# DIASPORE ITALIANE

ITALY IN MOVEMENT

BETWEEN IMMIGRATION AND HISTORICAL AMNESIA

CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS
OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM OD DIASPORE ITALIANE

JUNE 27-29, 2019

GALATA MUSEO DEL MARE

GENOVA, ITALY

ORGANIZED BY
Mu.MA - Istituzione Musei del Mare e delle Migrazioni, Genova
Co.As.It, Melbourne
John D. Calandra Italian American Institute - Queens College/CUNY, New York

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The third edition of Diaspore Italiane was hosted by the Istituzione Musei del Mare e delle Migrazioni, at Galata Museo del Mare of Genoa.

"**Between Immigration and Historical Amnesia**" conference, is the title of the third and final instalment of the international symposium Diaspore italiane – Italy in Movement, organised in partnership by CO.AS.IT. Italian Assistance Association (Melbourne), the John D. Calandra Italian American Institute (Queens College/City University of New York) and Mu.MA - Istituzione Musei del Mare e delle Migrazioni, which is soon to include the new Italian Museo Nazionale dell'Emigrazione (MEI).

The inaugural conference of the symposium, "Living Transcultural Spaces," was held at CO.AS.IT. in Melbourne in April 2018, followed by "Transnationalism and Questions of Identity," held at the John D Calandra Italian American Institute (Queens College/City University of New York) in November 2018.

The Diaspore italiane initiative constitutes a significant contribution towards the building of a "truly transnational Italian studies" as well as being an important networking opportunity for scholars and institutions working on various aspects of the Italian diaspora worldwide, and on the influence of immigrant communities in contemporary Italian society and culture.

The Genoa conference was a fruitful and productive meeting that gathered here in Italy more than 100 speakers, scholars, indipendent researchers, professors, school teachers and museum staff and cultural operators.

Special thanks go to the organizers for their effort and time in organizing panel session and gathering all the papers presented in this report, and also to all the panelists that made it possible to develop a conference with such a wide variety of contents, perspectives and interpretations.

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Pierangelo Campodonico
Director of Mu.MA
Istituzione Musei del Mare e delle Migrazioni, Genova

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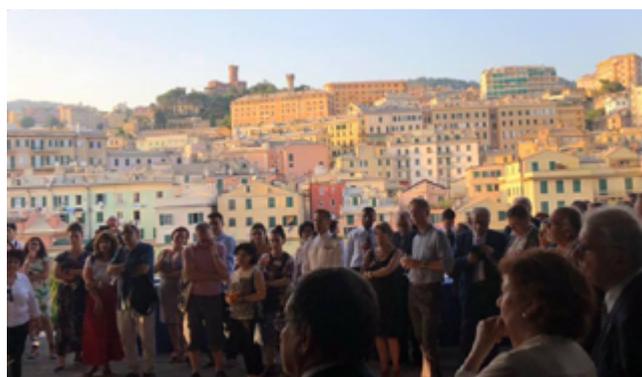
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- Maddalena Tirabassi (Italia), Altreitalie Torino - *How to name it: new mobilities, new migrations…*
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- Alan Maglio (Italia) - Levantine Heritage Foundation- *Le monde est petit, mais la famille est grande*
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- Lucia Galleno (USA), Queens University - *The discovery of the courageous journey of Italian musicians through their musical traces in the Southern Pacific*
- Elena Callipari Nemtsas (Australia) Steven J Sacco (USA), San Diego State University - *Playing Cards in Calabrese Dialect: An Online Approach*

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- Matteo Dutto (Australia), Monash University (PhD) - *Decolonising Migrant Heritage: Transcultural Digital Story-telling Practices in Black Post White (2013)*
- Rita Wilson (Australia), Monash University - *Re-framing narratives of migrant heritage*

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Chair: Gianni Carosio

- Rosa Ciacco (Italia), Associazione Coexinstence - *The value of identity as a factor of integration: Arbëria's case*
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Museums and Archives: The Roles of Society and Culture

Chair: Anna Chiara Cimoli

- Antonella Poce, Sabrina Vellucci (Italia), Università degli Studi Roma Tre - *Inclusive memories*
- Paola Boccalatte (Italia), Museo diffuso della Resistenza, della Deportazione, della Guerra, dei Diritti e della Libertà - *Migrations yesterday and today. The social engagement of the Museum of Resistance (Turin)*
- Pierangelo Campodonico (Italia), Istituzione Musei del Mare e delle Migrazioni di Genova - *Museology of Migrations*
- Bernardo Armanni (Italia), *On the same boat? Memory and collective identity in Italian migrations museums*

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Chair: Vivian Gerrand

- Monica Miscali (Norway), Norwegian University - *When we were emigrants. Norwegian prejudice and xenophobia against Italians in the 50s and 60s*
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Political Emigration: A Story within History

Chair: Stephane Mourlane

- Raffaella Ponte e Liliana Bertuzzi (Italia), Istituto Mazziniano - Museo del Risorgimento - *Political emigration in Genoa during the Risorgimento in the Mazziniano Institute – Museum of Risorgimento's collections. Notes for a story.*
- Mia Spizzica (Australia) Contemporary Histories Research Group - Deakin University, *Embodying hybrid transnational identities: The case of the Italo -Palestinian Diasporas of the Antipodes*
- Jérôme Luc Muniglia de' Giustiniani (France) *Language-a tool of amnesia, Surname-a tool of memory: from the Overseas Genovese to the Levantine France*

Documentary/film

Fondazione Paolo Cresci per la storia dell'emigrazione italiana - Lucca (Italia), Docufilm - *Italia addio, non tornerò* (directed by Barbara Pavarotti). Presents Pietro Luigi Biagioni

Visual and Verbal Memories: Italian Migrant Creativity Across the World

Chair: Prof. Fred Gardaphé (USA), John D. Calandra Italian American Institute New York

- Respondents: Prof Loredana Polezzi (UK), Cardiff University, and Dr. Eliana Maestri (UK), University of Exeter
- Visual artist: B. Amore, Boston, USA
- Visual artist: Filomena Coppola, Melbourne, Australia
- Visual artist: Luci Callipari - Marcuzzo, Mildura, Australia

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- Elisa Gosso (Italia), Università di Torino - *Ancestral tourism as a way to remember: the example of the Waldensian migration*
- Loretta Baldassar (Australia), University of Western Australia - *It's like migrating all over again: questions of memory, identity, heritage, and aging in diaspora*
- Michela Baldo (UK) - *Translating Italian-Canadian writing into Italian: returns and amnesia*

The Narration of the Emigrants: Their Autobiographies
Chair: Natalia Cangi
- Giulia Guarnieri (USA), University of New York - *Broken memories, reconstructed memoirs: Italian-american oral autobiographies at Ellis Island*
- Nicola Maranesi (Italia), Archivio Diaristico Nazionale Pieve Santo Stefano - *History of immigration in Italy, impact of autobiography and importance of sources's stratification. A case study: the* Diari multimediali migranti *project*
- Emiliano Loria (Italia), Università di Genova (PhD) - *Julian-Dalmatian diaspora and mental illness*

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- Jennifer Burns (UK), Warwick University - *Traces: assembling pasts and futures of Italian communities in London*
- Derek Duncan (UK), St. Andrews University - *"That child is wearing my jumper": recovering memories of the Arandora Star and the pedagogy of amnesia*
- Teresa Fiore (USA), Montclair State University (PHD) - *Italy's Transnational Migrations, Collective Memory and Empathy in Two Short Stories by Carmine Abate and Melania Mazzucco*
- Clorinda Donato (USA), California State University, Long Beach (PHD) - *Forging Transnational Identities in Italian American Chick Lit: The Novels of Adriana Trigiani*

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- Laura E. Ruberto (USA), Berkley City College - *Making Italian Diaspora Studies Relevant in the New Millennium*
- Kathleen Crawford Boyle (USA), University of Notre Dame - *From Dante to the Diaspora - What New Italian Studies can Teach to the Classical*

Living between two Nations and two Cultures
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- Laura Rorato (UK), University of Hull - *Italian identities in the UK City of Kingston upon Hull: a transgenerational perspective*
- Carlo De Rose (Italia), Università della Calabria - *The diasporas of others. Attitudes towards migrants between hostility and solidarity*

Old Stories and New Narratives: Second Generation Italian Australian Middle Aged Wome
Chair: Flavia Laviosa
- Maria Fantasia – (Australia) Indipendent researcher - *From Repression to Resistance – I am my mother's daughter*
- Teresa Capetola (Australia), School of Health and Social Developement Deakin University- *Migration Legacies and Identity*
- Maria Pallotta Chiarolli (Australia), Gender and Sexuality Studies, Deakin University, *Italonormativity and the Italian "Other"*

Saturday, June 29, 2019

Instruction, Publication, Dissemination: Remedies to Historical Amnesia of the Italian Diaspora
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- Alan J. Gravano (USA), Rocky Mountain University
- Melissa E. Marinaro (USA), Italian American Program at the Senator John Heinz History Center
- Anthony Julian Tamburri (USA), John D. Calandra Italian American Institute (Queens College, CUNY)

Globalized Italians
Chair: Eliana Maestri
- Piero Genovesi (Australia), Chief Executive Officer, I.A.I. Italian Australian Institute, Research Centre at La Trobe University– *The Italian Australians 20 years into the New Millenium*
- Toni Ricciardi (Switzerland), University of Geneva - *The history of migration as a paradigm redefining the concepts of roots and identity*
- Joseph Sciorra (USA), John Calandra Italian American Institute (Queens College, CUNY) - *He made us all look like gavons": Marking Cafoneria* and Policing the Boundaries of Propriety, Taste, and Ethnic Identity in Italian America

The Tale of Italian Manpower in the World
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- Luigi Gussago Italian Australian Institute Melbourne - *Terra incognita: a century of Italian farming practices in Australia*
- Enrico Grammaroli (Italia), Università Tor Vergata (PhD) - *From Appennini to Appalachians*
- Donna Chirico (USA), York College/CUNY - *The need of reconstructing memory: connections of the self to the Italian diaspora and an imagined Italian past*

Sources of Memory for the Future
Chair: Diana Pardue
- John Gennari (USA), University of Vermont - *Listening to Italian America as a Sonic Archive*
- Elizabeth Triarico (Australia), COASIT - *Lest we forget: Collecting, preserving and sharing the Italian Australian story*
- Mary Jo Bona, (USA), SUNY at Stony Brook University - *Why amnesia? Cultural Trauma and the Creation of Migrant Memories in Italian American literature*

Literature on Recollections
- Lorenzo Canepari (UK), University of Edinburgh (PHD), *Literature and Memories: the Istrian and Dalmatian Exodus*
- Chiara Grilli (Italia), *A bad Propaganda: Emigration, Nationhood and Italianità in the Italian travel Literature of the Interwar Period"*

Second and Third Generations: The Challenge of Identity
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- Katrina Lolicato (Australia), PHD Canditate, Deakin University - *"The younger ones just aren't interested"Vs "Give us an opportunity to show you and we will surprise you every single time". Perspectives on the Third Generation: between a history of otherness and another Australian Identity*
- Marcella Bencivenni (USA), The City University of New York (CUNY) - *"L'Italia sono anch'io": Second Generation Immigrants, Racism and Ethnic Identities.*
- Giorgia Miazzo (Italia), - *The project Cantando in Talian. Valorization of the intangible linguistic heritage of the Northern-Italian emigration to Brazil throughout music and playful language teaching.*

Closing conference: Beyond Diaspore Italiane

Italianness "under construction": a Hip Hop perspective. The case study of Genovese rapper Young Slash

Margherita Angelucci

Monash University, Australia

Abstract

Following Michelle Auzanneau, I think of Hip Hop music as "a space for the expression of cultures and identities under construction" (2002, 120). Today, Hip Hop is the genre of choice for many children of migrants coming of age in Italy, who find themselves in need to negotiate their sense of identity and belonging amidst divisive social and political discourses. This paper focuses on Young Slash as a case study, illustrating how this Genovese artist of Mauritian origin mixes multiple languages as well as global and local references to perform his transcultural identity and disrupt homogeneous ideas of Italianness.

French sociolinguist Michelle Auzanneau described Hip Hop as "a space for the expression of cultures and identities under construction" (2002, 120). While researching the rap scene in Gabon's capital Libreville, Auzanneau saw how this music genre was used to express the plurality of the new generation's cultural identity. A new generation who defined its culture as *metissée*, that is a mixed culture. Today the same is happening in Italy. With the current coming of age of an unprecedented number of children of migrants, needing to negotiate and build their sense of identity and belonging across a plurality of cultures, Italianness is again an idea under construction.

Through lyrics and performance analysis, in this paper, I demonstrate how Italian rappers of African descent use the language of Hip Hop music to negotiate and perform complex transcultural identities. In the past five years, many rappers belonging to the so-called second generation, that is to say children who were born in Italy to migrant parents or who migrated to Italy at a young age, have emerged on the Italian Hip Hop scene (Zukar 2017), among them Ghali, Tommy Kuti, Laïoung, Maruego/MaRue and Chadia Rodriguez. This paper will present Genovese rapper Young Slash as a case study.

Young Slash is the stage name of Andrea Coodye. He was born in Sesto San Giovanni (Milan) in 1999 to Mauritian parents but was raised in Genoa, in the Western area of Voltri (Ütri in local dialect). He started to listen to rap music at a young age, influenced by his older brother Salvo, and began uploading rap videos online aged 16 (his first video, for a song titled "Emirati", was uploaded on YouTube on 12 September 2015 totalling over 50,000 views). In 2017, he joined the Milan-based crew Dogozilla and released his debut album *Black Fury*. In 2019, he released a new EP, *Astronauta*, for the major record label Sony Music. Some of his songs now count over 1 million plays on the streaming platform Spotify. In this paper, I analyse two songs included in Young Slash's album *Black Fury*, "Africano" and "Famous Slash", in order to demonstrate that someone who was born and raised in Italy like himself can possess a complex transcultural identity that challenges the "culturally constructed myth of a homogenous identity" (Virga 2019, 102) on which public and political discourses in Italy often still rely. The notion of Italianness as synonymous with white and Catholic (Wilson 2017) is now being disrupted by the growing presence of

black subjects in the national cultural sphere (Virga 2019). Second generations of African descent have become producers of culture as authors, singers and rappers, directors, bloggers, and their increased visibility, especially in the domain of popular culture, is compelling Italy to question its own cultural, but also racial and religious, identity.

Among the different expressions of popular culture, Hip Hop stands as a privileged means to articulate the complexity of transcultural identities. This cultural movement, which includes rap music but also the art of DJing, breakdancing or b-boying and graffiti (writing), was born in the Bronx, in New York City, in the 1970s as a form of entertainment, self-expression and protest created by disenfranchised Black and Latino youth. Because of its African American roots (Rose 1994, Alim 2006), Hip Hop culture is a space where Blackness is celebrated as a sign of authenticity (Mcleod 1999, Williams 2007). Moreover, Hip Hop historically had a link with youth of migrant background, with many of the originators being migrants or children of migrants. DJ Kool Herc, who, together with his sister Cindy, organised what it is considered to be the first Hip Hop party in history on 11 August 1973, migrated to New York from Jamaica aged 12. Grandmaster Flash, another central figure in Hip Hop credited as the inventor of the scratch technique, was born in Barbados. B-boy Crazy Legs, like many other breakdancers, is the son of Puerto Rican migrants. As a result of these multicultural roots (Mitchell 2003), the four disciplines of Hip Hop (rap, DJing, breakdancing and graffiti) are all influenced by a composite range of elements. For example, DJing and MCing derive from Jamaican sound systems as well as from dub and toasting practices of Jamaican DJs that migrants like DJ Kool Herc contributed to bring from Kingston to New York. Breakdancing incorporates Brazilian *capoeira* and martial art moves as well as Caribbean and Latin American dance steps.

When Hip Hop spread from the United States to the rest of the world, its hybrid nature made it well-suited to build and express the transcultural sense of self for youth of migrant background. The composite nature of Hip Hop allowed the different elements coming from their experience of mobility to be quickly incorporated in the expressive means that are part of this culture. The core values of Hip Hop have also made it particularly appealing to youth of migrant background. Namely, the importance placed on community and self-expression proved able to provide a sense of identity

and belonging to those who find themselves in the difficult process of negotiating this sense of identity and belonging in the places where they live. For young people struggling with feelings of belonging, Hip Hop becomes a way to feel part of something bigger, a transnational entity called the Global Hip Hop Nation that unites people across the world sharing a love and passion for Hip Hop and its disciplines. At the same time, Hip Hop remains a culture about "where I'm from" (Potter 1995). *Representin'* one's place of origin and one's reality remains central in the context of Hip Hop and it is key to be perceived as authentic.

