

# Narrating Palermo through its coexistences: urban practices in the Kalsa disctrict

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## Abstract

This research paper explores the interplay between cultural, urban, and everyday practices in Palermo’s Kalsa district (Italy) through the lens of architecture, ethnography, sociology, and historiography. It examines how these intertwined dynamics shape the district’s strong local identity. The study further investigates the role of architecture as a tool for fostering coexistence and mediating social differences. In an area where diverse social classes inhabit the same space yet experience it in contrasting ways, architectural design can serve as a framework for managing spatial appropriation and interaction.

**Keywords:** Ethnography; Popular Continuity; De Certeau; Creative Strategies



Fig. 1 - Palermo's historic centre. The evident road network of Arab-Norman origin, also characterized by dense building stratification, contrasts with the main axes that intersect orthogonally (the historic Via Maqueda and the Cassaro). The Foro Italico and the harbor are also clearly visible.

## Introduction

The complex network of narrow alleys and irregular spaces in Palermo has long fascinated outsiders unfamiliar with its spatial logic. At first glance, one might assume that the city's urban fabric is the result of deliberate planning—an intentional technical approach that, over time, has been reinforced by bureaucratic processes. However, unlike many other cities where street layouts were developed through a singular, cohesive vision (or at least through separate yet stylistically coordinated interventions), Palermo has evolved through a more organic and fragmented process.

The city's urban form has been continuously reshaped by historical layers rather than a unified transformation. Gaps and disruptions in the urban fabric often reflect deep-rooted cultural and social imbalances<sup>1</sup>. Centuries of successive dominations have contributed to a pluralistic urban landscape where diverse architectural styles coexist. These influences extend beyond the physical environment, permeating local customs, traditions, and social behaviors.

For instance, the city's dense maze of narrow streets and hammer-shaped courtyards is a legacy of its Arab heritage. At the same time, the cruciform layout, centered around the Quattro Canti, is a hallmark of seventeenth-century urban design. Other irregular urban patterns—such as those found in Piazza Magione—are the remnants of poorly executed urban renewal plans, often linked to speculative and mafia-driven projects. Rather than integrating seamlessly into the city's historical fabric, these interventions have left unresolved scars<sup>2</sup>.

