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COMMERCIAL TERTIARY SECTOR AND URBAN NETWORK IN THE REGIONAL GEOGRAPHICAL PERSPECTIVE

Not more than ten or fifteen years ago, a survey on commercial ter tiary sector and urban network would have had an undeniable character of vanguard, at least in Italian geography; today the same thematic formulation could even give the unpleasant impression of a cultural rear-guard, as an evidence of the passage to the post-industrial stage which has already occurred, on one side, characterized by the predominating quaternary, on the other by the considerable conceptual progress - above all in epistemological and interpretative terms - accomplished by regional geography.

Therefore, a preliminary theoretical and methodological outline is necessary, with the object of reaching a better interpretation of the data and situations concerning. Southern Italy, which will occupy the second part of the survey.

Always in 1981 I was working on one of my surveys on the geographic aspects of the commercial tertiary sector in Italy (Landini, 1981) underlining, as fundamental, the structural and gravitational characters of a clear functionalist tradition. The recent development of the systemic regional geography and of the subjectivist geography leads me, now, to stress at least two further currents of research, that is to say the diffusive processes of innovation and the behavioral factors, the latter seen not only from the side of the consumers, but also of the commercial contractors. Moreover, the problem of the relationship with the urbanistic subjects (Landini and Mura, 1982) leads me to certain considerations on urban geography with the aim of turning to a more narrowly. Operative level.

Starting from the beginning, I don't think it is useless to recall how modern commercial geography separating from the classic pattern . the and logy of commerce, rises with the advent of the functionalist regio nal geography and in particular with the Christaller pattern K=3, that finalized to a more rational organization of the market, esta blishes the two concepts of hierarchical urban network and gravita tional area. Concepts that are still fundamental even in the most evolved modern approaches in the tertiary field, but invalidated, in the original structuralist formulation, by simplifying theories (uniformity of the territory, equidistribution of the population, frictionality of the distance proportional to absolute values, undifferentiated tendency to consumption) now so clearly unaccepta ble as to deserve the charge of "aspatiality" (Hubbard and Thompson, 1981) and mainly of stillness.

The more and more striking division of work in the advanced nations has relegated commercial distribution to the inferior level of the functional tertiary pyramid, determining a strong loss

of centrality (also in a topographic sense), and has inserted it in such a complex system of interactions that it has altered, in a significative manner, the meaning of the most consolidated parameters, threshold and range of the services included. It suffices to think of the heavy interventions of the public capital and of the multinational societies in the distribution networks; of the location of units of the great distribution (ipermarkets, cash and carry, etc.) in baricentric areas, but not corresponding to high level hierarchical crucial points in the pre-existent urban structure; of the "social" division of certain services (mainly schooling and sanitary services) under minimal threshold values, with the consequent induction of "artificial" processes of urbanization, largely involving the whole tertiary structure.

In its turn the diffusion of this innovation, even though it continues in part to follow the empirical regularities of hierarchical and proximity effects, has become strongly selective in passing from one geographic scale to the other (national, regional, local), also as a consequence of the strategies adopted by the diverse "agencies" and of the degree of mass-media reception (Brown 1981, pp.20-22, 37-45 and 52-56). The increased interdependence with the industrial sector and with its decisional centres of marketing, 'is too evident to be discussed, but it seems to have nearly "skipped" the inferior tertiary, to connect itself directly to the quaternary.

This statement is sharp, perhaps, in reference to the Italian case, and particularly to Southern Italy: while, in fact, in the European Community sphere one guesses the saturation of determined structures (for example the same ipermarkets, around any estimate number of about 3,000), our country still has few units; the tendency towards a distributive rationalization on the meso-micro, regional markets, supposed at the beginning of the 70s, has turned out to be very weak for some contents of lacunose law 426/71;

the potentiation of the commercial networks in the peripheric areas appears to have been wholly disregarded; finally, the investments in advanced technologies, up to telematics, seem to exclude the distributive compartment. So the principal innovative characters that should organize the commercial distribution in Western Europe, during the 80s, would see Italy far behind.

However I don't want to affirm that univocal parameters can be applied successfully to such different geographic and social situations as those of post-industrial Europe and Southern Italy, where industrialization and tertiarization, rather than being in a former phase, have followed processes of development that are not always physiological; and where the persistence of traditional, strongly rooted ways of life suggests prudence in superimposing functional models verified in different contexts.

