

LATENT CONFLICTS AND PLANNING ETHICAL CHALLENGES IN THE SOUTH-EASTERN SICILY LANDSCAPE OF EXCEPTION ¹

Francesco Lo Piccolo* and Vincenzo Todaro**

* Department of Architecture, University of Palermo (Italy), francesco.lopiccolo@unipa.it

** Department of Architecture, University of Palermo (Italy), vincenzo.todaro@unipa.it

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Abstract

In the last 30 years Southern Italy has changed from being a region of emigration to one of immigration, in main cities as well as in rural areas. Accordingly, South-Eastern Sicily is experiencing remarkable physical, social and economic changes, with significant changes in the agricultural landscape.

Statistics of the last 20 years show high levels of development of the agricultural sector, with remarkable innovation and internationalization of production. At the same time rural areas show a higher concentration of – often illegal – immigrants in rural areas. Landscape planning and management ensure more sustainable local development. The difficult conditions of life and their work in the agricultural sector produce: (I) new and differentiated rural lifestyles, as social result of the interaction between different ethnic groups (globalization of the countryside); (II) a "landscape of exception" as spatial result of the power relations between the space of the powerful and the space of the powerless, produced by a suspension of the rights/norms that is paradoxically (Mitchell, 2005).

The paper focuses on the cause-effect relationship between landscape planning, agricultural development and exploitation of immigrants labour, highlighting the ethical challenges that configuration/regulation produces forms of surveillance, subjugation, exploitation and power inequality (Mitchell, 2002). The paper describes (latent) conflicts and power inequalities in the agricultural landscape, highlighting the ethical challenges and dilemma of landscape planning where issues of social justice, sustainable development and suspension of norms are intertwined.

1. Introduction

As highlighted by Yiftachel (1998), planning as oppression exists in a variety of forms, reflecting a range of social relations in space. The Marxist planning theorists analysed the relationship between planning and power in light of the exercise of political domination based on the exploitation of the working class by the capitalist class (Hoch, 1984), which are mainly due to the contradictions of capitalist economic power.

Alternative interpretations of power in planning beyond the Marxist analytical framework have been undertaken more recently. Under the influence of cultural studies many scholars have analysed the impact of urban policies and regional developments on ethnic groups in order to understand the social and cultural impact. The most comprehensive analysis has been done by Flyvbjerg (1998), who analyses the relationship between (asymmetrical) opposition of rationality and power. This turn towards the dark side of planning in the domain of power which has been largely explored by Yiftachel (1994), Gunder and Mouat (2002) and Kamete (2012), highlights the unethical implications of planning.

¹ Although the article should be considered a result of the common work and reflections of the two authors, Francesco Lo Piccolo took primary responsibility for sections 2, 4, 5, and V. Todaro took primary responsibility for sections 1, 3, and 6.

relationship (Yiftachel, 1995; Flyvbjerg, 1998; Bollens, 1998). These authors have shown the other side of planning where a political power uses planning as a tool of oppression (Sandercock, 1998; Hillier, 2002), leading to subjugation, exclusion, and social injustice.

However, a further example of a model for utilization of planning in the exercise of an instrument of oppression of the weaker party, is the one, paradoxically, linked to the periphery. In geographically marginal, and, from the institutional standpoint, often precarious areas, such as certain areas in southern Italy, and in particular socio-economic conditions, one comes across the phenomenon of so-called suspension of norms (often regarding the instrument contents) and unanimously acknowledged regulations, this often being a perverse alliance between economic and political power.

In these cases a determined economic power, firmly rooted in the local area, manipulates the political sphere by freezing the system of rules that might otherwise damage its interests. In regard to southern Italian rural contexts, the presence of a great immigrant flow adds another dimension to this state of affairs.