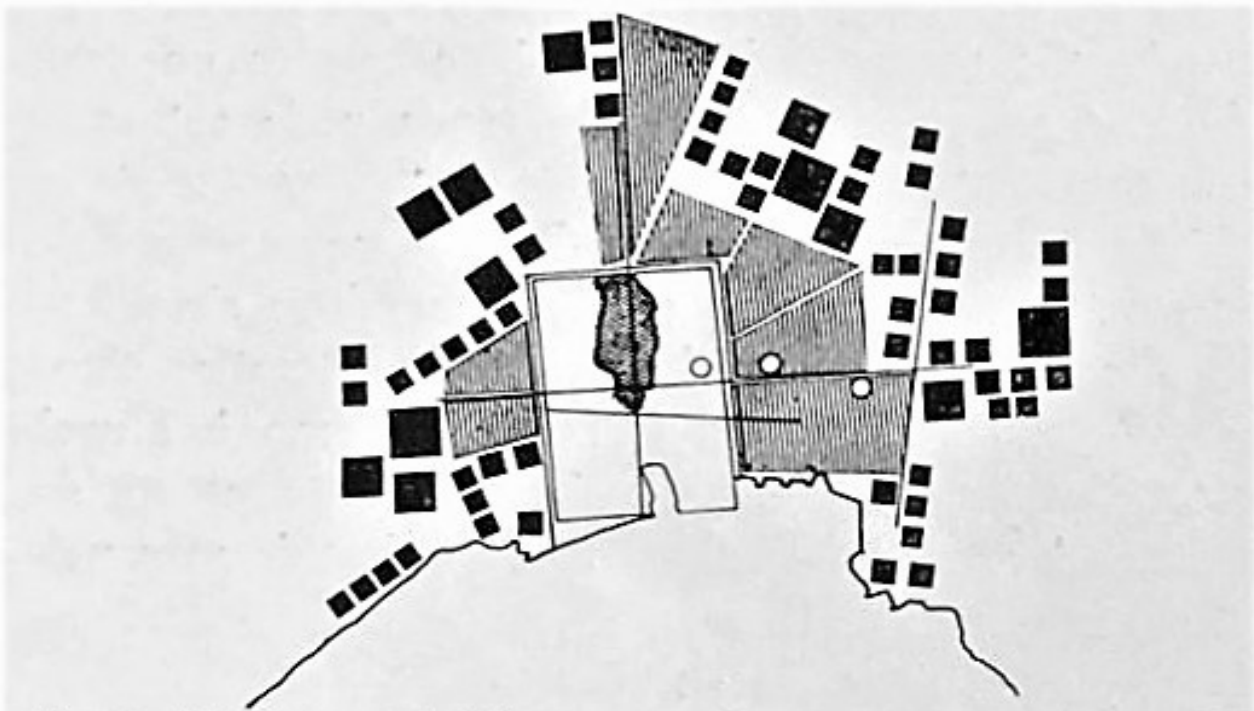


Fig. 2 – Three phases of the urban grid: historical centre, 19th century knitwear, non-city. Image in Gangemi G., La Franca R., Leone N., *Palermo ieri, oggi, domani, dopodomani*, Palermo, I quaderni della Fionda, 1975, p. 112.

<sup>1</sup> Gangemi G., La Franca R., Leone N., *Palermo ieri, oggi, domani, dopodomani*, Palermo, I quaderni della Fionda, 1975, p. 113.

<sup>2</sup> Bondi S., Dolce R., Zingales T., *Ipotesi di lavoro sul centro storico nella nuova dimensione del rapporto città-territorio in Palermo ieri, oggi, domani, dopodomani*, Palermo, I quaderni della Fionda, 1975, p. 35.

*“The City is like this. It is made of layers. Every time you peel one away, another remains beneath.”<sup>3</sup>*

The most intriguing aspect of Palermo is not merely the successive dominations that have shaped its history but rather the city's remarkable ability to preserve—and even fortify—the presence of each cultural stratum. Over time, practices and traditions that might have been expected to vanish under the weight of newer influences have instead been retained and amalgamated. The anthropological and social dimensions of Palermo, more than its purely historical or architectural features, are marked by this sedimentation process, which recalls the notion of the “palimpsest.”<sup>4</sup> Yet, rather than a simple layering, these influences have coalesced into a dense, plastic unity—an overloaded yet living structure that the Palermitan navigates with both ease and occasional unease. A striking example is the bell tower of the Church of the Gesù (commonly known as Casa Professa), where multiple architectural styles from different historical periods coexist. This juxtaposition illustrates how the architectural language of previous ruling powers continued to manifest itself, not as a mark of subjugation but as a testament to the endurance of past influences.

Within this intricate cultural framework, the most resourceful human response is the ability to selectively reinterpret dominant ideologies. Often, this adaptation occurs informally, outside official regulations and planning frameworks.

As Michel de Certeau argues in *The Practice of Everyday Life*, human creativity—typically seen as fragmented and dispersed<sup>5</sup>—materializes in silent, unregulated forms of production. These emergent practices subtly infiltrate and reshape formalized structures imposed by systems of control. In other words, individuals naturally maneuver within the constraints of societal norms, carving out creative spaces for agency and expression. This principle applies not only to social behavior but also to the spatial and functional dynamics of architecture.

De Certeau describes this phenomenon as a “poietic activity”<sup>6</sup>—a process of procedural reinvention, appropriation, and reinterpretation through minor, everyday actions. He distinguishes between “place” and “space”<sup>7</sup>, defining the latter as a practiced place, and the former as static and devoid of movement vectors—lacking temporal, directional, or velocity-related dimensions. Unlike space, “place” doesn’t have movement<sup>8</sup>. This conceptual distinction is crucial to understanding Palermo’s urban fabric. The city, when viewed as an overarching urban project, functions as a panoptic structure—a *system of surveillance and control*. However, beneath this formal framework, unofficial, spontaneous practices emerge, challenging the rigidity of planned urban spaces.

Palermo’s labyrinthine streets, for example, are not merely static backdrops but dynamic settings for lived experiences. Residents engage in everyday actions that redefine these spaces—children playing, a woman watering plants in a forgotten courtyard, a man following the same route to work each day. These seemingly mundane acts create a continuous narrative that extends beyond the physical infrastructure.

<sup>3</sup> Alajmo R., *Palermo è una cipolla*, Palermo, Laterza, 2009, cit. p. 144.

<sup>4</sup> Corboz A., *Il territorio come palinsesto* in *Ordine sparso. Saggi sull'arte, il metodo, la città e il territorio*, Milano, Urbanistica Franco Angeli, 1998.

<sup>5</sup> De Certeau M., *L'invenzione del quotidiano*, Roma, Edizioni Lavoro, 2012, cit. p. 9.