Young Slash's music is characterised by this constant tension between local and global elements, which has been recognised in many studies about Hip Hop (Mitchell 1998, Pennycook 2007, Sarkar and Allen 2007). References to his local area, as well as the idea of *representin'* it, are dominant. In the intro to "Africano", Young Slash calls out: "Ütri Gang / Direttamente da Genova Ovest" ("Ütri Gang / Straight out of West Genoa"). In "Famous Slash" he sings: "Canto la mia città fino a dove stai, bro (Ütri Block!)" ("I sing my city to reach you where you are, bro (Ütri Block!)") and "Giro le zone ma Ütri è il mio totem" ("I go around but Ütri is my totem"). Like most of Young Slash's music videos, the clip of "Africano" is filmed in Genoa, while that for "Famous Slash" is filmed in Milan, which the rapper describes as another place part of his personal trajectory: "Nato a Sesto, cresciuto a Ütri" ("Born in Sesto, raised in Ütri").

Young Slash uses local references to present himself as a legitimate representative of the place where he lives, Genova Voltri, Italy. At the same time, he does not avoid pointing out the differences with the commonly held idea of Italianness, and particularly with the constructed notion of Italian whiteness. Young Slash often refers to his blackness and Africanness. For instance, the whole chorus of "Africano" is centred around the repetition of the words 'Africa' and 'africano'. In the same song, Young Slash also reclaims the racial slur 'negro' mirroring the use of the N-word by African Americans. In "Famous Slash" he also defines himself as "afro-asiatico" ("Afro-Asian"), perhaps referring to the geographical position of Mauritius between the African continent and the Indian Ocean. Details of his parents' Mauritian culture, however, are never included in Young Slash's musical production. What we find is rather a generic, pan-African idea of blackness. This is in line with what Jacqueline Andall found in one of the first studies to look at the

identity of African-Italians, where she wrote that since "the notion of black Italians citizens has barely been articulated many interviewees felt more comfortable expressing an African identity or indeed a wider Black diasporic identity" (Andall 2002, 397). The emphasis on blackness is a way to build an alternative identity when the access to a 'full' Italian identity is prevented by mainstream society or is felt as inadequate by the transcultural subjects themselves. The emphasis on blackness is a response to racist discourses that still see being black and being Italian as two mutually exclusive categories. It is a way for *afroitaliani* like Young Slash to send out a message: "I can be from Ütri *and* be black".

The attachment to the local and to blackness are also shown through style. In the music videos of the analysed songs, Young Slash displays a tattoo with the letter *Ü* for Ütri on his neck, customised shoes with the words "Ütri Block" as well as a necklace with the shape of Africa (ironically, the island of Mauritius is missing in the piece of jewellery).

Translanguaging (Blackledge and Creese 2017) is used by second generation rappers to perform their belonging to multiple cultures. In their songs, the artists "shuttle between languages, treating the diverse languages that form their repertoire as an integrated system" (Canagarajah 2011, 401). In Young Slash's lyrics, Italian is seamlessly blended with other languages that are part of his linguistic repertoire, particularly English and French. The English employed in Young Slash's songs mainly derives from the Hip Hop National Language (Alim 2015), meaning that the artist uses English words and expressions with which he became familiar through Hip Hop. The chorus of "Famous Slash", for instance, is a reference to one of the artist's favourite American rapper, Famous Dex, and terms like "bro" are also typical of rap language. French forms the base for Mauritian Creole, and we are inclined to assume that Young Slash would be familiar with it because of his family origins. This would explain the presence of everyday French terminology such as 'avec moi'; 'vie', 'misère'; 'frère'. However, some French words too are borrowed from Hip Hop terminology. Words like 'charo' (short for 'charognard', literally a 'scavenger', used to indicate a particularly stubborn person) has been popularised by Parisian rapper Niska, whom Young Slash described as a big musical influence for him. The use of verlan (visible in words like 'drema', the syllabic inversion of 'madre', meaning mother) also signals the influence of French rap. Instances of local dialect are also present in Young Slash's lyrics. The use of 'Ütri' instead of the official name Voltri is an example of this, alongside terms like 'sbanfa', which young people in North-Western Italy use to indicate smoke. Young Slash's language use therefore confirms his position between global and local affiliations and his resistance to national affiliations (neither Italy nor Mauritius are ever mentioned in the lyrics).

In the interviews that I have carried out as part of my larger doctoral research project on the musical production of Italian rappers of African descent, many artists expressed resistance to being labelled with a certain nationality, being it their parent's nationality or the Italian nationality. Many maintained that they are citizens of the world. These feelings, I argue, derive from restricted ideas around identity, which often conflate national identity and cultural identity, and frame identity as something homogeneous and exclusive. Through their 'glocal' affiliations, second generation rappers demonstrate the impossibility and the unwillingness of transcultural subjects to choose between their different cultural identities. To think in terms of transculturality allows us to recognise that all cultures coexist in a constant dialogue with one another and cannot be seen as separate and impermeable entities. It is therefore important to see cultural identities in terms of complexity and fluidity, subject to change in different contexts and in the different stages of a person's life. It is equally important to break the link between race and culture and recognise that racial characteristics do not correspond to cultural identities. One can indeed be a local of Ütri and be black.

To conclude, Hip Hop continues to be a useful tool to express the plurality of second generations' cultural identities also in the Italian context. Through Hip Hop music, second generations challenge the myth of a homogeneous Italianness, expanding this notion as well as the limits of the Italian language. Their songs reflect changes that have already occurred in the Italian society but, thanks to their popularity, they make these changes a visible presence in the Italian culture production.

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Bio

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In the same boat? Memory and collective identity in Italian migration museums

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Abstract

Today, the memory of Italian emigration is arguably increasing its public relevance, together with its usage in public debates on immigration and xenophobia. My research, employing a cultural-sociological, meaning-centred approach, analysed Italian migration museums, as promoters of the memory of Italian migrations. I argue that the identity-work performed by the studied museums contributes to the incorporation of the migration experience in imagined communities on different levels. This process is, however, shaped by tensions between conflicting meaning structures, like Triumph and Trauma. Reconstructing these meaning structures helps us to better understand the museums' positions in the public discourse around contemporary migrations.

Keywords:

Collective memory; Collective Identity; Migration Museums; Cultural Sociology

Introduction

The field of memory-related cultural productions has lived a significant expansion in the last decades. Jeffrey Olick et al. (2011, p.9) recognize this trend as part of a broader "memory boom", starting from the late 70s and seemingly still expanding. This encompasses a wide range of emerging phenomena characterized by a strong interest in memory: the production of books, films and TV shows, the building of memorials and museums; commemorative rituals and practices; and, in a less direct way, the success of memory studies themselves[1].

One field that could be inscribed in this major trend is that of the memory of Italian migrations. Especially in the last 15-20 years, in fact, the memory-work regarding Italian emigration has emerged in a vast plurality of forms, going from monuments to novels, from movies to toponymy, from remembrance days to museums and more (for a general overview see: Fonzo, 2017). At the same time, and stimulated by these phenomena, the memory of Italian emigration has entered, ebbing and flowing, Italy's political and public discourse. As noted by

various authors dealing with the topic (Sciortino, 2003; Colucci, 2007; Fonzo 2017), the contemporary public debate around the Italian mass emigration and its memory is strictly tied to the one about current immigration to Italy.

In this way, a symbolic link between the two macro-phenomena of territorial mobility is drawn, and it is done in two opposite, polarized, directions. On one hand Italian emigrants and contemporary immigrants to Italy are assimilated as being in a similar situation of struggle and suffering, sometimes touching victimistic and paternalistic notes; on the other, the two are depicted as radically different and Italian emigrants are placed in a position of clear moral superiority, often touching nationalistic and xenophobic notes. These representations are relevant as part of the cultural background in which the memory-work I analysed takes place.

My research has mostly focused on the field of Italian migrations' commemorative museums. In Italy, more than 30 emigration museums have been inaugurated in Italy over the last 15 years: a remarkable number pointing to a relevant, widespread trend.

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1 For reasons of space I will not be able to discuss none of the reasons theorized in order to understand such a trend.

These range from mainly 'grassroots' to more 'institutional' ones, from very locally-specific to largely encompassing ones of national scope. I primarily based my analysis on five case studies, selecting them by considering different dimensions, geographical location, territorial levels of relevance and different promoting groups. For each case study I examined exhibitions, activities and publications, as well as semi-structured interviews to museum directors. I argue that, in all cases, specific meaning structures inform the way memory-work regarding migrants is performed by museums.

Theoretical frame

The theoretical frame I adopted in my analysis mostly relies on the "Strong Program in Cultural Sociology" (Alexander and Smith, 2001; Alexander, 2003), incorporating tools from memory studies and museum studies.

The cultural-sociological approach, and its "Strong Program" version in particular, focuses on processes of meaning-making, conceptualizing culture as a relatively autonomous (hence, non-reducible) system, and cultural meanings as structured and patterned. Meaning structures and their dynamics are inquired through a synthesis of structural analysis and hermeneutical interpretation drawing on a variety of theoretical contributions, notably those of anthropological structuralism and Geertzian *thick description*. This perspective is therefore a meaning-centred, interpretative one, interrogating the ways in which structures of cultural meaning inform social action and societal phenomena.

Memory work, like the one performed by commemorative museums, is one of the many processes of cultural production which are enabled and constrained by cultural meaning structures (cfr. Hilmar, 2016). The research program revolving around the notion of Cultural Trauma (Eyerman, 2001; Alexander et al., 2004; for a recent review of the research program see: Sciortino, 2018), and in particular Bernhard Giesen's contribution about Triumph and Trauma (2004), provided me with useful analytical tools in this direction.

The notion of Cultural Trauma describes a socio-cultural process through which past events are defined as traumatic marks in collective identities, having violated a collectivity's social and cultural presuppositions. In the "establishment" of a cultural trauma meaning,-struggles over symbols are crucial: the nature of suffering and injustice is differently defined and articulated, victims are identified and their re-integration in the symbolic and social orders is performed, their memorialization being a crucial part of the process. These meaning-struggles happen in fact on the basis of memory, determining how the relation to it will be felt by collectivities larger than those directly involved in the commemorated events.

In this section I outline some of the main results of my research. For reasons of space, I will not be able to discuss them more thoroughly.

A first relevant phenomenon, which I found strongly present in all the cases I analysed, is the perception of a pathological amnesia surrounding Italian emigration, which must be opposed by a recovered memory. In this regard the re-integration of emigrants in collective memory is described as a moral imperative. Emigrants are described as the protagonists of too-often forgotten events of suffering and struggle, which, in various respects, must not be repeated.

In most cases, as mentioned, remembering Italian emigrants seems strictly linked with more recent events regarding immigration to Italy, to which it is assimilated. In fact, an emerging narrative about Italy describes it as a nation which has forgotten its own origins: because of this, it has become just like the ones which had caused great suffering to Italian emigrants until only some decades ago. This "Italy forgetting its origins/History repeating itself" narrative deems the injustice which Italian emigrants had to face as being perpetrated again, this time by Italy itself. This view is not, however, explicitly present and salient throughout my data, being in some cases the reference to contemporary immigrants either absent or marginal.

The re-integration of emigrants in collective memory and collective identity is widely performed at different territorial levels, going from the local/urban to the regional and national. In performing this re-integration a double symbolic operation is performed. On the one hand, emigrants are stressed as members of the collectivity and singled out as legitimate members of the imagined community by characterizing them with the core values desirably associated with its collective identity. On the other, the collective identity is represented as characterized *itself* as a migration phenomena, and its history described as deeply connected, since immemorial time, with migratory phenomena.

Fig. 1 - The "Vittorio Emanuele II National Monumental Complex" (or "Vittoriano") in Rome, former location of the National Museum of Emigration. To choose the Vittoriano, also known as "Altar of the Fatherland", is a very clear and strong symbolic statement. The complex was in fact conceived (and designed) as a monument to the nation and an icon of its unity, which is still widely considered today.

More generally, in performing this operation emigrants are associated with symbols and icons relevant to the collective identity in question. On what grounds, however, is this re-inclusion performed? Memory is, by definition, selective, and the selection of what is worth being remembered rests on some criteria of relevance. According to which criteria are migrants' worthiness of commemoration defined and articulated?

As already mentioned, cultural trauma is a kind of process through which the status of victimhood gets to be articulated, assigned to particular subjects and performed in order to transmit the meanings associated with it. Throughout the process of memorialization, however, different patterns emerge. In this regard, the main competing narratives that I recovered seem to resonate with Bernhard Giesen's conceptualization of two major structures in collective memory, Triumph and Trauma (2004), both emerging clearly from the data. Just as Trauma is strictly connected with the victim as a cultural figure, so is Triumph with that of the hero.

Giesen (*ibid.*) persuasively argues how the Triumph-Hero/Trauma-Victim binary is so relevant and so deep as a cultural structure because it resonates with a fundamental and distinctive aspect of human experience: that of the self-perception of humans as both subjects and objects, as both sentient beings and bodies. The boundary between humans as subjects and humans as objects is the boundary between human life and death. Heroes embody life, strong subjectivity bringing to auto-de-

termination, and the imagined community's core values bringing them to success. Victims are associated with death, objectification, exploitation, the impossibility of self-determining their own fate and, hence, a deprivation of their own subjectivity. The two different characterizations are not necessarily mutually exclusive and they can coexist in the same case, although, across the cases I analysed, they consistently vary in their presence and salience.

Consistent with Giesen's conceptualization, one trend in memorializing Italian emigration was that of encoding it according to the 'traumatic' side of the binary. The main manifestations of Trauma in my data imply giving a great salience, and allocating great emotional charge, to various forms and aspects of de-humanization and de-agentification: anti-Italian racism, exploitation, inhumane and degrading conditions during the journey and at work, emigration-related tragedies like shipwrecks and major coalmine accidents, death. These aspects are often related to the current events regarding immigration to Italy, in an equation of emigrants and immigrants as both victims.

At the same time, emigrants are culturally defined as heroes, and their deeds narrated according to heroic narratives. Heroic narratives are characterized by the success of the hero, who, through his or her effort and strong and invincible will, manages to defy all difficulties and injustice, in this way accomplishing emancipation and redemption. In the data, heroically-encoded stories of emigrants who managed to achieve "redemption" out of their original conditions are not lacking, usually being traced back to the values the community desirably associates with itself. Economic success is often emphasized, and so are the great material and symbolic contributions given to the emigrants' contexts of origin. If, for victims, the hope for *redemption* from *misery* through migration (however the two are specifically articulated) shattered on the harshness and evil of reality, the opposite is the case for heroes.

One last major theme relates to the ways in which emigration and immigration are interrelated in the migration museums I analysed, and how a historical continuity is constructed in this regard. It can be said that on the one hand, museums display the uniqueness of some migration phenomena, and they link them to specific historical contexts and collective identities; on the other hand, these are often "zoomed out" of their contexts and put on a much broader scale. In some cases, migration

is placed in the meaning frame of a universal and natural human condition, and in a more explicit connection with contemporary immigration phenomena.
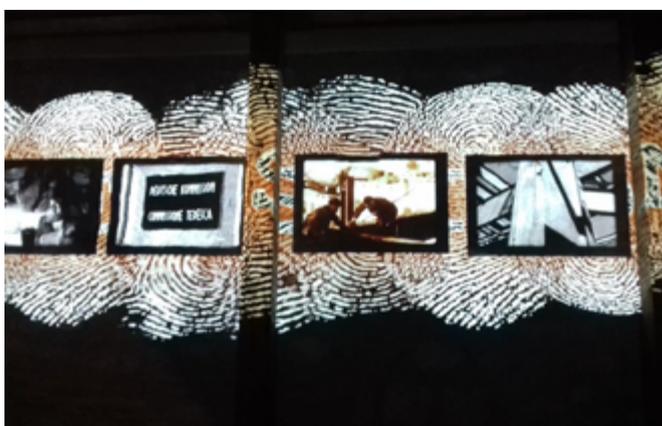
Fig. 2 - Frames from of a highly emotionally charged video about Marcinelle's tragedy, displayed in the Museo Regionale dell'Emigrazione "Pietro Conti". In this case the boundary's relevance is evident in a graphic interplay between a boot print, standing for a de-humanizing and objectifying treatment of migrants as labour force only, as opposed to a fingerprint, being the most subjective part of the human body and standing for migrants' humanity.

