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Overlap, co-presence and interaction in the public space. Fragments of local cosmopolitanism in the city of Cagliari

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Special Issue

Trame cosmopolite. Minorità, migrazioni e città intorno al Mediterraneo.
Prospettive cosmopolite sulla città*

Cosmopolitan weaves. Minorities, migrations and cities around the Mediterranean.
Cosmopolitan perspectives on the city

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A Cloe, grande città, le persone che passano per le vie non si conoscono. Al vedersi immaginano mille cose uno dell'altro, gli incontri che potrebbero avvenire tra loro, le conversazioni, le sorprese, le carezze, i morsi. Ma nessuno saluta nessuno, gli sguardi s'incrociano per un secondo e poi si sfuggono, cercano altri sguardi, non si fermano.

Italo Calvino, *Le città invisibili*

Abstract

Contemporary cities are experiencing a sort of renewal of their shape and substance, mainly due to a set of diverse dynamics calling into question what we normally define globalization. In this macro-group of dynamics and events of planetary relevance, human mobilities at a global scale can be considered as one of the phenomena that particulalrly affects the symbolic and material substance of cities, contributing to the transformation process of urban spaces and places. Aim of this contribution is to shred lights on some of these dynamics as a starting point to define and analyze what can be called "local cosmopolitanism", starting from practices and elements of the everyday urban life.

Riassunto

Le città contemporanee sono interessate da una sorta di rinnovamento della loro forma e sostanza, principalmente dovuto a una serie di dinamiche che richiamano l'attenzione su ciò che normalmente definiamo globalizzazione. In questo macro-insieme di eventi e dinamiche di rilevanza planetaria, le mobilità umane su scala globale possono essere considerate come uno dei fenomeni che maggiormente influiscono sulla sostanza materiale e simbolica delle città, contribuendo ai processi di trasformazione dei luoghi e degli spazi urbani. Scopo di questo contributo è di fare luce su alcune di queste dinamiche, come punto di partenza per definire e analizzare ciò che può essere chiamato "cosmo-politismo locale", a partire da pratiche ed elementi della vita urbana quotidiana.

Keywords
Public Space; Cosmopolitanism; Interaction; Mobile territory

Parole chiave
Spazio Pubblico; Cosmopolitismo; Interazione; Territorio Mobile

Gianluca Gaias

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1. *Mobility and the urban contemporary territory*

As living and mobile subjects, contemporary cities are affected by a set of diverse dynamics that shape their material and symbolic substance. In this process of urban transformation, we are witnessing a renewal of the social, economic and political composition of cities (also seen as a system of representation), calling into question their normative and political order and, more generally, the idea of belonging to a "local" urban identity. How is it possible to read and attempt to interpret the contacts that take place at a territorial level between the 'global' and the 'local'?

The contemporary cities host a series of manifestations of otherness, belonging to different spheres of social and public life. Whether these traits can be traced back to ethnicity, geographical origin, religion or dietary habits, the city becomes the place where a cosmopolitanism 'with a human face' (Mellino, 2005) takes place, brought into being by numerous individual and collective expressions of cultural variety. It is a cosmopolitanism that rises from below (Tarrius, 2002; Escallier, 2003), not disconnected from the dynamics of markets and globalisation, but nourished by transnational mobilities that lead more and more individuals and communities to move from one place to another around the globe, connected through a series of points and nodes - the cities we are interested in - of a global network that is constituted around these mobilities.

As shown by a considerable number of studies, it is possible to say that mobility in its multiple forms is the medium through which this kind of contemporary cosmopolitanism occurs. Let us consider, for example, that the number of people defined as "in mobility"[1] in the world is about 281 million (with a slight downward trend compared to previous years due to the Covid-19 health crisis), or about 3.5%

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[1] With "in mobility" we refer to people living in another country than their country of birth, or where data is not available, who have a citizenship other than that of their country of residence. (UN-Desa, 2020).

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of the entire world population[2] (UN - Desa, 2020). However, on the basis of such complicated statistical evidence, combined with empirical data, mobility can be considered one of the forms of spatialisation at the core of the process of rewriting urban spaces[3].