Actually, studies of behaviorist geography, abundant in literature, are about advanced countries mainly and are conducted with a great use of functionalist methodologies (especially multivariate analysis). Among the emerging variables, both in the orientation of the demand and the supply, and thus in the total regulation of the functional strcture, nevertheless one can point out besides those that are more strictly economic-spatial (location, accessibi lity, dimension) also the morphologic (in an urbanistic sense), the demographic (composition of the population according to age), the ethnical (particularly relevant in the "ghettos" of immigration from countries of the Third World and in the bilingual areas), the perceptive (peculiar are the cases of cities with strong groups temporary immigrants devoted to specific activities: internaofficials, university students) and generally the sociopolitical ones (levels of income, conceptions of wealth, class divisions). The quantification of such variables is not always easy, and this leads to sensible difficulties in the verification and the application of the results achieved.

I should like to dwell upon a ultimate aspect of method: it is, as I mentioned at the beginning, the relationship between urban geography and commercial structure. The quality jump represented by the functionalist regional geography, shifting the inte rest of the survey from the location of "homogeneous areas" (in the sense of ambits of diffusion of a natural or human rising element), to the valuation of the relationships of power among the diverse elements of the territorial system, has brought geography out of the single city, shifting it on the urban structure. It has found in the gravitational areas for services - first of all the com mercial ones - the new logic of the regionalization of space, supported by more and more sophisticated measuring techniques. herent and objective reassuring results have derived from it, among which I should like to remember for Italy the Atlas of SOMEA (1973), that hierarchized about 3,000 supply centres in 13 urban ranks and the whole national territory in 8 levels of commer cial areas. I think it is significant to read again, after more than a decade, a passage by Mainardi, published in the theoreticinterpretative introduction of the same atlas: "a system of centres arranged in a hierarchy constitutes an efficient way of organi zation of the commercial and administrative activities. A -articulated system can avoid duplications and waste and it allows the realization of benefits for the community deriving from scale economies. The individualization of a network of centres and of the type of functions appropriate to each level of the hierarchy allows the best localization of new equipments and, if the scale of activities of a given function is rapidly changing, it offers a systematic basis for a rational territorial organization. As a system of centres of services is a constitutive part of the econo mical and social life of an area, it must be considered in every matter of territorial reorganization. In the case of a region characterized by rapid changes in the distribution of population in

the territory (rural exodus, urbanization, metropolization), by a mobility growth (motorization), by changes in the range of economic activities (modernization in agriculture, processes of industrial concentration, specialization of the services), the concepts of the theory of the central places allow the individualization of the nets and hierarchy in which these changes take place and to focus the interdependence relations among the different places that are at the basis of the economical-territorial structure of the region. These relations of interdependence among the different parts of the territory (differentiated centres according to type and dimension, tributary areas) are fundamental even for a rational organization of the community services: health services, education, etc.

With the changing of the optional scale of such services the different levels of urban hierarchy provide an organized structure where optimal locations can be chosen for new equipments, and also to decide which locations, having become inefficient, must be closed down. In the view of a general process of urbanization, the cities grow in number and dimension, while the rural areas, in their turn in full transformation, require a number of services greatly superior to that of the past, even recent past, and in continuous, rapid growth. The regional planning must manage these relations and encourage the change through the central role of the cities, as they are the focal points in the reorganization of community life and centres of diffusion of the innovations".

An extract that marks in an excellent manner - and with greatinsight - the passage from a functionalist regionalization to a systemic one, stressing the importance of the continuity between these two moments of the geographic thought already stated in 1969 by Harvey (Vallega, 1982, p.108).

Besides the fact that such an opinion can be shared, there is the

more and more convinced necessity that the objectivity of certain regional mechanisms should be criticized, even through the revision of the relationship city-territory: the "fall structure" of the functionalist theories leaves the place to interactive processes where the city is no longer "the island" of organicistic conceptions, but becomes territory. And, inside the urban space, the division of work, linking itself to property income mechanisms, hierarchizes the crucial points that, in their turn, are truly central places: at this point! should like to mention a pioneering work by De Matteis (1966) that up to the moment hasn't had any apt sequel in the literature of Italian geography.

So, the post-industrial city tends to outdo the monocentric agglomerative models: the innovation always selects new central activities; and turns out from CBD the most banal and obsolete commercial services. We can say that the geographer returns to the inside of the city, taking along the experiences of the regional and social research, in order to allow himself to overcome the techniques of the urbanist zoning and to interpret the functional situations that cannot always be taken for granted (Faccioli, 1982).