<sup>6</sup> From the Greek ποιεῖν: “to create, invent, generate”.

<sup>7</sup> De Certeau M., *L'invenzione del quotidiano*, Roma, Edizioni Lavoro, 2012, pp. 147-158.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., pp. 175-176.



Fig. 3 – “Manoeuvring space” in Brugnò alley, Palermo. A street becomes an area for hanging laundry [photograph by Angelo Trapani, 2015].

This informal spatial reappropriation is further reflected in the city’s linguistic landscape. Many of Palermo’s street names derive from local legends, historical figures, or imaginative references—*Via delle Sedie Volanti* (Flying Chairs Street), *Via Scippateste* (Head Snatcher Street), *Via Scorzadenaro* (Money Peel Street), *Via Enrico Hassan*<sup>9</sup>, and so on. Moreover, small alleys and side streets, often effectively privatized by the surrounding residents, become extensions of domestic space. Improvised additions—plants, cloth canopies, chairs, framed photographs—transform these shared spaces into personalized environments, reflecting an implicit desire to rewrite spatial narratives.

The spatial <language>, thus, changes and it is shaped according to its use. This linguistic analogy is not accidental. As De Certeau suggests, “*the art of constructing paths* [and thereby appropriating space] *is equivalent to the art of constructing sentences.*”<sup>10</sup> These micro-variations—whether in language, urban texture, culture, tradition, or everyday use—while strongly characterizing the urban environment, can, over time, lead to a fragmentation of the collective identity. The result is a risk of attenuating the sense of belonging among citizens or, even more concerning, fostering a diffuse discomfort incapable of accommodating and integrating diverse cultural practices within the shared experience of inhabiting the city.

How, then, can this be addressed?

<sup>9</sup> <https://palermo.italiani.it/vie-di-palermo/> [consulted on 11/07/2024].

<sup>10</sup> De Certeau M., *L’invenzione del quotidiano*, Roma, Edizioni Lavoro, 2012, cit. p. 154.

Among Palermo's historic neighborhoods, Kalsa's district—its name derived from the Arabic *Al Khalisa*, meaning “the chosen one” or “the pure”—stands out as a microcosm of the city's broader urban dynamics. This district embodies both the architectural richness and the socio-economic contradictions that define Palermo.



Fig. 4 e 5 - Moments of life in the alleys of the historic center [photographs by Salvo Valenti].

Since 1979, Kalsa has been the focus of numerous urban renewal policies. The *Piano Programma* developed by Samonà and De Carlo<sup>11</sup> (1979–1982), though never implemented, laid the groundwork for reinterpreting Palermo's historic identity. Later, the 1989 *Piano Particolareggiato Esecutivo* (PPE), led by urban planners Benevolo, Cervellati, and Insolera<sup>12</sup>, was described by then-mayor Leoluca Orlando as a crucial step in “*liberating Palermo from the disastrous period of mafia-driven urban planning and the city's postwar speculative building boom*”<sup>13</sup>.

However, after the 1990s, urban regeneration efforts in the city center largely shifted focus. Rather than implementing a comprehensive revitalization strategy, interventions became limited to individual buildings. There was little emphasis on repurposing public spaces or improving infrastructure and transportation systems.

As a result, sporadic gentrification took hold, primarily within the residential fabric of the Kalsa. Between 1995 and 2006, property values in the area surged by 195%<sup>14</sup>, significantly altering the district's social composition. Wealthier residents, both local and foreign, began occupying the restored historic homes, while lower-income, long-term residents were increasingly pushed toward the city's outskirts.

This shift gave rise to what can be described as “liminal zones”—spaces where traditional patterns of inhabitation broke down. Many of the newer residents did not actively engage with the neighborhood; rather, they saw Kalsa as a place of residence rather than a community. Meanwhile,

<sup>11</sup> Samonà G., De Carlo G., by Ajroldi C., Cannone F., De Simone F., *Lettere su Palermo di Giuseppe Samonà e Giancarlo De Carlo*, Roma, Officina Edizioni, 1994

<sup>12</sup> Piano Particolareggiato Esecutivo del Centro Storico di Palermo: [https://www.comune.palermo.it/js/server/uploads/trasparenza\\_all/\\_12062014101414.pdf](https://www.comune.palermo.it/js/server/uploads/trasparenza_all/_12062014101414.pdf)

<sup>13</sup> Maccaglia F., *Palermo, Illégalismes et gouvernement urbain d'exception*, Lyon, ENS Édition, 2009.