The connection with contemporary immigration is also obtained through several analogies and juxtapositions and, importantly, through the inclusion in the same historical narrative. This narrative emphasizes the common aspects of the different migration phenomena, usually refers to the most 'trauma-related' issues such as racism, prejudices, inhumane conditions during the journey and significant tragedies, resonating in this way with the "Italy forgetting its origins/History repeating itself" narrative. Museums, in this way, aim at fostering inclusion and solidarity towards immigrants. By constructing Italian emigrants as victims and equating them to contemporary immigrants to Italy, the

latter are deemed worthy of the kind of solidarity which is due to victims.

Conclusions

The research I conducted aimed, through an analysis of collective memory dynamics, at interrogating some of its links with collective identities and their performance. In particular, I reveal some of the memory-related cultural structures which seem to mediate meaning-making about migrations in contemporary Italy. It can be noted that the (re)incorporation of migrants in collective memory and collective identities is a crucial operation performed by migration museums. The main structures operating in the collective memory of Italian emigration, at least in the cases I could include in my limited analysis, resonate with those described by Bernhard Giesen in "Triumph and Trauma". Often, in the cases coming closer to the "Trauma" side of the binary, the urgency to narrate the Trauma seems to be triggered by the perception of the same painful events happening again, this time involving immigrants trying to reach Italy. To further reconstruct the cultural structures which inform collective memory and collective identity could be important, in a reflective perspective as well, to better understand how these become encode cultural products as well as broader discourses regarding migrants, old and new.
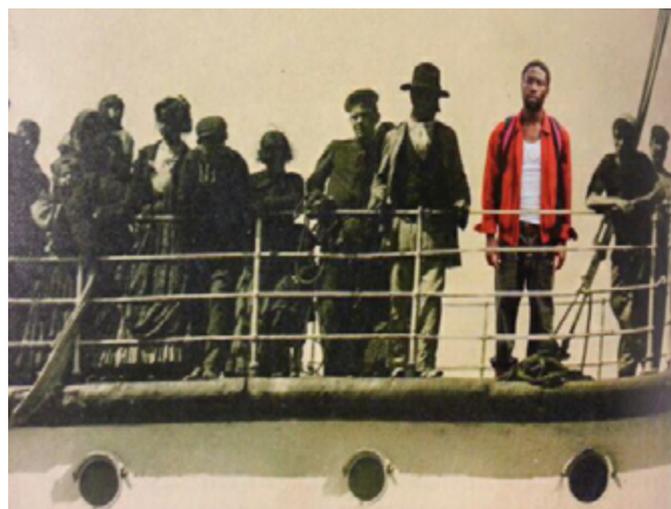
Fig. 3 - Picture from the MEM's catalogue, also displayed in the exhibition's website, and at the exhibition's entrance. In this photomontage, pictures of emigrants and immigrants are merged in a unitarian context, signifying a commonality of their conditions: emigrants and immigrants are literally placed in the same boat.

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Bio

Bernardo Armanni is a graduate sociologist from Italy. In March 2019 he obtained the *Joint International Master's Degree in Cultural Sociology*, awarded by University of Graz, Masaryk University, University of Trento and University of Zadar. His Master's thesis consisted of an empirical inquiry of Italian migration museums and it was supervised by Giuseppe Sciortino (University of Trento), Bernadette Nadya Jaworsky (Masaryk University) and Serena Luzzi (University of Trento).

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Translating Italian-Canadian writing into Italian: returns and amnesia

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Abstract

This paper, based on my recently published book (Baldo 2019), aims to discuss how the translations of some Italian-Canadian works into Italian, by writers such as Nino Ricci (2004), Frank Paci (2007) and Mary Melfi (2012), have been framed in terms of a return to Italy of past Italian emigrants. This metaphorical return will be discussed in terms of restitution: the restitution of a lost voice and a sense of wholeness to first- and second-generation Italian-Canadians, and the restitution to Italians of a lost perspective on themselves, which can remind them of their emigrant history and fight the amnesia surrounding it.

This paper is based on my book, *Italian-Canadian narratives of return. Analysing Cultural Translation in Diasporic Writing* (Baldo 2019), which analyses a corpus of Italian-Canadian works that have been translated into Italian: a trilogy of novels by Nino Ricci (published in 1990, 1993 and 1997); a memoir by Mary Melfi, *Italy Revisited. Conversations with My Mother* (2009); and a novel by Frank Paci, *Italian Shoes* (2002). The notion of return features in the plots of all five works under examination; similarly, their translation into Italian has been framed in terms of return. The latter seems to be strictly linked to the presence of literary code-switching within these texts, that is, the constant passage from Canadian English and Canadian French to standard Italian, Italian dialects and Italo-Canadian languages. The analysis of return that I conducted in the book indicates that return is understood as the restitution of a voice to Italian-Canadians, and as the restitution to Italians of a new perspective on themselves.

1. Return in Ricci, Paci and Melfi, and their translation into Italian

Italian-Canadian writing is a body of literature produced by second-generation writers of Italian background, the offspring of those Italians who emigrated to Canada in the 1950s and 1960s. Nino Ricci, Mary Melfi and Frank Paci can all be considered Italian-Canadian writers. While Ricci was born in Ontario to parents from the Molise region, Melfi and Paci were born in Italy and emigrated with their parents to Canada as young children.

Ricci's trilogy, which consists of *Lives of the Saints* (1990), *In a Glass House*, (1993) and *Where She Has Gone* (1997), recounts the experiences of an Italian family before and after emigration to Canada. Paci's *Italian Shoes* (2002) deals, instead, with the protagonist's return journey to Novilara, near Pesaro, in a pilgrimage of self-discovery. *Italy Revisited. Conversations with My Mother* (2009), finally, is a dialogue between Melfi and her mother during Easter week in Montreal, which is centred on her mother's memories both of Italy and of life in Canada after migration.

In 2004, Ricci's trilogy was translated into Italian by Gabriella Iacobucci, as *La terra del Ritorno*. In 2005, it was also adapted into a TV miniseries of the same title, featuring the famous Italian actresses Sophia Loren and Sabrina Ferilli (Baldo 2009a, b). Both the translated text and the film adaptation invoke

the idea of return, an idea that is also stressed in the reviews of the translation. Moreover, Iacobucci, after reading the first book of the trilogy, stated that her translation was meant to return the novel to its original language, namely Italian (Canton 2002). Iacobucci defines the English in which the novel was written as an "anomaly" and as a "disguise" (Canton 2002, 227; Iacobucci 2004, 2011), and speaks of her wish to "unveil" (2004, 2011) the imaginary that the novel evokes, by restituting to that imaginary the language that belonged to it: Italian. As she states, translation is a step in the source text's journey, which is a return journey. This rewriting of the novel into Italian was thus meant to return the Italian emigrant to Italy. Iacobucci also perceives her translation as a way of *paying back a debt*, as described in Benjamin's (1923) famous article, *The Task of the Translator*. The debt of the translator is, in her case, that of returning/restituting to Italian-Canadian writers their home language, the language of memory (i.e., their Italian dialect, or Italian) (Iacobucci 2011, 2017). This is also exemplified by the activities of the association founded by Iacobucci in 2007, Molise D'autore, which aims to promote authors of Molisan origins from all around the world.

Paci's novel was translated by Silvana Mangione, in 2007 with the title *Scarpe italiane* whereas Melfi's memoir was translated by Laura Ferri in 2012, under the title of *Ritorno in Italia. Conversazioni con mia madre*. These two translations were both published by Cosmo Iannone editore – a publishing house interested in migration – as part of its catalogue series 'Reti' (Webs). The latter feature literary works by authors living in Canada or the USA, but of Italian origin, or by Canadian authors. Interestingly, the title chosen for the translation of Melfi's memoir, *Ritorno in Italia*, contains the word 'return', absent from the source text. Moreover, while the source text's cover is a photographic portrait of Melfi's mother at the time of – or prior to – her emigration to Canada, the photograph on the cover of the translation portrays a group of people standing in a street with a donkey, in a Southern Italian village in the 1950s. Although the story is set in Casacalenda in the 1950s, the picture depicts a returnee, Raffaele, his two Canadian-born children and a group of his relatives. Hence, this image explicitly refers to two returns. The book cover of Paci' translation, by contrast, focuses on a recurrent theme in the book, hinted at in the title: shoes as a symbol of dressing elegantly, of making *la bella figura* (making a good impression). Similarly to Iacobucci, translator Silvana Mangione, who has worked for Italian communities in North America for many years, describes her translations as 'returns' to Italy by former Italian emigrants.

2. Return through code-switching

Return is a concept linked not only to physical journeys, but also to imagined ones. Moreover, it is a perfect locus for the mixing of diverse points of view: of those who migrated and returned; those who migrated and did not return; those who did not migrate but came in contact with or welcomed the returnees. A narrative strategy that best represents this clash of perspectives, and makes an attempt to renegotiate them, is that of the presence within Italian-Canadian texts of code-switching. A term borrowed from linguistics (see Milroy and Muysken 1995), code-switching refers to the insertion of standard Italian, Italian dialect, or Italian-Canadian words in texts written in Canadian English or French. Literary code-switching is a fictional device, a calculated and creative tool (Callahan 2004; Sebba, Mahotian and Jonsson 2012) that makes use of the juxtaposition of different points of views for constructing Italian-Canadian subjectivities. Moreover, it is related to translation and self-translation (Canton 2004).

The analysis of the abovementioned corpus of novels and memoir in my book focused on those code-switched items that were relevant to a discussion of the concept of return, both in the source texts and in their translations. In Ricci's trilogy, these were nouns such as *paesano*, hybrid terms that have become loan words in English and that signal ethnic belonging, and greetings and farewells such as *addio*, which the author related – throughout the trilogy – to the idea of death associated with departure. Return, in Ricci's work, although understood as being impossible, is linked to a renewed perspective on his Italian roots, which he had discarded while growing up. Conversely, the code-switched items analysed in Paci's *Italian Shoes* (2002) revolve around the notion of *la bella figura*. They serve to show how, through a reflection and a reworking of a system of beliefs based on it, the protagonist revisits his understanding of his family background and origins and, eventually, comes to appreciate them. This appreciation will eventually lead him to start writing. Return in terms of an attempt to preserve the past and bring it into the present is also at work in Melfi's *Italy Revisited* (2009). Despite her mother refusing to remember the country of *la miseria* (poverty) that she left be-

hind, Mary insists on embarking on this imaginary trip back to Italy by eliciting her mother's memories while helping her prepare food for the Easter celebrations. Such a metaphorical return is thus symbolically connected to food. Eating the Easter bread gives Mary the illusion of bringing the dead back to life, of bringing her relatives back to the kitchen in order to appease her current sense of guilt for having rejected – for such a long time – her family history, and thus to "fix" what is broken in her.

3. A return to origins

The question of origins and the (im)possibility of returning to them are signaled through code-switched items, present in both the source texts and their translations, but also in their paratexts (e.g., book covers, blurbs, prefaces, footnotes, book reviews, translator statements), although they are understood differently by the authors, translators and publishers. A return to origins seems to be characterised more by impossibilities in the source texts, and by possibilities in the translations. Through her translations, for example, Iacobucci responded to her desire to return Ricci's trilogy to its "original" language. Despite the risk, inherent in this statement, of neutralising (see Loriggio 2004) the conditions that contributed to forming the hybridity of Italian-Canadians, the fascination with origins seems strong in this context, both in the source and target cultures. However, if for Italians these origins are located within the perimeters of Italy, for Italian-Canadians they appear to be located in Canada. This is also confirmed by Ricci (2019) and Melfi's (2019) insistence on the fact that the Italian translations of their work did not feel as a "return" to Italy to them.

Return is a recurrent topic, not only in the examined corpus of texts but also in Italian-Canadian studies more in general. For anthropologist Cesare Pitto (2013), the myth of the return to origins for diasporic groups like the Italian-Canadians is pivotal in dealing with the effects of the so-called *spaesamento*, that is disorientation or alienation.[1] Similarly, Raffaele Taddeo (2010) states that return is emerging as a common theme in situations of crisis, its function being that of appeasing the sense of precarity created by migration. Through memory, return is therefore, and most of all, a means of self-affirmation, of *appaesamento* (Pitto 2013): in other words, of rebuilding an Italian *paese* (in physical and

metaphorical terms) in Canada. Such returns, however, are not fixed but, rather, never-ending. They are in constant motion, and this motion makes them both impossible, as the points of reference are constantly changed, and possible, given that this movement creates a distance between these points of reference, which constantly invokes translation.

4. Return as restitution: fighting amnesia

Iacobucci (2011) talks about the debt of the translator in terms of "a debt of hospitality, of affect, of gratitude" towards the writers whose work she has translated, some of whom – like Ricci – come from the same region as she does (Molise). Return can thus be understood as restitution, as an act of paying homage to parents, emigrants and the like. For Italian-Canadian writers this restitution is meant to appease a sense of guilt for having ignored and discarded their parents' history; for Italians living in Italy, such restitution can be, instead, linked to an institutional sense of guilt.

As Loriggio (2004) and Tirabassi (2005) have argued, for years institutional governments have largely ignored Italian emigration.[2] Only recently have governments and scholars started showing an interest in this phenomenon, as confirmed by the journal *Altreitalie* and its director, Maddalena Tirabassi (2010, 2015; Tirabassi and del Pra' 2014, 2016), who have focused on older and more recent Italian emigration. This restitution is thus meant to fight the amnesia that has long characterised Italian-Canadian history. For Silvana Mangione (2019) it also means correcting the old-fashioned image of the emigrant as poor and illiterate, and returning dignity to past emigrants by focusing on their achievements in North America. However, I believe that this idea of restitution is more complex, and also has to do with restituting something to Italians themselves. For Iacobucci (2011), the translation of this diasporic writing is equivalent to narrating the other half of Italian history, which stopped the moment Italian emigrants left the peninsula. For Ricci, the Italian diaspora in Canada is giving back to Italians a lost perspective on themselves, a perspective that comes from outside of Italy. For Elena Lamberti (2013), finally, Italian-Canadian writers are called to help old and new Italians better understand each other, and to help Italians deal with new immigrants in Italy in a more sound way.

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1 *Spaesamento* is based on the term *paese* (village), discussed in relation to *paesano*.

2 This is not the case for the *regioni*, the Italian regional districts created in the late 1960s; these, instead, paid attention to the communities created abroad by their former migrants, and tried to establish – or reinforce – economic and cultural ties with these (Tirabassi 2015).

The translation of Italian-Canadian writing can be considered a way of reconstructing the foundations of the *paese*, the village at home, given that many villages in Molise have been abandoned as a consequence of emigration, or affected in some other way by – past and more recent – emigration. Iacobucci's efforts at re-evoking the memory of emigration through the organisation of activities, such as readings and presentations of Italian-Canadian writers in Molisan villages, and also by giving hospitality, literally, to these writers during their trips to Italy, are part of this project.

In sum, the translators and publishers of Italian-Canadian writers are re-narrating places that might have lost a sense of themselves, having become "relics", to use Vito Teti's words (2017, 17). The Italian-Canadians' nostalgia, if inclusive and projected into the future, can teach Italians how to welcome the immigrants' nostalgia, according to Teti (2017), and to build new forms of attachment to the territory. The new immigrants can teach Italians how places and villages (now occupied by immigrants) have not disappeared but, rather, can be reinvented and redefined.

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Bio

Michela Baldo is an honorary fellow in Translation Studies at the University of Hull and holds a PhD in Translation Studies from the University of Manchester. Her past research revolves around the written and audio-visual translation into Italian of Italian-Canadian works, and she is the author of *Italian-Canadian Narratives of Return: Analysing Cultural Translation in Diasporic Writing* (Palgrave 2019). Her current research interests diverge into two themes. The first is the continuation of her research on Italian-Canadian writing and its translation, while the second revolves around the role played by translation in queer feminist activism in Italy, with its links to the Ispanophone and Francophone contexts. On this strand of research she has published articles, book chapters and coedited a book, *Il re Nudo. Per un archivio dragking in Italia* (2014). At present she is co-editing a special issue of the translation journal *TIS* (Translation and Interpreting Studies) on translation and LGBT/Queer activism.