In these contexts landscape is transformed into playing the role of exercising the role of achieving fair and equal development; the economic power produces subjugation, exclusion, and surveillance through landscape transformation. This paper argues that landscape turns into a landscape of exception (Lo Piccolo and Halawani, 2012) and demonstrates how landscape is not free from conflicts and power inequalities; it is manipulated vigorously in the organization of landscape. A particular example of the relationship between power and landscape is the case of the South-Eastern Sicily, that is discussed in this paper. The aim is to analyse the instrumental use of (planning) techniques and laws in order to manipulate these relationships. In order to explain by which mechanisms oppression actually occurs, the paper uses Agamben's concepts.

2. Theoretical and conceptual framework

2.1 Power relations in the domain of (planning) laws using Foucauldian approaches

Flyvbjerg (1998) has dealt with power and oppression in planning practice in the context of the theory of power. Pliiger (2008) applies the Foucauldian analyses of governmentality, arguing that planning is governmentalized through institutionalized hierarchies, distributing power in space and time and represents institutional ways of thinking. Intensively analysed by Hillier (2002), Michel Foucault's theories on the relationship between power and knowledge offer a comprehensive framework through which to criticize the role of planning. It appears to be neutral and innocent from control. Although the work of Foucault is useful for understanding the relationships between power and knowledge, the ambiguous and incomplete nature of the law is another key element in the relations between planning and power.

The exercise of power (and oppression) occurs in the domain of the law, although it is often manipulated and unequally applied; this is what exception means according to Agamben. Agamben conceptualizes the concept of exception by connecting it with: suspension of laws, suspension of constitutional principles, and misuse of norms.

Consequently this paper makes use of the integration of these approaches to create a framework to understand the transformation of the landscape in the South-Eastern Sicily, and the exercise of power that is produced by landscape transformation.

The paper starts by reviewing some theories of power relations starting with Foucault and then by exploring the concept of the state of exception developed by Agamben. These theoretical references provide a lens through which we can view the manipulation of power.

in the South-Eastern Sicily, where landscape has been employed to serve the control/dominate immigrant workers. As such this paper highlights a gap in planning in which landscape is manipulated to play the role of an exercise of power. The Foucauldian approach (1977), is particularly helpful in understanding the mechanisms that are used by a hegemonic power as tools to control people and the space they inhabit. The Agambenian approach is helpful in understanding the way in which a hegemonic power manipulates laws to exercise power over certain social groups. Agamben (2005) analyses the relation between government and society: if the mandate of necessity becomes a permanent state can be such a superior power, if it circumvents and suspends laws and norms, that the law is obliterated in the state of exception the state still claims to be the law. In this sense the power (state) becomes the law and the exception becomes a rule. What, consequently, happens to the space, geography, and landscape when the state insists upon controlling them, or when it dominates the landscape while at the same time obliterated those who are powerless? The next sections examine this issue and the consequences of hegemony on landscape.

2.2 Power, ideology and landscape

One of the privileges of power, and an integral part of rationality, is the freedom to intervene (Flyvbjerg, 1998). This general statement applies also to landscape, as a socio-spatial product of human interventions, but of the exercise of power. The greater the power, the greater the freedom in this respect to define and dominate landscape, and the less need for power to be exercised. Landscape is really constructed.

Landscape is a material as well as cultural artefact; it is a datum, but it is also a place, but it is also its imagine. When we refer to landscape, we do not only refer to an object, but we refer to a multiple interpretation of it. Accordingly, in recent years, landscape literature has developed a more diverse approach to landscape. The work of Mitchell (1996) in his book *Landscape and Power*, which was originally published in 1994, shifts the meaning of landscape from an object to a process by which social and subjective identities are formed. Barbara Bender (1998) highlights the role of power and inequality in the (political) production of landscape, and of the historical and geographical specificity of the social relations that shape it. Representations of landscape become political issues mediated through the planning process. Planning tends to adopt a site specific and segregationist approach (Hillier, 1998). According to Purinton (2002) ideologies can play a predominant role in creating a narrative of landscape. A narrative of landscape is not innocent of ideology, it can be used in the formation and enactment of territorial claims. It also has the ability to produce relations of power (Purinton, 2002, p. 142).