<sup>14</sup> *Fiaip* Real Estate Observatory

older residents, forced to relocate, continued to frequent the area but no longer lived within it<sup>15</sup>. The contrast between rising property values, expanding tourism, and enduring local customs has created a fragmented urban experience.

This phenomenon of “inhabiting without residing<sup>16</sup>” aligns with observations by the Palermo-born anthropologist Franco La Cecla<sup>17</sup>, who argues that contemporary architecture is increasingly eroding traditional forms of social aggregation. The very structures intended to revitalize urban spaces often end up exacerbating spatial and cultural disconnection.



Fig. 6 - 2014: comparison between a rehabilitated and a non-rehabilitated building [photo by H el ene Jeanmougin].

Fig. 7 - 2018: the contrast no longer exists: the second building is also rehabilitated [photo by H el ene Jeanmougin].

The following section will explore, through field research, the ethnographic, social, and architectural dynamics at play within a context characterized by diverse social backgrounds in the Kalsa district, selected as a case study. The aim is to identify possible modes of interaction with the forms of urban transformation in a neighborhood increasingly at risk of gentrification<sup>18</sup>.

### AL KHALISA IN 2024 - Urban transformations and popular identities

*“As cynical as it may seem, much of Kalsa’s – and, more broadly, the City’s – allure appears to lie in its sense of despair. Its greatest resource is its ruin [...] In many ways, Kalsa serves as a metaphor for the city as a whole, embodying all of its contradictions. It is an area with a high*

<sup>15</sup> Jeanmougin H., *Habiter et cohabiter le quartier de la Magione   Palermo. Gentrification, continuit es populaires et concurrences d’appropriation*, 2014.

<sup>16</sup> From the title of Jeanmougin Helene 's article, “*Habiter sans r sider et r sider sans habiter*”, 2021.

<sup>17</sup> La Cecla F., *Contro l’architettura*, Palermo, Bollati Boringhieri, 2008.

<sup>18</sup> According to Laino G. and Semi G., the term *gentrification* refers to “a process of displacement and replacement of social groups and urban functions, whereby portions of the urban space, typically revalued, are appropriated by other groups, to the detriment of traditional activities or populations, which are replaced by more ‘fashionable’ ones. Through this process, a new lifestyle is introduced, functional to the renewed forms of colonization of both private and public life by capital.”, [from the site: <https://www.casadellacultura.it/434/se-tutto-e-gentrification-comprendiamo-poco>, consulted on 11/07/2024].

*concentration of mafia-related activities. Yet, it is here that Falcone and Borsellino were born, and as children, they played football in the vast open space of Piazza Magione.”<sup>19</sup>*