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Xenophobia, suppression and ambiguity of memory

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Abstract

The political history of the last forty years of Lombardy-Venetia, seen in light of the regional migration history, has often led observers to reflect on the suppression of the local migration past. To some extent, this was held responsible for the birth and strengthening of leagues and other xenophobic political forces. Therefore, anti-racist organizations and political parties have often dedicated themselves to organizing events and to installing exhibitions dedicated to Italian emigration. Their explicit aim was to recover the memory of the past, to talk about the tragedies and difficulties of "our" workers abroad, hoping to generate empathy towards current migrants that could become an antidote to racist and xenophobic drifts. Similarly, many organizations and southern anti-racist militants confront the Northern League's electorate, growing in the South now, with the memory of internal migration and of anti-South insults thrown at them, until very recent years, by supporters and leaders of the Northern League. In fact, memory can be used to build value hierarchies between different migratory experiences, to justify hate and to avoid discussion with newcomers. Hence, memory is not neutral and, when it becomes part of a public debate or of a device used in politics, it can be subject to strong distortions and to all sorts of political uses.

Keywords:

Xenophobia, Northern League, Memory, Racism

The complexity of Italian migration history is reflected in the complexity of the debate concerning it, and in the articulated set of migratory memories spread in the different regions of Italy. Since the 1970s, migration paths of Italian citizens, mobility flows within the country, return migrations of those who spent years abroad as guest workers, first substantial flows of foreign immigration going straight to the Peninsula, have become particularly intertwined. Therefore, the term "migration" has undergone a change of meaning in the collective memory and imagination, since immigrants were not only compatriots that explained the reasons of movement, but also foreigners towards whom feelings of irritability and forms of intolerance were growing.

Speeches on immigration recalled those on emigration, in a complicated game of mirrors, references, and comparisons. The meaning that the word "racism" found in public speeches, was also partially changing. In 1977 the publishing house Paravia printed in the book series "Idee Chiave. Problemi aperti del nostro tempo" [Translator's note - NT: "Key ideas. Open problems of our time"] a small volume by Massimo Milella entitled *Il razzismo, ieri e oggi* [NT: *Racism, yesterday and today*]. The author treated the phenomenon as a cruel reality that developed in other times, in the years of colonialism and during fascism, that was later overcome and buried, even if he recognized that, in the absence of prevention, its germs could reappear and cause infections. The battle against racism was, for Milella, one of culture and civilization, aimed at containing some dangerous extremist minorities (Millela, 1977). Only a decade later, in 1988, Giorgio Bocca published the short volume *Gli italiani sono razzisti? (1988)* [NT. *Are Italians Racists?*] in which the visual angle chosen to analyze racism had considerably changed: Bocca presented a new reality, in which the risk of racism, for Italy, materialized in the daily encounter between Italians and foreign immigrants. Bocca himself described the phenomenon with alarmist and hyperbolic tones: "it was thought that invasions ended with the expulsion of the Nazis, but here we are dealing with a new invasion, poor, peaceful, permanent and uncontrollable, hete-

rogeneous and partly unassimilable, at least for now" (Bocca, 1988: 7). For Bocca, racism no longer looked like a nineteenth-century theory, but was taking shape in the conflicts of a country that discovered immigration, after having gone through more than a century of constant emigration. Racism therefore seemed to be resurrected and reinvigorated in its xenophobic variation, in which it became an aversion towards foreigners, a paranoid attitude, based on the fear of infiltration and contamination by subjects spread everywhere, but difficult to locate because they were illegal, clandestine, hidden, out of control.

The debate on immigration then became particularly intense between 1989 and 1990, during the months that would have led to the extension of the Martelli Law. In parliament, the vast majority of political parties and politicians considered the migration issue with the same categories with which they had treated it in previous years, from the perspective of a country of emigration. Only the Republican Party of Giorgio La Malfa adopted the invasion rhetoric. Leone Iraci Fedeli, Italian economist close to La Malfa, summarized his point of view on the question of his compatriots' racism with upstream terms, for the time: "Italian emigration came from a country with very strong class inequalities, while it was heading, for the most part, towards more egalitarian countries [...]. The host countries received a 'disciplined' workforce and therefore easily employable, precisely because they were unconditionally adaptable: Italians knew they had to be exploited and did not dream of causing difficulties. Instead the North African and African workforce that emigrates [to Italy] comes either from disintegrated societies [...] or from extremely egalitarian societies [...] and, moreover, from societies that have been conditioned by decades of chauvinist incitation, Islamic fanaticism [...] and exasperated populism" (Fedeli, 1990: 175).

In the disturbing perspective of Iraci Fedeli, Italians were not racists. They were simply confronted with an immigration that, unlike the old Italian emigration, wouldn't let itself be easily exploited and dominated, thus, generating conflict. In those same months, Laura Balbo and Luigi Manconi started the research that would give rise to three interesting volumes[1]. The first volume, from 1990, dealt with "possible racisms" that emerged in the debate generated by the Martelli Law[2]. In *I razzismi reali* [NT

Real racisms], on the other hand, what two years before still seemed to be a possibility, was now a concrete reality. And it was in this volume that, for the first time, great importance was given to a new political subject, the League of Umberto Bossi. Already in 1992, it seemed to Balbo and Manconi an *organization of intolerance* that had built its own localism on the opposition and the denigration of the other, southerner or foreigner, thus deserving to enter the vocabulary of home-grown racism (Balbo & Manconi, 1990: 43).

However, before forming the Northern League and putting the migration issue at the center of its political platform, leagues were a multifaceted reality, and, in many respects, a fluctuating one. The strong leadership of Umberto Bossi managed to govern the constant internal tensions, by controlling, building balances, elaborating slogans common to the regional league movements. Only after the political elections of 1987 and with the European elections of 1989, the Lombard League multiplied its consensus, managing to enter parliament and to reach 470,000 votes in the Europeans elections. In Lombardy, the party obtained a consensus of more than 10% in 49% of Lombard municipalities with a population of less than 5,000 people; in 46% of municipalities with a number of inhabitants between 5,001 and 10,000; in 32% of municipalities with a number of inhabitants between 10.001 and 50.000; in 33% with a number of inhabitants greater than 50.001.

Looking closely at regions in which leagues triumphed we realize a decisive aspect: it concerned small municipalities, most of which were characterized by the mass emigration phenomenon, in the years just before those in which leagues originated. Moreover, they were municipalities that dealt with a massive emigration flow to a particular country, Switzerland, both in the form of emigration in the strict sense of the term, and in the form of frontier workers. At least in part, a similar situation developed in the Venetian regions where the Venetian League received widespread consent. Even there, after the Second World War, emigration to Switzerland, Germany and Belgium had great impor-

1 Balbo, L., & Manconi, L. (1990). *I razzismi possibili*. Milan: Feltrinelli; (1992). *I razzismi reali*. Milan: Feltrinelli; (1993). Razzismi. Un vocabolario. Milan: Feltrinelli.
2 In general, in the early 1990s, publications on xenophobia or racism proliferated among Italian publishers. In addition to the references already mentioned, see: Compasso, A. (1995) *Extracomunitari in Europa: immigrazione, razzismo, xenofobia*. Rome: Gangemi ; Gallissot, R. (1992). *Razzismo e antirazzismo. La sfida dell'immigrazione*. Bari: Dedalo; Marletti, C. (1990). *Extracomunitari: dall'immaginario collettivo al vissuto quotidiano del razzismo cit*. in Moioli, V. *I nuovi razzismi. Miserie e fortune della "Lega Lombarda"*, Rome: Edizioni Associate ; Martini, C. M., Ricciardi, A., Tentori, T., Bassanini, F., Natali, M, & Bartoli, A. (Eds). (1990), *Immigrazione, razzismo e futuro*. Padova: Messaggero, Padova; Teti, V. (1993) *La razza maledetta. Origini del pregiudizio antimeridionale*. Rome: Manifestolibri.

tance. In the end, these were regions in which the conception of the emigrant widespread among the population was that of the frontier worker or of the *gastarbeiter* - that is, pure foreign workforce under the order of the homeowners. The imagined - and remembered - migrant by the inhabitants of areas with a strong inclination for leagues, was in short, a foreign worker present for a limited period of time, destined to "go back to his/her country"; a worker without political rights, whose integration was discouraged; and, finally, a worker subjected to border controls. These materials of memory and emigration imaginary helped to generate new territorial political subcultures, shared by subjects often differentiated by class belonging, but strongly identified with their own territory and their "culture[3]".

Such memory of emigration, ended up playing in those regions, a function of counter-identification. First and foremost, against migrants from Southern Italy when they arrived in their provinces to carry out clerical jobs in the service sector or in schools, with the possibility of relocating their residence and family. Numerous former Lombard-Venetian emigrants considered it unbearable to have worked abroad for years in order to earn their bread and butter, something that, from their perspective, Southerners demanded to share without the effort of working in the mines or risking their lives on construction sites in the mountains. Until the end of the 1980s, this mechanism led most of the first league supporters to identify themselves even more easily with foreign immigrants than with Southerners. Because it seemed to them that the former worked in factories, on construction sites or as servants, sometimes illegally and in precarious conditions, while they considered - in a stereotyped way - Southerners as a block of civil service employees.

As mentioned, the issue became radicalized between 1989 and 1990 when, while the Martelli Law was being written, league supporters adopted a stronger opposition to those who, by designing the law for the regulation of immigration, demanded greater rights for migrants, protection, equal working conditions, simplification of integration processes, amnesty for illegal immigrants. The annoyance towards the Martelli Law increased the more the idea of granting migrants favourable conditions was mentioned. Once again, the migratory memory was decisive in this process. Contrary to what a

large part of the left-wing movement claimed, such a memory was not lacking in leagues supporters: they used it as a political tool.

And it was precisely during this phase that, for the first time, the Northern League transformed immigration into its hobbyhorse. The events of 1991 and the landing in Puglia of thousands of Albanians accentuated the process, in parallel with the general collapse of empathy for immigrants felt in Italy. Later, when *Mani pulite* [NT: clean hands operation] and the end of socialist systems created a political vacuum in the country, the Northern League was able to grow exponentially, going from two elected parliamentarians in 1987 to over one hundred and eighty in 1994.

In the Nineties, while the xenophobic vocation of the Northern League became stronger, many political and cultural organizations belonging to various worlds of Italian left wing politics tried to hinder it. They thought that they had to counterpose the memory of Italian emigration with contemporary immigration, based on the assumption that that memory had been erased and that, by reactivating it, hostile attitudes towards immigrants could be countered. Those were the years of many exhibitions and initiatives on a past that was to serve as a lesson for the present. Emblem of that time is the volume by Gian Antonio Stella, *L'orda. Quando gli albanesi eravamo noi* [NT: *The Horde. When the Albanians Were Us*], that was published for the first time in 2002 and was used in thousands of events with national, regional or local visibility. No matter how appropriate and convincing their cultural content and values expressed were, those initiatives were politically blunt instruments. Their objective of rediscovering the Italian migratory past as a history of clandestinity, lynchings, work conflicts, and xenophobia, was inadmissible for many voters and supporters of the Northern League. They had lived that period and the related conflicts, but had their own narratives that they used politically in the way they thought was most useful. Memory did not work for them as a generator of empathy, as it did not have the effect of an antidote against xenophobia. On the contrary: behaving according to a mechanism identified by the great African-American sociologist W. E. B. Du Bois when he analysed the conflicts between ethnically connoted social groups forced to be at the bottom of the US social scale, resentful Italian ex-emigrants could draw some sort of enjoyment from the brutalization of the other; the foreign immigrant. By doing so, they manifested the brutality that often arises, simply

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3 For further information on these issues, see Barcella, P. (2018). Percorsi leghisti. Dall'antimeridionalismo alla xenofobia. *Meridiana*, 91, 95-120.

from an individualistic, familial and localist conception of reality. Or, less cruelly but very cynically, those people could accept that, after having been for decades one of the main social shock absorbers of global industrial capitalism, that role was given to others, because they had become accustomed to thinking that it was the way things had to be. Meanwhile, the league movement grew stronger, cultivating a tangle of localist feelings, inferiority complexes and victim attitudes, based precisely on the memory of poor migrant people who had once been humiliated and exploited but who, thanks to their honest and hard work, had achieved security and stability. In the course of the Nineties, the movement and its followers hence crystallized their memory of Northern Italian emigration contrasted, with a xenophobic function, to the reality of immigration in Italy.

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Bio

Paolo Barcella is a researcher at the University of Bergamo. He earned his doctorate in Contemporary History with a co-supervised project by the University of Genoa and the University of Lausanne. His work dealt with Italian emigration to post-Second World War Switzerland and was based on a collection of oral sources and writings from common people. He is the author of (2019) *I frontalieri in Europa. Un quadro storico.* Milan: Biblion Editore [NT: *Cross-Border Workers in Europe. A Historical Frame*]; (2018) *Per cercare lavoro. Donne e uomini dell'emigrazione italiana in Svizzera.* Rome: Donzelli [NT: *Looking for work. Italian female and male immigrants in Switzerland*], (2018); (2014). *Migranti in classe. Gli italiani in Svizzera tra scuola e formazione professionale.* Verona: Ombre Corte [NT: *Migrants In The Classroom. Italians In Switzerland, Between School and Vocational Training*]. He edited, with Michele Colucci, the monographic volume of the magazine Archivio storico dell'emigrazione [NT: Historical Archive of Immigration] that focused on cross-border workers.
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Studying the big internal Italian migrations in order to understand migration in contemporary society

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Abstract

The issue of this presentation is the big internal migration in Italy between the 1960s and 1970s. I will try to demonstrate how the life stories of those internal immigrants and of their sons can be an interpretation to understand current migration both in contemporary Italian society and in those societies that host Italian communities. The study of the big internal migration is still extremely important nowadays, but it is affected by a historical amnesia. One of the reasons for this amnesia is the struggle between old and new migrants. This struggle is, above all, a symbolic opposition; the old ones seem to say to the new ones: "The old jacket has now to be worn by the new ones".

Keywords:

Italian Internal Migration, Collective Memory, Super8, Second Generations

In my presentation I have discussed the big internal migration in Italy that took place between the 1960s and 1970s. I have tried to demonstrate how the life stories of those internal immigrants and of their children can help to understand current migration both in contemporary Italian society and in those societies that host Italian communities. One might ask what is the point of talking about internal migration after fifty years from the peak of this phenomenon. The first answer, maybe banal, is that not enough has been discussed on this topic. Little of this phenomenon remained in the collective memory apart from some extemporaneous episodes of explicit racism (the famous signs "no rent available for southerners") or the folklore of the popular traditions of Southern Italy reproduced in the big industrial northern cities. The phenomena related to these extraordinary population movements are so many that, as Enrico Pugliese wrote, to talk about internal migration means to deal with a phenomenon that includes some of the most important transformations of the Italian society (Pugliese 2002). For this reason, the study of the big internal migration is still extremely important nowadays. Thanks to these studies we have some keys to interpret migration in our contemporary society. We can also understand the reasons of amnesia, because the struggle between old and new migrants also exists and, above all, as a symbolic opposition; the old ones seem to say to the new ones: «The old jacket has now to be worn by the new ones».

Turin experienced the most consistent immigration among all the major Italian cities. Suffice to recall that the city grew from 590,753 inhabitants in 1931 to 1,202,846 inhabitants in 1974 (Musso 2002). The great internal immigration between the end of the Second World War and the 1970s saw millions of Italians take center stage and geographically disrupted and redistributed the population of our country. Myriads of people moved from one end of the Peninsula to the other, a reshuffling of the national territory that in those proportions has no comparison in Western Europe after the war. Suffice it to say that from 1955 to 1970 almost 25 million people moved within the Italian territory (Toniozzi 1999). There was a general tendency to move from the South to the North and more generally from the most backward areas of the country to those that were experiencing a strong industrial development: these were the years of the so-called «Economic Miracle» and mass motorization. The cities

of the industrial triangle (Turin, Milan and Genoa) attracted most of immigrants; even Rome saw its inhabitants increase in those years. The results of that great internal migration are still clearly visible today in the composition of the population of Turin. As mentioned, despite the great migration from Southern Italy, in the years of the economic boom, resulting in some of the most important transformations of Italian society, this phenomenon is still today the Cinderella of the historical-social studies on immigration, and for this reason deserves further investigations. Particularly in the boom years of this phenomenon, between the Fifties and the Sixties, there were not many investigations conducted and published.

The task of telling the stories of southern immigrants in the north was mainly left to newspapers, television and cinema. It is a vast and interesting topic, which would perhaps be worth analyzing more carefully. Let's think, for example, about the work of photojournalists in those years. Some of those photographs remained in the collective memory, in that process of symbolization that transforms the image into a symbol, an icon designed to illustrate a theme (Pogliano 2010). Like the photo of the Sardinian immigrant, who has just arrived in Milan and portrayed in front of the Pirelli Tower with his cardboard suitcase. That snapshot taken by Uliano Lucas in 1968 became a symbolic image of that migratory phenomenon, because it was able to represent the meeting that was taking place in those years between two Italies: the agrarian and backward one, which was represented by the immigrant, and that of the Pirelli Tower, symbol of industrial modernity (Lucas 2015).