Also economic power can shape landscape and many of its features, loading it with meanings and representations, through which new systems of authorities and beliefs are produced. The relation between landscape, power and ideology makes the production of landscape a controversial issue, playing a role in the exercise of power.

Applying Agamben's concepts to our planning examples, we highlight as planning strategies that allow power to exert domination and control, using mechanisms of exception within the production of landscape. In the light of Agamben's concepts, we analyse the technical and juridical mechanisms through which landscape transformations and planning emerge as an oppressive activity. A key note is that also a strong economic power in the state of exception does not only try to circumvent constitutional principles, but also tries to produce new laws in order to regulate the issue of regulations with the purpose of exercising its control over people. Furthermore, the work of Agamben considers the law as a paradigm of knowledge. In this sense, government or a specific form of power can exercise power over people. Hence,

understand the manipulation of landscape in the South-Eastern Sicily is based on the mentioned scholars' work. The function of landscape as a medium of oppression cannot be achieved without a system of laws in which the spatial knowledge is used as an instrument of power. In the case of the South-Eastern Sicily, as it is shown in the next sections, through planning law there is an exercise of power, also when it is suspended.

Thereby, landscape acquires new meanings: subjection, domination, exclusion, and the function of social control. In this sense the social control is exercised within the norms which are tied to spatial knowledge (planning, architecture, geography) and manipulated. According to Agamben (2005) the state of exception creates a new law away from ordinary norms: the state of exception is the opening space in which the norms reveal their separation (). In this way, the impossible task of welding norm and exception thereby constituting the normal sphere, is carried out in the form of the exception (Agamben, 2005: 40).

3. The South-Eastern Sicily case

3.1 Local context, cultural heritage, success of the greenhouses

In the Italian national scene, South-Eastern Sicily is known as the 'other Sicily' from the cultural and economic standpoint, comparable to Provinces in northern Italy within the Island, thanks to its historic autonomy (Chiaula, 2011) and a dynamic context that differs greatly from the rest of Sicily (Spataro, Gentiloni and Spataro, 2011). Furthermore, South-Eastern Sicily features an exceptionally high concentration of cultural heritage, which on one side makes it greatly exposed to the risk of deterioration of resources allocated to protection and preservation interventions, but, on the other side, opens up opportunities for the potential synergies that can be activated especially with respect to cultural investments (Azzolina et al., 2012).

Nonetheless, the most manifest features of this territory are the numberless intertwined systems of values and resources depending on one another. An intricate network of archaeological sites of the classical age, agricultural areas with farmhouses and centres, distorting and adapting to the morphology of the territory (Nifos and Liguori, 2011). In particular, in the hilly and mountainous zone the landscape remains almost unchanged, with examples of actual rural architecture in the peasant tradition, the area being enhanced by agro-tourism in its various forms (Ibla sharing).

The same thing cannot be said for the coastal landscape, in which the farmland and greenhouse cultivation, continuously and uninterruptedly along the coastal strip, with an almost surreal landscape, in which the vast plastic expanse, with the reflection of the greenhouse roofs, encroaches on the surface of the sea. This landscape has been transformed because of the productive system of the greenhouses, losing the traditional features that have characterized it during the centuries.

Furthermore, this area is characterized by the presence of extraordinary urban centres that do not follow the natural morphology of the territory or the ostentatious baroque architecture. The territory contributed to the creation of a complex and polycentric settlement pattern, where small and medium-sized urban areas are scattered on the edge of calcarenitic terraces along the coast and creating breathtaking landscapes.

The town centres feature baroque architecture and urban style (Noto, Scicli, Modica, Ragusa, Ispica) and minor Italian Liberty style (Ispica, Canicattini Bagni). These exceptionally beautiful urban landscapes perfectly express the baroque ideal, where architecture, space and light merge and reach maximum harmony. After all,

best expresses the most specific features of baroque architecture, which emerged extensively during the 17th century (Blunt, 1968) in South-Eastern Sicily, a territory geographically and cultural periphery (Nobile, 1990).