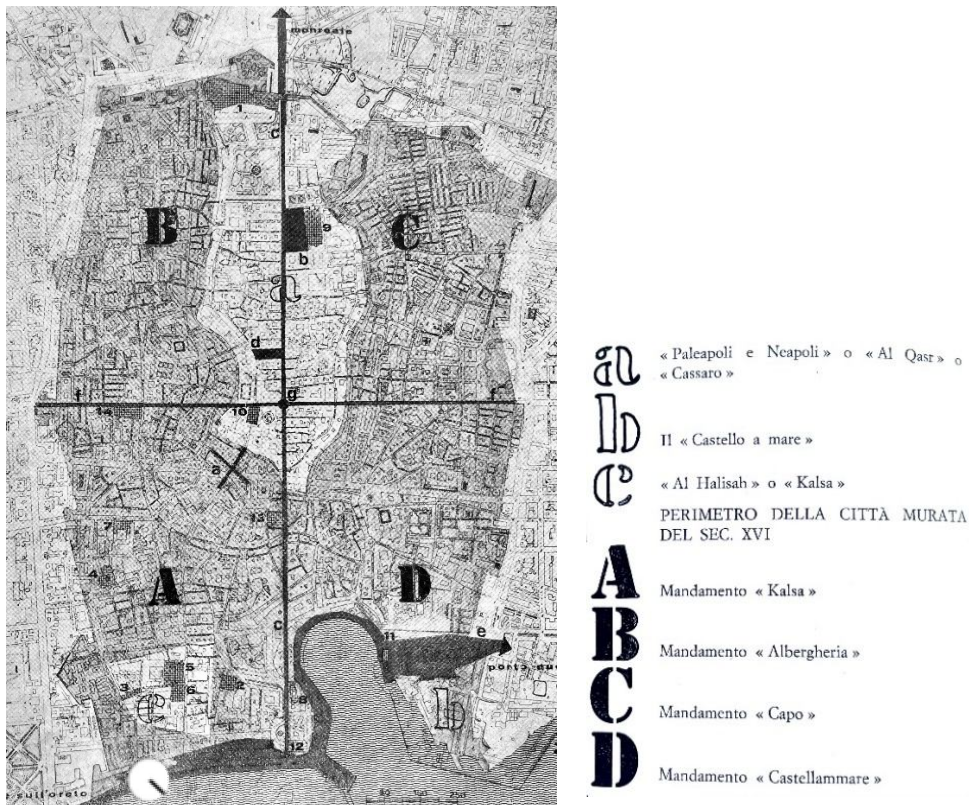


Fig. 8 – Map of the historical center, image in *Palermo ieri, oggi, domani, dopodomani*, Palermo, I quaderni della Fionda, 1975, p.34

The Kalsa was one of the Four Mandamenti of seventeenth-century Palermo, and it remains the district with the highest density and variety of architectural and cultural heritage. Its Eastern atmosphere has remained intact over the years; to this day, a sense of “decaying yet humble beauty” lingers among its alleys and the ruins of its noble buildings, persisting despite the post-war speculative interventions previously mentioned<sup>20</sup>.

Indeed, the exuberant efforts to restore the facades and structures of buildings in the Kalsa—aimed at rehabilitating an identity tarnished by the presence of organized crime—have yielded tangible results, at least from the perspective of visitors and external observers. *Figure 9* illustrates the level

<sup>19</sup> Roberto Alajmo, *Palermo è una cipolla*, Palermo, Laterza, 2009, cit. p. 107.

<sup>20</sup> One of the most important transformations of the city resulted from the so-called ‘Sacco di Palermo’ (Sack of Palermo). After the bombings of the Second World War, especially during the period of Lima and Ciancimino's councillorships, the city's urban layout changed profoundly due to two provisional municipal master plans to which hundreds of variants were made in order to satisfy Mafia demands for more residential construction. Hundreds of Art Nouveau villas were destroyed to make way for anonymous blocks of flats for Palermo's new bourgeoisie [from the site: <https://palermo.mobilita.org/segnalazioni/il-sacco-di-palermo-palermo-e-bella-facciamola-piu-bella/> consulted on 13/07/2024].

of degradation of each building unit in the historic center as of 2013, approximately twenty years after the initial phases of restoration began.

It is immediately apparent that, compared to other neighborhoods, the Kalsa has the lowest number of dilapidated or structurally compromised buildings, including those classified as urgently unsafe. A comparison with 2007 data shows that, over the span of five years, the condition of buildings throughout the historic center has improved: a total of 53 properties were fully restored, although 15 unfortunately reached a critical state.

In 2018, a new public call was launched for further restoration efforts in the historic center<sup>21</sup>, a sign that the Municipality remains committed to fostering a “*revival of participatory pride, sparked by the heritage of the historic center*” (Cattedra, Memoli, 2003).