During the migratory boom, the work of photojournalists was not merely a visual aid to the written text, but the photographs taken in those years themselves provide food for thought and study (Corti 2010). Also worthy of note are the journalistic inquiries that were broadcast on RAI, the national public broadcasting company of Italy. Finally, there was the cinema. Among the most famous films, which have immortalized immigration from the South to Northern Italy on the big screen, there is certainly *Rocco e i suoi fratelli* by Luchino Visconti (1960), *Trevico-Torino - Viaggio nel Fiat-Nam* by Ettore Scola, (1973) and *La ragazza di via Millelire*, a film directed by Gianni Serra, produced in 1979 and presented at the Venice Film Festival. The latter tells the difficult life of some boys - children of the great internal immigration in Turin - who live in the large houses of social housing in the southern slums of Turin, in a block that over time became sadly known by the city chronicles for numerous episodes of juvenile distress. A film that, in addition to providing lots of food for thought on what was the miserable condition of a part of the youth in the slums of the city, is one of the few documents that remain about what was happening in the outermost parts of Turin. But there is also another type of film material that should be analyzed more carefully: home movies.

This type of images is located halfway between cinema and private photography. Home movies often tell family stories but can also testify to social and historical phenomena. Among the works filmed in Super8, very interesting are the images shot by Gino Brignolo who unknowingly left us a precious legacy. An important city history page that, thanks to the passion of a filmmaker, we can know better today. Images shot in 8mm, a little grainy, which have a huge emotional impact and a great historical value. This man had a passion both for documentary and reportage. He understands that something important is happening in the city and for this reason he went to Porta Nuova station in Turin to film the immigrants who landed in the city with the so-called "Train of the Sun". Arrivals of the immigrants at the station are very rare images. But Brignolo is not satisfied with just capturing the arrivals, with his camera he also follows the immigrants on the tram. Families who head for the boarding houses of Porta Palazzo with their suitcases. During the following years, Brignolo also continues to film immigrants. He shoots the meetings at "Piazza della Repubblica" square, clusters of people discussing and recreating the square of their little towns. He also takes pictures of the slums and films the Vallette district with no public transport connections yet. We can see the blocks of social housing and the people who use boards to overcome the puddles, formed on the still unpaved roads. Neighborhoods that seem abandoned to their fate. Brignolo's son tells: "Looking at the films, there are these images of children playing in frozen puddles. Bands of kids who do not have any meeting centres, who move around the neighborhood like little wolves". I have studied these children in the research project of the University of Turin and Eastern Piedmont that was dedicated to the study of second generations of internal immigrants: *Secondgen – second generations: migration process and mechanisms of integration among foreigners and Italians (1950-2010)*. This is a an investigation born with the ambitious intent to compare today's forei-

gn immigration and the past regional immigration in Italy.

One of the basic ideas of comparison is that it is possible to investigate the «migratory process itself», regardless of nationality, citizenship and the supposed cultural difference. Starting from these theoretical premises, I started my studies, which tell of a local story that in fact has very little "local" to say (Basile 2014).

Let me explain better: if it is true that in my investigations there is a description of events that occurred mainly in the outskirts of Turin from the mid-sixties to the mid-eighties, the intent was not, however, to do a "local story", but rather to highlight social mechanisms probably also present in a Parisian *banlieue* or in an American slum, although naturally there are differences. My survey lasted about three years and the research method used was mainly an anthropological participant observation, but not the classical type as it was adapted to the particular needs of this research. The study focused mainly on the outlying districts of Turin, with a focus on public housing blocks. In these places I met people, interviewed them, and tried to reconstruct, through their memories, the story of their realities as they narrated. I was particularly interested in those areas of the city or those streets that became known via the town chronicle for its numerous acts of juvenile crime. I was intrigued by some roads, which over the years had acquired a "bad reputation" and which in the collective memory were inevitably associated with delinquency, drugs and degradation: in other words, places where it was advisable not to set foot.

Foreign lands in the city, one might say, inhabited by *tamarri*, the derogatory nickname with which the boys who live in the slums of the big cities are called. I think it is therefore important to give these yesterday guys a word today, to relive events through their eyes of ex-adolescents from the periphery of a twenty-year period full of economic and social transformations. This is important for two reasons: on the one hand through their memories it is possible to highlight social mechanisms that are closely related to the migration phenomenon itself, and on the other, these life stories contribute to the story of a historical period still fully analyzed. This study was essentially an ethnographic and historical-oral work but supported by a substantial archive research. Finding the archives, however, was not easy: the lack of documentary material on many central topics is evident and even the urban fabric seems to have wanted to hide a part

of its difficult past. It cannot, however, be excluded that part of the responsibility for this generalized amnesia is also to be attributed to the immigrants themselves, who may have been in too much of a hurry to divest themselves of the label of recent arrivals. The episodes of our recent past can help us better understand some of today's events. They can explain, for example, why in some areas in the city, and in certain social environments, the boys have more difficulty than their peers in dealing with institutions and with school in the first place. Reading these facts from the past can be useful for us to understand what gives rise to the sense of exclusion that many second-generation immigrants feel today. Understanding what happened to some of our yesterday's immigrant children may give us a few more insights for interpreting current immigration issues and to fight against historical amnesia.

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Bio

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The highly skilled migrant in contemporary society: a conceptual analysis

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Abstract

Nowadays, highly skilled migration and mobility can be the result of many factors like globalization and revolution in Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) that caused an ever-increasing circulation of people, ideas, capital and labour. Located within the studies on migrations and mobility, this paper aims to deepen the conceptual category of highly skilled migrant in contemporary society. In addition, one or more profiles of highly qualified migrants will be delineated, analysing the existing literature in the national and international field, showing their evolution, changes from the past, and how there are highly qualified migrants whose qualifications are not recognised - or only partially recognized - in the countries in which they have chosen to live.

1. Introduction

The migration of highly qualified people to Italy has become a significant issue, especially in recent years. Historically, there have been examples of "qualified mobility" between countries with existing political relations (e.g. Commonwealth countries or states belonging to the ex U.S.S.R.), but today, as a consequence of the effects of the global crisis, the phenomenon has involved the whole world. Nowadays, this kind of migration can be the result of many factors, first of all globalization that has caused a growing circulation of people and ideas. Secondly, the diffusion of ICT, Information and Communication Technologies, which has led to an increase in the request for talents in specialised sectors, mainly in the medical, engineering and, more generally, in the scientific sectors (Dìaz-Briquets, Cheney, 2002; Solimano, 2006).

Recent decades have been characterized by the definition of mobility policies dedicated to potentially skilled or highly skilled migrants. These policies can lead to a valorisation or a devaluation of the qualifications of highly skilled migrants (Stouffer, 1940, 1960; Berset et alii, 1999), which are able to

justify national research focused on the loss of qualifications of this category of migrants (Chicha, 2009; Ferhi, 2013; Dumitru, Marfouk, 2015).

The situation is even more complex when we want to investigate the professionalism of foreigners in Italy, including both regular migrants and asylum seekers. In the first case, the process of recognition and validation of qualifications is complex. Such migrants are not always granted access to additional training that can equate the qualifications obtained in the country of origin in Italy (Pittau, Ricci, 2013; Marengo, Lerda, 2019).

In the case of asylum seekers, who may then become refugees, the path is even more difficult. Often without identity documents, these foreigners are almost never able to submit their qualifications (in completing the required forms, sometimes the field is "omitted"), especially if the considered individuals come from countries at war or where they are persecuted. This means that asylum seekers, even if qualified (*i.e.* at least possessing a high school diploma) are forced to start from the first level of education, which is the middle school diploma (Badii, 2017).

Other issues that have not yet been clarified with reference to qualified migration, concern three primary peculiarities of these categories of population movements:

The first concerns the specific terminology used to design the phenomenon of qualified migration: *highly skilled migration*, *brain drain/brain gain*, *transmigrant* (Da Cruz, Nizzoli, 2014), *elitist migration* or, again, in the intra-European context, *expats* (Gatti, 2009). These differences in terminology are determined by the migration policies of the host countries and by the specificities of their employment markets.
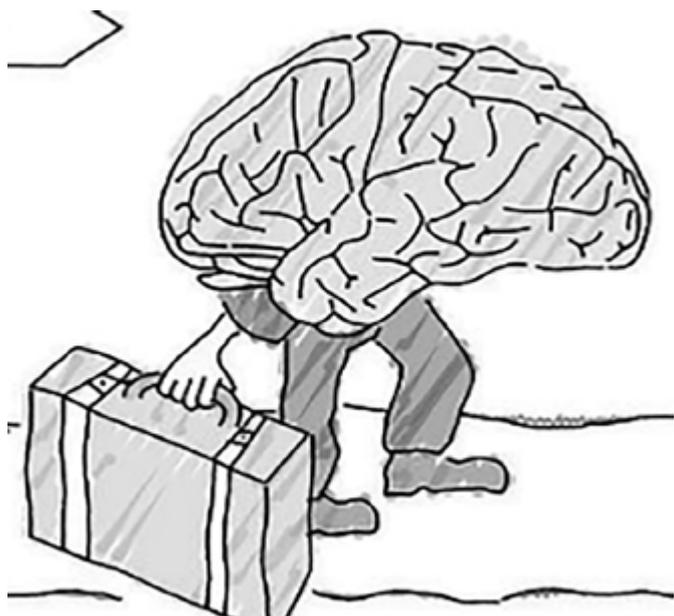
Figure 1. A symbolic image regarding the phenomenon of brain drain.

Source: elaboration by the author using the following image: https://www.flickr.com/photos/60558790@N05/20276042012

- The second concerns the level of qualification to consider a migrant as highly qualified. This issue is largely influenced by the mobility policies of the host countries; the main ones are: Germany, France, United Kingdom, United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand (Defoort, 2008).

- The third concerns the de-skilling of this kind of mobility. In fact, highly skilled migrants may face processes of de-skilling, depending on migration policies and the issue of recognition of qualifications. This phenomenon can lead to significant psychological, economic and social impacts (Chicha, 2012; Nowicka, 2012; Cuban, 2013; Ferhi, 2013).

2. Different profiles of the highly skilled migrant

In general, a highly qualified migrant must have at least one post-secondary diploma, which is not necessarily issued by universities. However, in some countries, where the lack of qualifications in some professional categories is particularly high, the holders of a degree or a PhD are often required to satisfy the professional needs of hosting countries (Chaloff, Lemaître, 2009).

Generally, the profile of a highly qualified migrant is defined through the following professions: researchers, scientists, managers, functionaries, senior executives in the technological fields, doctors and experts in the health professions, creatives, etc..

In order to better understand the specificities of qualified or highly qualified mobility, a typology of highly skilled migrants has been identified. This is the result of a first analysis of the scientific and grey literature available at national and international level, as well as before national and European institutions and international organisations became involved in the field of migration. In particular, the following categories have been identified:

-*Highly qualified mobility of young people from developing countries* with a professional high school diploma and/or at least a Bachelor's degree, PhD (Poirot, Gérardin, 2010; Keller-Gerber, 2017).

 -*International student mobility* - by study and by traineeship - in Europe (mostly linked to the Erasmus + programme) or in other countries (overseas): it gives rise to mobility not only during the training period, but also afterwards (Brassier-Rodrigues, 2015; Wen Wen, Welch, 2016; Onorati, d'Ovidio, 2016; Teichler, 2017).

-*Highly qualified migration from European and non-European countries*. Italy has adopted the blue card in order to favour the entry of highly skilled young people into the country (Diaz-Briquets, Cheney, 2002; Garnet, Haas, Hamann, Niebuhr, 2015).

-*Migration* in which a part of the migrants - legal or illegal -, asylum seekers or refugees have a high educational level.

3. Concluding remarks: there are also highly qualified unrecognised migrants

This kind of migration is the most difficult to identify and study, since in many countries, such as Italy, the level of training is not always required at the time of the migrants' arrival. There is little fragmentary literature, based on information sourced mainly from surveys rather than from official databases. As far as Italy is concerned, a report has been published of the OECD called "*Lavoro per gli immigrati. L'integrazione nel mercato del lavoro in Italia*". From this study, we see a qualified foreign presence that has been rarely included in the national labour market. According to Franco Pittau and Antonio Ricci (2014, p. 79), only 1 out of 100 immigrants practice in a qualified profession in the Italian labour market.

There is therefore a low level of qualified and/or highly qualified employment, so much so that the two researchers have shown that, in 2012, as many as 41.2% of foreign workers had a high level of training or were hyper-qualified compared to the work carried out (ibidem). Obtaining equivalence of qualifications, provided that they can be produced for the purpose of recognition, is a rather long, difficult and expensive process and often the foreigner does not proceed to do so. The same applies to educational inclusion, since it is expensive and not practicable for an immigrant already active in the world of work (Marengo, Lerda, 2018).

A separate subject, but always similar to the category of immigrants in question, concerns foreign students who, once they have completed their education, choose to stay in Italy. The stabilisation process in our country is not so straightforward because students benefit from temporary residence permits: in Italy as elsewhere, there is a specific procedure for applying for a permanent residence permit. Another case of qualified or highly qualified foreigners concerns the second generation of immigrants: in most advanced countries, there are often phenomena of professional marginalisation due to non-native origin (Chica, 2009).

Finally, one last category of qualified migrant is asylum seekers or refugees. Humanitarian immigrants generally have great difficulties in integrating into the labour market. This also applies to highly qualified migrants: who are generally penalised by difficulties in recognising their previous qualifications, even if "the educational profile of some refugee populations is highly qualified" (Chaloff, Lemaître, 2009, p. 30).

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Meticciato and the Legacy of Colonialism in Shirin Ramzanali Fazel's Clouds over the Equator

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Abstract

This essay argues that Shirin Ramzanali Fazel's novel Clouds over the Equator provides a powerful depiction of the AFIS administration in Somalia and its legacy. In particular, the novel shows that it is not possible to trace a definitive separation between the colonial and the postcolonial period, since the racial laws that were enforced during colonialism had long lasting effects in Italy and in Somalia.

Keywords:

Meticciato; Colonial Legacy; Somali Diaspora; Decolonization

It can be argued that a defining characteristic of the legacy of Italian colonialism is, paradoxically, the absence of memory – or the selective memory (Proglio 2015) – of this very endeavor. Although numerous studies investigate the Italian experience in Africa from the end of 19th century until the end of World War II, many Italians are still unaware of their colonial history.[1] Even less people probably remember that Italy was given a trusteeship administration of Somalia, its former colony, from 1950 to 1960. The Amministrazione Fiduciaria Italiana della Somalia (AFIS) is a unique case within the context of African decolonization, as it was a colonialism limited in time, during which the Italian government controversially gave the previous Fascist administrators the task to lead this African country to democracy and independence (Mohamed Issa Trunji 2015; Morone 2011).

The AFIS period was conceivably forgotten because it was little represented or it was misrepresented.

An example of this misrepresentation is Antonio Nediani's 1960 documentary entitled *Somalia: dieci anni dopo* [Somalia: Ten Years After], which claims that 'Italians have given Somalis much more than they have received'. Moreover, this movie represents Somalia by indulging on images of wild animals and arguing that Somalis are 'slaves to their land and herd'.

Another perspective is offered by Enrico Emanuelli's *Settimana nera* [Black Week] (1961) and Giorgio Moser's movie that was based on the novel, *Violenza segreta* [Secret Violence] (1963).[2] The main character and narrator of *Settimana nera* is an Italian settler who falls in love with Regina, the Somali concubine and servant of a conational named Farneti. Unlike the main character, Farneti was in Somalia before the AFIS and he represents an old-fashioned kind of colonialist. According to Pietro Dallamano, Farneti is different from the main character, since the latter shows a new kind of colonialising attitude, which is 'più sottile, più subdolo, tale che i bianchi se lo trovano dentro di sé, che lavora come un tarlo distruttore, anche quan-

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1 Among the volumes that have critically analysed the history of Italian colonialism in the Horn of Africa and its historical legacy, see Andall and Duncan 2011, Ben Ghiat and Fuller 2005, Brioni and Shimelis 2018, Calchi Novati 2005, Carangiu and Negash 2007, Del Boca 1976-1984, Labanca 2002, Palumbo 2003, and Uoldelul, Palma, Triulzi, and Volterra 2011.

