But the wholesale businesses seem not adapted in the neighborhood anymore. They had more restrictions in recent years. The wholesale numbers have already decreased in via Paolo Sarpi since 3 or 4 years ago. The limitation of traffic and pedestianization influenced the area a lot. Instead the area is more like a Chinatown than before.

Roberto knows lots of locals here as he worked in this zone for more than 30 years. There were some conflicts with elder residents, and better relationship with the younger ones. He feels that they didn't disturb the locals because they work in a regular time everyday. Some complains are unreasonable that he and his staff couldn't do anything except silence. But in recent years, the tensions are mitigated. The locals started to go to Chinese restaurant like Hongni, Changlong, which were only Chinese inside several

years ago. "They start to understand us a little bit." The local residents and Chinese traders should respect each other. "We will respect their custom and rules, so they shouldn't take advantage of us."

The wholesales will gradually decrease in this neighborhood. But as Roberto and his employees have worked and lived here for a long time, where they already got used to, obviously it is unwilling for him to leave. He prefers the area will be more adaptable to the Chinese people with cultural elements, space for leisure and sports, meanwhile parking area will be provided for the traders.

4.2 Questions to Chinese owners in restaurants or bars

1. Personal information

Date: Address: Interviewee:

Gender: Age: Place of birth:

When did you arrive at Milan?

What's your first job?

How long have you been working here?

Where do you live, with whom?

The proportion of your clients: how many of them are local residents, tourists, and people living outside, during which how about the proportion of Chinese, Italians and other nations?

2. View of Canonica-Sarpi Neighborhood

What do you think is the main character of this area?

Is it correct to be called "Chinatown" here? What is lacked of comparing with other well-known Chinatowns?

What has it been changed since you arrived here?

Does the traffic limitation policy affect your business? Do you think it is beneficial for you?

The general situation and environment of the neighborhood becomes better or worse?

3. The relationship with the residents

Do you have some friends or acquaintances living in this area? Who are they, Italians or Chinese?

How is the general relationship with local residents?

*Did you have difficulties dealing with Italian costumes sometime? For example
How do you think the influence of wholesale activities in this neighborhood? How much
conflict do you think they have with local residents?
Do you expect the locals getting close to your community and knowing your cultures? In
which way
Do you like working here? Why?*

4. The future prospect

*Do you think some cultural elements are necessary in the neighborhood? Galleries, decora-
tions, culture schools (like the ones in China) for both Chinese and locals.
How do you expect the near future of the neighborhood? The necessary further intervention
in this urban space*

Most of Chinese restaurants and bars are located on Via Paolo Sarpi, Via Niccolini, Via Girodano Bruno, Via Messina. Nearly all the Chinese bars and restaurants in the last three streets are occupied by Chinese and with low quality interior design, less cleanliness and uncomfortable atmosphere. Comparatively in via Paolo Sarpi the situations are much better. The two interviewees are chose in two good locations of atmosphere with also local guests.

1. Date: 11.8 Address: Via Paolo Sarpi 11

Interviewee: Zhou Bin, President of Chinese Association in Milan

Gender: M Age: 48 Place of birth: Wencheng

“JuBin” is one of well-known Chinese restaurants in Milan. Zhou Bin arrived in Turin in 1986 and Milan in 1990. Started with waiter’s job in the restaurant and in 1996 he opened his own restaurant “JuBin” in via Paolo Sarpi. 70% of his guests are local residents, in which 50% are Italians. It has also attracted lots of tourists.

The neighborhood is developing. The number of Chinese stores has increased from 30 to more than 500 since 1996. It became a Chinatown. The living and working conditions for Chinese are improved a lot. Zhou Bin is satisfied that via Paolo Sarpi has become a pedestrian road.

The relationship with the locals goes on well now. The local guests are polite and friend-

-ly. As he knows there are few conflicts in the area nearby even wholesalers. The only one in his restaurant is some time they made noises and smoke disturbs the residents upstairs. Zhou Bin means that the Chinese need to be more stable and ensured by local government then the next step they could think more cultural exchange and communication.

More parking spaces are required. Hopefully the area will become a real China town.

2. Date: 11.20 Address: Via Paolo Sarpi 26

Interviewee: Michael and Andrea

Gender: M Age: 27/40 Place of birth: Wenzhou

Michael arrived in Milan 14 years ago with his father, living in via Messina. As he estimates, there are almost one third of residents are Chinese around his residential area. The bar was opened by his father in 2000 and was charged by him now. Their guests are 50% Chinese, 50% locals in which 5% of other nationalities. Andrea is Michael’s good friend, the same time he is also the owner of a big stocking wholesale store in via Nicollini.

It is place for gathering Chinese people. When they travel to Milan, or they want to find a place to meet, they will choose to come to this neighborhood. Now it is a primary developing stage of the Chinatown, and it will change faster than ever before because of the fast develop of China. Generally speaking, the change of this area started gradually from 1998. There were only few Chinese stores on via Paolo Sarpi. Some Chinese stood on the side of roads, selling the ties. Since the management policy of Italian changed in Aug.1998, the number of Chinese stores surged. Undoubtedly it led couples of problems, but the Chinese will adapt to the new changing situations. Anyway, the pedestrianization makes better profits of bars and restaurants.

Michael is a second generation of Chinese people in Milan. He was educated in the school of Italy and has some local friends. Also because his work in via Paolo Sarpi, he is more international. He goes on well with his guests. The young Italian generations more understand them. Andrea is very optimistic about the wholesale. The Chinese will

try their best to adapt the new situation. For example, some wholesalers have their warehouses in other place, and then they could make the store here like a showroom for exhibition and getting orders. It is in transforming. But for the moment, they hope they could still have more time and place to load and unload, but trying to avoid bothering the locals. Another difficulty between Chinese and local communities is the language. The government may do the effort to make their integration.

The Chinese will get progressed, so that the neighborhood will become continually better. They will help the locals more and do commercial activities in a cleaner way. The young people will learn advantage things from Italy. Via Paolo Sarpi could use for more events, cultural activity or exhibition, such as an event holding every month for exhibit both products from the two countries. For the traders, benefits are the most important. The benefits could promote the communication.

4.3 Questions to non-Chinese residents

1. Personal information

Date: Address: Interviewee:

Gender: Age: Nationality: city:

When did you arrive at Milan?

How long have you been living here, with whom?

What's your job?

Why you chose to live here?

2. View of Canonica-Sarpi Neighborhood

What do you think is the main character of this area?

This is a neighborhood full of Chinese, Is it correct to be called "Chinatown"? Why?

What has it been changed since you lived here, and in the recent years?

How does the traffic limitation policy and pedestrianization influence this neighborhood and residents' life?

The general situation and environment of the neighborhood becomes better or worse?

3. The relationship with Chinese traders

Do you have Chinese friends or acquaintances working here?

Do you know something about China and Chinese people? Their customs, lives and thoughts...

How do think the Chinese in this neighborhood, are they a representative of China?

How do the existing trading activities affect your daily life?

Have you ever had problems and quarrels with them? If there were, what had you done when it occurred?

What do you think the main existing conflicts are?

Do you think the conflicts will influence you a lot?

In which way you think could possibly decrease this gap?

Do you expect to get close to Chinese group and knowing their cultures?

Despite of questions all above, do you like living here? Why?

4. The future prospect

According to you, what is the most important necessity for the residents?

As it is a busy commercial and trading area, do you think some cultural elements are necessary in the neighborhood? Galleries, decorations, culture schools (like the ones in China) for both Chinese and locals.

How do you expect the near future of the neighborhood? The necessary further intervention (landscape, infrastructure, new buildings) in the urban space

The residents were selected among different ages, different occupations. Most of them are both live and work in the neighborhood and all of them stayed for long times. They have witnessed the changes from the very beginning.

1. Date: 11.12 Address: Via Giusti 9

Interviewee: Corrado Gender: M Age: 66

Nationality: Italian City: Trento

Occupation: Graphic and product Deign Residence: Via Giusti

I met the Corrado in front of an antique bookstore in Via Giusti. He invited me to his studio around the inner courtyard, near which also he lives for 25 year with his wife. The place he lives is clean, quiet and comfortable, where is near Parco Sempione and easily reaching city center.

The area where he lives is always quiet as it is inside the courtyard. There aren't Chinese neighbors living around him. The only problem he met outside is the wholesales

that produce pollution and some time noises. The name "Chinatown" is not correct, because it is an area just accumulating lots of Chinese without input of culture. From the locals' views, The Chinese people are mysterious, who lives in an underworld. They play casino when they are not working, stick together and speak loudly on the streets. There wasn't change so much during these years that the streets are still not quiet on Sunday. The ZTL policy has turned the neighborhood cleaner at a certain extent. The environment becomes better now.

Corrado knows some Chinese here, but doesn't have friendships with them. He never bought commodities inside Chinese stores as the quality is low. He had been visited China for several times and he likes the oriental culture. However, the Chinese here all came from small villages. "They are very diligent and patient. They earn money, work a lot, and do good businesses." But the culture never changed here. There were quarrels with traders before when the traders are loading and unloading. These are all because The Chinese don't respect the Italian regulations. For example, the regulation says they could only load and unload during 2.5 hours in the morning, but sometimes trucks and trolleys are still passing on the streets in the afternoon.

The area doesn't lack anything for residents and the neighborhood was good itself. One problem is the Chinese should open to the locals and respect the Italian rules here. Another, the city should be built without wholesales, but with only retails. Moreover, the Chinese should have stores of better quality, like the one selling Chinese cultural articles on the corner of via Bramante and via Paolo Sarpi. As Corrado knows, there will be a new museum about Italian design in this neighborhood which could help to activate the culture in this zone.

2. Date: 11.12 Address: Via Paolo Sarpi 50

Interviewee: Liliana Gender: F Age: 50

Nationality: Italian City: Sicily

Occupation: bar manager Residence: Via Paolo Sarpi

This is a part of the neighborhood has less Chinese stores. Liliana has been lived in via Paolo Sarpi for 29 years with her family. After she had finished the university, she

started working in bar with her parents then she opened her own bar.

At the beginning of Chinese bursting inside the neighborhood, Liliana heard lots of complains from the locals. After 2007 accident, the Italian government established regulations about avoiding the wholesale, soon three associations successively set up. The lawsuits with Chinese traders have been still going on from 2012. Liliana agrees the zone to be called "Chinatown". It is just to give the neighborhood a name, like zona Brera, zona Corso Como, Garibaldi. When someone mentions Chinatown, everyone knows it is here. People could read from newspaper that before 2003 there were only negative evaluations of this neighborhood. However, the neighborhood has always become better. The residents were more volunteering to renovate the neighborhood. As a result, the demands of real estate have been exceed the supplies. Via Paolo Sarpi was transformed to a pedestrian road, but the other streets intercrossing with via Paolo Sarpi have seldom changed. The better environment, the more Chinese want to spend money in the shops, which is beneficial for the shop owners.

Liliana knows some Chinese friends here. But the conversations only limit on the general topics. The Chinese works very long time, very energetic and exploited. They don't pay the taxes and have lots black works which suffer the local economies. Liliana remembered the places nearby were passed by only Italians before 2002. Between 2002 and about 2009, there arrived huge quantity of cars, trucks and Chinese people walking in front of the store. Her business suffered a lot with reductive guests. After 2009, the situation gradually returned back. But the sufferance is not mainly because of the existence of wholesales which actually don't exist nearby her resident and working place, but their behaviors of ignoring the taxes. For the wholesalers, they need to be more aware and respect to the regulations to become quieter and cleaner. As for her, via Paolo Sarpi is an area quietest for living.

The zone needs to be cleaner. The problem is the Chinese don't care about it. More interchange of the culture is necessary between the two groups. Liliana is happy to hear the idea of realize a Chinese symbolic arch at the entrance. The EXPO will bring more people in this neighborhood which would help it to improve. She believes the future would be better, accounting for the next generations.

3. Date: 11.12 Address: Via Paolo Sarpi 30

Interviewee: Gianni Gender: M Age: 78

Nationality: Italian City: Sardine

Occupation: shop owner Residence: Via Giordano Bruno

Cantine Isola is one of the places that make Via Paolo Sarpi vital in the evening, where sells various wines. Arrived in Milan 52 years ago, the owner Gianni has been managing the bar for 22 years. He moved to live in via Giordano Bruno ten years ago. As he remembered, there were only 4 Chinese stores nearby when he chose to work here that it is unexpectedly to become a Chinese gathering zone.

It is a neighborhood very special. Nowadays we could say it is an international area more than an ethnic zone. After the pedestrianization, it starts to attract people from many countries, not only in his wine store, but also come to live and work, or come for via Paolo Sarpi. The name "Chinatown" is proper that makes the area process a special characteristic. The area is composed by half Chinese now and it has gradually become better in recent years. The Chinese are more care about their behaviors. They started to salute to the local residents they meet but the communication is still difficult between each other.

Gianni treats the Chinese as same as people of other nationalities existing here. There were some conflicts between wholesalers and residents, but these are same existing also in other parts, nothing special but only the conflicts between residents and traders even if the traders are Italian. The problem is the Chinese don't respect their rules of sanitary. The Chinese should get to know Italian culture since they are in Italy, not only obey their own customs and stay in their own culture. Gianni enjoys living in this zone where he has good job, harmonious relationship with everyone, and the most important, to live with people from all over the world.

The younger generation here can have more cultural communication. The Chinese community needs to be open to outside and understand Italian regulations. If they do wholesales, they should do them in better qualities. What is lacked of is only car parking places. Meanwhile, the zone will be always better with the arrival of new metro line

five, which brings more people.

4. Date: 11.12/20 Address: Via Paolo Sarpi 42

Interviewee: Mariarosaria Gender: F Age: 50

Nationality: Italian City: Molise

Occupation: book editor Residence: Via Giordano Bruno

Saria works in an office in Via Paolo Sarpi and lives in this neighborhood for 17 years. She had studied lots of issues of China before, and she chose to live with Chinese when she moved to Milan.

It is a place for people to live. Everything is convenient to reach from her apartment, three minutes to Parco Sempione, three minutes to work. The neighborhood has changed a lot and it is continually changing. First the trolleys were strictly limited, and then all the taxis were forbidden to pass until 2010, further the area was finished pedestrianization, and renovations of new building in via Paolo Sarpi, some of which has been just finished and wait for open by luxury or good quality retails. The wholesale stores were even improved, at least using high and bright windows to display their commodities. Moreover, the church on via Giusti was refurbished 4 years ago with a playground for children in front, sponsored by both Chinese and Italian families. The unused industrial houses near Cimitore were demolished just two months ago. The traffic limitation was once affected even residents when the taxis were prohibited in this neighborhood but later it had been adjusted. Anyway, the area is becoming better and better.