Millions of people move from one continent to another, creating a reticular system made up of numerous cells of varying size and hierarchy (Kearney, 1999), of which cities - small, medium and large - are a part. Such wide and diffuse movement makes it possible to partially rethink the idea of the territory as a circumscribed, fixed and stable element, in which boundaries and limits define membership to a national and local apparatus, and sealing the union between citizen and state. The territory, as Angelo Turco outlines it, does not exist for its own sake, but is the result of a process of symbolic and physical appropriation of space by individuals and social groups (Turco, 2010). This means that, if we look at the inter-ethnic composition of cities, the urban territory cannot be thought of as a *unicum*, but as a set of different "territorial ideas" converging in the same portion of space. In contexts of migration, these move together with the individuals who undertake a mobility project; each of whom brings with them their own "piece of territory" to reproduce in the context of settlement. It is precisely from such a variety of presences that the territory becomes "*mobile*": each individual stages his or her own territoriality, in a cumulative process of independent and fragmentary "territorialising acts"[4]. With this contribution we would like to show some possible traces for a 'local' reading of urban cosmopolitanism, observed through the lens of public space, as the frame of an urban complexity in the making that is built around the dialogic or conflicting relationship that exists between the different communities and groups that inhabit the city.

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[2] These are highly variable numbers, which only partially take into account the extent of migration flows, for which it is difficult rather difficult to give aa specific numbercount, also given the impossibility of standardising the methods of interpreting the complex data at a global level, is rather complex.

[3] See, on this aspect, Giubilaro (2016).

[4] In this regard, the idea of 'mobile territory' was developed in my doctoral thesis, currently under publication, entitled 'Situations of urban cosmopolitanism. Cagliari between the here and the elsewhere".

2. *On the trail of urban cosmopolitanism: Visibility, Otherness and Changing Public Spaces*

In the spaces of even more *super-diverse* cities (Vertovec, 2007), by virtue of such mobility amplified on a global scale, complex and multidirectional relations are established between distant and different points, giving rise to decentralised and multiform places that adapt their shapes to the contexts in which they are in; such places, within the urban space, are often the physical and symbolic reproduction of another place that can be located 'elsewhere'. Investigating the paths of such an urban *superdiversity*, what are the forms and *traces* of cosmopolitanism that can be found on the territory of a city such as Cagliari, to allow us to define it a *cosmopolitan city*? A first point in support of this thesis concerns the mobilities that have affected the Metropolitan City of Cagliari in recent years. Cumulatively, out of a total population of about 420,000 inhabitants (149,474 for the capital), the foreign component has gone from about 2,000 in 2002 to more or less 16,000 at the beginning of 2021 (ISTAT, 2021).

In line with other European contexts, with regards to the resident 'local' population, the demographic data has undergone a sharp drop for the municipality of Cagliari, which records, for the same period of time about 13,000 fewer presences, going from 162,864 to 149,474, mainly due to a severe decline in births and mobility towards the capital's 'satellite' centres. Here the percentage of foreign residents is around 5.8%, while in the Metropolitan City accounts for 3.8% of the total (www.tuttitalia.it).

When this data is compared with those of other territorial realities (such as, for example, Triveneto, or Lombardy, or the Metropolitan Area of Rome)[5], it appears to be of minor importance; however, given the relative "novelty" of the incoming migration phenomenon as far as the context of our interest is concerned, they show a quite lively and rapidly changing scenario, whose substance is expressed in various settlement dynamics, in practices linked to the most immediate aspects of

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[5] This is not meant to be a comparative scheme between territories or cities. However, we must note that, in addition to the territories mentioned above, a large number of urban contexts on the Italian Peninsula of the same size as Cagliari have a higher percentage of foreign population than the latter, especially in the northern and central areas. For an overview about Italy, see the most recent IDOS Statistical Dossiers on Migration (Centro Studi e Ricerche IDOS, 2019; 2020; 2021)

daily life, to the job market and, more generally, to participation in the ordinary public city life.

Furthermore, in parallel to the statistical data, it is possible to identify the *traces* of such a change also in the light of the existence of new spaces, places and "situations" that emerge in the urban kaleidoscope (Cattedra, 2011) which offer a cross-section through which to read a varied and changing urban scenario[6]. These are the result of processes of re-territorialisation (Turco, 2010) carried out by individuals, groups or communities living in the city who, by symbolically and physically appropriating these spaces, shape their forms and ways of using them, sometimes in a new way.