2 For a detailed analysis of this novel and its filmic adaptation, see Deplano 2014.

do vogliono liberarsene e giungere a una sincera fratellanza umana con tutte le razze' [more subtle and more fake. White people find it in themselves, and it works like a woodwarm, it is impossible to get rid of it even when they want to be brothers and sisters of all of the races] (qtd. in Pagliara 134). The more Emanuelli's novel progresses, the more the main character realizes how similar he is to Farnenti (Emanuelli 1961: 201). While the main character morally condemns the brutal colonialist Farnenti, he himself wants to possess Farnenti's woman, and he looks at her like 'un turista in visita a un museo' [a tourist who is visiting a museum] (Emanuelli 1961: 35). It can be argued that while the movie and novel take on a voyeuristic gaze to challenge Italian colonialism, the movie does nothing to reverse the gaze, or shows what Regina thinks or feel: she remains an object. In *Violenza segreta* the actress interpreting Regina is referred to as 'Maryam', without even an acknowledgement of her full name.

A critical analysis of these movies and literary works shows that it is not possible to trace a definitive separation between the colonial and the postcolonial period, since the racial laws that were enforced during colonialism created apartheid in Somali society during the AFIS period as well. For instance, Law 1019 of 1936, denied *meticci* 'la loro italianità [...] cittadinanza [...] educazione e [...] formazione alla "cultura italiana"' [their Italianness [...] citizenship [...] education and [...] formation to Italian culture] (Giuliani 2013: 63), and Law 880 of 1937 (one year before the promulgation of the Racial Laws) punished interracial unions with five years of imprisonment, thus creating a situation of segregation and discrimination against *meticci* and native women, who could not claim any family rights from Italians and were therefore abandoned. The 1938 Racial Laws considered *meticcio* [persons of mixed race] and black people as biologically inferior individuals, naturally inclined to prostitution, crime, violence, and depravity (Stefani 2007: 158).

It is therefore no surprise that *meticci* are frequent presences in literature about the Italian colonial experience and its legacy. *Meticci* are the main characters of Cristina Ali Farah's *Madre piccola* [Little Mother] (2007), Gabriella Ghermandi's *Regina di fiori e di perle* [Queen of Flowers and Pearls] (2007), and Wu Ming 2 and Antar Mohamed's *Timira. Romanzo meticcio* [Timira. A *Meticcio* Novel] (2012).[3]

Meticci are also prominent characters in other literary works, including Zuhra's stepsister Mar in Igiaba Scego's *Oltre Babilonia* [Beyond Babylon] (2008), Sissi, Yabar's cousin, in Cristina Ali Farah's *Il comandante del fiume* [The Commander of the River] (2014), and Michele, and the son of one of Shirin Ramzanali Fazel's friends, who is presented as a new Italian in the autobiographically inspired text *Lontano da Mogadiscio* [Far from Mogadishu] (1994).[4] *Meticci* characters embody in their skin the identitarian split of individuals who disrupt racial boundaries: 'Literary mulattos [...] are able to cross boundaries, which were considered fixed or natural. Therefore, they are ideal critics of the establishment' (Sollors 1997: 245).

Shirin Ramzanali Fazel's *Clouds over the Equator* – originally published in Italian in 2010 with the title *Nuvole sull'equatore. Gli italiani dimenticati* – provides a powerful description of *meticcio* literary characters during the AFIS administration, and makes readers view this period from the perspective of two women: that of Amina, a Somali woman, and her daughter, Giulia, whose father Guido is an Italian who travelled as part of the Italian colonial enterprise to Eritrea, and then after World War II, moved to Kenya, Somalia (under the Italian Trusteeship Administration), and then back to Kenya in 1961.

Although the novel is not narrated through the voices of the main characters, we closely follow their stories. Amina gains self-awareness and independence thanks to three elements: female solidarity, cinema and the ability of movies to show Amina distant worlds, and her exploration of the social spaces which gives her the strength to assert her subjecthood in the domestic space (Burns 2013: 57). As Jennifer Burns maintains:

Amina can be seen to be deploying the protection and respectability of the domestic and gendered space in which she was previously confined in order to gain entry into full citizenship and full presence in the city. Amina in fact becomes [...] a successful businesswoman and a political activist, and it is striking that this success, whilst independent and entirely 'self-made', is anchored to the coordinates of the spaces and principles of approved female action that she outlines above: her trade is in fabrics for clothing and she sells the jewellery which constitutes her only culturally sanctioned independent

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3 Ali Farah's and Ghermandi's novels have been translated in English by Giovanna Bellesia and Victoria Offredi Poletto. See Ali Farah 2011 and Ghermandi 2015.

4 Shirin Ramzanali Fazel translated her first novel in English. See Shirin 2015.

property in order to support her political cause, the Lega dei Giovani Somali, in the campaign for independence. (Burns 2013: 58)

Burns also argues that 'whilst performing a female identity crafted to meet the expectations of the male public gaze, [Amina and her fried Faduma] are also enacting a form of ungendered, active citizenship which places them in the thick of the nation's bid for independence' (2013: 59). Amina's emancipation mirrors the requests of Somali women for their rights in the 1960s (Safia 2010). It is interesting to note that in *Clouds over the Equator* , these changes go hand in hand with the cultural legacy of a patriarchal society, which can be seen when Yassin – a man belonging to a 'middle-class family' who is in love with Giulia – is forced by his father to follow the tradition, marry his cousin, and become responsible for the whole family.

Amina's daughter, Giulia, is abandoned by her father during the AFIS period, grows up in a Catholic orphanage, and is rejected by both the communities to which she feels a part of. Burns' analysis stresses her construction of subjecthood, and her ability to learn from different female cultural models, besides her mother. In *Clouds over the Equator*, Giulia has two 'mothers', her nanny Dada and her mother Amina. The novel describes 'female solidarity and friendship independent of kinship' that go far beyond the nuclear family (Burns 2013: 56). For instance, Dada teaches Giulia 'rituals, practices, and beliefs of rural life in Somalia' (Burns 2013: 61), and Gigia – a friend of Dada – embodies 'the vitality and physical attractiveness of young female sexuality' (Burns 2013: 62). Thanks to these multiple female presences, Giulia is able to construct a hybrid identity, after the traumatic experience in the Catholic boarding school and the physical and psychological abuse she has to suffer because she is considered to be a 'daughter of sin'.

The last of these multiple identity-building experiences is her trip to Italy, a country where, once again, she feels excluded because of the color of her skin. In the final passage of her analysis Burns underlines that

The movement in [Clouds over the Equator], which is not linear between an "origin" and a "destination," but rather itinerant, sketches a notion of identity, subjecthood, and belonging, which undermines conventional conceptions of race and nationality by mapping the becoming of individual subjects (and indeed, collectives of various kinds) across geographical and cultural space. [The novel] suggests that by identifying connections between points in the life stories of migrants, which might be geographical, political, historical, or cultural, and so tracing the itinerary by which each individual or community comes to be what it is in any one space or moment, the reader or observer might succeed in overturning conventional notions of identity as uniquely plotted according to particular features of nationality, ethnicity, gender, class, age, etc… (Burns 2013: 81).

In other words, *Clouds over the Equator* contributes to re-imagined national spaces, and provides a powerful representation of the condition of those who straddle different cultures.

As I have argued elsewhere (Brioni 2015: 98-100), *Clouds over the Equator* points out the role and legacy of Catholic institutions in the colonization of Somalia, which historical research has also documented (Ceci 2007). By highlighting the link between religious and racial discrimination, this novel seems to invite readers to consider whether the exclusion of colonized subjects within Italian colonies is reduplicated in the present discrimination against immigrants, especially those of Muslim background. In other words, *Clouds over the Equator* shows that the fear of hybridity during the AFIS did not only refer to race, but also to culture, therefore anticipating a modern version of racism, which stresses on the 'clash of civilization' instead of – but sometimes in correlation with – the idea of a racial unassimilable difference (Said 2001: 1-5). Because of her ability to raise critical questions about the nature, the role, and the legacy of 'scientific' racism, Shirin's voice feels necessary and relevant not only to grasp the legacy of AFIS administration, but the resistance to the pervasive white privilege that was institutionalized in the colonies and shapes the contemporary world. Moreover, the vivid descriptions of *Clouds over the Equator* reconstruct Mogadishu, a city that was completely destroyed by the civil war. Shirin's debut novel *Lontano da Mogadiscio* is an immensely self-aware book, which – as I have argued elsewhere – continues to inspire critical reflections about artistic commitment, racism, belonging, and mobility (Brioni 2013). *Clouds over the Equator* is a wonderfully detailed, graceful and thought provoking novel, which builds on those reflections, by providing a unique depiction of the AFIS administration in Somalia and its legacy.

Notes on Translation and Alphabetisation

Translations in the text are my own unless otherwise stated. Somali and Eritrean proper names are mentioned by referring to the first name, which is the most common practice in African Studies.

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Bio

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Italians on the "frontier of the white man". Race Making in Early Twentieth Century California

Tommaso Caiazza

Italy

Abstract

This article examines the issue of Italians' "whiteness" within the context of early Twentieth Century California. Journalist Chester Rowell's 1909 view of the Pacific Coast as the "frontier of the white man", due to Asian immigration, is adopted as a paradigm to highlight the distinct way race relations operated in California as compared to other areas of the United States. In contrast to the white/black dynamic prevailing elsewhere, the Pacific frontier racial dynamic led to Italians' being included among "whites", this through their cooption into the system of anti-Asian exclusion.

Two riots, occurring in the United States economic crisis of 1907-1908, serve as an introduction to this essay's topic. The first was an assault perpetrated by a nativist group in West Virginia against Italian immigrants "because of their competition with American workers". "La Domenica del Corriere" dedicated a front-page to the event which, for Italians, followed years of exploitation in the mines of the region. The second riot, this time in California, was perpetrated by Italian immigrants against their Asian Indian counterparts. A similar riot subsequently broke out in Washington, the conflicting groups being employed as section hands in various North-Western Pacific railroad construction sites. From Sausalito to Tacoma, Italians attacked "Hindoos" with stones and clubs, accusing them of being strikebreakers.

It is not by chance that Italians, in these riots, which occurred in the same period but on the opposite sides of the country, played such different roles, as the victims in Virginia's case and as the victimizers in the case of Sausalito and Tacoma. This highlights how, on the Pacific Coast, Italians' racial status was changing significantly in respect to other U.S. regions at the turn of the Twentieth century.

The Virginia case exemplifies Italians' racial experience as an "in-between people", to adopt David Roediger and James Barrett's phrase to identify the ambiguous racial status assigned initially to "new" immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe. The case on the Pacific, on the other hand, suggests how on that side of the country Italians were "white on arrival", to use Thomas Gugliemo's expression. In fact they were "white" to such an extent that Italians exploited their newfound racial identity at the expense of Asian Indians, one of the region's most oppressed immigrant groups. In 1909, Fresno newspaper editor and dominant intellectual among the California Progressives Chester Rowell, in an article titled "Orientophobia" in the *Collier's Weekly*, called the Hindu the "most pitiful immigrant" on the Pacific Coast in that he could be "kicked from pillar to post as a 'nigger' by outcast mobs of inferior white men". Rowell's vehemently racist slurs clearly refer to these Italian mobs attacking Asian Indians; "inferior white men" is his term for Italians, most likely from the South of Italy. The paradigms of "in-betweenness" and "white on arrival" are antithetical. The former suggests that Italians only became white over time, the latter

paradigm that they were placed in such "color" status immediately. However, both fail to take into account regional variations in the racialization of Italians when applied on a nationwide scale. As this article argues, Italians' full "whiteness" in California, rather than reflecting a position applicable across the country, was the result of the distinctly local race relations' context.

In 1909, besides writing "Orientophobia", Rowell published an article on Asian immigration for the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. In both these articles Rowell's discourse is based on the definition of Northern Pacific as the "frontier of the white man's world". By this he meant that the western borders of both U.S. and Canada were the "culmination" of the westward expansion, forming a line of defense from Asian immigration which, in his opinion, threatened to push the same "white man's frontier" backwards "over the mountains and across the plains" towards the Atlantic.

In 1909, when Rowell published these articles, the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act had been already become permanent in law and the U.S. Government had just signed with its Japanese counterpart the Gentlemen's Agreement which banned, in turn, *de facto* Japanese immigration. Thus, when Rowell called for "the right of the unborn generations of the west to be born of Occidental blood and under American institution", he was simply perpetuating the mainstream hoax concerning the alleged "Oriental invasion" and the "mongrelization" of the Pacific Coast, as he called it.

In reality, not only was there no Pacific Coast "invasion"; more importantly, there was no risk to racial integrity, as the sociologist Robert Park noted. During the 1920s Park participated in the "survey on race relations on the Pacific Coast". The results of his investigation, appearing in an article titled "Our racial frontier", dismantled Rowell's prediction of racial disaster. "What is taking place around the Pacific", Park stated, "is what took place some centuries ago around the Mediterranean (…) a new civilization, a new Commonwealth of the Pacific is coming into existence. For civilization is not, as some writers seem to believe, a biological, but a social, product. It is an effect of the coming together for trade and for intercourse of divergent races of divergent cultures".

Its misleading nature notwithstanding, Rowell's view of the Pacific as the "frontier of the white man" reflected how race relations operated in California.

The case of Italians offers an illuminating perspective on the distinctive race-making process occurring there. Rowell defined Italians as "inferior white men", the key concession here being "white". The definition, while implying the "superiority" of Old Stock Americans vis-à-vis Italians, more importantly removed doubts concerning Italians' whiteness and assimilability. This was because Rowell considered Italians in the light of what was "white" California's obsession, i.e. Asian immigration. Indeed, he remarked that to deal with "unlimited hordes of white immigrants, equal or inferior, desirable or undesirable" was "relatively easy" compared to having to deal with "the overflow of a whole world of Chinese, Japanese, and Hindus". The former group raised a "problem at most political or social", while in the case of the latter the issue was "biological". Rowell's paradoxical opinion about Italians' inferiority/full whiteness did not necessarily reflect the perspective of other U.S. regions, such as the industrial North, where the "Italian problem" paralleled the "Chinese" one on the Pacific, as confirmed by the widespread labeling of Italians as the "Chinese of Europe". It reflected, rather, a geographically-determined viewpoint, that of the "frontier of the white man".

The conflation of the "race problem" with Asian immigration on the Pacific impacted significantly on Italians' racial status. Italians found themselves involved in the mechanism of what historian Alexander Saxton has called Asian "total exclusion". Saxton used this concept in the field of labor relations in order to stress the difference between the "piecemeal" exclusion applied to African Americans by trade unions in the East and the out-and-out exclusion applied to Asians on the West Coast. This distinction arises from the fact that Asians, besides being "non-white", were immigrants: As non-white immigrants they were denied naturalization and thus deprived of political power, even of the "potential" freedoms granted to African Americans after the Civil War. The concept of "total exclusion" can be applied to housing also. True, some scholars have recently demonstrated that African Americans' residential segregation in the East started well before the interwar years. However, at the turn of the Twentieth Century there was no segregation in urban America to match the ghettoization of Asians in California. Charlotte Brooks explains that San Francisco Chinatown emerged as "the first segregated neighborhood in America" as a result of Asian immigrants' being denied even those limited

legal rights enjoyed by Mexican and African Americans in California as "eligible citizens". The aim of "total exclusion" was not only to block Asian immigration; it was to push Asian immigrants back across the Pacific either by demanding a Federal Act, and, meanwhile, by making their lives as difficult as possible. This was the goal of California's anti-Asian movement since the foundation of the Workingmen's Party in the 1870s. It required the mobilization of the entire "non-Asian"/predominantly European population, with serious consequences for Italians' assimilation.

As I showed in my PhD dissertation, although San Francisco's Italians were refused entry into skilled unions, they were nonetheless integrated into the labor movement at an unskilled level, as janitors, stablemen, or, in the case of Italian women, as cracker-packers. The isolation and boycotting of Asian labor entailed for all other workers some sort of inclusion and organization. The situation within agriculture also reveals how Italians integrated as a consequence. Italians were largely seen and favored in California as a "white" antidote to the "Yellow Peril" in the countryside. Attempts were made to displace Asians with Italians and other "new" European immigrants. The control Italians came to exert over agriculture around San Francisco was facilitated by the Chinese being driven-out by the local heavily anti-Asian atmosphere.

This is not to say that Italians in California enjoyed a "success in the sun", as historiography has tended to idealize their experience. Prejudice against southern Italians was still widespread, even from their Northern Italian counterparts. In those economic sectors without any Asian workforce, such as the lumber industry, Italians, and other "new immigrants", were the ones placed at the bottom of the racialized labor hierarchy through being identified and treated as "non-white".