From a planning point of view, great importance is to be given to the reclassification of the commercial typologies: solutions like the shopping-centre that still in the early 70s appeared to be indisputably valid, today should be calibrated and diversified according to the role that should be given to such elements in the orientation of the processes of arrangement of the extra-intraurban territory (Dawson, 1982, p. 126). In this way multifunctional centres arise in which retail trade is only part of a series of economical structures, of superior tertiaries and of social services, to be located either in suburban areas to favour the decongestioning of the great metropolis, or in central areas, to strengthen the growth of new cities; but in the same central areas of old cities such structures can contribute to the revitalization of hi-

storical pre-existence in a transitional phase, while specialized centres can be linked both to a single productive department and to receptive plants, both in a tourist and business sense. The hie rarchical criteria are valid in the localizative planning of the great retail structures (ipermarkets, supermarkets, general stores), if filtered through really innovative parametres (and not simple dimensional standards!), besides being filtered through a through exam of the perceptive and behaviorist attitudes expressed by the different antropogeographical contecsts. As regards this point I think the criticism of the application of the elements elaborated for the analysis of the commercial hierarchies in the Western World to situations of the Third World is appropriate for example, the review of the book of Sami, 1980, by Jansen).

Lustly there are some considerations to be made concerning the Italian urban-commercial situation, as the more recent results show us. The structural pattern, in the decade 1971-81, doesn't seem to have undergone a sensible change: in the whole country the exercises of retail trade have grown from 807,000 to 854,000 (+5.8%) and in Southern Italy (continental and insular) from 278,000 to 305,000 (+9.7%); the average number of the workers per exercise has not changed, it nearly reaches 2 units on a national level, and it is under 1.7 units in the southern compartment. So if the proliferation of the local units seems to have slowed down (compared to the 21.2% and 23.7% growth, respectively, registered in the pre vious decade), the condition of pulverization of the distributive system is quite evident for what concerns jobs (it is to be remembered that France registers an average of 4.5 workers per exercise). And if any form of innovative nationalization can be deducted from the diminution of exercises in the alimentary branch (-13.5% for Italy; -9% for Southern Italy), with a great diffusion of supermarkets, at least in relative terms (from 600 to 1,600 units in the whole country; from 65 to 300 units in Southern Italy),—

the non-alimentary branch has not contributed, as to expectation, to a dimensional and functional reinforcement of the structure, rising the local units to 26% in the national scale and 32.2%in the southern area. This datum referred to Southern Italy can be interpreted in the sense, not negative in itself, of an evolution of the consumption models and of their partial adaptation to those of the more advanced regions; but in this second compartment of the retail trade the chains of the great distribution seem to be scarcely incisive, if it is true that the general stores, always in a decade, have passed only from 550 to 780 units in the whole country and from 147 to 236 units in Southern Italy. More positive signals come from the associative forms, especial ly for what concerns the buying groups, but always far from marking in a significant way the whole of the distribution net: 6% of the Italian retailers adhere to it (4% in 1971) with a net prevalence of the food branch (12.6% on the total) over the others (just 1.7%).

The thresholds of potential consumers are averagely low and tend to lower because of the demographic stagnation that is occurring in our country, and which, as we well-know, is more and more involving the southern regions. In the decade 1972-82, the number of inhabitants per retail exercise has gone down in Italy from 67 to 64 (from 60 to 64 in Southern Italy), even if a certain kind of balance has taken place inside the two fundamental compartments: in the alimentary one the economicity of the exercises would seem to have grown, as it can count on, in the national average, 159 consumers (against 133; 145 against 123 in Southern Italy); while in the non alimentary compartment the reduction of the thresholds (from 136 to 108 inhabitants per exercise in the whole country; from 145 to 114 in Southern Italy) could be explained as a consumers diversification and capillar penetration in the territory, that is a reinforcement of a good number of central places of the middle-inferior levels, if the abnormous growth of the prices, the repetitivity and the scarce qualitative level of the goods and the services offered didn't suggest, directly observing the phenomenon, less encouraging considerations.

So the commercial tertiary in such an advanced country like Italy, is still a shelter-sector too often operating under the

threshold levels and unable to support in an adequate manner the already difficult produzctive development.