The analysis of the urban space can be made through the observation of the organisation of public, community or private spaces as a complex set of relations between the actors involved in the process of transforming spaces. This suggests observing the city as the result of successive, stratified and overlapping processes of territorialisation, whereby the same place can be given different meanings, depending on how it is used and who its users are.

Focusing on such spaces makes it possible to overturn a 'localist' territorial perspective, developing what Ulrich Beck defines as a 'cosmopolitan gaze', i.e., the ability to overcome the distinctions between *inside* and *outside* (the city, the region, the state, the language...), between national and extra-national, between ourselves and others, in order to be able to understand everyday reality, both public and political, in the light of a new cosmopolitan realism (Beck, 2005)[7].

The research and 'discovery' of such places and situations of cosmopolitanism in the city of Cagliari was conducted through "walkscaping" the public spaces of the city, or by actively participating in events, public demonstrations or

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[6] It should be added that in Cagliari there are 134 different nationalities, in variable numbers; the ethnic-geographical composition of the statistical number has in fact changed considerably since the mid-2000s, in relation to the so-called 'new migrations'.

[7] Beck contrasts this approach to history and society (with all the possible declinations that belong to the most diverse human activities) with an approach that he defines as "methodological nationalism", based on thinking - and thinking oneself - as within closed and separate communities, whereby a certain type of understanding of one's own identity and belonging determines behaviours and perceptions of oneself and of others that are reflected in the spheres of everyday life; above all, that of social and inter-ethnic relations and the geographical, historical and political idea of community as a closed, aligned and well-defined whole with unique and exclusive features.

ceremonies, observing and analysing how and where certain practices took place and placing them in the inter-ethnic calendar of the use of the city[8].

It is in public space that, by definition, the appearance of cultural diversity becomes manifest and presents itself with its "disruptive visibility" (Göle, 2012). This happens especially in relation to certain specific communities, individuals or groups who appropriate, albeit temporarily, certain places in the city generally submitted to other types of use.

These 'microcosms in action' (Cattedra, 2002), which produce 'unprecedented' forms of everyday life, appear to be spatio-temporal juxtapositions in the urban palimpsest, standing out in particular for being 'different' manifestations. The same space can be subjected to different uses at different times and in different ways, depending on who uses it or temporarily takes possession of it.

Through such a perspective that is attentive to differences, the fragmentary nature of the cosmopolitanism we are looking for becomes even more evident. The examples that can be traced back to the public presence of foreign communities are various and of a different nature: events of ethnic-religious nature, public events linked to national festivities or particular ceremonies (carnival, Chinese New Year, politically themed meetings, etc.). They involve the various communities settled in the territory, which, although a more or less extensive and more or less institutionalized participation, express their presence and manage to reproduce "community contexts" useful for the consolidation of their individual and group cultural identities.

Streets, squares and places of habitual frequentation thus become the stage on which it is possible to observe the *mise en scène* of the city, in which the foreign component of the urban population becomes protagonist. This occurs in a partial and temporary reversal of the appropriation dynamics and presence in public space: foreign communities experiencing marginality – whether it is of a social,

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[8] Walkscaping and participant observation were the prevailing methodologies in this survey. If the former was carried out without following precise times and moments in time, as for the participant observation, over the course of about three years (2017/2020), it was possible to participate in different occasions of a religious, ordinary, work, or community type that involved different foreign communities in the city of Cagliari. In the frame of this analysis, the communities investigated were the Senegalese, the Kyrgyz and the Chinese, but also individuals and small groups belonging to the different foreign communities in the territory.

residential, cultural or linguistic kind - acquire visibility and "centrality" in such occasions and moments of collective interaction, exchange and public communion.

3. *Overlapping territories: paths through the times and rhythms of the city*

The social devices brought into being in the public space considered in this analysis are diverse and varied in nature and typology. Some forms of manifestation and participation in public life have been taken into consideration, to support our reflection on an urban cosmopolitanism in the making.