From the economic point of view, within the framework of nationwide policy with development, South-Eastern Sicily has traditionally occupied a primary role, in the process of transformation in agricultural production, supported by a combination of entrepreneurial ability, with significant results on the international exportation (Pitti, 2011; Giampino, Picone and Todaro, 2014).

This state of affairs has given rise to a dense mosaic of vegetable, flower and fruit cultivation, which can be added to the renowned quality-wine production (Cerasuolo di Vittoria). This production is centred in the Hyblean fruit and vegetable region, mainly in the *fascia trasformata* (transformed strip) (municipalities of Vittoria, Acate, Comiso, Santa Croce Camerina) that constitutes the heart of a more wide-ranging agricultural area comprising about 9,000 enterprises with about 26,000 workers (CCIAA-Camera di Commercio, Ragusa, 2012), handling a little over 9,000 hectares of UAA, of which 2/3 is set aside for horticulture. With regard to this specific sector, there are 3,331 farms and greenhouses (about 75% of the Regional greenhouse total and 30% of the national total); tomatoes, of early produce, and peppers, aubergines, courgettes and cucumbers make up the main products. In recent years there has also been an increase in table-grape greenhouse production (ISTAT, 2014). The success of greenhouse production, often described as the economic miracle of Sicily, agriculture has represented, according to Saltini (1982), one of the sprightliest phenomena to hit the entire Italian agricultural scene. This success has not been limited to actual production, which has managed to profitably exploit terrain previously considered of little economic interest, but has triggered wide-ranging spin-offs involving sectors such as agriculture, such as seed-production, commerce in pesticides and plastics (polyethylene), of materials for packaging products, road transport etc.

3.2 Landscape transformation and planning suspension

The introduction of greenhouses in South-Eastern Sicily dates back to the late 1950s when farmers decided to reconvert their fruit and vegetable production from agriculture to greenhouse cultivation. This approach consented the extra production of out-of-season vegetables, rendering agricultural enterprise more profitable. In the wake of initial success, greenhouse production, especially with regard to tomatoes, soon replaced most of the traditional agricultural activity, including that of grapes.

From this moment on, the success of greenhouse production meant that economic changes were widespread and profound in the traditional local landscape. In order to level the terrain is necessary and so, the famous *macconi* (sand-dunes), especially those of Punta Secca (Ragusa) and Punta Secca (Santa Croce Camerina), had to be levelled out; over a long time a natural modulation had produced a singular landscape, with alternations of wind-eroded hills characterized by typical dune vegetation (Campione and Sgroi, 1994). In some cases, the dunes extended as far as the water's edge. The sand-dune landscape was reduced to a flat surface between the greenhouses; the end-effect is one of a vast translucent surface (a plastic sheeting), which extends in homogeneous fashion over the whole area, levelling out the terrain's natural depressions and protuberances (Campione and Sgroi, 1994). As we shall see in subsequent paragraphs the new lay-out of the landscape, by the pressure of economic power on the natural morphology of the area and on who owns the greenhouses, represents a landscape of exception, which, re-reading the conventional landscape, is a state of exception (understood as a suspension of the rights/norms, which is p

constitutes a possible spatial organization of this phenomenon. In this way the landscape becomes a landscape of exception .

In this, furthermore, the condition of exception of the Ragusan greenhouse is explicit in accordance with a dual modality: one spatial and the other social. The former emerges through the suspension of planning-instrument contents, and suspension of greenhouse-worker rights.

From the planning point of view, the Province of Ragusa has a greater number of Provinces in Sicily, dealing with aspects of both territorial planning and environmental safeguard.

On the subject of greenhouses, general awareness has been noticeably heightened by the impact produced on the environment and the landscape; as regards the various plans there is agreement on the indispensable delocalization of the greenhouses and the coastal strip.

Many plans, at different institutional levels, faces this issue, with different capacities and levels of efficacy.