A further confirmation of this assumption still comes from the forms of distribution which should be more advanced, and which probably, in the negative, feel the effects of a typological rigidity hardly adaptable to those new localizing and functional models proposed by the post-industrial type of urbanization, which I have rapidly mentioned, previously, at a method level. It is, a fact that, today, food-stuffs supermarkets put at the disposal of 1,000 inhabitants little more than 22 square metres of selling-area, in an Italian average, and just 10 square metres in. Southern Italy (even greatly increased in comparison with the 9 and 3 square metres respectively, in 1972) and the great non-alimentary distribution networks not even 25 square metres, at a national level, and 17.3 square metres in the South (against 18.7 and 12.7 square metres, which the increase, in the decade, seems really scanty).

The geographers' contribution to the analysis of the tertiary sector, initially tied to functionalist—theories, has evolved, as I have already mentioned at the beginning, along the modern directrices of regional science, putting itself in a position not really to seize the sectoral aspects of the problem, but to insert it in the nets and in the flows which, dynamicalized and directed, form the so-called "process of regionalization". Therefore, every research of commercial geography will not prescind—as, perhaps, has happened in the past—from the effects of induced actions and retroactions, upstream, from primary and secondary sectors, as well as, downstream, from the advanced tertiary; and, moreover, will give much more attention to social, psychological and behavioral—factors, which the modelling of the 60's and 70's (not only the geographical one) has undoubtfully underestimated.

key-themes, in which the geographers can really be considered greatly specialized, remain as steady points not only of the theoretic research but also of the applicative research. So the relationship between urban structure and commercial gravitation re-emerge, which, without restricting the view to a static areal decomposition, form a valid instrument - in my opi nion - for the measurement and the so planning of the flows cerstainly more frequent and intensive on the territory, connected to the availiability and to the fruition of goods and services necessary for the survival (non basic) and for the growth (ba--sic) of human groups, anyhow organized. So this elementary distinction between banal and specific functions immediately recal Is the concept of hierarchy, not an ideological construction of a geography useful to power and social control, but effectual reality of spaces which, for the play of natural and anthropical are arranged in centres and suburbs; reality, still, verifiable even in the individual psychological attitudes, as it has been lately stated in reference to the decisionalotivations of the business agents Halperin and others, 1983).

They are geographical "injustices" which perhaps may not be eliminated, and for example when - typical case, in Italy, may be Sardinia - a weak demographic density extends the range of the middle-superior services to insustainable distances, or when particular physical obstacles - and this is the case of many inside Italian southern areas - reduce the accessibility to "central" areas, which have almost always slid towards the coast or are situated in the few levelled areas. But they are injustices in which economic and social history denounces human complicity, both going back to the feudal arrangements that have stood for centuries in the large landed estate structures, to which the thinning of the southern urban network is

to be ascribed; and, recently, pointing out the scant attention given, by the planning organs, to the reinforcement of those agrarian structures on which, following the capitalistic or metayeral management models, the north-western and central part of our country have set up the bases of the subsequent industrial and tertiary growth. The fact that, as to local urban centres - able to work through a limited number of specific activities - there are in Southern Italy (particularly in Campania, Apulia . and Sicily, but also in Calabria) agglomerations of 40-50,000 inhabitants, while in Middle-Northern Italy the same functions are fulfilled by small towns of 15-20,000 inhabitants, doesn't only reflect an installing structure greaterly centralized, but expresses the gaudy under-dimension, just from the functional point of view, even some rare centres of a very wide and discontinuous urban network, whereas, on inferior hierarchical evels, banal activies still characterize many centres which on the contrary, for demographic consistency and geographic position, should place themselves as the connective tissue of an efficient district organization.

For an analytical examination of the density ratios range of services, obviously influenced by the tertiary capacity of the centres and by the configuration of connectional networks, I believe it is better to refer what has already been written elsewhere (Landini, 1973 and 1981): here I just want to remind how Campania, in spite of a relative anthropical burden more than twice, has a supply centre for commercial services superior every 2,700 square kilometres (on the average) against the 1,400 square kilometres in Piedmont: and Calabria, with only 20 inhabitants per square kilometer less than Tuscany, shows an amplitude of the areas of influence, for the same range of services, which is almost triple. These gravitational data go back to the beginning of the 70's SOMEA, 1973); yet, the modest