The Chinese people work unimaginably hard. They are kind, always help their Italian neighbors. There are not so many noisy problems, as long as the Chinese won't shout and talking loudly at night. The existing of wholesales is not good for the environment, but it's not their faults. There wasn't a law says that the wholesales can't stay here, they just came out naturally that they couldn't know at beginning they would produce problems afterwards. Talking about the opposite side, one thing very severe is sanitary problem, and it has almost never changed. For instance, the Chinese traders throw the rubbish in the public bins. Their butcher stores here are stinky without cleaning stan-

-dard, comparing with Italian ones. The kitchens of some restaurants are dark, disorder and dirty. On the other side, the Chinese wholesalers don't have security consciousness. They put wholesale bags with all plastics stuffs inside their stores, which were forbidden in Italy. In term of these problems, the Chinese need to learn more from Italian community and improve themselves.

Saria refers to the Chinese here can compare to the Italians arrived in US around 1920, who were very poor and impossible to bring culture with them. Now they have their next generations who are difficult to get educated from their parents. So the cultural schools are necessary for them. For the locals, they would like to see more culture from China, such as circus. And it needs time to realize.

5. Date: 11.20 Address: Via Paolo Sarpi 26
Interviewee: Marco Gender: M Age: 30
Nationality: Italian City: Venice
Occupation: engineer Residence: Via Bramante

The young engineer moved in Canonica-Sarpi neighborhood in 2003, studied in the university first and then got a job in Milan. The neighborhood is close to city center, park, Moscova, and Corso Como, which is very convenient.

The neighborhood is special, as it is mixed with different types of shops by different ethnical groups. The name "Chinatown" is proper, that the Chinese people activated the economics and vitality at a certain extent. Although a series of problems had come out since they arrived, they were trying to act well and raise their levels. During these years, the level of Chinese commercial got improved, the locations of some stores have been readjusted, and fewer trolleys are passing on the streets. New good quality stores opened on the west part of via Paolo Sarpi. The ZTL policy made bit inconvenience even for the residents at the beginning, but it runs well after several adjustments. The environment becomes always better with less traffic.

Marco has some Chinese friends here and he likes Chinese food. He had been visited China before and surprised at what he had saw. It is somehow different from here,

including the people, the food which are almost from a small part of Zhejiang. The Chinese people here are very diligent, patient and friendly. Marco is a person open, who has no problem with people from other nationalities even with the wholesalers. The problem is not their job, but it is their daily behaviors: the uncleanness, the rubbishes they threw. Maybe some associations could be found to supervise their behaviors and give lessons about sanitary control. And they'd better not only consider the profit, business and work. Besides, the communities need more intercultural things.

The area doesn't lack anything for now, probably to provide cycling ways will be better for the residents. However this is a problem not only in this area but whole Milan. Pedestrian sometime can cause the death of mobile, and the parking is expensive in the area. For the young people, they always hope vitality in the evening, which is important for them. There are only 3 or 4 places active in the evening, and after 11pm, there are no places to stay. Speaking on the culture, the Italians would like to see more how the Chinese celebrate their traditional festivals but for now there are few.

4.4 Conclusion

The questions of interviews deal with three main parts: the view of Canonica-Sarpi Neighborhood, the relationship between the two groups and the future prospect. As a result, the conclusion could be described with three parts below.

Urban Transformation

1. The transformation of urban space is obviously since the Chinese traders started their activities. Changes of via Paolo Sarpi have brought new appearance of this neighborhood. However, comparing with via Paolo Sarpi, the other places such as via Giusti and via Bramante nearly haven't been transformed.

2. The urban renovation has been accelerated after pedestrianization. The renovations suddenly come out at both the beginning and end area of via Paolo Sarpi, with new good quality retails and different types of services.

3. The commercial formation is in transition. The situation is unhelpful for the wholesales. Several small wholesale stores were already closed. The other small and medium ones have to do more retail businesses. Some big stores will depend more on their warehouses or stores outside the neighborhood which could directly export products.

4. The environment gets improved but basically only surrounds via Paolo Sarpi.

Relationship

From the view of Chinese traders:

1. The conflicts exist somehow. One is the difficult communication because of the language and different customs. The other is the wholesale work, inevitably produce dusts and noises, disturbing the residents.
2. They try to avoid unnecessary communications with locals in order to avoid the conflicts. Some of them think the locals still have prejudice on Chinese.
3. Comparing with the beginning, they are more conscious of their behaviors, respecting Italian regulation and rules somehow.
4. They still prefer to stay in their own community.

From the view of local residents:

1. There are fewer conflicts in general. They gradually understood Chinese people, who are hardworking, friendly, and patient but always a close group.
2. The conflict with wholesale activities has mitigated, compared with several years ago.
3. The existing main conflict is the uncleanliness produced by Chinese traders. Although the streets became cleaner than before, but the Chinese still don't care enough about the hygiene problem.
4. Speaking out of the sanitary problem, most of them are in good relations with the Chinese people. They want the Chinese people be open to them, study and respect the Italian rules.

In general:

1. Uncleanliness on the streets and inside some Chinese stores is a noticeable and serious problem.
2. The Chinese wholesale traders are confronting with a big challenge. The elder local residents prefer staying quiet. They are satisfied with the current situation except noises made by wholesalers sometime. Young local people are more integrated and more adaptable with the changing environment. They prefer a lively environment and more communications between the two communities.
3. Residents agree that culture promotes communication, while Chinese traders think benefit promotes communication.
4. Languages, different habits and customs create misunderstanding and gaps.

Further urban intervention and necessity

From the view of Chinese traders:

1. The neighborhood needs to be more suitable for Chinese with Chinese symbolized elements. Urban spaces, parks and activity center for elders and children are necessary in this neighborhood.
2. It requires to have enough parking areas.
3. The pedestrian and open space could hold more activities.

From the view of local residents:

1. The area doesn't lack of any facilities, only needs to improve.
2. The quality of Chinese stores needs to be highly improved. The decorations, environments and layout of their stores are still low.
3. More parking areas could be helpful.
4. The neighborhood could be vital even in the evening.

5. An urban space of forced co-habitation

5.1 Tensions among the street

The chapter will focus on the analysis and diagnosis of the current spatial issues among Canonica-Sarpi Neighborhood, in order to find the series of problems requiring to be solved in the future.

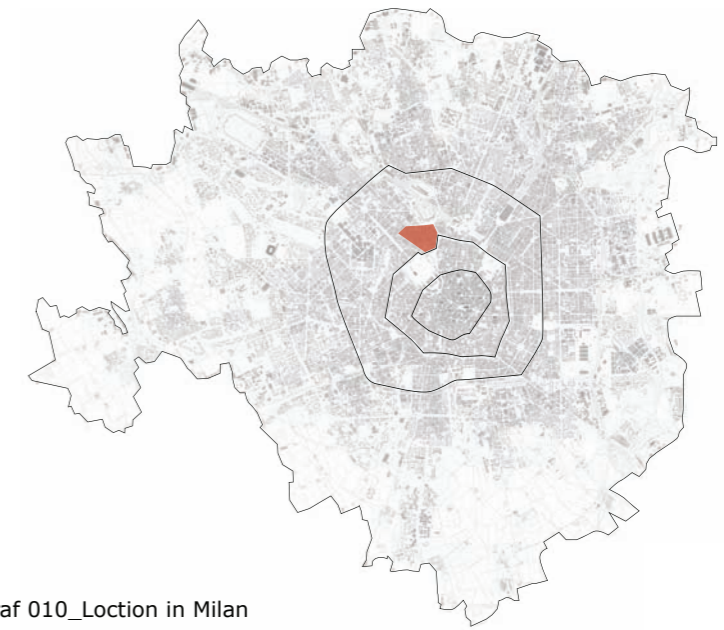
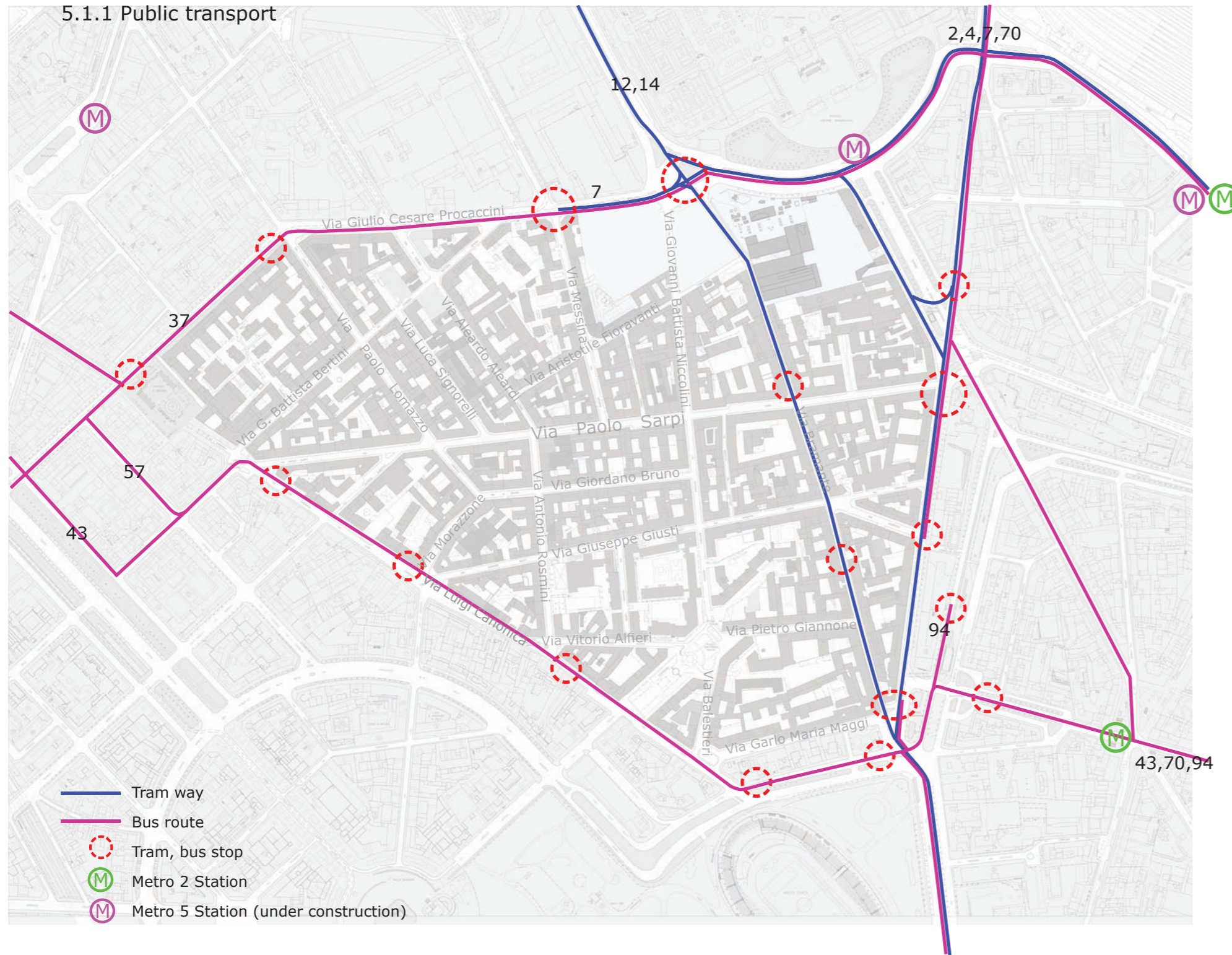


Img 025_View on via Luca Signorelli, 23/01/2014



Img 026_bicycles of wholesalers travelling on the tram way, via Bramante, 23/01/2014

5.1.1 Public transport



Graf 010_Loction in Milan

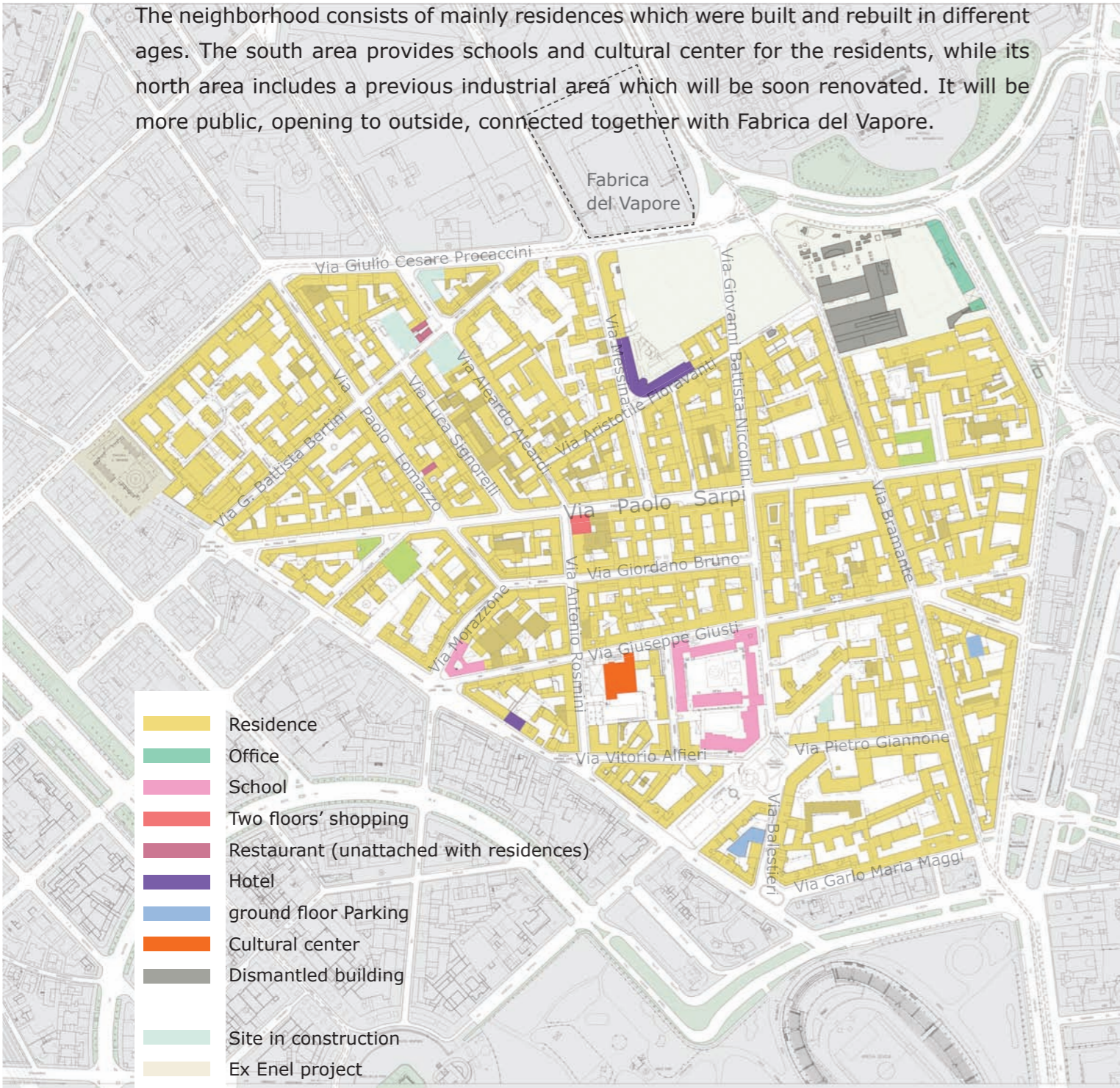
Canonica-Sarpi Neighborhood Located in the semi-center of Milan, with good connection to the city center. Currently, only one street inside the neighborhood is passed by urban transport. The route of bus 43 which was running on via Paolo Sarpi and via Giovanni Battista Niccolini before was changed during these years. Thereupon, all the other trams and buses run through around the neighborhood, defining an outline of the neighborhood and precipitating all the areas inside as a whole.