Among all the planning instruments, in the area, it is specifically the *Plan Paesaggistico*)², (2007), managed by the Superintendence for Cultural and Environmental Heritage in the Province of Ragusa, which examines the issue of greenhouses in depth in the document *Progetto d ambito Macconi* . The Plan sub-divides the greenhouse-belt into zones with different characteristics:

1. RED ZONE ON THE BEACH. The plan envisages a ban on building new greenhouses and regulation for their reorganization (reduction) in order to create a coastal strip.
2. RESTRICTED ZONE WITHIN 150M OF THE SHORE. The plan envisages a ban on new greenhouses, except for those that integrate pre-existing ones or are situated in the area (i.e. extensions are permitted), following the principle that only "quality agricultural production (small-scale, poor-quality agricultural) has to be improved.
3. RESTRICTED RETRO-ZONE. The plan provides for diversification of agricultural production, with redirection towards traditional agriculture, redirection of agricultural production towards quality levels oriented to the enhancement of organic production and industry certification ; the restricted zone should aim to improve the local area.

Several doubts arise about the efficacy of the planning system in this regard. In the plans, with all of them tending to emphasize the need for delocalization of greenhouses, salvaging of the coastal strip, why are the greenhouses still in place?

We will find our answer in the suspension (and non-application) of the action instruments, as provoked by the economic powers that oversee the productive system of greenhouses. This line of thinking suggests that economic power is able to exercise political-administrative power, which actually controls and, in this case, suspends the application of plans and planning decisions. In marginal contexts such as Sicily, in particular Sicily, the gap between planning contents and their implementation is noticeable wherever there is the presence of strong economic interests, which are in a position to influence the political sphere.

3.3 Immigrant workers and the suspension of their rights

Whereas the greenhouse landscape , on the spatial front, has replaced the traditional coastal landscape, from the eminently social point of view, greenhouses have determined

² The Piano paesaggistico was adopted through the Decreto n. 1767 of 10th August 2010, Assessore Regionali Culturali, Ambientali e Pubblica Istruzione.

transformation in the social landscape in this area.

With regard to the transformed strip in the Province of Ragusa, unofficial statistics (Frontiere, 2008; Caritas Migrantes, 2011; INEA, 2013) show a significant concentration of workers employed in greenhouses; this entails a doubling of annual production of vegetables at the same time necessitates a greater number of workers.

However, apart from the profound changes wrought in the features of traditional agriculture, this economic success an extremely complex situation sees the immigrants often living in seriously demeaning conditions.

The Ragusa area, in particular, apart from being a constant point of arrival for immigrants from north Africa, already boasts a stable foreign presence; this is partly due to immigration from the Maghreb of what are now settled ethnic groups, and partly to the presence of workers (especially from Romania) on a cyclical basis, this being due to inter-Regional and inter-Regional flows, which are, in turn, linked to the various projects (INEA, 2013). Most of these manual unskilled and low-cost workers in this area are unemployed (and badly paid and unprotected); compared with these conditions, the various social and housing aspects are at some risk (Gertel and Sippel, 2014).

With the enlargement of the European Union to include Eastern European states, the substitution of immigrant workers was noted in the Ragusa greenhouse-belt (Caritas Migrantes, 2011; INEA, 2013); there was a sudden increase in fresh flows of immigrants, especially from Eastern Europe, and mostly taking the place of north Africans. These neo-EU workers are from countries characterized by serious socio-economic difficulties and willingly accept low wages (about 20 Euros for a working day of 10 hours), thus neutralizing the social advantages enjoyed by north Africans. For the whole immigrant manual workforce this was followed by a stagnation and a worsening of living and working conditions.

Other critical conditions relate to the illegal status of immigrant greenhouse-workers, moonlighting in the black economy and another one in the grey economy.

Indeed, in the Southern regions, the informal economy and irregular employment have gained weight. These two aspects existed well before the arrival of immigrants (De Zuluaga, 2013).

In respect to this condition, according to certain cautious estimates by Caritas Migrantes, irregular workers' percentage amount to 10% (and in some periods of the year, a higher percentage) of regular workers. On the other hand, INEA (2013) suggests an estimated 15% of units of immigrant workers in agriculture and considers 50-60% of them to be irregular.