These public demonstrations of a certain socio-cultural capital refer not only to the desire to reaffirm community forms of "urban creativity" (De Certeau, 2001) through their collective presence in the public space; but, also, to a manifest (because voluntary, public and open) desire to affirm one's presence in the public sphere in a "cosmopolitical" key (Mellino, 2005).

In addition to the mundane events scheduled in the annual public programme, other events that are close to the sphere of worship and religion exist. Those are often the most experienced and participated events, especially by the local population: this creates a curious overlap in the use of certain spaces in the city.

For the citizenry of Cagliari, the most eagerly awaited event is the day dedicated to Saint Efisio, the patron saint of Sardinia, in whose honor, on 1 May, a large parade goes through the streets of the city centre in front of thousands of participants from all over the island. The scale of the event and the importance of Cagliari's city centre in the island's ecology make it the catalyst for a certain type of collective identity[9], thus promoting the creation of a feeling of identification of the population with the city as a sacred place, traditionally linked to the presence of the martyr-saint.

Alongside the centuries-old expression of a community feeling linked to the Sardinian cultural tradition, other ceremonial events take place in the public space, whose routes cover some of the city centre's emblematic streets. In addition to the festival of Saint Efisio Martyr, we can note the Chinese New Year's Eve

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[9]   However, it should be pointed out that Sant'Efisio's celebration is more popular in the southern part of the island than in the central-north, whose festivities are linked to local forms of social identification. Nevertheless, the feast of Sant'Efisio is the most important folkloric gathering and the longest pedestrian procession in the Mediterranean. See also Corda 2005.

celebrations, the Kyrgyz Independence Day and the Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba Day, promoted by the local Senegalese community (See fig.1 -2).

In several places, between the lower Stampace district, the Marina District, *Largo* Carlo Felice and Via Roma St. (fig.1), the trajectories drawn by these events 'overlap', since the communities that animate them find themselves using the same spaces and sharing, in part, the same paths even though they are during different times of the year.
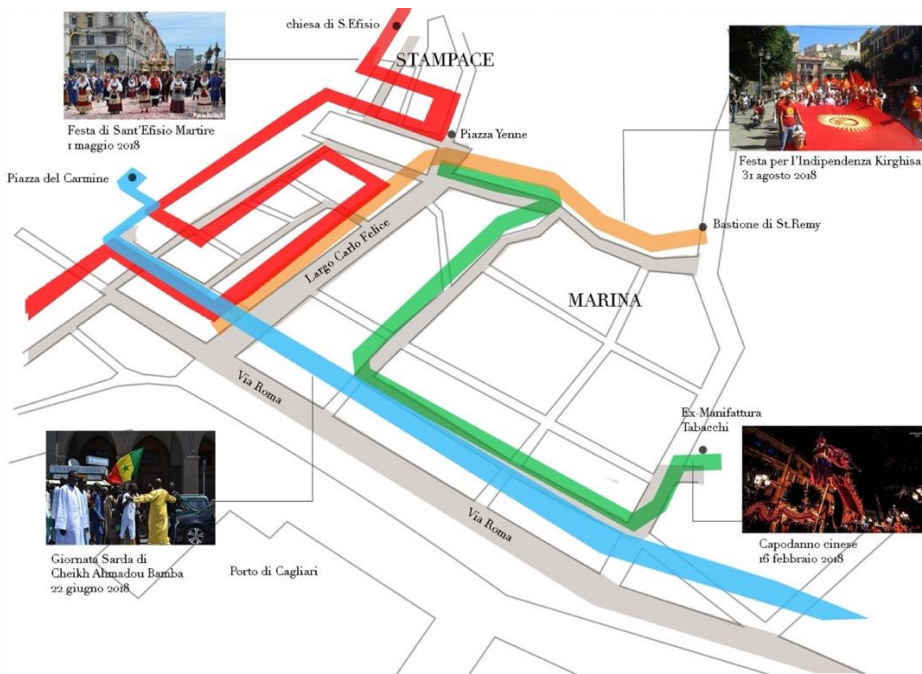
Fig.1

. Paths of overlapping and co-presence in the public space of the city. Gaias, 2020

The "Sardinian Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba Day" has been held in Cagliari for ten years in honour of the leading figure of the *Muridyya*, a Sufi brotherhood of Senegalese Islam[10]. In 2019, the ceremony reached its ninth edition and can

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[10] The system of brotherhoods is highly developed in Senegal, where around 92% of the population declares itself to be Muslim. Ahmadou Bamba is the greatest figure and founder of the Muridiyya, one of the most important brotherhoods in the country. He

therefore be said to have become part of the annual calendar of the city of Cagliari[11].