The information of urban transportation:

- Via Montello: Tram 2.4; bus 70
- Via Bramante: Tram 12,14
- Via Celesio: Tram 7
- Piazza Lega Lombarda: Bus 43,57
- Metro Line 2, Metro Line 5 (in the near future)

5.1.2 Land use

The neighborhood consists of mainly residences which were built and rebuilt in different ages. The south area provides schools and cultural center for the residents, while its north area includes a previous industrial area which will be soon renovated. It will be more public, opening to outside, connected together with Fabrica del Vapore.



Graf 011_Land use in general

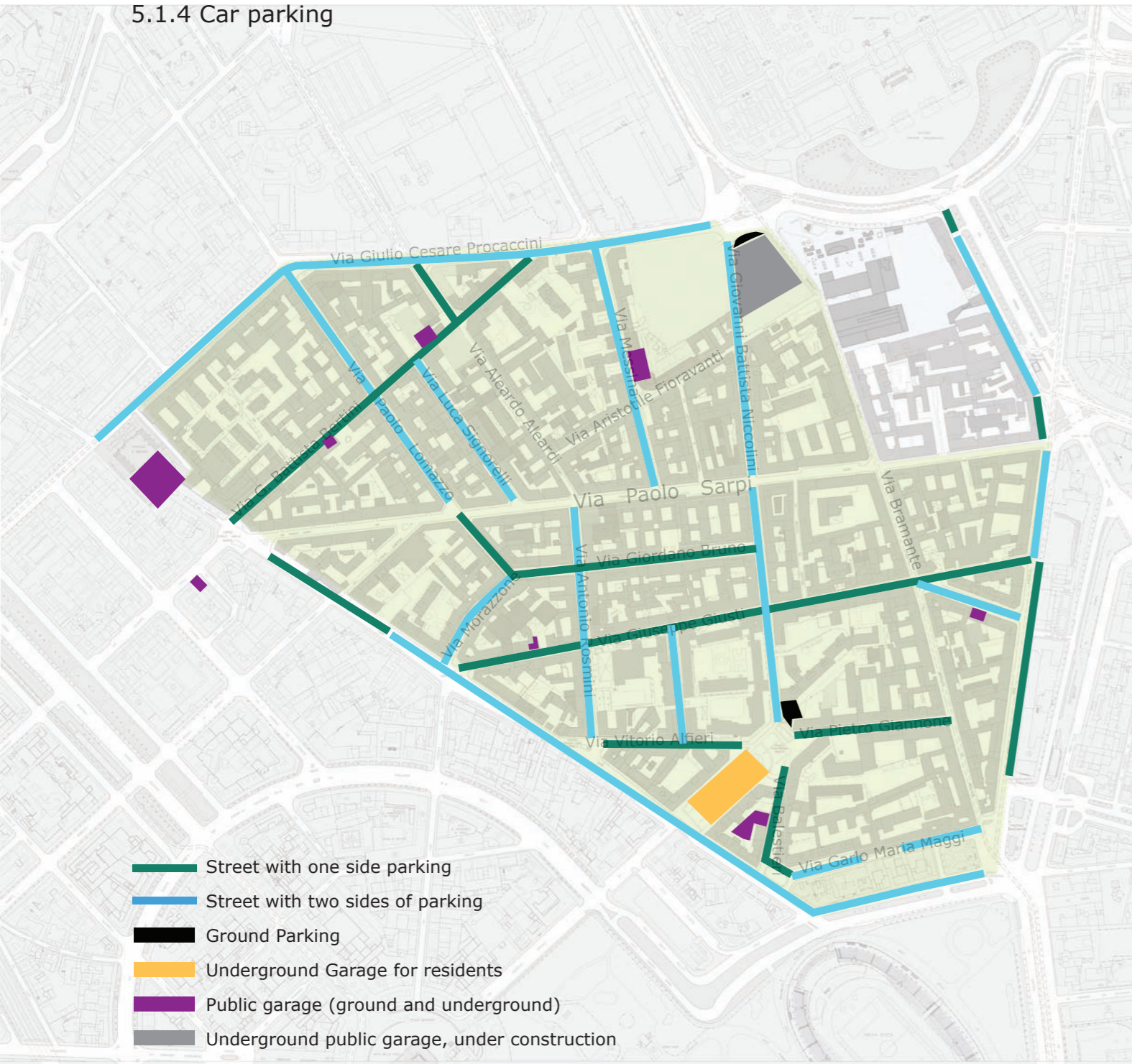
The commercial activities concentrated around via Paolo Sarpi, extending to the side ways. Looking together with land uses, the neighborhood is consisted with three parts: ex-Enel area, commercial area around via Paolo Sarpi and the south local area closed to Parco Sempione.



Graf 012_Residents with ground floor commercial activities:

Meanwhile, in the commercial area, the Chinese commercial activities occupy a large portion of middle and east area of the neighborhood. We could find out a sequence from the commercial distribution map from east to west, which is Chinese wholesale, Chinese retail and service, Italian retail and service.

5.1.4 Car parking



Graf 15_Classification of car parking

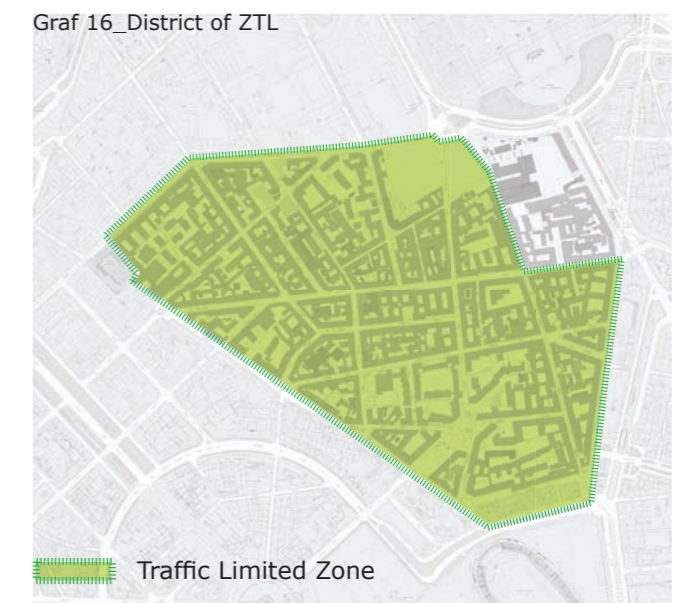
Since 16th November, 2012, The new ZTL regulation was approved by the Council. The Traffic limited zone includes: via Venafro, via Bertini, via Aleardi, via Lomazzo, via Fioravanti, via Messina (includes Fioravanti-Procaccini), via Niccolini, via Bramante, via Morazzone, via Giordano Bruno, via Giusti, via Braccio da Montone, via Giorgione, via Guercino, via Verga, via Rosmini, via Alfieri, via Giannone, piazza Santissima Trinità and via Balestrieri. The time for loading and unloading goods is from 10:00am to 12:30pm per day.

The traffic was fairly crowded, as the parking places are already almost occupied by private cars that there were few places for vans and trucks. After the implement of ZTL regulation, the neighborhood was generally allowed only entering private cars except the specific time. Trucks and vans are strictly limited. But it is still a problem of loading and unloading goods caused by wholesalers. For one thing, inside the neighborhood doesn't have enough spaces for parking. For another thing, if they park outside, they need to take longer time for transporting goods with trolleys, which could probably cause both visual and aural contamination.

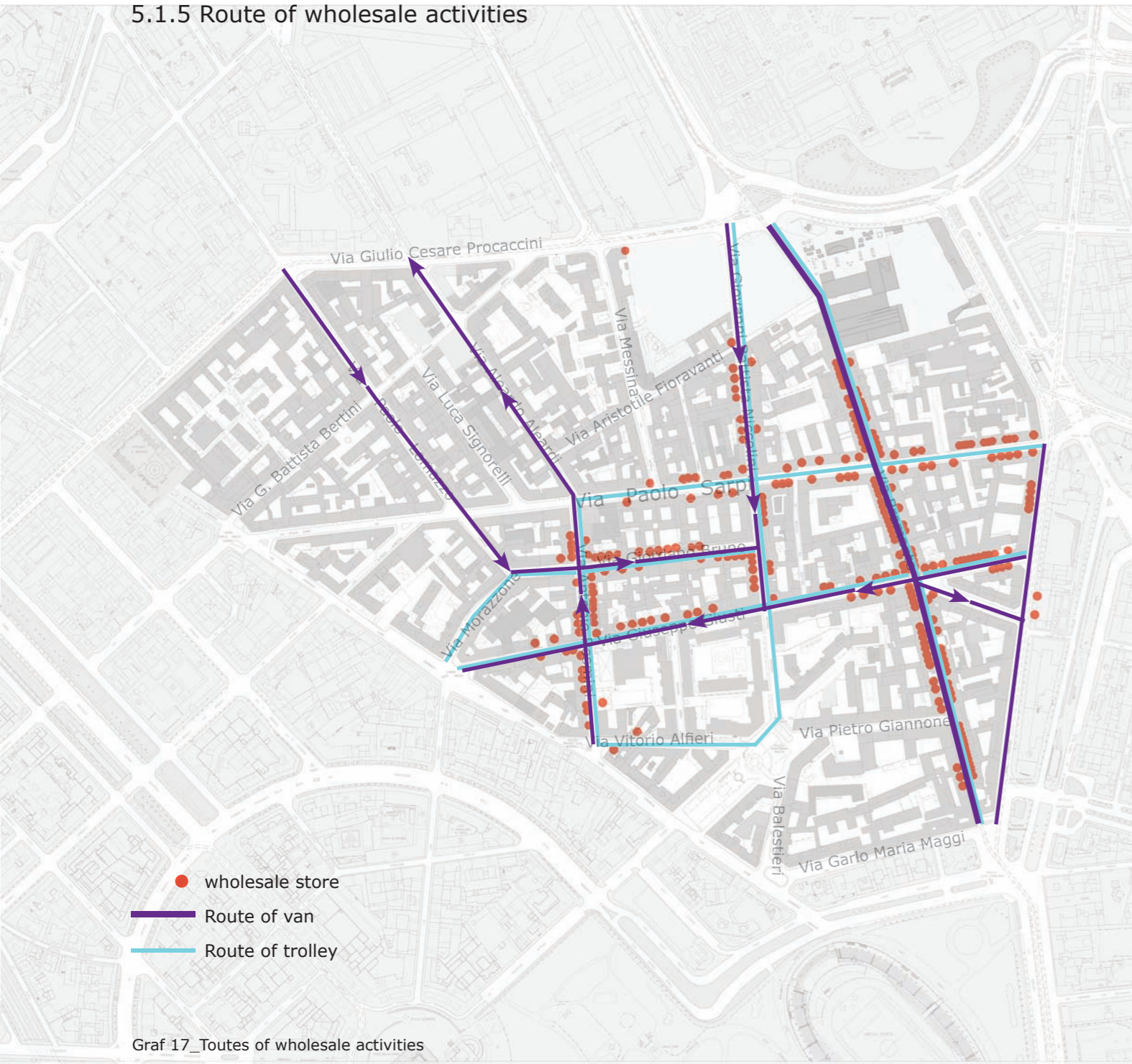
The neighborhood is committed to attract more people in the future so that it needs to have enough parking spaces. The Ex Enel project will provide 243 parking spaces for public, by which would possibly establish a new platform communicating with outside on the north part of the neighborhood.

Existing Parking:

- Garage via Guercino,5
- c/o Hotel Hermitage via Messina, 10
- Autorimessa via Messina,13
- Avis via bertini,21
- Distributore via Prina, 1
- Sotterrea Piazza Gramsci
- Garage via Giusti, 38
- Garage via Bertini, 10



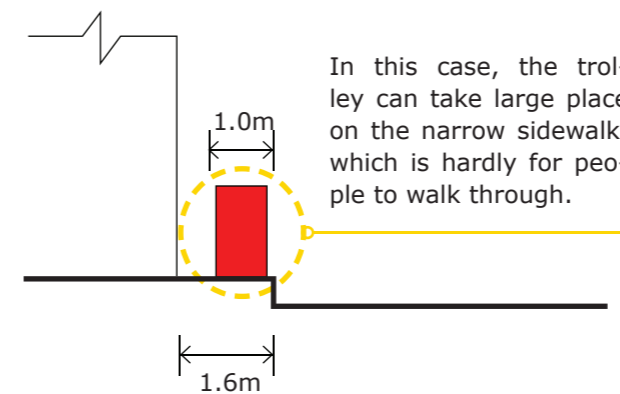
5.1.5 Route of wholesale activities



As all the streets (except via Bramante) inside Canonica-Sarpi Neighborhood are one-way accesses, the parking spaces along the streets are almost used by residents. There is obviously no more free spaces for vans. It was difficult for vans to run in, so wholesalers use trolleys as well. What they do is to park their vans outside, and choose a closest access to their stores.

Street such as via Bruno, at the very center of the neighborhood, was hardly accessed by cars, which could only enter from via Lomazzo. So even the north-west part doesn't exist wholesale stores, it could still be affected by their activities.