The immigrants are usually employed by small-time businesses, where there is a lack of social protection. On the other hand, the so-called grey economy provides for a regular work-contract (for a non-EU immigrant to obtain a temporary-stay permit in Italy), in virtue of which the worker declares that he is working for about 102 days per year; this is the minimum requirement to acquire what is called *indennità di disoccupazione* (i.e. unemployment benefit) for those who are not officially working); in reality the working hours extend to the maximum.

The last serious phenomenon involves cases of sexual exploitation of female immigrants, especially Romanians. People working in this field (Caritas, 2011) report that this represents a serious problem for the female component among immigrant workers, who may be blackmailed by the owners of the greenhouses and risk losing their jobs.

³ According to findings by ISTAT (2013) regarding the inter-census period 2001-2011, the permanent resident population in Sicily more than doubled, going from 49,399 to 125,015 units. The first five nationalities (Romanian, Tunisian, Moroccan, Sri Lankan and Albanian), represent over 50% of the total foreign population (INEA, 2013). With regard to numbers for the year 2011, the Province of Palermo provides the highest number of resident foreigners on the island; however, the Province of Ragusa has the highest percentage of the total resident population.

In fact, in this sense, the anomalous increase in the rate of voluntarily- (abortions), as registered in the last ten years by healthcare structures in significant extent, to female immigrant workers from Eastern Europe. On the subject of this phenomenon, the structural features of the greenhouse hide both the presence of illegal workers and the various forms of abuse perpetrated together with the distance from towns and the conditions of isolation experienced; this does not appear so far-removed from the forms of slavery carried out in non- Nevertheless, with regard to the seriousness and pervasiveness of the phenomenon the various forms of exploitation undergone by immigrants, the key-players are (including those stemming from planning instruments) are conspicuous by their regard to the institutional duties that they should be able to perform) operators active in the area are voluntary associations and healthcare structures, which resources available, can only respond in emergency cases (Consoli, 2009; Todaro,

4. South-Eastern Sicily as Landscape of Exception

In South-Eastern Sicily planning is suspended to maintain the economic power control over the agricultural production and the immigrant workers. Consequently, it has been constantly transformed resulting in a complete change in its role and meaning, becoming saturated with elements of control (enclosures, walls, and hurdles) thus breaking geographical continuity, and the norms that shape it.

Generally, in spatial and social conflict conditions, a resolute power uses plans and plans as vehicles for sustaining oppression through landscape. However, this does not imply that the production of space goes through a clear and systematic process. On the contrary, in conflict situations, the law is very ambiguous and blurred to the political regimes sphere, according to Agamben (2005) when a regime faces a crisis it circumvents constitutional principles: so an executive power replaces legislative power, collapses, being replaced by an executive power; as result, it comes in the form of law, the juridical order of the state. Agamben (2005) specifies that the state of exception which is characterized by: the transformation of legislative power into executive power and the suspension of norms and juridical forms.

In the South-Eastern Sicily case the political regime is replaced by economic power. The state of exception does not mean that there is no law shaping the landscape, but that the law is a spectrum that can be practiced partially and ambiguously. Landscape of exception, as highlighted, is produced through three inter-connected processes: firstly, the accumulation of economic power linked to the agricultural production success; secondly, the suspension of planning; and thirdly, the manipulation of landscape through the greenhouses, exercising control for the purpose of exercising power.

Apart from constituting the actual essence of this model, the greenhouses represent a tool for spatial as, well, as social manipulation and control. Under the spatial manipulation, they determine the transformation of traditional landscape, exercising an extraordinary control over the eco-system, i.e. the dune-lined coastal system, which was once deemed unproductive in time, of great value as regards environment and landscape. This eco-system, recognized at national and international level, with the institution of protected areas (reserves and sites), has in fact been reduced to a series of isolated strips and fragments. Consequently, the heritage, the safeguarding system as laid down by law and planning instruments is no longer applied, consenting the greenhouses to spread everywhere, even to the edge.