The peaceful march through the streets of the city centre is motivated by the arrival in Sardinia of Serigne Mame Mor Mbacké Mourtada, a direct descendant of the spiritual guide of the Muridiyya and son of the *Marabout* Serigne Mourtada, also known as the 'Marabout of the Diaspora' (Riccio, 2008). His visit is linked to a long itinerary, in which the international head of the brotherhood visits places and cities where the Senegalese communities of the Talibées mourides have successfully settled and rooted[12].

The strong sense of community, witnessed by the great participation of the Sardinian Senegalese communities and an albeit limited participation of the population of Cagliari, is particularly visible on the occasion of the event, risen as a transnational cooperation project from a bilateral initiative with the municipality of the Metropolitan City and aimed at promoting integration, solidarity and interreligious dialogue.

The visual impact with the procession has a strong symbolic meaning: a large number of Senegalese people parade in Via Roma St. to celebrate their day, which 'also belongs to the whole citizenship[13]' and which offers the possibility to observe and come into contact with an 'institutionalised' cultural diversity in an immediate and dialogical way.

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gave birth to one of the most powerful and prominent Senegalese religious movements in the international scenario, since the colonial period and with greater weight in the contemporary transnational scenario. See, among the numerous contributions on it, Bava, 2017.

[11] The event was held for the first time in 2011. It takes place every year in May or June. In the last two years, however, and like a number of other religious and secular events, restrictions due to the Covid-19 pandemic have prevented them from taking place.

[12] In brotherhoods such as the Muridiyya, the marabouts belong to an elaborate hierarchical organisation, in which those in the highest rank assume the title of Khalife (caliph) and have extensive powers, enjoying a form of prestige comparable to that of a saint. The Talibées are, in the hierarchical order of the brotherhood, the disciples who refer to each marabout. See Riccio, 2008.

[13] Extract from an interview with A.N., head and contact person of the Senegalese Muride community in Sardinia (http://kissaqani.blogspot.com, entitled "22 June, Cagliari capital of Muridism" 15/06/2011).

The annual recurrence of Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba Day testifies to a lively functioning of the organisational *apparatus* of urban *dahiras*[14] in Sardinia. In Cagliari, the places part of this path tells of this unity and of the explicit desire to positively appear both to the hosting community and to the eyes and judgement of their spiritual reference and guide. Sardinian mourides are just one of the many ways in which a community takes possession of space, dressing it up with attributes and meanings that speak the language of that community: sounds, voices and music, but also smells, flavours and colours are elements of an *elsewhere* not always clearly defined and which temporarily moves, giving life to "fragments of the world" that make the city the stage for an unprecedented cultural plurality.

On 31 August, on the other hand, the Kyrgyz Independence Day is celebrated, animated by the large Kyrgyz community settled in Cagliari[15] which, since last decade, has established a dense network of transnational communications between Kyrgyzstan and the Sardinian capital, thanks also to the local roots of the transnational association "Kyrgyzstan United". Besides being a communication and reference bridge between the two countries, it also operates as a support system for the development of mobility (especially occupational mobility) of Kyrgyz families. Despite the fact that this is a relatively recent presence, there is an active effort to continuously enliven the community to keep alive and strong the transnational link with their country.

The procession starts from the central Via Roma St. and continues to Largo Carlo Felice. Here, where *launeddas*[16] resound and traditional Sardinian costumes parade on May 1st, a parade of Kyrgyz flags, songs and dancing bodies move along the streets of the city centre to the sound of the Komuz, a traditional Kyrgyz instrument, ending at the Bastione St.Remy, a symbolic place among the city's public spaces.