Yet, Pacific Coast Italians should not be categorized as "in-between people". Although severely discriminated against, Italians seized their share of "white privilege" by participating in Asian "total exclusion". Historians used the category of "in-betweenness" to highlight Italians' social proximity with African-Americans in the South and in the Industrial North. Social proximity means that Italians shared neighborhoods, workplaces, and, to some extent friendship with African-Americans as they found themselves at the society's margin. However, race relations on the Pacific Coast differed in that they centered not around the standard white/black dichotomy, but around a white/Asian one. Although Italians and Asians neighbored each other in major cities such as San Francisco and suffered marginalization, albeit to different degrees, the two ethnicities remained rigidly separated in line with a scheme of race relations with no "intermediate" space to fill. This was because the white/Asian scheme along the Pacific was driven by a distinct racial dynamic, that of a frontier, which worked as a "crucible" for European groups, to borrow Frederick Turner's term. The frontier racial dynamic on the Pacific resulted from Asian immigration being socially and politically construed as a "menace", as native Americans had been during the westward expansion. In the face of this threatening "otherness", intra-European racial distinctions, prevailing elsewhere in the United States, disappeared and a new racial type, in contradistinction to Asian immigration, emerged: "Caucasians", Italians included. In 1908, Andrea Sbarboro, one of California's so-called *prominenti*, could declare: "California and the Western States do require immigration, but that immigration must be of the right kind, composed of the Caucasian race" while "people of the Mongolian race" must be kept out.

Matthew Jacobson has maintained that "Caucasianness" emerged as a common identity among European groups only after the interwar years; the restriction of "new" European immigration and the increasing numbers of African-Americans arriving in U.S. cities from the South were key factors in turning Anglo-Saxons, Celts, Mediterraneans, Slavs into "Caucasians". Such an hypothesis applies to the industrial North and the South. Here the standard white/black scheme entailed no "frontier". When Italians arrived in the industrial North, African-Americans were still relatively small in numbers while in the South white supremacy persisted through terror, i.e. lynchings. Therefore, rather than being coopted by "superior" Old-Stock Americans, Mediterranean Italians tended to be lumped socially with African-Americans, so entering the racial dimension of "in-betweenness". Along the Pacific, meanwhile, the "white-Asian" scheme hastened European groups' amalgamation. The term "Caucasian" indeed had already come into "fashion" by the late Nineteenth century as a synonym for all that was "non-Chinese", white and assimilable. As Jacobson himself points out , "an Irish immigrant in 1877 could be a despised Celt in Boston—a threat to the republic—and yet a solid member of The Order of Caucasians for the Extermination of

the Chinaman in San Francisco, gallantly defending U.S. shores from an invasion of 'Mongolians'". To conclude, on the Great Plains frontier a crucial role in the "making of the white man's West" had been played by German immigrants, the group most "racially" akin to Anglo-Saxon America. However, on the Pacific, all European "others" were welcomed to defend the alleged "white man's frontier", the narrow concept of whiteness being widened for the purpose.

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Bio

Tommaso Caiazza is a high-school teacher in History and Philosophy. He holds a PhD in Social History from the University Ca'Foscari of Venice (2016). His most recent articles are Are Italians White? The Perspective from the Pacific, "California Italian Studies Journal" vol. 8, n. 2, 2018, pp. 1-15 and Razza e organizzazione del lavoro agricolo in California, 1870-1917 (forthcoming). Caiazza also often contributes to "Altreitalie" with book reviews. He took part in many conferences, most recently Gorizia Festival Internazionale della Storia (2017) and Società italiana di Storia del Lavoro (2017).

Tracing threads of the past

Luci Callipari-Marcuzzo

Abstract

Families dispersed for social or political reasons to different parts of the globe were like satellites or capsules of culture, who then became the main custodians of a cultural preservation: where time more or less stood still. Settlers to North-West Victoria, Australia from regional Calabria, Italy immersed themselves in the familiar and clung to the traditions and customs of their homeland. By clinging to their culture, it was a way of preserving it. Artist Luci Callipari-Marcuzzo actively engages with her familial and feminine history. An integral part of her practice-led research is the self-transformation into an imagined version of her Calabrian grandmothers, whereby she makes artefacts utilising traditional methods of women's work.

Keywords:

Memory, Performance, Cultural practices; Women's work

Figure 1 Luci Callipari-Marcuzzo, Tracing threads of the past: grembiule [apron] live art performance, Beyond Borders. Transnational Italy, British School at Rome, 27 October. Photograph: Carolina Farina (Routes Agency). 2016.

Families dispersed for social or political reasons to different parts of the globe were like satellites or capsules of culture, who then became the main custodians of a cultural preservation: where time more or less stood still. Like other recently arrived migrants following WWII, settlers from regional Calabria, Italy immersed themselves in the familiar

and clung to the traditions and customs of their homeland. They placed importance on maintaining cultural attributes because of the belief that back in their place of origin, the same thing was happening. Their new sites of settlement defined their sense of *italianità*[1], as they maintained contact with other *paesani*[2], Calabrese and Italiani. By clinging to their culture, it was a way of preserving it.

Italian Australian scholar, Gerardo Papalia stated; "immigrants themselves created their own little homeland within domestic walls. However, this homeland was fabricated with crystallised memories and inhabited with behaviour patterns deriving from what they had left.[3]"

Based on this premise, my arts practice-based research investigates the experience of Calabrian migrants from the Aspromonte region of the province of Reggio Calabria (with a focus on the towns of Platì and Natile) who left Italy in the 1950s (in some cases earlier). Through scholarly

1 Italianità: sense of Italianness or Italianism
2 Paesani: townspeople
3 Gerardo Papalia, "From 'terrone' to 'wog': 'post' colonial perspectives on Italian immigration into Australia." *Italian Historical Society Journal* 11, no.2 (2003): 7

articles, books, personal interviews and my own experiences, I have been exploring how these migrants transported a microcosm of their culture and cultural practices particular to their region to their new homes in the area surrounding Mildura, (collectively known as Sunraysia), North West Victoria, Australia.

Political scientist William Safran defines diaspora as "ethnic minority groups of migrant origins residing and acting in host countries but maintaining strong sentimental and material links with their countries of origin - their homelands[4]". Safran's idea has resonance to social anthropologist Nina Glick Schiller's definition of transnationalism as "a social process in which migrants establish social fields that cross geographic, cultural, and political borders[5]".

My research has delved into the global experience of migration, the factors which led to the Italian migration to Australia, and the history of Calabria. The research of American scholar Gertrude Slaughter attempted to debunk the common misconception that "southern Italians were stereotyped by some as peasants or "a plebe" (plebians 'emphasising their lower-class origins—not "il Popolo", a more flattering and inclusive term, "the people[6]")" which has stained the reputation of southern Italians ever since. Slaughter's book, Calabria: the first Italy details the rich intellectual history of the region which contradicts this view[7]. The book shed new light on the early colonies of Greeks in Calabria which began in the eighth century B.C. These settlements included the noted Greek philosophers and intellectuals, Pythagoras, Zaleucus, Milo and Zeuxis; even Spartacus and Plato were said to have visited the Calabrian area, and Archimedes lived in Sicily. A two thousand year old ancient culture, *Magna Graecia[8]* was the name given by the Romans to the coastal areas of southern

Italy in the present-day regions of Campania, Apulia, Basilicata, Calabria and Sicily which were extensively populated by Greek settlers, and brought with them their Hellenic civilization, which was to leave a lasting imprint in Italy, and the culture of ancient Rome.

Figure 3 Luci Callipari-Marcuzzo, Calabrian proverb drawing series: A fami caccia 'u lupu d'u vòscu (Hunger will bring the wolf from the woods), 2016.

Through the work of German linguist Gerhard Rohlfs[9] and Slaughter, I also began to explore the origins of the Calabrian dialects and my imagined link to ancient Greece. Rohlfs identified the historical and social significance of Calabria through his own research and documented the dialects of the region in his book, *Calabria e Salento: saggi di storia linguistica: studi e ricerche[10]*. Rohlfs book influenced the creation of my Calabrian proverb drawings, a series of pencil sketches based on Calabrian proverbs spoken by my grandparents and family. Underneath each drawing (which number forty-one

4 William Safran, "Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return." *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies 1* (1) (1991): 83-99. DOI: 10.1353/dsp.1991.0004.

5 Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Green Basch, and Cristina Szanton Blanc, eds. T*owards a Transnational Perspective on Migration: Race, Class, Ethnicity, and Nationalism Reconsidered*. New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1992. ix. In Danny Ben-Moshe, Joanne Pyke, and Loretta Baldassar, "Diasporas in Australia: Current and Potential Links with the Homeland," *The Centre for Citizenship and Globalisation* 3 (December 2012): 3

6 Gabaccia, Donna R. *Italy's Many Diasporas*, 37

7 Gertrude Elizabeth Slaughter. *Calabria, the first Italy*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1939

8 *Magna Graecia*: Latin, meaning literally 'Great Greece'. Oxford Living Dictionary (Oxford University Press online, 2017), s.v. "Magna Graecia." https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/magna_graecia

9 Gerhard Rohlfs (1892 – 1986) was a German linguist. His main interest was the languages and dialects spoken in Southern Italy and he travelled extensively in this region. He studied the Griko language (a Greek dialect still spoken in a few places in Salento and in south Calabria) and found several indications suggesting that Griko is a direct descendant of the language originally spoken by the Greek colonists of Magna Grecia. He first advanced this theory in his book Griechen und Romanen in Unteritalien (1924). He also published two complete vocabularies of the dialects spoken in Bovesia (1938-1939) and in Salento (1956-1961). His main work is considered to be his Historical Grammar of the Italian Language and its Dialects (Historische Grammatik der italienischen Sprache und ihrer Mundarten, 1949-1954). He received honorary degrees from the University of Calabria in Cosenza and the University of Salento in Lecce

10 Rohlfs, Gerhard. *Calabria e Salento: saggi di storia linguistica : studi e ricerche*. Ravenna: Longo, 1980

in total) the proverb is written in Italian, Calabrese and English.

Through the modes of narrative enquiry, autoethnography, and traditional methods of *making* and *women's work*, my multidisciplinary arts practice-based research investigates, interprets and translates the experiences of Calabrian settlers to Victoria's North-West, in a contemporary visual art and sociological context.

Autoethnographic research and its incorporation of storytelling is of particular interest, as educational anthropologist Heewon Chang explains; "transcends mere narration of self to engage in cultural analysis and interpretation[11]". Notions of belief, devotion and religious practices, gender roles and stereotypes, family relationships, nostalgia, disconnection and reconnection, cultural loss and preservation are also explored in my work. My's research feeds my performances by inspiring the imagined histories embedded within my psyche; imagined because they are partly my concocted version of the realities lived by my grandparents, parents and relatives and their families.

Postmemory[12], is an idea which Marianne Hirsch describes as the relationship that the "generation after" bears the personal, collective, and cultural trauma of those who came before, to experiences they remember only by means of the stories, images, and behaviours among which they grew up. These experiences were transmitted to them so deeply and affectively as to seem to constitute memories in their own right. Similarly, my practice engages with the idea of cultural *(be)longing[13]* through the use of performance, enactment, relational art, installation and video.

My grandparents from both sides migrated to Australia from Calabria in the 1950s. Through the methodology of live art performance, I actively attempt to engage with my familial and feminine history. An integral part of my practice-led research is the transformation of self into an imagined version of my grandmothers, Domenica and Elena. Tracing threads of the past, my ongoing series of live art performances, installations and video explorations, enacts my imagined scenarios of their

making and doing: sewing, embroidery, crochet.

A lot of different decisions and approaches go into the preparation for my live performances. Since 2014, part of my practise has incorporated the growing of my hair to enable the recreation of the popular style which my grandmothers and many other women migrants of the time adopted. Donna Gabaccia commented in conversation with Fred Gardaphé and Loredana Polezzi during the Transnationalizing Modern Languages conference program; "we grasp for those embodied forms of labour in order to keep culture tied to the very material pragmatic embodied lives of the people whose minds and subjectivities we want to understand." In order to achieve an authentic representation in my enactments, I choose to wear clothing items and accessories belonging to my grandmothers during my live art performances, subconsciously adopting their attitudes and mannerisms. The artefacts made during these enactments are also carefully selected, ensuring that each object has a relationship to memory and identity: a migrants' wardrobe, embroideries, drawings and objects. These objects carry a sense of history and are imbued with memory.

The work is a manifestation of the hopes, dreams and desires[14] of women migrants and strives to honour those whose voices were not always heard due to gender imbalances in 1950s, 60s and 70s Australia. As a contemporary woman, I struggle with the ongoing, gender-based expectations of my role as a mother, wife, and artist. I choose to portray women creating in a traditional manner: at a sewing machine, embroidering, crocheting: all gender specific tasks which women of those eras commonly engaged in. By reimagining these scenarios in a more modern way, I attempt to comment on the roles that existed for women during that time, superimposing them into the present day: I often feel frustrated by the division of labour in the home and how historically it was different for men in comparison to women. My work aims to highlight the women of the Calabrian and Italian diaspora who were often invisible in their labour due to dominant gender roles.[15] I choose to place them

11 Heewon Chang. *Autoethnography as method*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2008: 43

12 Marianne Hirsch. "The Generation of Postmemory." *Poetics Today* 29, no.1 (Spring 2008): 103-128.
More information on Postmemory can be read at http://www.postmemory.net/

13 Refers to the dual ideas of belonging and longing

14 The Lisbon Consortium,"Loredana Polezzi – Lecture" YouTube video, 51:32:00, from the VII Summer School for the Study of Culture Keynote Lecture 'Translation and the Memory of Migration". Lecture presented by Loredana Polezzi. VII Summer School for the Study of Culture' at Monserrate Palace, posted by "lisbonconsortium," December 19, 2017, https://youtu.be/9VQfer-WHZo

15 Callipari-Marcuzzo, Luci D. "Tracing the threads of the Calabrian diaspora to North-West Victoria: Explorations through performance, video and relational art." Master of Visual Arts by Research thesis, La Trobe University, 2017.

Figure 4 My grandmothers: Domenica (Vaticano) Cufari; and Elena Francesca (Pipicelli) Callipari

Figure 5 Luci Callipari-Marcuzzo, Tracing threads of the past: apron live art performance, The British School at Rome, 2016. Photo: Carolina Farina (Routes Agency).

front and centre, in the spotlight, to acknowledge their enduring importance in our daily lives, and maintain threads and traces to the past.

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Bio

Luci Callipari-Marcuzzo is a multi-disciplinary artist, mother, researcher, arts worker, curator, and writer. Based near Mildura in North-West Victoria, Australia, her practice-based research investigates, interprets and translates the experiences of Calabrian Italian settlers to North-West Victoria in a contemporary visual art and sociological context. Through the methodology of live art performance, Callipari-Marcuzzo's work actively engages with her familial and feminine history. An integral part of her practice-led research is the self-transformation into an imagined version of her Calabrian grandmothers. During these enactments, she makes artefacts utilising traditional women's modes of making: sewing, embroidery, and crochet. The work is a manifestation of the hopes, dreams, and desires of migrant women and strives to honour their voices which were often silenced by dominant gender roles within the Calabrian diaspora.

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(Re)turn of the Italian Migrant Daughter: On Not Forgetting

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Abstract

Australia has over one million people with Italian heritage. There is scarce research on lived experiences of second generation Italian Australian middle-aged women. Previous research emphasised cross-cultural and intergenerational conflict. Contemporary research highlights vicarious trauma suffered by adult second generation migrants resulting from their parents' war and migration experiences. Recent research emphasises the healing potential of a lifecycle approach and story-telling for the turbulences experienced by daughters of immigrants. Narrative and ethnographic inquiry, coupled with co-creation of a short story, has facilitated memories and the re-storying of women's lives where strength and resilience thrive in a context of emotional transnationalism.

Keywords:

Second-generation, Italian-Australian, women

Benvenuti alla presentazione del panel "Storie antiche e nuove narrative: donne di mezza età italiane australiane di seconda generazione". Mi chiamo Teresa Capetola e le mie amiche e colleghe Maria Fantasia e Maria Pallotta-Chiarolli presenteranno oggi la nostra ricerca di e donne di mezza età italiane australiane di seconda generazione. Siamo eredità di madri e padri che hanno lasciato l'Italia oltre sessant'anni fa. Siamo qui in Genova come ricercatori, accademici, narratori e figlie di migranti italiani. Onoriamo la nostra eredità dei migranti all'interno di una società coloniale australiana e portiamo il nostro intelletto, le nostre riflessioni, i nostri ricordi, la nostra ricerca e le nostre storie per fornire informazioni sulle donne di seconda generazione come noi e non come noi. Li presentiamo qui come transazioni per la creazione di significati per altri migranti di seconda generazione in modo che "casa" e "appartenenza" possano essere scambiate con "sicurezza" e "prosperità".