Block on the street



Img 027_on the corner of via Bramante and via Paolo Sarpi, 07/03/2014

Graf 18_Section showing the block on the street

Although the traffic was limited in this neighborhood, but the problem is who will control? Some wholesalers still don't respect the regulation. The streets with wholesales are still be accessed with vans and trolleys out of the regulated two and half hours.

On the other side, the traders started to use bicycles and even their private cars for transportation.



Img 028_Around 16:00pm, via Nicollini, 16/10/2013



Img 029_Bicycles parked on both sides of via Bramante, 16/10/2013

5.1.6 Contamination on the street

The problem of acoustic contamination was controlled at a certain extent after ZTL. However, the hygiene problems can still be found everywhere on the streets.



Img 030_Dirts on the streets, via Giusti, 16/10/2013



Img 031_With very narrow vehicle's way, the circulation and stopping of vans would cause traffic or even hygiene problems, via Rosmini, 16/10/2013



Public rubbish bins are always full of rubbish bags by unproper rubbish abandonment, which are frequently done by wholesalers.

Img 032_public rubbish bin via Bruno, 23/01/2014



Discarded cards and boxed were put outside of the wholesale stores.

Img 033_Discarded boxed on the sidewalk, via Rosmini, 16/10/2013



Img 034_Greengrocery in poor sanitary condition, via Aleardi, 14/01/2014



Img 035_Cigarette ends sometime found on the ground, via niccolini, 07/03/2014

5.2 Open space



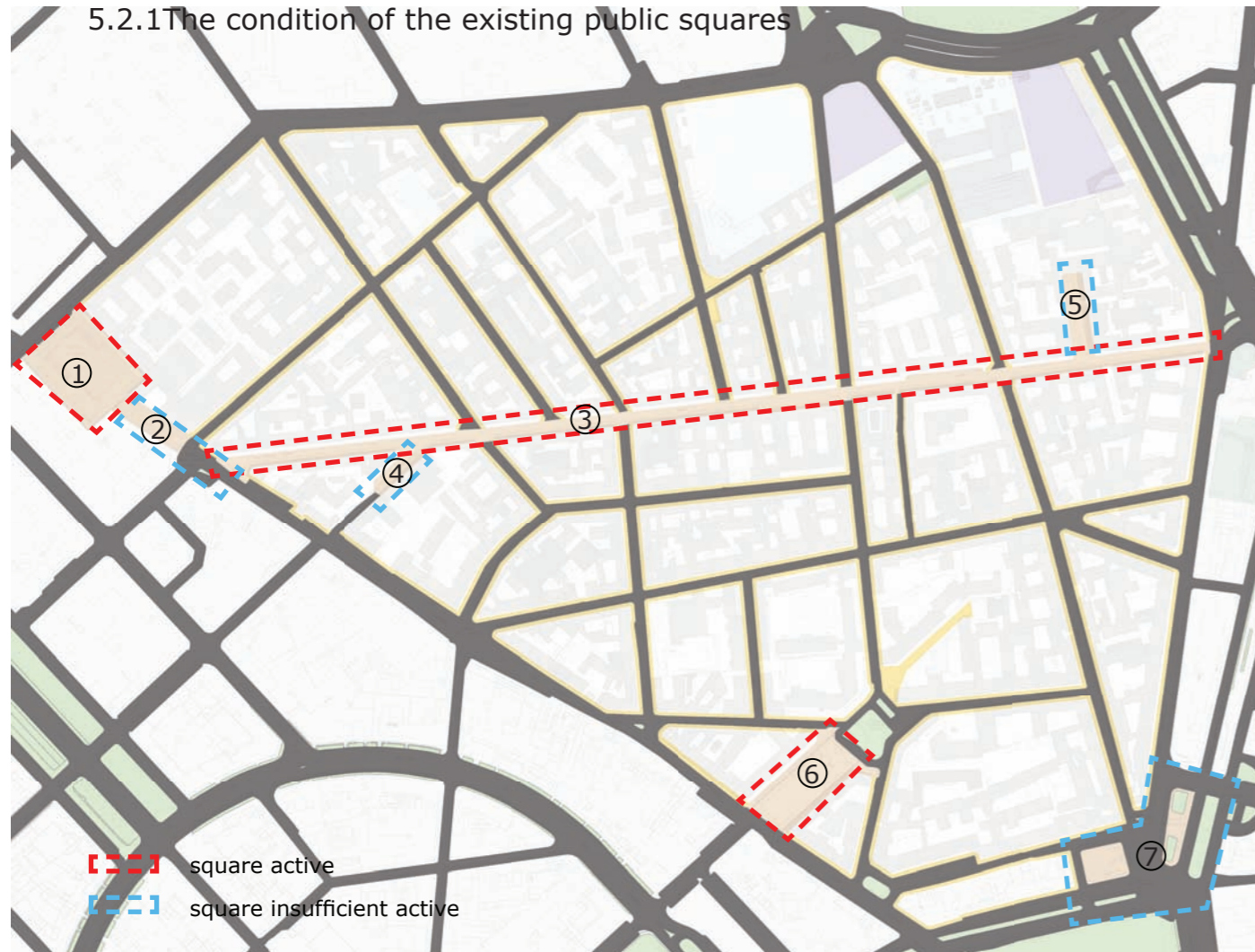
Graf 19_Classification of open spaces



Graf 20_Morphology of open space

Generally speaking, the neighborhood lacks open spaces. The main pedestrian street - via Paolo Sarpi is the only public spaces with green planting, street furnitures inside the neighborhood. All the other streets have only narrow side walks. Besides, there are several squares surroundedw the neighborhood. Some of them are sometime used for public activities and in well conditions, and some are not insufficient used.

5.2.1 The condition of the existing public squares



Graf 21_Active and insufficient active open space

① Piazza A. Gramsci

With a sunken plaza surrounded by leisure space with benches, square lights and trees, the square is used for holding activities in different period during one year. Besides, it located close to the west end of via Paolo Sarpi, with which often used together for holding some large activities.



Img 036_Celebration of Chinese lunar new year of house, started from Piazza A. Gramsci, 02/02/2014

② via L.Canonica and Largo Carlo Emlio Gadda

This part serves for traffic distribution and the entrance to underground parking. It is a weak connection between Piazza A. Gramsci and via Paolo Sarpi. The pedestrian part needs to get improve.



③ via Paolo Sarpi



Img 038_An outdoor stage can only be seen by limited audiences

After the pedestrianization, via Paolo Sarpi became a leisure, walking and meeting place, where also adaptable for holding events and activities. But the problem is the street is not wide enough to hold so many people. For example, it is difficult to set an outdoor stage on such a narrow space.



Img 039_Celebration of Chinese lunar new year of horse, parade on via Paolo Sarpi, source: www.ozhrb.com



Img 040_Ottobre Doc festival source: vivimilano.corriere.it

④ ⑤ The two linear spaces are appeared recently. It is a phenomenon that the pedestrian space will be extended from the main street to some of its intersectional streets.



25/01/2014



23/01/2014

⑥ Piazza Santissima Trinita

The area is outside of commercial zone and it is a quiet area. The center of the square is used as play ground for children, surrounding by green, pedestrian and some local service shops.



25/01/2014



25/01/2014

⑦ Piazza Lega Lombardia



25/01/2014

The square located at a key position, but it is in a poor condition and few people use it.

Others

There are few open spaces around the center of the neighborhood because of the narrow streets, high density residences, crowded traffic and intense parking spaces.



Img 046_via Braccio da Montone, 16/10/2013



Img 047_view on via Messina, 25/01/2014

6. Towards gentrification, the future prospects of the neighborhood

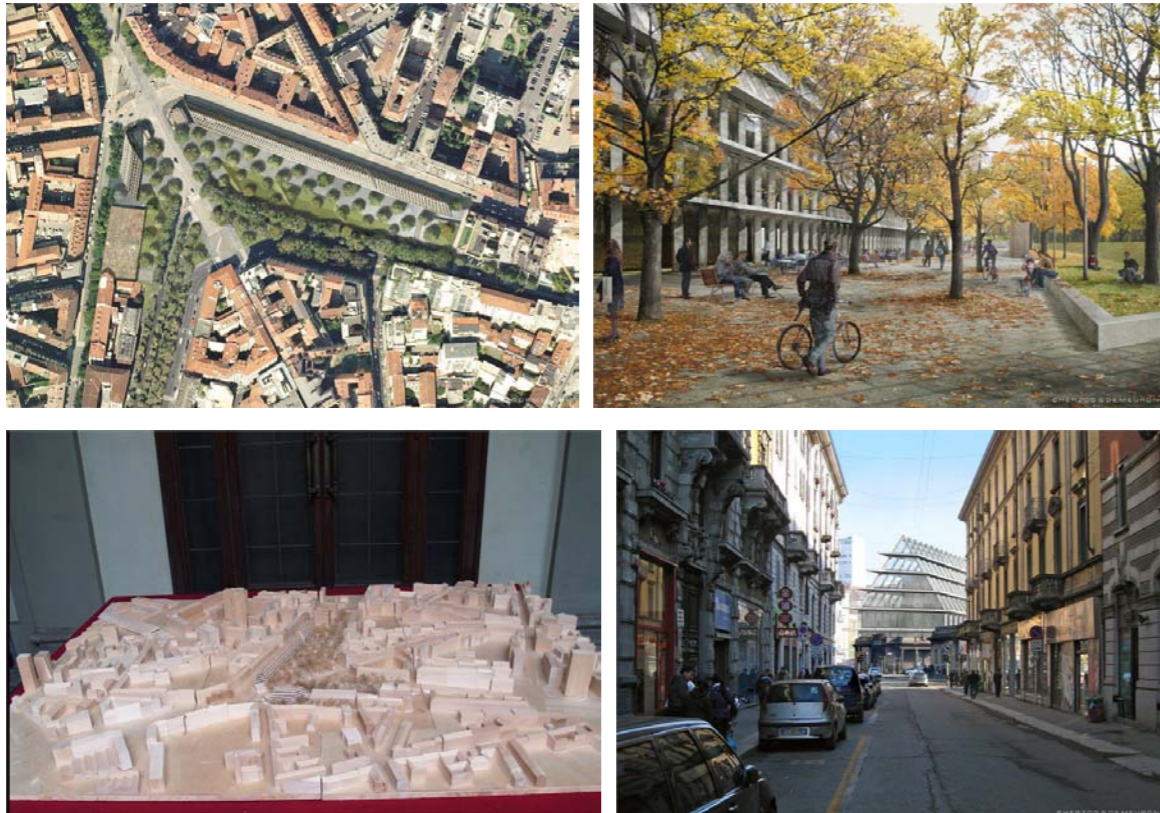
6.1 Summary of current situation

According to all the above researches and analysis, this chapter is going to deal with how to take use of the useful resources and how to improve or even eliminate the conflicts and problems in Canonica-Sarpi Neighborhood. The summary is composed of two parts - the superiority and deficiency of the neighborhood.

Superiority

From the territorial aspect:

- The neighborhood located between the Cimitero Monument and Sempione Park on its north and south. Isola-Garibaldi is close to its east and Corso Sempione approaches to its west, all of which are attractive and vital zones. The development and flourishing of these neighbor areas could accelerate the transformation of Canonica-Sarpi Neighborhood.
- The Ex Enel project, with its two open squares and cultural facilities like museum, creative industry, could become a unique area which will on one hand attract people from outside the neighborhood together with Fabbrica del Vapore and Cimitero Monument, and on the other hand connect with the core of Canonica-Sarpi neighborhood (district around via Paolo Sarpi).
- The Porta Volta project on the east entrance of via Paolo Sarpi, between via Pasubio and via Crispi, via Montello and Bastioni di Porta Volta by Herzog& de Meuron architect, will be realized with an area with the new settlement of Giangiacomo Feltrinelli Foundation (cultural and scientific facilities including library, archives, book store), along with two office buildings with shops on the ground floor, large green spaces, cycling ways and pedestrians. The revivification of Porta Volta will bring a new aspect to Piazza Baiamonti, viale Montello and the entrance of "Chinatown". The strong cultural atmosphere of this new project could be an incentive of the cultural upgrading of Canonica-Sarpi Neighborhood, especially on the aspect of the collision and interpenetration of different cultures. Moreover, the new large green space provides more opportunities for public cultural activities, and leisure place possibly used by the nearby residents.



Img 048_Polta Nuova project, Source: www.portavoltahome.it

- Together with the surrounding area, the Canonica-Sarpi Neighborhood is in transformation, although it has been lentamente. The main street- via Paolo Sarpi started to catch people's eyes, with its improved environment - pedestrianization, green planning, street furniture ect, building refurbishments and the adjustment of commercial activities. Secondly, the implement of ZTL constrained the wholesale activities. The distribution of wholesale stores has been changed in recent year although the total number has been still undulated. At the same time, more Chinese retails and services have been opening, such as law offices and advertise companies.

From the social aspect

- The phenomenon of coexistence and cohabitation gives the neighborhood a significant character, differing to other neighborhood. Unlike the other Chinatowns which usually represent to be enclaves, the Canonica-Sarpi Neighborhood could meanwhile keep its existing unique characteristic, connecting, communicating and transforming with its neighbor districts at the same time.
- Coexisting of ethnical economic and national economic could promote the competition which will accelerate the development speed.

Deficiency

Existing conflicts:

- Hygiene problem has always been a problem in Chinatowns. Since the coexisting of both Chinese traders and local residents in Canonica-Sarpi Neighborhood, hygiene is a serious problem which has long been complained by the local residents that it is always the Chinese traders don't respect the rules.
- Wholesale activities indeed caused lots of problems in the past, such as traffic, noises, and contaminations. They were controlled somehow during these years, but the problems and conflicts can't be eliminated as long as they are largely distributing in this neighborhood, for their requirements of large transportation per day and different display in stores. The Chinese wholesalers realized they are confronting with a big challenge and stress, no matter from the current crisis or the restriction from the authorities, because it is true that most of the wholesale businesses are decreasing annually. However, although all the results of the researches indicate that the wholesales will be moved out, it is not easy for all the wholesalers to leave the neighborhood in a short period, but this process will be gradually underway.
- Because people from these two communities grew up in different background, they process different customs, culture and view of life. The Chinese immigrates in this neighborhood value the group unity, in order to maximize their benefits of their business, which built a wall between them and the local community. While the residents accepted the coexistence of Chinese immigrates, because the Chinese are polite and patient with them. But they hope the Chinese community could be open, not only respect the regulation but also display more things from their own.

Spatial issues:

- The neighborhood can't hold lots of traffic for the narrowness of roads, full of car parking along the streets. It is indeed a problem for vans to enter inside the neighborhood that sometime they cause blocks on the streets.
- The neighborhood is composed with high density houses and streets with narrow side walks. It has few open spaces. There are only three places used for some public activities. Only Via Paolo Sarpi and Piazzale A. Cramso are used for holding a few events every year.
- It lacks public greens. There are only green planting on via Paolo Sarpi and some square. But few can be seen among all the other streets.