The event that brings together the Kyrgyz community to the streets of the city centre also aims to unite people with the place where they have settled, involving the population in moments of conviviality that encourage encounters and promote

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[14] The *dahira* is the urban associative form that the murid brotherhood used during the period of internal mobility between rural and urban areas of Senegal, becoming, in the diasporic context, a place where associationism and worship blend almost inextricably, to the point of being considered on a par with a mosque. See Bava, 2017.

[15] The Kyrgyz community in Cagliari is the largest in Italy, accounting for about 1/3 out of the total population in the country.

[16] A typical Sardinian woodwind instrument.

forms of "daily acculturation". This diversity is presented through music, dance and food, elements with a strong cultural permeability through which individuals and communities find a channel of contact both with the places as well as with those who live there.

The same discourse could be done for the paths which unknot through the streets of the centre on the occasion of the Chinese New Year's Eve (the date of which is variable), an occasion that now involves the participation of the entire local population. Promoted by a local association and by transnational networks rooted in the territory[17], it has become an appointment awaited by the population, called upon to assist original shows which, despite being part of the collective imagination, are still undoubtedly considered "exotic". Over the years, the festival has taken the form of a widespread event, occurring in different venues and public spaces; the sacred dimension of the community is transported into action, an effective strategy from the point of view of social roots and territorialization. The events, which take place throughout the week in the streets, pubs or restaurants of the city, include cultural moments and public parades, in which the exhibition of symbols linked to Chinese culture, or the staging of singing or cultural performances, reproduce a small mobile and temporary Chinatown.

At a spatial level, the paths identified in this limited portion of urban space seem to take the form of 'urban pilgrimages', due to practices taking place in them that lie somewhere between the sacred and the profane (Eliade, 1977). Although not all these manifestations are directly linked to a certain type of rituality or, more generally, to the sphere of the sacred and the religious, in their interest in "conquering" space by temporarily appropriating it, communities give rise to forms of sacralization and ritualization of space (Agier, 1999), aware that, by highlighting the dimensions of urban religious experience, they manage to gather elements of the profane experience of the world (Eliade, 1973). In other words, through one's 'sacred' presence in public space, one opens up to the world of the everyday, to that 'profane' which we might define as 'everyday urban rhythm' (Lefebvre, Regulier, 1992)[18].

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[17]   The initiatives in occasion of the Chinese New Year's Eve are organised by a number of local associations and also by the collaboration between Italian and Chinese institutions (the municipality, the university, the embassies in the country) resulting from bilateral agreements between the two countries.

[18]   Eliade, 1973 does not make a clear-cut division between the sacred and the profane, but

All the events mentioned, with different aims and different roots, find themselves occupying the same paths. The same streets that 'belong' to the island's patron saint host also the events of the Chinese or Senegalese community, physically and symbolically overlapping in a frame that describes of how public space and the uses under which it is put gives place to forms of cultural contact to which the communities have access, in a more or less conscious and direct way.

The transnational link on which these events are based is not only that which on the direct line of mobility between Senegal, China, Kyrgyzstan and Sardinia unites the two countries; it is also that connection line which brings spaces, places and practices to cross the Mediterranean into the daily life of Cagliari and to exist in a new territory that we can attempt to define as cosmopolitan.

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distinguishes between "the religious man and the 'a-religious' man", emphasising how even in those profane practices it is possible to read manifestations of an implicit and unconscious religiosity. This variable set of practices would represent people's everyday life, or rather those times of urban way of living inscribed outside the practices more strictly considered as religious.

Fig.2. Overlap: scenes of cosmopolitanism along the Via Roma in Cagliari; a-b) Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba's Sardinian Day; c-d) Festival in honour of Saint Efisio; e-f) Kyrgyz Independence Day; g-h) Chinese New Year's Eve celebrations. Ph. Gaias, 2018.