From the social point of view, the greenhouses constitute an enormous reservoir of non-qualified and flexible jobs to attract the international flux of immigrant

consider this work advantageous when compared to the living and working conditions in their countries of origin. This has often actually provided a solution to the principal problems related to conditions of illegality, lack of jobs etc. On the other side, the wide-scale migration is not matched by adequate working conditions. Work in the greenhouses proves to be extremely demanding in many cases, scarcely bearable (Avallone, 2011). Most of the basic individual demands concern regards work contracts and a fair wage, and, contextually, multiple forms of violence and control.

However, the economic success of this type of agricultural production depends on the intensive work by immigrants (Osti, 2010), who are, nonetheless, unaware of this fact. The discussion and the case study illustrate that power can produce a system of rules which are spatially localized, allowing it to reshape landscape by eliminating certain zones and constructing elements of dominance and control. Under the current context of law the whole landscape is transformed from the purpose of enjoyment or agricultural production into the purpose of surveillance, control and repression.

Although the greenhouses constitute an instrument for the transformation of landscape through manipulation, via a system of new rules imposed by economic powers, the legal void represents a loss of the role of safeguard of the environmental and landscape heritage from the past. Thus, a question of an eminently ethical nature arises, which concerns the safety and well-being in intensively cultivated rural areas and the repercussions, in terms of social justice (Berlan, 2008).

5. Conclusions

In his adoption of the Foucaultian analyses of power, Flyvbjerg (1998) stresses the importance and highlights the selective process of accrediting knowledge that is exercised through power. He claims that normative rationality is the upfront planning model put under scrutiny, while the real rationality corresponds to the backstage hidden from public view, contrasting with the most celebrated aims of advancing democracy. On the other hand, Mouat (2002, p. 131) highlights how the (individual) capability of resistance relies on the possession of cultural and financial capital i.e. knowledge (including strategic awareness), and resources. But under which conditions can resistance be exercised? And what are the obstacles to forms of resistance?

Obstacles to any act of resistance are constituted by legal and institutional systems that hinder forms of resistance by the manipulation of laws and rules, which often occurs in the process of producing an instrumental misinterpretation (and consequent manipulation) of rules. On the other hand, one of the main risks is the progressive normalisation of the exceptional, which this might be generalised in the contemporary political and economic conjuncture (Berlan, 2014).

This paper offers conceptual and empirical contributions on the way in which landscape is manipulated. Its main task is to provide concrete examples of the ways in which landscape is manipulated by planning by suspending and manipulating rules and laws, and its consequences not only in urban areas but also for rural areas and their landscape, too. This study demonstrates the manipulation and discussion of the planning system in South Eastern Sicily that landscape, which has been transformed into a landscape of exception, this transformation has not occurred spontaneously or occasionally; instead it is a continuous suspension of the normal in which landscape planning is used in order to transform landscape in an instrument of oppression. In this way landscape loses the positive value and is transformed from a space of equity and justice into a space of subjection and control.

This paper shows that the production of the landscape of exception is separated from the normal, highlighting the landscape's role as a medium in exercising power over its use.

characterized by the meaning of control that influences socio-economic issues but also—~~style~~ Through landscape of exception citizens are prevented from fruiti resources like the dune system and the seaside. This means to defer the public i "common good) for a private interest profit. And in the same time, others are maintained a status of non-citizens, for the same economic reasons. The manipulated normative context determines the production of a landscape of subjection, exclusion, domination, and control exist. The common economic inter order to legitimate landscape transformation, with a suspension of laws and pla production of landscape is deviated from basic principles of norms. This is a good example of the detailed insight that Foucaultian critique can cont planning practice. Flyvbjerg (2004) makes the point that the central questi exercised, and not merely who has power and why they have it; the focus is on p structure. We argue that Agamben concepts add a valuable contribution to this c mechanisms of exception which allow power to be exercised defining what counts rule, and thereby what counts as reality (Flyvbjerg, 1998).

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