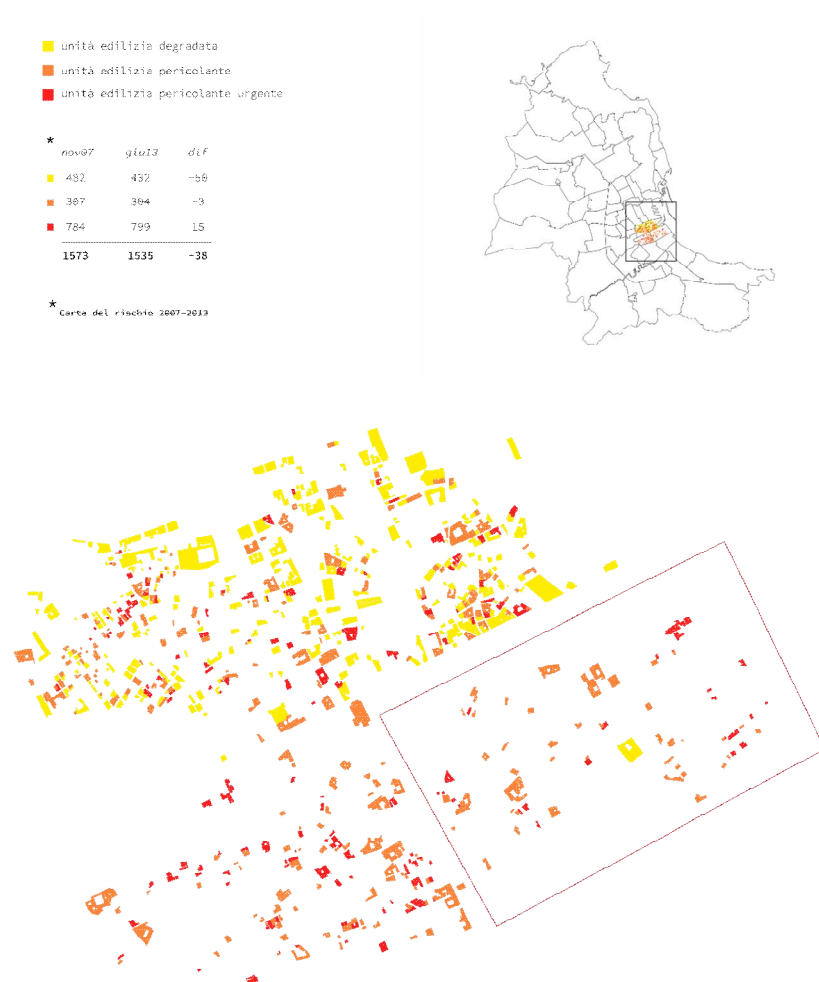


Fig. 9 - Degree of building decay in the historic centre of Palermo in 2013. Comparison with 2007 data [personal elaboration].

<sup>21</sup> Disbursement of grants from the 7th call for funds under Regional Law 25/93 totalling almost 3 million [from the site: <https://www.palermomania.it/news/comunicati-eventi/recupero-edilizio-del-centro-storico-di-palermo-ecco-la-graduatoria-del-settimo-bando-103024.html>, consulted on 13/07/2024].



The improvements made to residential buildings since the 1990s have inevitably triggered changes in the demographic composition of those who once lived in, or frequented, the neighborhood. The majority of individuals who previously squatted or rented housing without formal lease agreements were relocated to the city's outskirts, making way for Palermo's local elites and foreign newcomers. A small minority, however, managed to remain within the district<sup>22</sup>. Some of these former residences have since been converted into accommodation facilities to meet the ever-growing demands of tourism. Additionally, foreign residents—who still account for 21% of Kalsa's population<sup>23</sup> today—have consistently been excluded from any formal redevelopment projects targeting the area.

In short, the migration of lower-income residents from Kalsa to the periphery or to other more "modest" neighborhoods has increased substantially over the years. Yet, despite this shift, after more than three decades, popular practices continue to shape and dominate the everyday rhythms of the district. To borrow De Certeau's terms, these long-standing communities persist in *reappropriating*, if not private spaces, then at least most of the area's collective and public spaces.



Fig. 10 – Appropriation of spaces [photography of Emma Grosbois, 2014].

One of the most emblematic sites reflecting these dynamics is Piazza Magione, located at the heart of the Kalsa. This square presents a visible rupture in the district's urban fabric: a vast, open void framed by a historical religious building—the Collegio di Santa Maria della Sapienza—and the foundations of long-demolished structures, now overgrown with wild vegetation<sup>24</sup>.

<sup>22</sup> Jeanmougin H., *Habiter et cohabiter le quartier de la Magione à Palerme. Gentrification, continuités populaires et concurrences d'appropriation*, 2014.

<sup>23</sup> The Kalsa ranks 6th in terms of foreign population compared to the other 25 districts of the city [source: Municipality of Palermo - Open Data Portal].

<sup>24</sup> In addition to the World War II bombings that gutted the area, the 1962 PRG risked multiplying the damage: the aim in fact was to raze that fraction of the urban grid to the ground in order to create a connecting artery between the ancient port area of La Cala and the Central Station area. Fortunately, the operation ended prematurely.



Fig. 11 - Bird's eye view of the 'hole' in Piazza Magione [source: Google Maps].

This space was chosen as the focal point of a field study investigating how social and cultural disparities manifest in the everyday use of urban space. Interviews with a diverse sample of regular visitors—residents, business owners, and workers—revealed a stark spatial divide within the square itself.