The "fragments of cosmopolitanism" identified in this space represent something more than sociality between residents of the same neighbourhood, area or city and/or belonging to the same ethnic, geographical or religious communities; what takes place is the result of a "cosmopolitanism of exchange" (Métral, 1996), which occurs, in some cases (as we have tried to highlight) in spaces of great accessibility and openness (open spaces, squares, thoroughfares). However, there are many other places where such a daily exchange can take place (De Certeau, 2001), such as those with a commercial connotation (even community spaces dedicated to worship, although their dimension is not exclusively public), where an exchange of material and symbolic goods takes place, and where information concerning the different communities is processed and circulated (through religious symbols, language, through food sold and bought). A clear example of negotiation that can take place in such contexts concerns, for example, linguistic exchanges that puts in communication people often engaged in different working environments (wholesale and retail trade, itinerant trade, fast-food) and who use language as a vehicle for everyday or working communication (as they often speak different languages). In this case, in addition to buying and selling goods and merchandise, language itself is the object of negotiation. There are various activities that push this kind of interaction, more or less in-depth, during which seller and buyer, customer and shopkeeper negotiate their positions and identities through language, and the use of Italian as a vehicular code is emblematic of this process; in other cases, however, these overlap with languages spoken by people belonging to the same community (geographical or ethnic) and for whom these places also function as meeting places, in the same way as those places more properly considered as public seen above[19].

They are spaces of "generalised exchange" (Métral, 1996), where commercial trades are mixed up with exchanges of language and identity: these negotiated forms of action are the result of the overlapping and co-presence of languages (accents, variants, dialects), expressions, gestures and tones; they particularly stand out and give rise to new soundscapes (Schafer, 1985; Amphoux, 2006) in which different sound characteristics are introduced each time. Sound signals that mix

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[19] For what specifically concerns this aspect, please see the website www.spazimigranti.it. Here examples of sound interactions and language exchanges could be found in an interactive map presenting some results of this research. For further references see also Gaias, 2021.

and mingle, giving rise to what Iain Chambers defines as a "Mediterranean counterpoint": the overlapping and intertwining of sounds and music that have always inhabited the shores of the Mediterranean are here today to rewrite its stave and history[20].

What we have defined as "cosmopolitanism of exchange" within these spaces can therefore appear as the result of the overlapping, the encounter and the subsequent and consequent negotiation (including sound and language) of one's presence in the urban space, shared by a plurality of actors who come into daily and more or less conscious contact (Fig.3).

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[20] Edward Said already saw in this practice an example of how history - and stories - could be told in a more objective way, which, not being exclusively oriented towards a colonial and "western" historiography, would take into account the thousand voices of which the Mediterranean is composed. See Chambers, *Exercises of Power. Gramsci, Said and the Postcolonial* (2006).
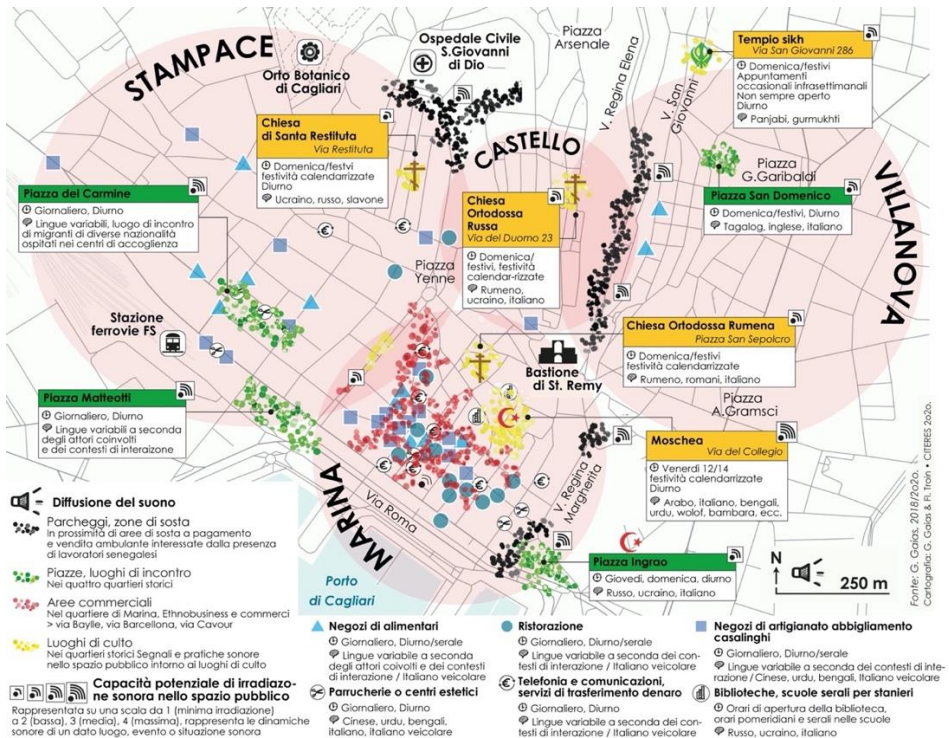
Fig.3. Map of overlapping situations in the four historical districts of Cagliari. Elaboration: Gaias, Troin (2020). The map shows a set of overlapping situations in the space of the city's four historic districts. Starting from different types of settlement and use of space, an attempt has been made to highlight the different temporalities and ways in which it has been used by the foreign communities that inhabit it, taking into account relational, visual, sound and olfactory traces indicating presences and practices attributable to the foreign presence.