6.2 Towards the future - Phase 1 (in 10 years time)

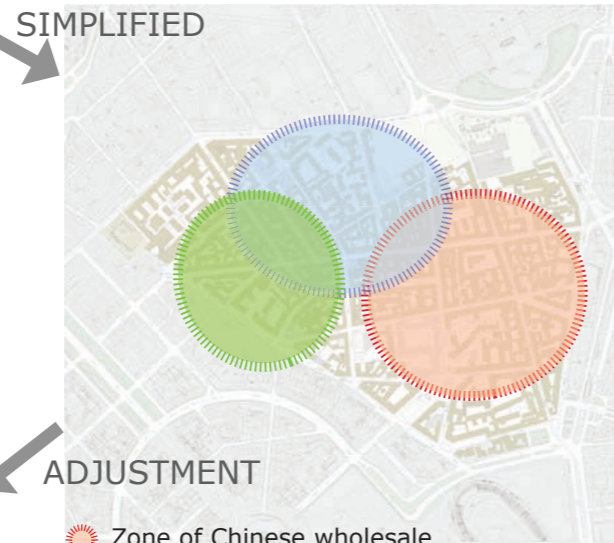
The adjustment of wholesale stores

Graf 022_Existing commercial distribution



Canonica-Sarpi Neighborhood is transforming and this trend will be gradually intensified. But as it is said before, the wholesale activities are difficult to be moved out in a short period. Therefore, the first step is to consider how to improve the existing tensions and conflicts.

Graf 023_Simplified commercial distribution

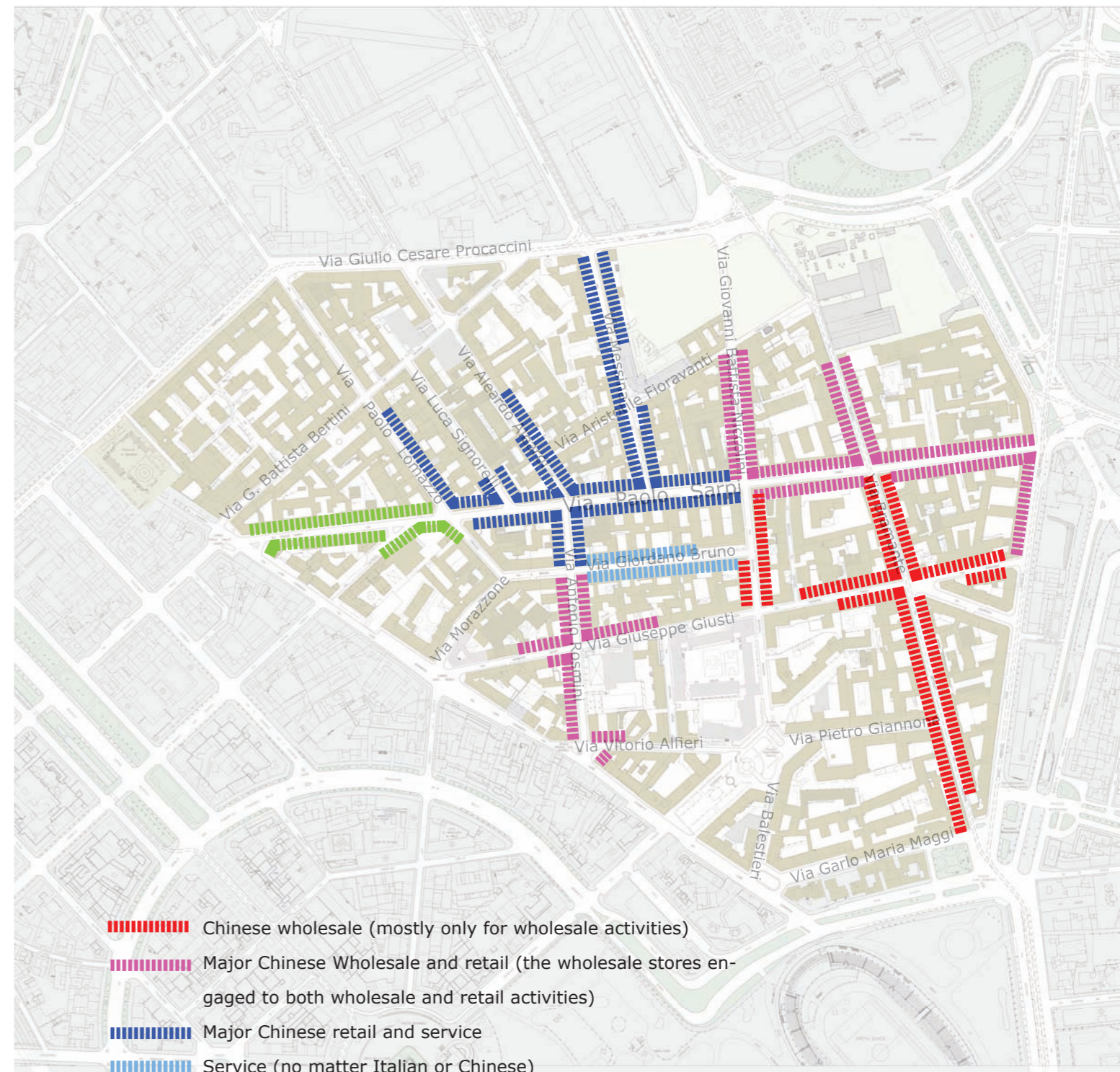


Graf 024_Division of commercial distribution inside Canonica-Sarpi Neighborhood



ADJUSTMENT

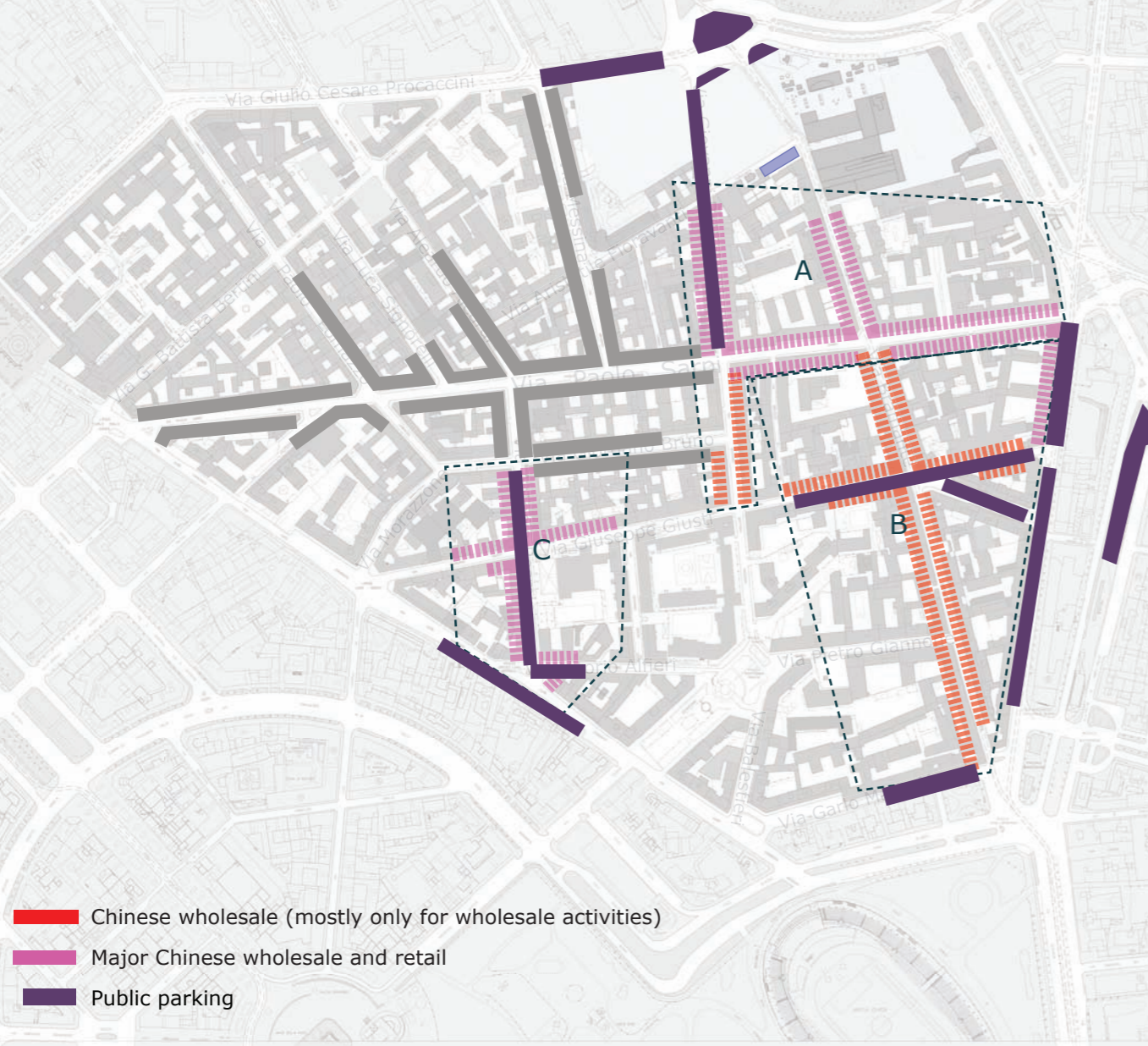
The adjustment will focus inside the neighborhood, around the Sarpi commercial area. Wholesale stores can be relocated and number controlled. The principle is to make the wholesale stores more concentrated in order to better control them.



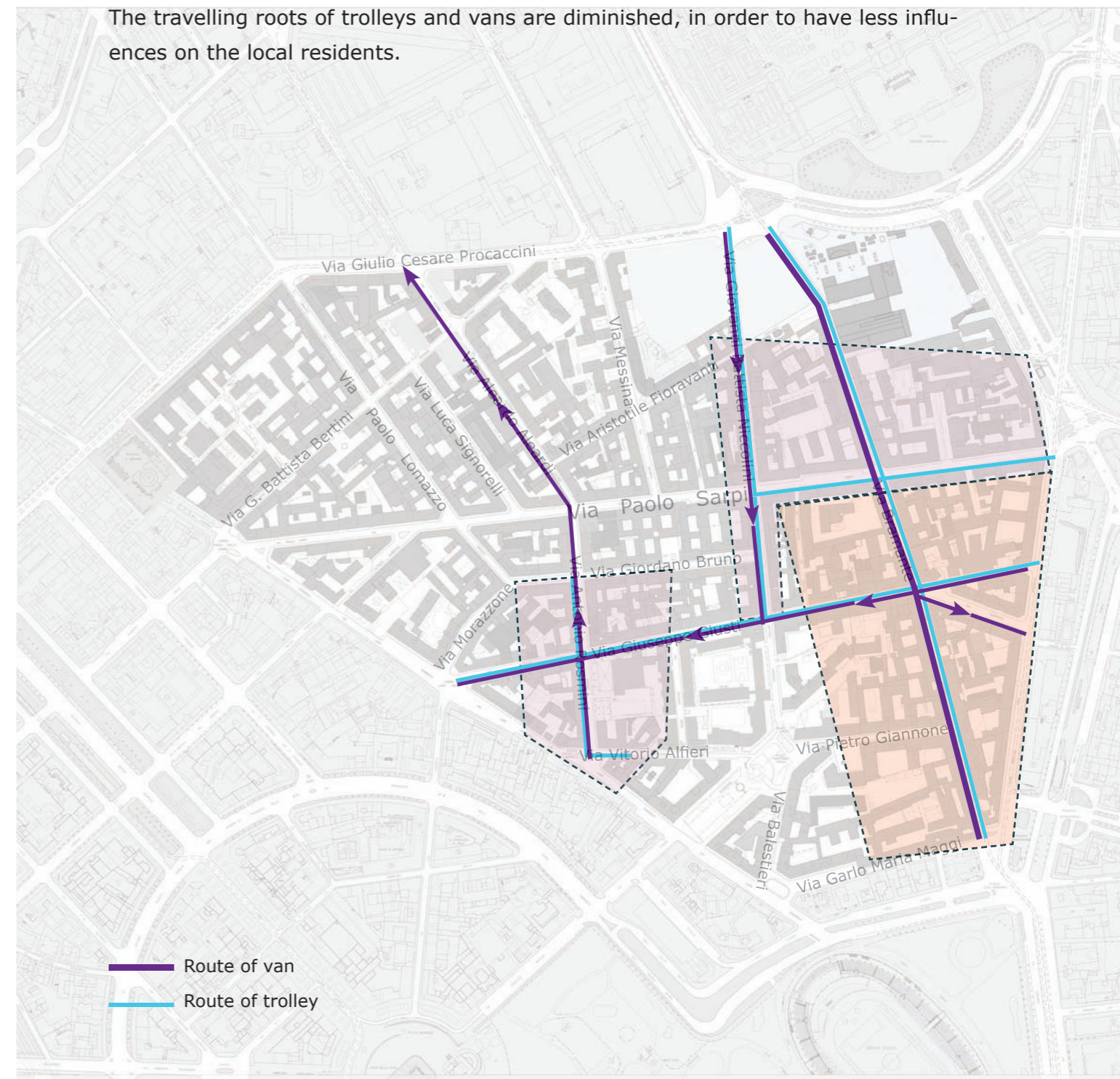
Graf 025_New main commercial distribution

Routes of adjusted wholesale activities

The wholesale stores could be controlled by three zones, in order that the traders could find the nearest parking place outside the traffic limit zone.