structural evolution of the sector, as we have seen above, doesn't let us presume substantial changes in the last ten The results of a recent survey confirm so (Landini, 1983), even only for the levels of the urban hierarchy going from the metropolitan to the subregional ones, where the greatest dynamism is noticed by the "middle" regions of Italy (North-Eastern and Central Italy) and by the Milan urbanized region, while south of a line Viterbo-Civitanova Marche the network of the cities results strongly statical (except for Salerno, Lecce, Potenza and Agrigento) and, what is worse, hardly thickened: from the local urban level would go up to the subregional one just five centres (Andria, in Apulia; Acireale and Sciacca, in Sicily; Olbia and Oristano, in Sardinia; whilst Castellammare di Stabia, in Campania, and Nuoro, in Sardinia, would be receded); on the contrary, in the Middle-North the new "entrances" in the subregional level would be over twenty, to which the other numerous passages to higher levels are added, particularly in Emilia-Romagna and northern Tuscany. Results, then, very worrisome for the South, even without hiding the limits of an only commercial hierarchy, that, besides excluding the quaternary services - section in which the situation of Italy appears, perhaps, less unbalanced (Pinna and Ruocco, 1980) has not proceeded to a new classification of the very tertiaries, many of which "banalized" during the 70's (just think about certain selling services for durable consumers goods: per exam ple, cars, in spite of the occurring slump in this sector), and other "rarefied" (especially the artisan kind of services).

Facing a total situation of weak regional cohesion, the territorial planning of commercial services would be called to assume a determinating role, as basic tissue, especially in the "inside" or "marginal" areas (for the concept of geographical marginality, as for Italy, see Cencini and others, 1983):

as regard, recent methodological contributions (Bavaro 1983), with a specific regard to the disposition of mountain communities, emphasize, on one side, the inadeguacy of law 426/71 and, on the other, the need of aggregating and polarizing participation, without neglecting the magnitude of traditional forms, like the hawker, above all in the most demographical thinning out areas, where the achievement of the slightest demand threshowld is possible, for steady commerce at the most banal or subsisting levels.

A short parenthesis about the hawkers can be opened, with the aim of reminding how the survey of periodical fairs and markets has depicted a "classic" of anthropical geography of prefunctional formulation; in logical connection with the latter, the phenomenon has been described and interpretated as a display of the forms produced by local ways of life, rather than a functional network, to progressively rationalize, to adequate it to the modifications of the installing and consumption structures. Also the Christaller's formulation of the problem, tied to the mechanism range-capacity of the distributed goods, yet, is considered today as surmountable (and to be surpassed) in economic-space terms of the demand curves correlated to the objectives of the seller's profits, or to the cost/price ratio (ilay and Beavon, 1979).

In short, some notes - at least in appearance positive - about the evolution of the wholesale structure: in the decade 1971-81 Southern Italy has considerably recovered the disadvantage, that I noticed elsewhere (Landini, 1981, pp.28-30) in comparison with . Middle-Northern Italy increasing of one third the alimentary wholesale units, and even doubling the non alimentary units, against respective increments of 10-15% and of 60-65% in the other territorial section (Min. Ind. Comm. Artig., 1983). This has produced many consequences even on the gravitational level, with the creation of new barycentric areas:

in Calabria, for example, in the Gioia Tauro plain, no longer attracted by Messina and by Reggio, but rather able to polarize the same area of the "straits"; or in Nolano (Campania) where the location of a wholesale centre which unites 160 or more firms, working in about fifteen branches pertaining to the technology of commerce, seems in a position to offer - forming a real "commercial city" - an interesting alternative to Naple's metropolitan congestion and to contribute to the most balanced development of one of the commercial subsystems greatly discussed in the South.

At the statistical reading of the phenomenon we must add, however, a social-geographical interpretation, especially in the areas influenced by submerged interagency models or, to say it clearly, belonging to the "mafia": here, the strenghtening of the wholesale structure may not correspond to an effective improvement of the distributing network, above all as regards the fundamental effect of price control.

Urban structure and commercial tertiary then see all the mutual interdependences confirmed, even in a context which is more and more amplified, diversified and complexed, in the passing to a post-industrial division of work and regional architectures: in these, the distributive function of goods and services maintains, and more than that emphasizes, the character of basic structure: without that the process of further development - as to "quinary" - would present an inadmissible gap. Southern Italy is, really, in such a dangerous situation: as to the initiatives of high technology, both industrial and quaternary, there is no urban connective tissue able to diffuse innovation, production and income effects.

An interrogative point, for the future, which also the rationalization of commercial activities may certainly help to give an agreeable and satisfying reply.

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