4. *Research perspectives*

Public space is continuously and progressively affected by a set of "cosmopolitan tendencies", which act in a variable and continuous way on the social systems of

urban groups and communities on the one hand, and on the other, on the morphological and spatial systems of the contemporary urban territory. These tendencies develop in relation to endogenous or exogenous, implicit or explicit transformative forces which are produced on different scales and contexts (from the neighbourhood to the city, from the local to the global), affecting and shaping the political and social structure of the urban.

In the light of the examples that have been provided to support and categorize what we have attempted to show, it is useful to emphasize that the cosmopolitanism here discussed, based on the definitions provided (Tarrius, 2002; Escallier, 2003; Cattedra, 2003; Mellino, 2005), is a "fragile cosmopolitanism", in a process of becoming and therefore not yet widely recognizable - except in those specific places and situations, but limited in time and space.

On the one hand, this fragility is due to the relatively recent dimension of incoming migrations in our analysis context, also considering the relative scarceness of the numerical data compared to other national and international contexts. It is a systemic fragility, daily expressed in the temporary re-use of spaces and places by individuals and communities, who participate in "shaking up the city from below" (Cattedra – Tanca - Gaias, 2017) in a scenario where, in fact, policies and structures do not sufficiently facilitate an institutionalised process of "bilateral acculturation" and interaction.

The "cosmopolitan outlook" evoked by Beck (2006) also directs the attention towards a pragmatic dimension of cosmopolitanism, which is useful for a conceptual survey of the term, as it allows us to rethink in a "global" key even small and relatively geographically limited cities or contexts, as places where an experience of interaction, adaptation and territorial rewriting by different territorial actors is experienced on a daily basis. Approaching the concept of cosmopolitanism from a pragmatic point of view also helps a conceptual reconstruction of the term when it is observed from elements that intersect and overlap in the times and rhythms of the urban (Lefebvre, 1992) and from the different territorial ideas and practices - that is, that refer to a certain 'idea of territory', located elsewhere - put into being by individuals and communities that inhabit the same space, enriching it with new attributes and possibilities of interpretation, thus contributing to the social planning of places in the city.

The urban cosmopolitanism thus observed is daily sustained by experiences of intersection and adaptation that can also give rise to problematic or conflictual situations. These require a dialogical approach, and give rise to what some authors

have defined as "vernacular" or "provincial" cosmopolitanism (Werbner, 2017), which refers not only to the global logics that outline the cosmopolitan ideal as it has historically been understood (especially in the Western world), but also to an actual dimension of exchange which, as Vereni notes, is very close to the system of hospitality and gift, which has found in the Mediterranean Basin one of the most emblematic spaces of such a shared practices system (Vereni, 2017, p. 25), However, in the context of this paper, in the wake of numerous critical works on cosmopolitanism, it is particularly useful to speak of "cosmopolitanisms in the plural" (Werbner, 2017) precisely because there are so many possibilities for interaction, overlap and the construction of a shared complexity that arise from the practices of everyday interaction between individuals and groups. All the definitions of cosmopolitanism used here can be complementary, and each enhances a perspective that goes in the direction of building a common complexity, pursuing ideals of plural coexistence.

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6. Curriculum vitae

Gianluca Gaias è dottore di ricerca e cultore della materia in geografia presso l'Università degli studi di Cagliari. Si interessa di diversità culturale e migrazioni transnazionali, con uno sguardo legato alle "nuove geografie" che emergono dalle

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