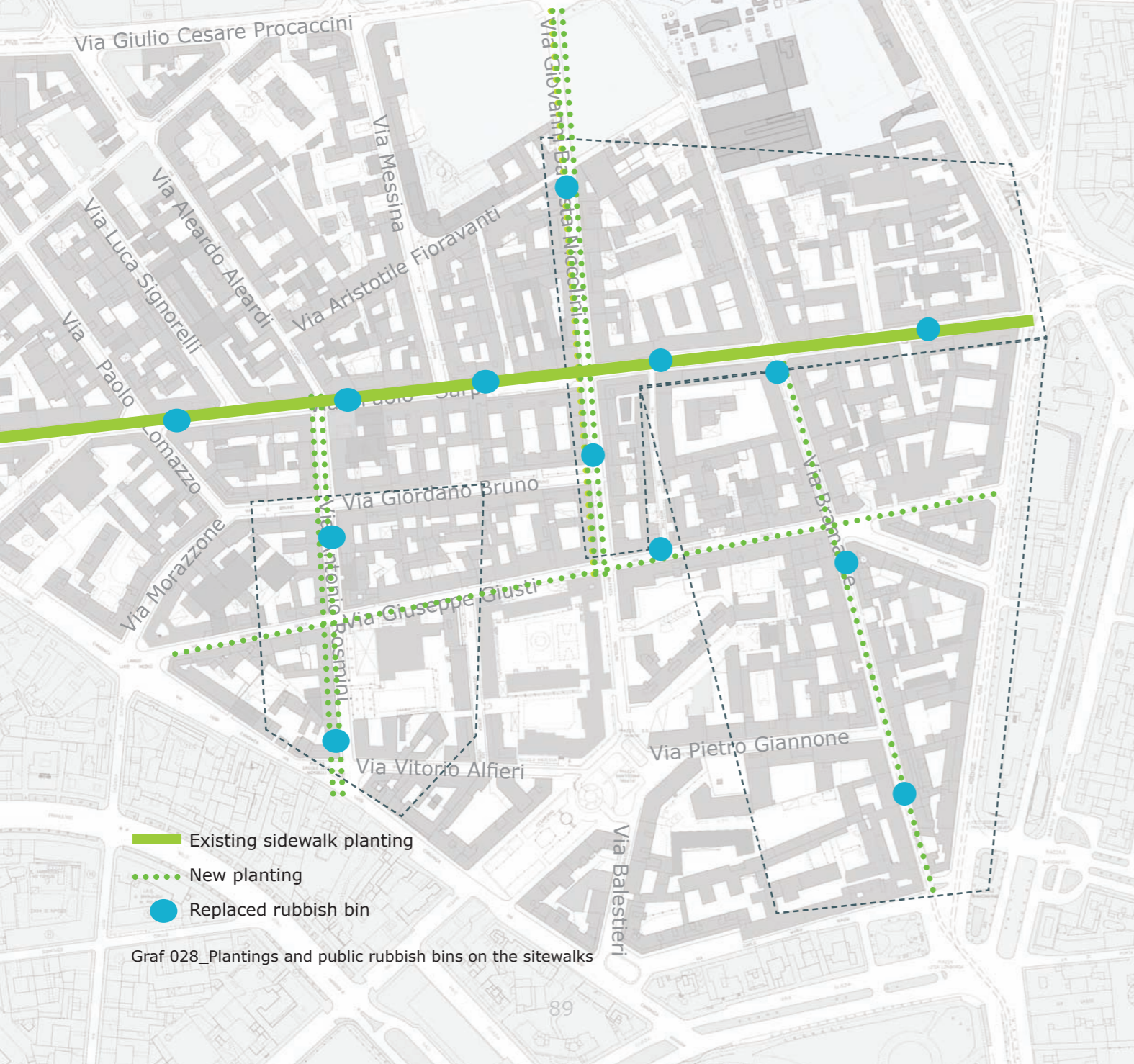
The travelling roots of trolleys and vans are diminished, in order to have less influences on the local residents.



Graf 027_Route of adjusted wholesale activities

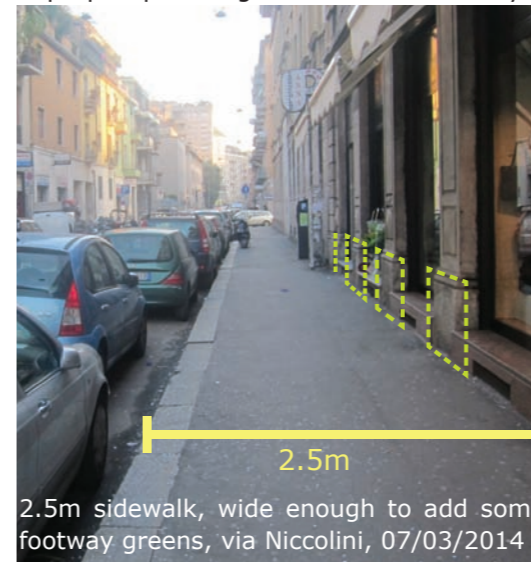
Side walk

The problem dealing in the first phase includes controlling the hygiene problems, keeping sidewalks as clear as possible, which is focus on the area of wholesale. One thing is to plant sidewalk green which now only exist on via Paolo Sarpi, another solution is to replace the existing public rubbish bins principally to avoid randomly throwing big rubbish bags.



replacing by sidewalk planting to avoid the unproper placed goods on the footways,

Reference pictures of sidewalk planting



2.5m sidewalk, wide enough to add some footway greens, via Niccolini, 07/03/2014



Public rubbish bin: Using the new rubbish bins with smaller openings



6.3 Towards the future - Phase 2 (after 10 years and further)

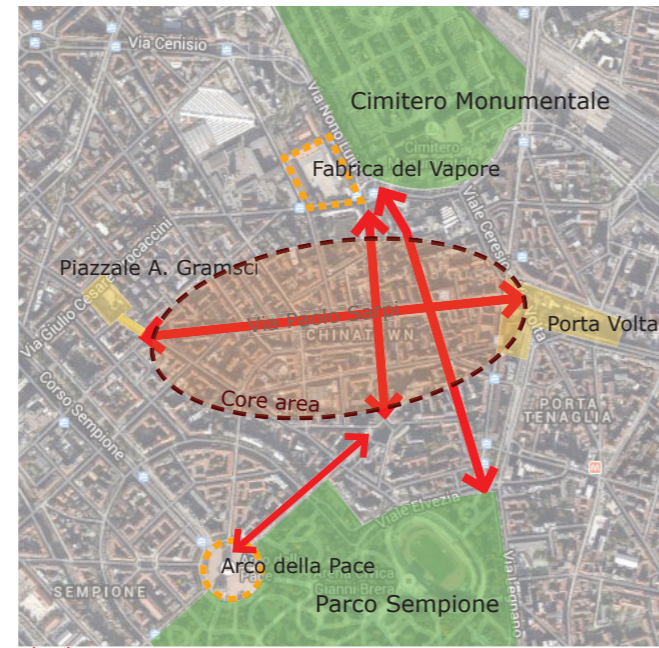
Orientation of future Canonica-Sarpi Neighborhood:

The wholesale stores will be gradually moved out from the neighborhood, where will no longer be a goods purchasing place. With its great superiorities, through adjustment and improvement, in general, Canonica-Sarpi Neighborhood will be an environmental, vivid, and more livable place in Milan, at the same time characterized with its unique feature.

- Tourism place

The neighborhood is among many well-known tourism places in Milan. As a transitional area between Parco Sempione and Cimitero Monumentale, with the renovation of Porta Volta, the neighborhood has a great opportunity to attract more tourists travelling in Milan.

It is necessary to create several connections between these landmarks and tourism places in the future.



↔ Main axis
Graf 029_Canonica-Sarpi and its surroundings

- A unique shopping zone

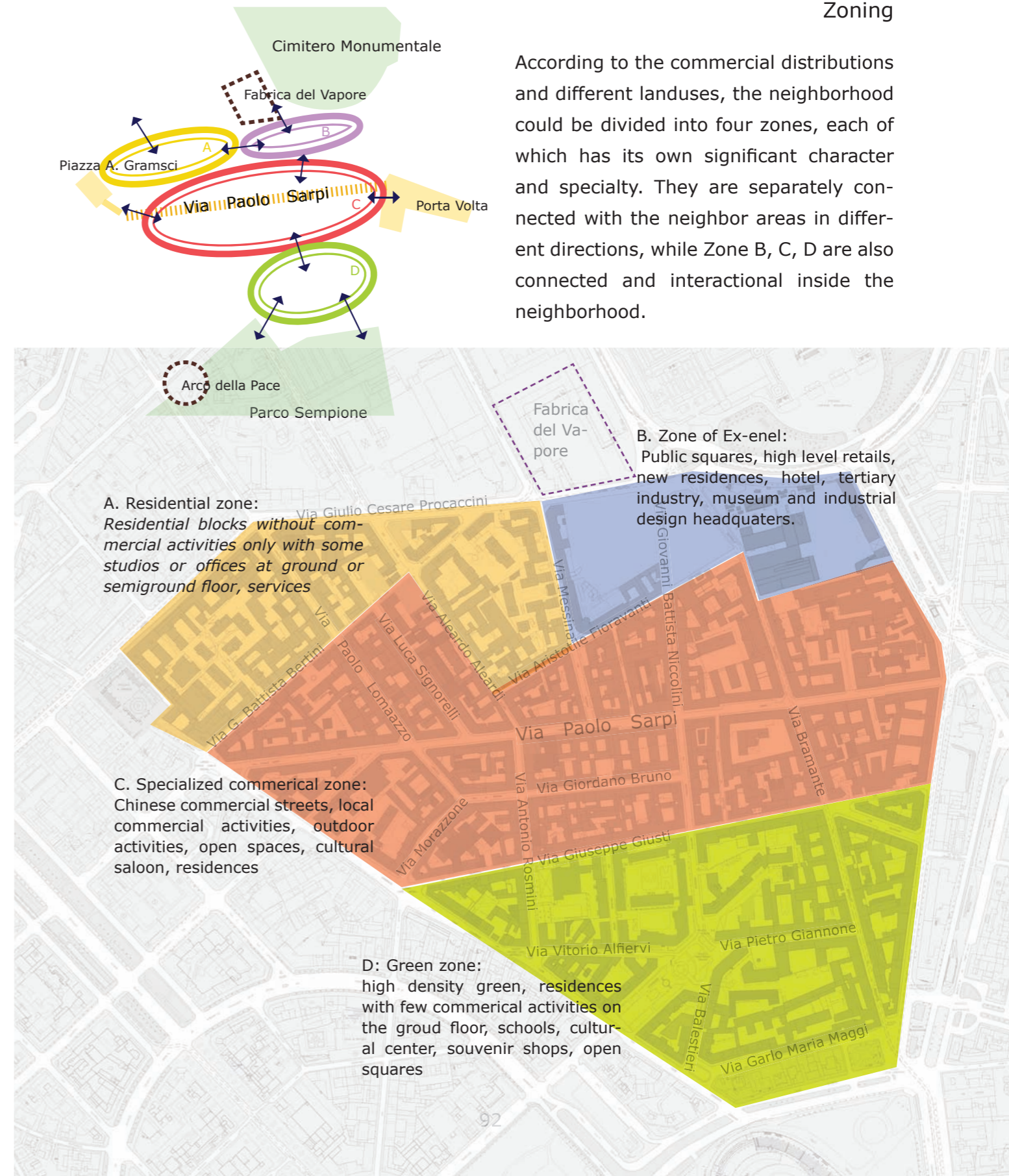
Tracing of the transformations around via Paolo Sarpi, we can assume via Paolo Sarpi and its intersecting roads have a great potency to become another well-known shopping zone of Milan. This zone would be characterized by ethnic commercial activities with Chinese imports-exports, food, artcrafts and all types of services, ect, which mixed with local commercial activities together.

- Mix of culture

An complete open space system and increasing public spaces could give more chances for cultural activities and various exhibitions. With the cooperations between local community and some Chinese associations focusing on cultural communications such as Associazione Diamoci la Mano and ASSOCINA which is orgnised by the second generation of Chinese immigrants, the Canonica-Sarpi neighborhood will become a center for intercultural communications.

Zoning

According to the commercial distributions and different landuses, the neighborhood could be divided into four zones, each of which has its own significant character and specialty. They are separately connected with the neighbor areas in different directions, while Zone B, C, D are also connected and interactional inside the neighborhood.



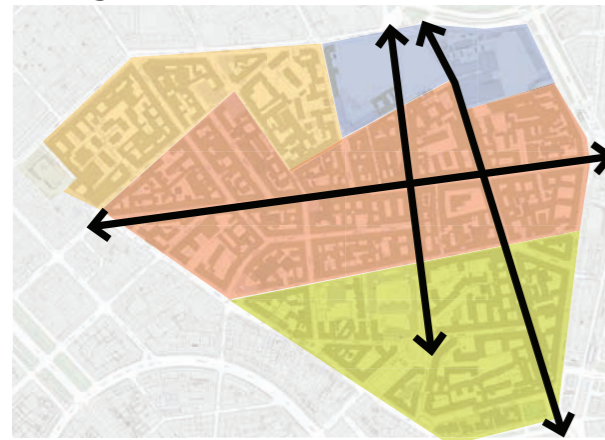
Distribution of commercial activities on the ground floor

Existing

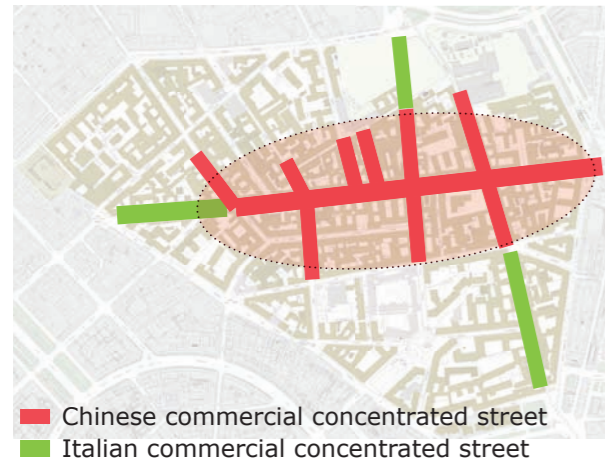


Because the wholesale activity was taken up almost 50% of the whole Chinese commercial activities, when they are moved out, the total number of Chinese commercial activities will be decreased somehow. After the adjustment, they can be more concentrated and with more various type. Meanwhile, some culture facilities will be supplemented inside the neighborhood.