A personal anecdote illustrates this phenomenon:

*"Upon entering a bar on the northeast side of the square—the area more associated with long-standing local residents—I introduced myself to the bartender and explained that I was conducting a research. She seemed confused when I asked if I could see the bar's floor plan. I rephrased my request, describing it as a small layout, like the kind displayed for fire safety purposes. Her face lit up in recognition. She disappeared into the back room, returning with a small plan(t). Pointing toward the nearby trees, she asked, 'Did you mean this kind of plant?' Needless to say, there was no official floor plan to be found. By contrast, when I made the same request at a bar on the southwestern side—where newer, more affluent residents tend to gather—I was immediately shown a framed emergency evacuation plan at the entrance."*<sup>25</sup>

This incident reflects a broader pattern confirmed by a survey conducted among 184 respondents<sup>26</sup>. The questionnaire, designed to explore perceptions of space and social dynamics in Piazza Magione, was distributed both on-site and online to a diverse pool of participants.

One of the key findings was that **51.1% of respondents acknowledged a clear cultural and class divide within the square**, while only **12% disagreed**, and **36.9% were uncertain**. Additionally, **57.1% expressed a desire for greater interaction between different groups**, while **36.1% were indifferent**, and **6.8% preferred to maintain the existing distinctions**.

This data underscores the extent to which gentrification has produced a fragmented social landscape, where spatial segregation is not only visible but also actively perceived by the community. Despite changes in property ownership and demographics, the habits and informal practices of long-term residents continue to define the character of the neighborhood.

<sup>25</sup> Inspection on 03/03/2024, Piazza Magione, 5 p.m.

<sup>26</sup> The questionnaire is still available here: <https://forms.gle/itjzzSTyxdk274s8>

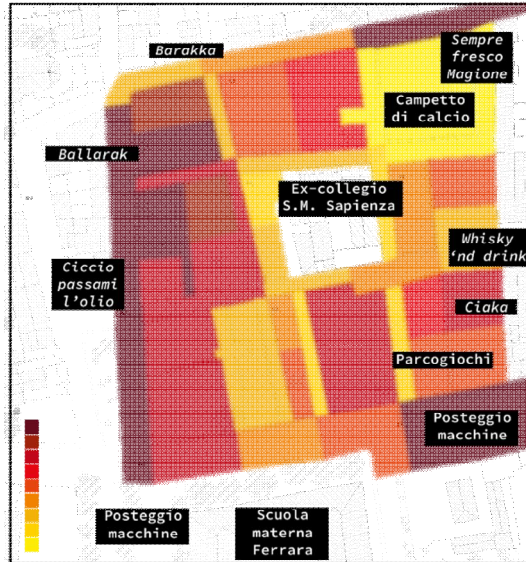


Fig. 12 - Diagram of the most populated areas in Piazza Magione: the most populated area is on the western side, i.e. one of the two fronts related to nightlife, the other is on the eastern side [personal elaboration].

The collected data confirm a pervasive awareness among the community of the challenges posed by this fragmented coexistence. The inability to forge shared spatial codes prevents the establishment of a robust, cohesive system of urban practices capable of sustaining long-term community resilience. A singular attempt at bridging these divides occurred in 2016, through a participatory design process initiated by local cultural associations, which led to the creation of two communal spaces—a playground and a small football field—intended as catalysts for social interaction. However, both facilities have since fallen into disuse and disrepair, underscoring the difficulty of achieving lasting integration.

These findings suggest that while Palermo's cultural heritage continues to shield the city from homogenizing urban trends, it also hampers the emergence of adaptive urban frameworks that could mediate between preservation and evolution. Any future intervention in the Kalsa must therefore navigate these tensions—valorizing the city's ingrained cultural practices while facilitating new forms of engagement with its spatial fabric.

### AL KHALISA IN 2030 - design of the unexpected and failure and conclusions

In a city like Palermo, characterized by deeply interconnected and inseparable relationships<sup>27</sup>—skilled at preserving its spaces yet resistant to embracing change—urban planning should catalyze the *city's spontaneous evolution*<sup>28</sup>, rather than as an exceptional intervention aimed at resolving contradictions and conflicts, spatial or otherwise, within the built environment.

A design approach that is strong in its physical interventions but weak in its intentions would only reinforce the fragmented nature of Palermo's culture and its communities. Conversely, a strategy

<sup>27</sup> Latour B., *Parigi Città invisibile: il plasma*. Lettera internazionale n°105, 2010.

<sup>28</sup> Speech by Franco Purini for the XXXII Seminar and Award for Architecture and Urban Culture in Camerino, 31 July 2022.

rooted solely in abstract concepts, analyses, and narratives—lacking concrete spatial, material, and temporal grounding, as has often occurred in the past—would reduce urban modifications to superficial and ineffective actions, leaving the city trapped within the confines of its historical stereotypes.