Zoning and axis

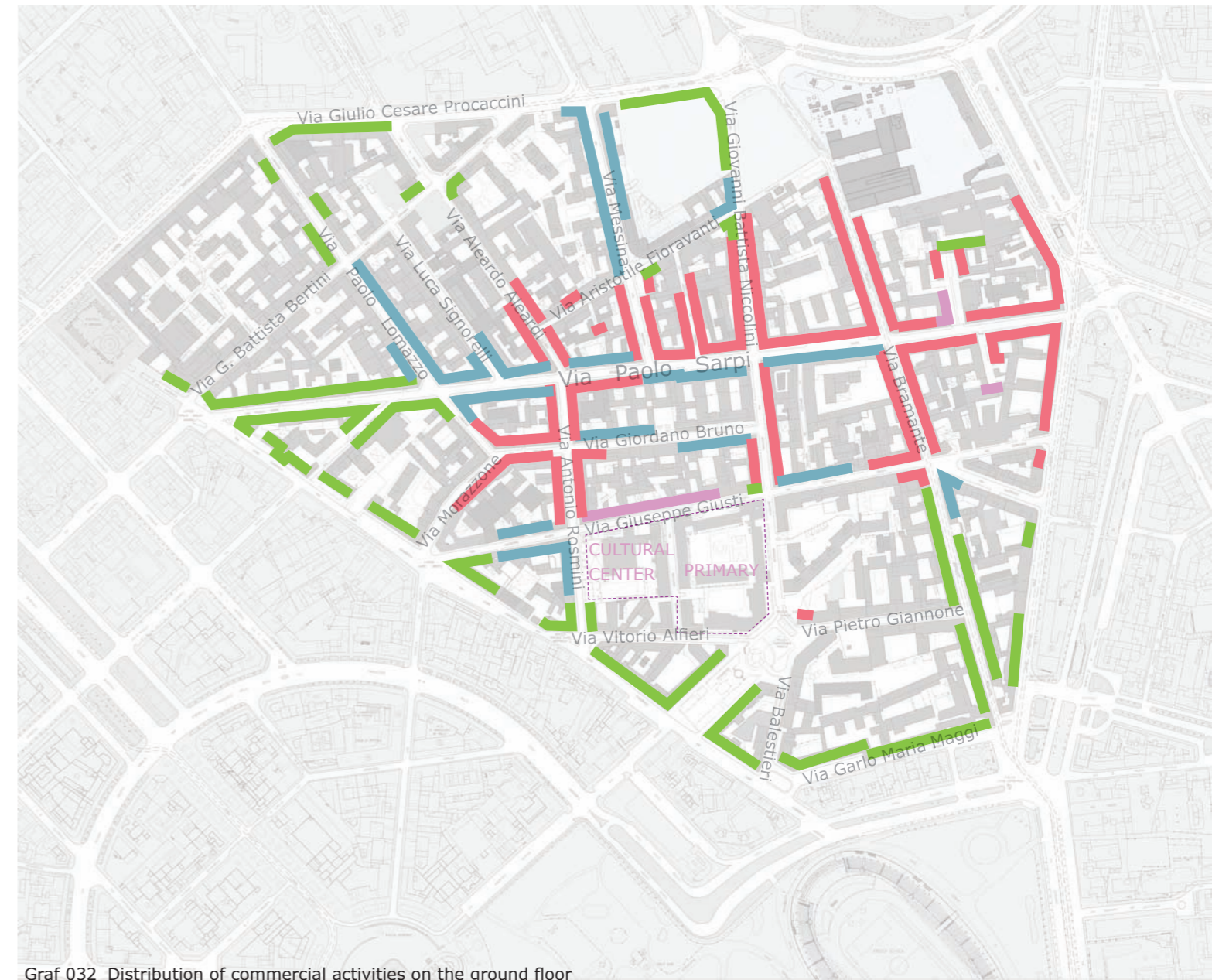


Scenario



Emphysize the center- area arround via Paolo Sarpi

Graf 031_Adjustment of commercial activities

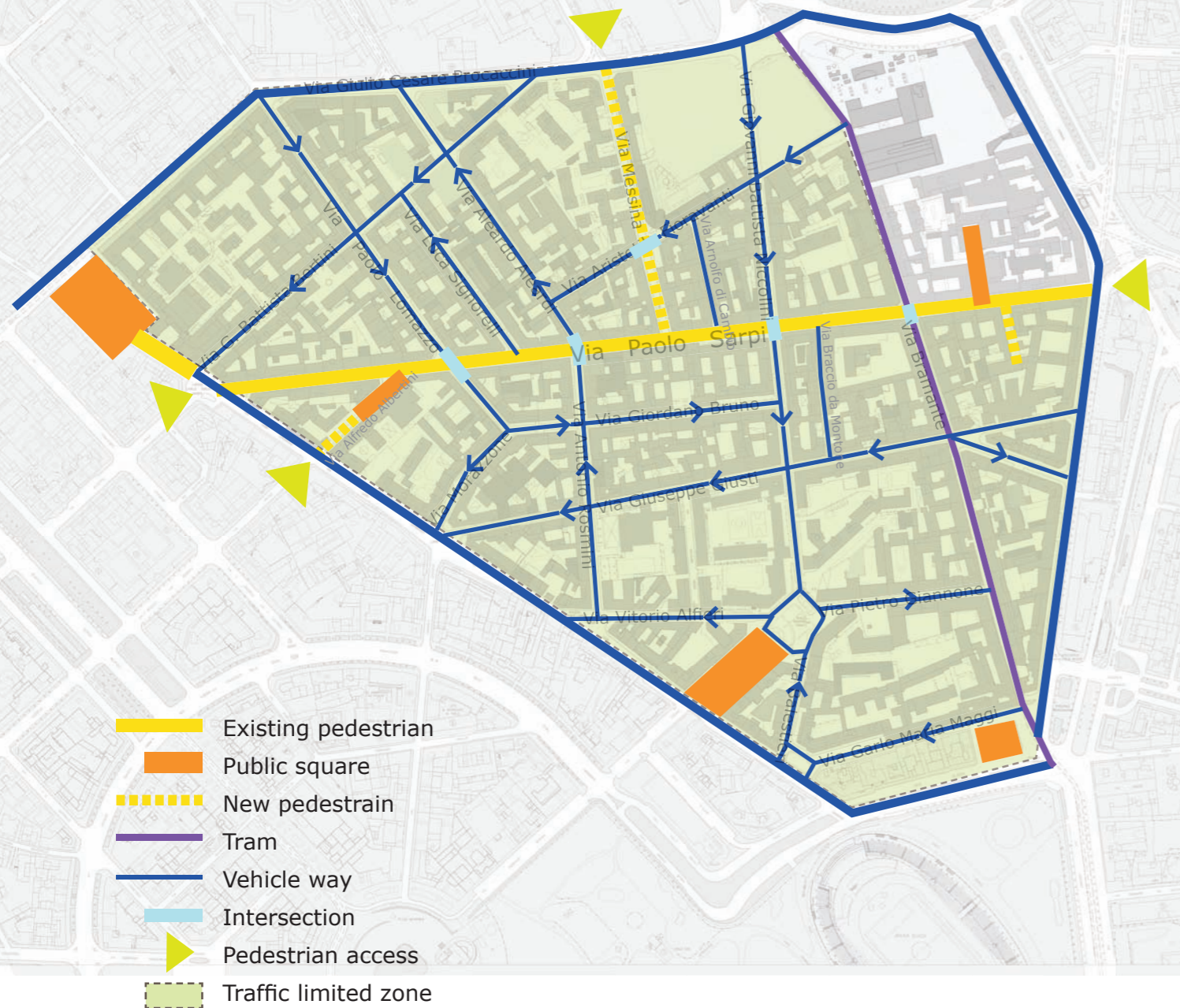


Graf 032_Distribution of commercial activities on the ground floor

- 90% Chinese commercial activity (10% activity by italian or other nationalities)
- Mix with Chinese and italian commercial activities
- 90% Italian commercial activity (10% activity by Chinese or other nationalities)
- Culture facility
- Existing local school and Cultural center

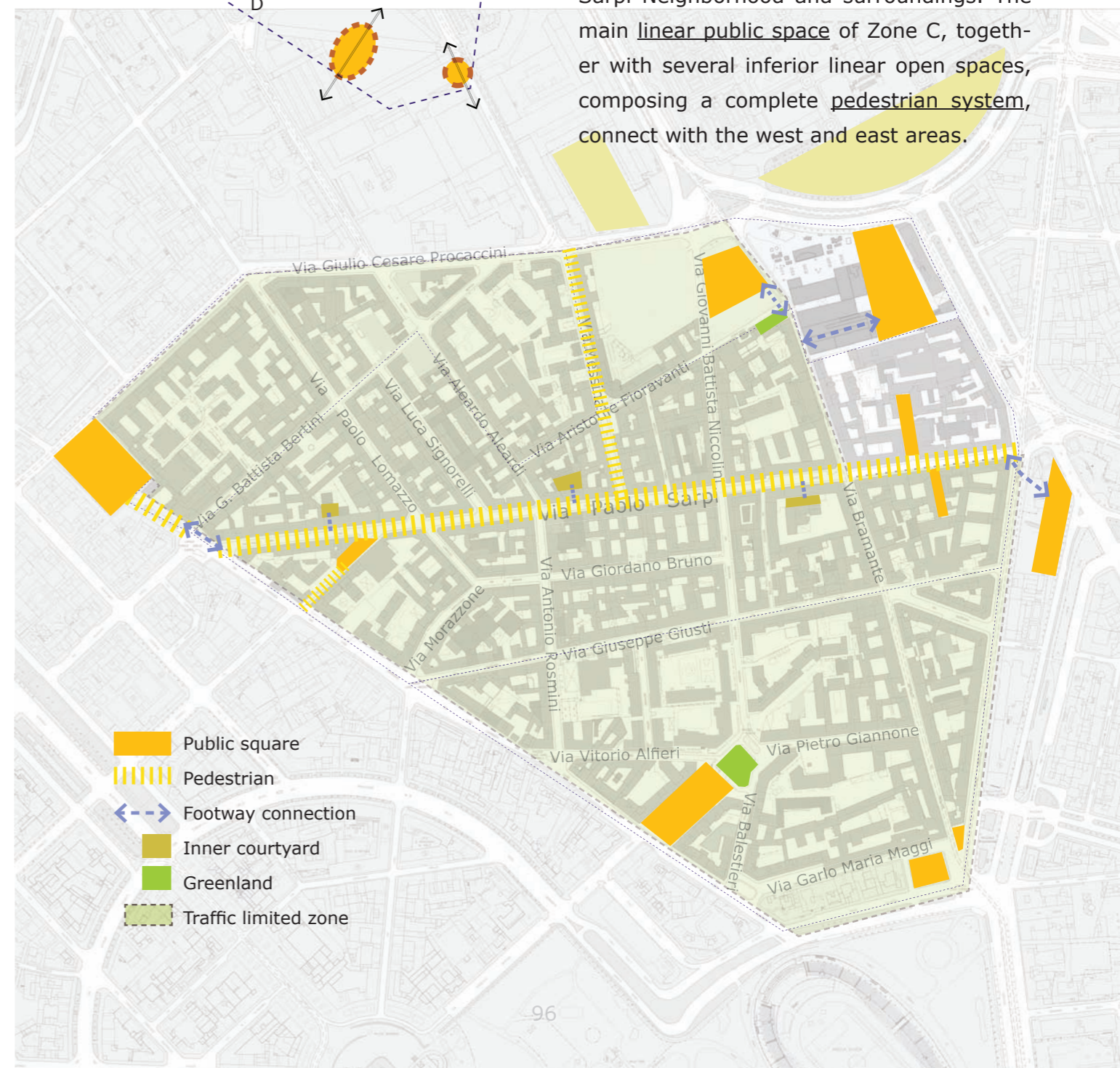
Traffic system- the completeness of pedestrian system

More pedestrians will be realized in this neighborhood. Via Messina and the left part of via Alfredo Albertini could be transformed to new pedestrian road, extending from via Paolo Sarpi, as the other two pedestrian access from outside of the neighborhood.



Open space system

Each zone has its central public space. The public squares of Zone A, B, D are respectively located at the junction places with the surrounding areas that serve as common spaces and connections between Canonica-Sarpi Neighborhood and surroundings. The main linear public space of Zone C, together with several inferior linear open spaces, composing a complete pedestrian system, connect with the west and east areas.



Green system

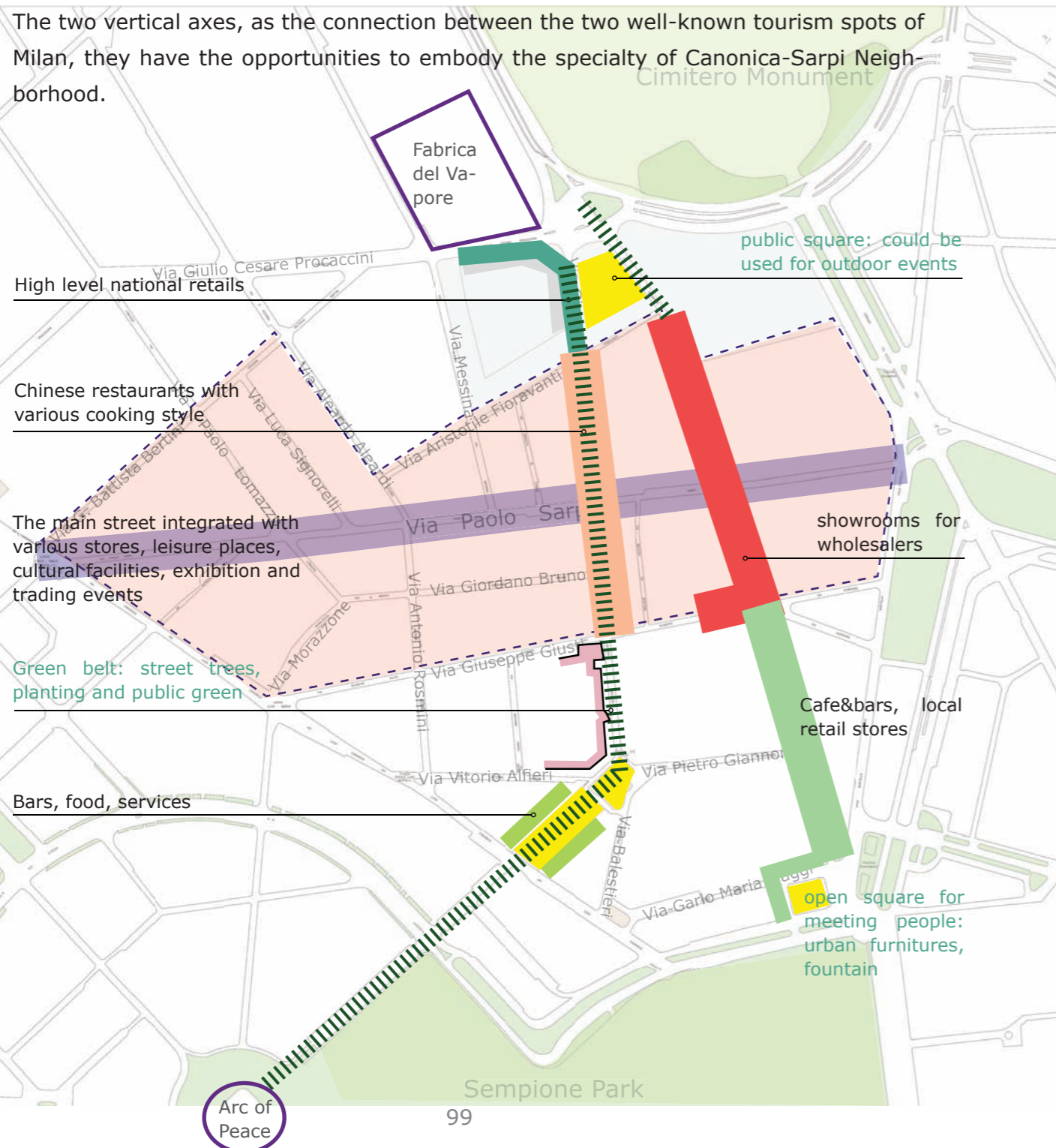
There are three main green axis within the Canonica-Sarpi Neighborhood, along with viale Montello, via Niccolini, via Paolo Sarpi. Viale Montello is planted with street trees, which is the important street between new Porta Volta and the entrance of via Paolo Sarpi. Via Niccolini served as a connection between Sempione Park and Fabbrica del Vapore, Cimitero monument, could also be an important green connection consisting with different types of green. The green on via Paolo Sarpi belongs within the pedestrian system.