Additionally, it is crucial to integrate the temporal dimension into urban planning, so that the process becomes increasingly strategic. In particular, it is essential to distinguish between interventions that can be flexibly and adaptively implemented over the medium and long term, and those which, if extended over time, could prove inappropriate or even detrimental. Let us consider a specific example: Piazza Magione.

To propose a spatial configuration that remains effective over time and enhances the population's *creative "spaces of maneuver,"* one could envision a tangible transformation that respects the community's deep sense of place and belonging. A possible intervention might involve exposing parts of the original structural framework of buildings whose ruins were buried under patches of overgrown greenery following post-war demolitions. By vertically extruding these remnants by approximately one meter, the project would re-establish a visual memory of the site's historical fabric, giving new meaning to the informal, everyday practices that continue to animate the underlying urban grid<sup>29</sup>.

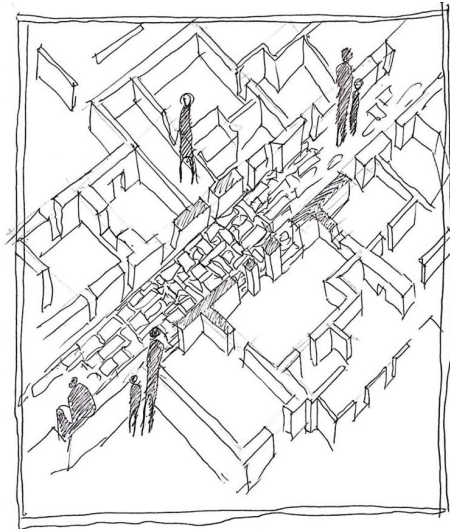


Fig. 12 – Hypotesis of a project in Piazza Magione [personal elaboration].

The goal would be to reinterpret the ground as a true environmental infrastructure—a network of re-emerging walls that delineate new urban micro-spaces and invite a renewed reading of the open-air cityscape. In this scenario, the extruded fragments of the former residential layout would function as ordering devices, transforming the void into a meaningful space and redistributing ground hierarchies through separations, thresholds, edges, and pre-existing pathways.

<sup>29</sup> A comparison of intent could be made between the current configuration of Piazza Magione and Burri's cretto intervention after the Belice earthquake of 1968. Leaving aside the fact that this is a Land Art work on the old Gibellina, in both cases the rubble was recompacted, creating volumes that enclose within them (both metaphorically and physically) the traces of the past and the structure of the dwellings below. In both interventions, the intermediary space between the volumes takes up the old configuration of the city streets (see also footnote no. 30).

Crucially, this approach anticipates the unpredictability of urban dynamics. It incorporates the potential for deviation—whether financial, administrative, or related to spontaneous user behaviours—into the very structure of the project. A truly adaptive urban strategy must also account for **failure as an inherent part of the design process**. Planning for success alone is insufficient; a resilient city must anticipate disruptions, misuses, and unintended consequences.

By acknowledging the inevitability of change, planners can incorporate **"fail-safe" design elements**—as said, spatial components that remain functional even when original intentions are not realized. This could mean designing flexible infrastructures that can be easily repurposed or ensuring that modifications to the urban fabric can be reversed if necessary.

Ultimately, the goal of urban design should not be to impose a fixed, final vision but rather to create **an open-ended system capable of evolving organically over time**. As Rosario Pavia argues, "The ground itself must become a resource, metabolizing urban waste to generate new life."<sup>30</sup>



Fig. 13 - Foro Italico, waterfront. Pedestrian transit area for strolling, when necessary transformed into an open-air mosque [photo by Francesco Faraci, 2021].

Any intervention in the Kalsa must take into account the *everyday, micro-level creative practices*<sup>31</sup> that define Palermo's urban identity. The informal ways in which people appropriate and transform space are not anomalies to be corrected but rather essential components of the city's character. Every narrative action of a citizen manifests an experience of space that specifies the elementary forms of its organising practices<sup>32</sup>.

<sup>30</sup> Rosario Pavia, *Suolo e rigenerazione urbana*, 03/05/2017 [from: <https://dasandere.it/suolo-e-rigenerazione-urbana/>, consulted on 02/12/2024].

<sup>31</sup> De Certeau M., *L'invenzione del quotidiano*, Roma, Edizioni Lavoro, 2012, cit. pp. 8-9.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 174.

Future research—including this study’s ongoing thesis project—will further investigate these processes, developing concrete strategies for integrating spontaneous urban practices into long-term planning. Rather than treating the city as a static object, this approach recognizes it as a **living, participatory landscape**, shaped as much by its inhabitants as by its architectural structures.

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