Three important axes

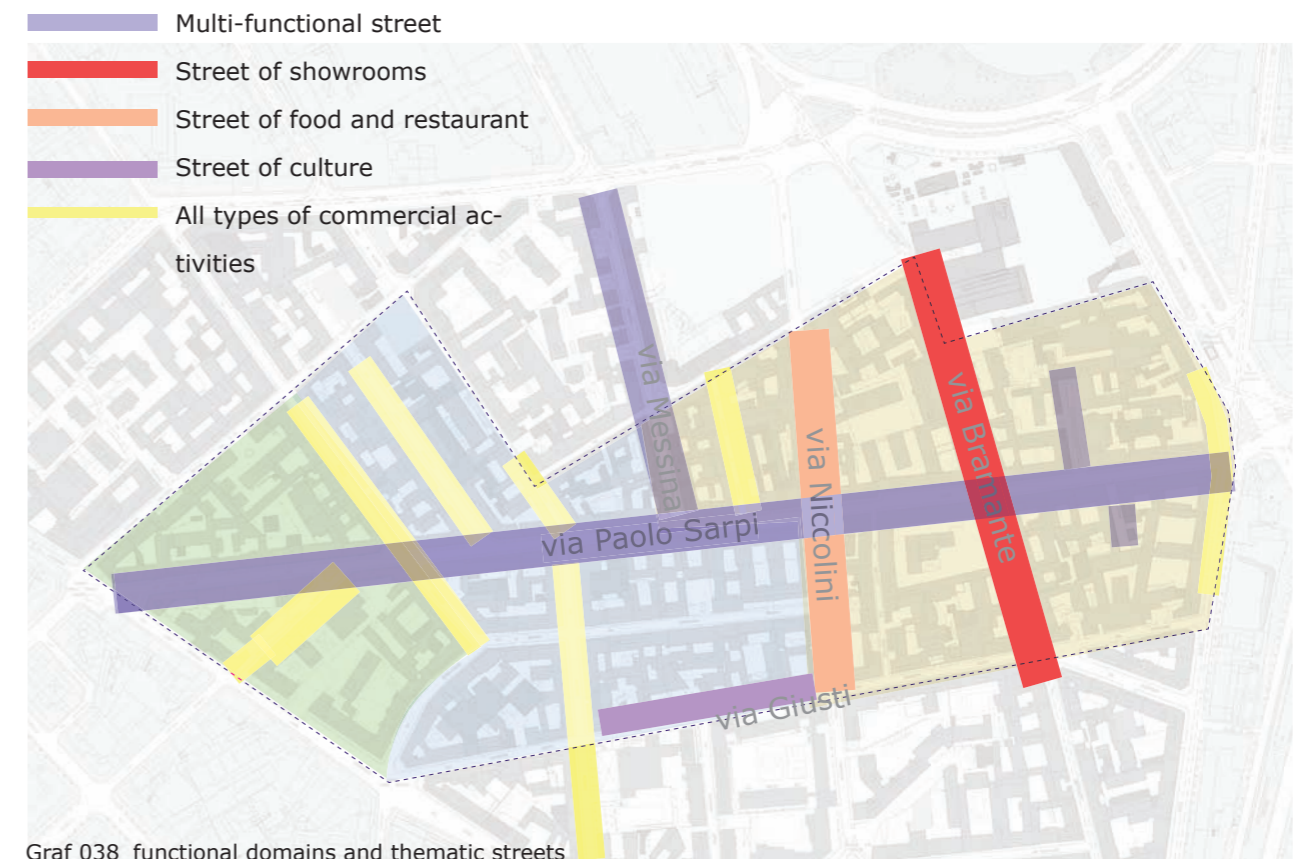
The horizontal axis which is along with via Paolo Sarpi is always an important axis in the neighborhood. It could become a more attractive multi-functional street with mixed ethnic and national commercial activities, intercultural atmosphere from small galleries or saloon inside and outside the courtyard and outdoor events, and leisure place.

The two vertical axes, as the connection between the two well-known tourism spots of Milan, they have the opportunities to embody the specialty of Canonica-Sarpi Neighborhood.



System of via Paolo Sarpi area

It is the core area of the whole neighborhood, include Zone C which was characterized above, It is a tourism spot, shopping area, and at the same time a place for living with multicultural atmosphere. It could be realized with three functional domains and four main thematic streets.



Graf 038_functional domains and thematic streets

1. Ethnic economy and tourists attracting area: different thematic streets - showrooms of previous wholesalers, various Chinese food and restaurant, handicrafts and specialties, together with several local activities and multicultural exhibitions, represent a unique "Chinatown" of Milan.
2. Mixed economy area: It has complete types of Chinese retails and services and some Italian shops which serves for both Chinese and local residents, facilities for elder and young people, education facilities
3. National economy area: Delicate shops, bars and restaurant, supplied for residents and people coming from outside.

Thematic street

-via Bramante: From via Giusti to via Fioravanti

Activities: showrooms of wholesalers
 Vans and trolleys of wholesalers are no longer passing on this street. Since the trams passing by connect with city center, it has the opportunity to become an attractive street showing pretty stuffs. The warehouses of wholesales will be all moved out from the neighborhood. Instead of the disorder and low quality wholesale stores, this place only opens for their showrooms which are well designed, exhibiting the wholesalers' or designers' products without trading activities. Their clients come for ordering the products they want, then the owners will transport their commodities directly from the warehouses outside.



Img 056-057_Reference of good quality showrooms, Wujiang, China, Source: www.yhtex99.com.cn

-via Niccolini: From via Giusti to via Fioravanti

Activities: Exquisite Chinese restaurant, together with retails and services
 Regards of the other Chinatowns which are usually full of Chinese restaurants with various flavors, a concentration of different Chinese special food and restaurant with good design and atmosphere will be a distinguishing feature of Canonica-Sarpi Neighborhood.

Reference of exquisite Chinese restaurant in Milan



Img 058_Jade cafe Milano, via Palazzo Reale, source: <http://www.jadecafe.it/gallery>



Img 059_TA HUA, via Gustavo Fara, source: www.tahua.it

-via Giusti: from via Niccolini to via Rosmini

Chinese/international school, elder and young activity center could be taken place of the original wholesale stores. By opening schools on the ground floor could directly gives an image of the school itself and children's' lives, attracting more people even local families to join in. On the other hand, it is a quieter zone where next to school and cultural facilities that suitable for the settlement of schools and center for elder people.

There are already some Chinese school in the neighborhood, but they are hidden inside the apartments that easily to become isolated.



Img 060-061_Activities for children in Longjia Chinese school in via Paolo Sarpi, source: www.corsolingua cinese.com



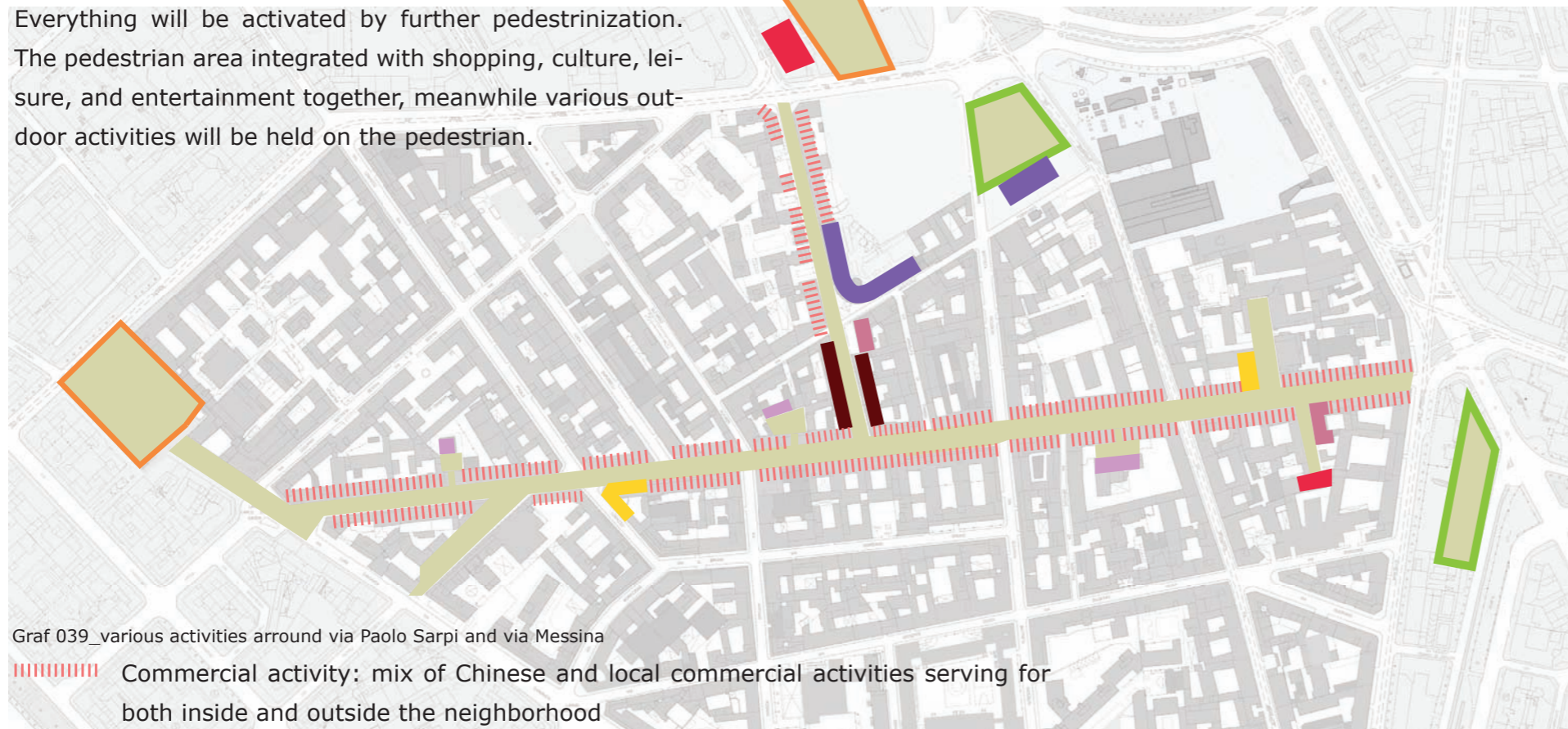
Img 062_A Chinese kindergarten near Canonica-Sarpi Neighborhood, source: www.qiaobao.eu



Img 063_Study of Paper cutting held by Istituto-confucio, Source: www.chinanews.com

via Paolo Sarpi and via Messina

Everything will be activated by further pedestrianization. The pedestrian area integrated with shopping, culture, leisure, and entertainment together, meanwhile various outdoor activities will be held on the pedestrian.



Graf 039_various activities around via Paolo Sarpi and via Messina

Commercial activity: mix of Chinese and local commercial activities serving for both inside and outside the neighborhood

Chinese restaurant sometime used for events among Chinese people opening to outside. The public spaces surround it could also be used together for holding these events, such as Chinese wedding party, which is very active and special.



Img 064-065_Pictures of Chinese traditional wedding, source: Chinanews.com



Img 066-067_ImgAtmosphere and arrangement of Chinese wedding in modern style, taken in restaurants of Milan during Chinese weddings

Gallery or studio: could be used together with open courtyard outside, for exhibition of artists including Chinese artists, and art studio

Theatre: could be used for shows given by Chinese artists invited from China (Usually they were invited and cooperated with Chinese community), performance from Children studying Chinese schools, or shows and training workshops held by even local and Chinese residents who are interested in theatre art



Img 068_Performance given by a Chinese school in Milan, 2010, source: <http://www.ozhrb.com>



Img 069_Performance given by Chinese artists invited by Chinese Community in 2011, source: <http://www.ozhrb.com>

Including offices of Chinese Associations, where could show the photos of past events, posters of the recent events, shows or festivals, video exhibits of past events and previews of recent events.



Img 070_Association of China in via Messina



Img 072-073_Posters seen in "China-town" in 2014, 2003



Img 071_Singing Competition by phoenix CNE 2013 in Teatro Verme, Milano

Hotel (existing and under construction): the Chinese associations hold ceremonies and dinner parties several times every year. They are usually held in other places since these aren't exist adaptable places in Canonica-Sarpi Neighborhood.



Img 074_Ceremony of Association of China, 2013, pictures taken at Ristorante Xier, Milan



Img 075_Chinaday in one Casino, dinner party in Gorizia

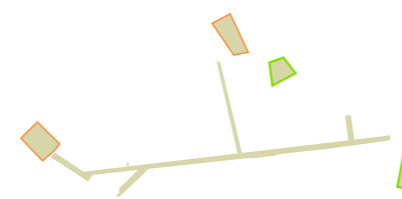
Activity center: The one in Fabrica del Vapore was already used sometime for organizing activities. The new one close to via Paolo Sarpi could be used as multifunction rooms for elder people



Img 076_activity in Fabrica del Vapore, February 2014



Img 077_Reference of activity center for elder people in China, source: www.chinanews.com



Whole open space system could be used for:

1. Parade and Celebration of traditional festival:
Great Festival of China:
January/February: Chinese Lunar new year
(The first day- the beginning of the New Year and the last day-
Lantern Festival)
June: Dragon Boat Festival
September: Mid-autumn Festival
2. Trading Expo: food, various products, ect
3. Large-scale cultural and art activity and exhibition
4. Special street art



Img 078_Parade of Chinese new year 2014 on via Paolo Sarpi



Img 079_Street calligraphy, which is an very population activity in China, source: www.chinanews.com

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