This paper is informed by my PhD research which I'm currently undertaking and is part of the panel presentation "Old stories and new narratives: second generation Italian Australian middle aged women", presented with my friends and colleagues Maria Fantasia and Maria Pallotta-Chiarolli. We presented our research on, and as, second generation Italian Australian middle aged women. We are the legacies of mothers and fathers who left Italy over sixty years ago. We presented in Genova as researchers, academics, narrators and daughters of Italian migrants. We honour our migrant heritage within an Australian colonial settler society and bring our intellect, reflections, memories, research and stories to provide insight into second generation women who are like us and, who are not like us. We present these as transactions for meaning making for other second generation migrants so that "home", and "belonging", can be interchanged with "safety" and "thriving".

Figure 1 shows images of our mothers as young women when they were bound from Italy, or had just arrived in Australia: from left to right Maria Pallotta-Chiarolli's mother Dora, Maria Fantasia's mother Angela and Teresa's mother, Elvira.

Figure 1: Images of authors' mothers as young women

In Adriana Cavarero's (2000), book "Relating narratives: storytelling and selfhood", Paul Kottman, the book's translator, provides an introduction, including a fable, to help us understand the role of storytelling and identity, especially over a life course. I'd like to reflect on his use of this fable to contextualise the panel presentation theme of: "Old stories and new narratives: second generation Italian Australian middle aged women".
Kottman (2006 p.1) begins with a story which Karen Blixen, who wrote "Out of Africa" under the pseudonym of Isak Dinesen in 1938, recounts she was told as a child:

> A man, who lived by a pond, was awakened one night by a great noise. He went out into the night and headed for the pond, but in the darkness, running up and down, back and forth, guided only by the noise, he stumbled and fell repeatedly. At last, he found a leak in the dike, from which water and fish were escaping. He set to work plugging the leak and only when he had finished went back to bed. The next morning, looking out of the window, he saw with surprise that his footprints had traced the figure of a stork on the ground.

The thesis of Cavarero's book is that we each live our lives without knowing the end design. It is not the design which guides the life, but rather: "….the design is what that life, without ever being able to predict or even imagine it, leaves behind" Cavarero (2006 p.1). It is here that the role of storying and narration are evoked because they can assist in identifying the design. Moreover they can conjure meaning in what otherwise are just a series of, in some cases, intolerable events.
In her very recent publication Mallman (2018) celebrates the primacy of narrative and storytelling in immigrant children's motivation to connect with their cultural heritage and ancestry. Mallman (2018, p.18) argues daughters of immigrants could "begin

the process of healing old wounds caused by the tumults experienced in their youth".
When I consider the novels, memoires, blogsites, short-courses and biographies by second generation Italian Australian women, I see *distance*. Near distance, far distance, geographical distance, emotional distance, temporal distance. I see distance to be traversed, distance to be maintained, distance to be lamented and distance to be cherished. These are the legacies of migration for the second generation and these experiences can be evoked, communicated, understood and meaning-made, through storying.
My research uses qualitative methodologies of narrative inquiry, ethnography and the co-creation of a work of fiction between research participants to explore their emotional, psychological, social, spiritual and cultural health under the three dimensions of distance described below.

Distance as geographic space: research participants reflect on experiences/self/belonging as a function of parent/s migration to geographically distant land. The focus is on how geographical distance from the home language, culture, peoples, family and the "geography" itself (sky, light, vegetation) has impacted on the second generation's construction of self- identities.

Distance as inter-cultural space: In this inter-cultural space, I inquire of the research participants their experiences of encountering and engaging with the host culture. Language, values, taken-for-granted assumptions, names, cuisine, notions of adolescence, freedom and independence and filial loyalty have all been documented as points of friction, resistance, desire, and assimilation.

Distance within/from the self: In this dimension, I ask: Is there a disconnect from self if identity categories (such as Italian Australian) are not affirmed, or actively denied, dismissed or vilified, by the host culture? How have post-war second generation Italian Australian women negotiated their identities when a strong social construction in the host country at the time (1960s-1980s) would have been one of "different to" or "lesser than" or the "abject" as outlined by Butler (1993). How have they internalized or externalized experiences of marginalization, difference or racism? How can the theories of Anzaldua (1983, 2004), of negotiating the "in-between" spaces of identities, assist in understanding this con-

struction of a multiple or *mestiza* self? Have their identities/sense of self been impacted by vicarious trauma from parent's war experiences? How have their lived experiences been impacted by their parents' migration experience? If there has been tension, friction, violence, aggression, rupture within the family (such as mental illness family and domestic violence) how have second generation migrant Italian Australian middle-aged women negotiated these experiences and reflect on them in their middle-aged years?

For purposes of this current presentation I will focus on one theme: Lifecycle approach and narrative/storying to provide insight into identity, agency and subject positions, as well as visions into points of resilience.

Preliminary findings using a feminist perspective, provides an understanding of how gendered roles and the oppressed position of women and girls, enables us to see that the Italian migrant experience has been very different for women as compared to men and for Italian daughters compared to Italian sons. This is especially the case in relation to sexuality and sexual behaviour where it was beholden on women and girls to maintain the family honour by behaving demurely, and through being chaste and virtuous. This can be seen in particular through the dimension of distance as intercultural space, when the research participants felt the distance between the expectations from their home culture and what was being enacted in the Australian host culture. This is a similar point make by Wolf (2002) regarding the gendered difference in transnational experiences.
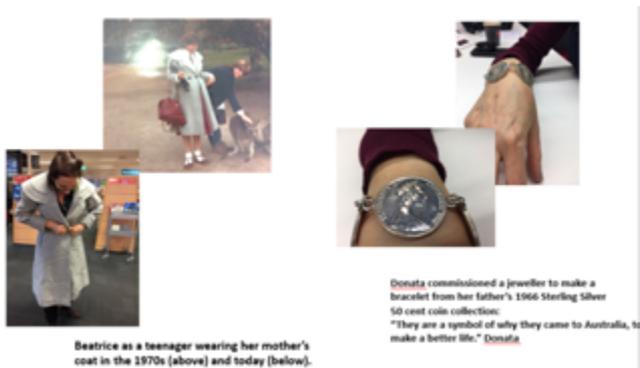
Figure 2: Images of Beatrice and Donata's connection and transformation of their migration legacies

The top left hand corner photo is Beatrice as a teenager, on a school excursion to Melbourne Zoo in the 1970s wearing her mother's coat. Beatrice's mother arrived at Station Pier in June in the 1950s, the middle of winter, without a coat. She hadn't

seen her husband in more than five years. He immediately went out and bought this high quality and stylish woollen coat for her. Beatrice's mother recalled to her daughter how impressed she was to see her husband wearing a suit at Station Pier to pick up the family. In Italy the family had been poor farmers. The temporal and geographic distance between Italy and Australia over the five year separation was partially bridged by the sight of Beatrice's father wearing a suit and looking like a "successful" man and the procurement of the woollen coat, a luxurious expense, whose origins entered into the family folklore. The store-bought coat also contrasts with the cherished home-spun and made blankets and linen brought from Italy. Proximity to the migrant experience was maintained by Beatrice in wearing many of her mother's clothes and her agentic potential realised through re-purposing them by adding bow ties, gloves etc. to create her own individual style – insinuating a situated agency where she literarily "wears" her Italian migrant heritage but transforms it, and herself, through her own interpretation of fashion and representation of self.

Donata commissioned a jeweller to make this bracelet from the 1966 sterling silver 50 cent coins her father collected. Again here we see the "wearing" of the Italian migrant heritage to enforce the proximity to this legacy and, in Donata's case, her closeness to her parents.

Figure 3: Lucia and her migration legacies

Lucia commented that as a younger woman she hated the "Italianate" style (ornate, rich colours and textures) but that in her later years she now has an appreciation for this aesthetic. In the photo right- hand side, she displays a bedspread from her mother's trousseau (pink material) and fabric, in the plastic bag, which she has bought to sew a curtain. This may indicate how temporal distance can reveal latent affection and identification with one's heritage and early experiences, a "coming back"

to an Italian aesthetic, a reconnection with one's heritage in middle age.

Lucia's book shelf is full of books on art, Italian writers and books on and about Italy. This shows how she keeps her connection to her Italian heritage "close".

Many of the research participants are also involved in writing, blogging and discussion groups on their Italian migration heritage. Memoires, contributions to migrant anthologies and courses exploring the second generation migrant condition. All of these cultural products contribute to the collective story as outlined by Richards (1990) and Mallman (2018) of literally, as well as metaphorically, re-storying dominant cultural narratives. These cultural artefacts can also be read as acts of resilience in integrating the experiences of Italian migrant heritage and how life can be lived with conflicting positionality.

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Bio

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The contribution of Sardinians in the migratory dynamics of the contemporary society: split of reflection on a piece of the Italian migratory mosaic.

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Abstract

This work aims to analyze the effects of political, economic and social Sardinian emigration at the turn of the twentieth and twenty-first century, and particularly on the relationship between institutions to the preservation of "historical memory" and to preserve the cultural identity and ties between emigrants abroad and Sardinia. Faced with this context, agencies and institutions have provided an immeasurable contribution to the preservation of the historical memory of what was Sardinian migration, framing it within the dynamics of the local scene and the international context.

Keywords:

Emigration, Italy, Sardinia, Contemporary

1. The dynamics of Sardinian emigration abroad from the late nineteenth century to the advent of the First World War

The dynamics of contemporary Sardinia, notwithstanding the obvious differences compared to the complexity of the context of southern Italy, are fully included in the economic and social dichotomy between north and south that took shape since the period of Italian Unification[1]. Regarding the dualistic nature of the socio-economic Italian context, contemporary historiography has highlighted how the southern Italian reality was marked by a significant situation of backwardness, that in the absence of a targeted intervention,contiued to accentuate its distance to the national trend[2]. In the complexity of the "Southern Issue", Sardinian emigration assumed an important weight in the phenomenology of mass displacements that characterized the Italian context since the late nineteenth century. Studies conducted by Maria Luisa Gentileschi, Francesca Mazzuzi, Giuseppe Puggioni and Marco Zurru, found that the phenomenon of Sardinian migration was marked by a certain qualitative and quantitative delay, unlike the processes that characterized the mass exodus of other Italian regions. The delay of displacements of the Sardinian population, in relation to the state of movement of contemporary Sardinia, are transcribed in social isolation factors, material and cultural populations of Sardinians, which effectively helped to limit the mass movements in the second half of the nineteenth century[3].

Beyond these context, the miserable condition of local transport, the evolution of demographic diversity and the trend of isolated economic development impacted significantly on emigration of Sardinians towards foreign countries. This in fact

1 For a reconstruction of the Italian economic scenario, see the following contributions: L. Cafagna, *Dualismo e sviluppo nella storia d'Italia*, Marsilio, Venezia 1989, pp.187-213; F. Barbagallo, *La questione italiana: il Nord e il Sud dal 1860 a oggi*, Laterza, Roma-Bari 2013, pp. 127-128; F. Barbagallo, *Mezzogiorno e questione meridionale 1860 – 1980*, Guida, Napoli, 1982, pp. 67–68; A. Giannola, A. del Monte, *il Mezzogiorno nell'economia italiana*, Il Mulino, Bologna 1978, p. 109. Per un'analisi della sociale ed economica della Sardegna si rimanda alle attente ricostruzioni di: Storia d'Italia. Le regioni dall'Unità all'oggi, La Sardegna, a cura di A. Mattone E L. Berlinguer, Einaudi 1998, pp. 324-333; L. Ortu, *La questione sarda tra Ottocento e Novecento*, cit., p. 184. G. Sotgiu, Storia della Sardegna dopo l'Unità, cit., pag. 292.
2 A. GIANNOLA, A. DEL MONTE, *il Mezzogiorno nell'economia italiana*, Il Mulino, Bologna 1978, p. 109.

3 For a reconstruction of the Sardinian migration phenomenon from the end of the nineteenth century to the First World War, see the following bibliography: M.L.Gentileschi, Sardegna Emigrazione, Edizioni Della Torre, Cagliari 1995; N.Rudas, *L'emigrazione sarda: caratteristiche strutturali e dinamiche*, Centro Studi Emigrazione, Roma 1974; L. Ortu, B. Cadoni, L'emigrazione sarda dall'Ottocento ad oggi, Altair, Cagliari 1983; G. Puggioni, M. Zurru, *L'emigrazione sarda: alcune considerazioni e relativa documentazione statistica*, Mimeo, Cagliari 2008.

was characterized by a migration rate of modest size. The precarious social and economic conditions of the island's population, however, were able to contribute to increased migration over the next decades, arousing the concerns of the political class that compared the relations between economic imbalances and migration processes of the Island, which represent a danger to any prospect of development of Sardinia[4]. During the period between the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, despite Sardinia occupying the lowest emigration rates relative to the national population, in the migration context, isolation was marked by an upward trend that marked a rapid pace growth of migratory flows in the demographic events of Sardinia. The economic conditions had helped to promote a migratory push, the latter fuelled by demographic pressures, which would mark the trends of the early twentieth century[5]. The early years of the twentieth century were marked by heightened social unrest and economic contradictions of the Giolittian era, which contributed to the growth of net migration to isolate socio-economic buoyancy at the expense of the island. During the first decade of the twentieth century, as is clear from statistical surveys, the majority of Sardinian migration departed from economically depressed areas of Sardinia, including the mining areas of Sulcis-Iglesiente, and reached the northern areas of Africa (Tunisia and Algeria) and the countries that faced in the Euro-Mediterranean area, while for non-European countries the trend will mark an increase of journeys to the Americas (United States, Brazil and, particularly, Argentina)[6].

The socio-economic conditions of Sardinian emigrants however, were characterized by a real disadvantageous starting position, which was outlined in expensive travel costs, *nell'esiguità,* the means available and the high indebtedness of the latter. Despite the many critical costs incurred by emigrants, the phenomenon of mass displacements also recorded innovative elements and proactiveness within the role that the immigrant had to assume in the social context of the era[7]. Faced with this context, the Sardinian emigrants made a fundamental contribution to the advent of the associational spirit that helped to lay

the foundations at arrive at a full awareness of their rights and a progressive maturity in political, economic and cultural life[8]. Nevertheless, the worsening demographic haemorrhage in the period before the First World War, had exposed a longstanding problem for the island and for the same local institutions, because it contributed to the gradual depopulation of Sardinia and the consequent loss of those human resources that would be useful to raise the socio-economic fabric of Sardinia. Public opinion in the first decade of the twentieth century observed how Sardinia found itself in a state of extreme backwardness and repeatedly requested the intervention of the national government, with the aim of launching concrete reforms intended to face the evils of the island and accordingly to stem the Sardinian emigration[9]. Despite these considerations, the phenomenon will appear in all its drama in the years following the events of the First World War and will affect the social dynamics of Sardinia after the war.

2. Sardinian migration dynamics between the two world wars

In the period leading up to the Great War, the natural increase in population and migration flows continued to rise in the island's demographic dynamics. Nevertheless, during the years of the First World War, the migratory processes from Sardinia to foreign countries experienced a real downsizing phase, whose causes must be traced back to the policies of resizing departures due to the needs of war and the very high rate of mortality that 1915 to 1918[10]. In the aftermath of the First World War, the worsening socio-economic conditions of the island and the escalation of political instability contributed to the resumption of mass displacements in all their drama. In the decade between the twenties and thirties of the last century, in fact, He recorded an increase in departures for economic motivations and, with the rise of fascism in the Italian context, were recorded numerous expatriates for political reasons. Contemporary historiography put in relationship as the migration of the Sardinians, fleeing Fascist persecution and the progressive social exclusion, he had found several points of reception not only in the European area countries, but also in several Latin American centers of North Africa[11]. Through in-depth research on movement during the twenties of the twentieth century, it has been possible to reconstruct the link

4 M. Lo Monaco, "L'emigrazione dei contadini sardi in Brasile negli anni 1896-97", estratto da *Rivista di Storia dell'Agricoltura*, giugno 1965, pp. 1-33; Leopoldo Ortu, *La questione sarda tra Ottocento e Novecento*, cit., p. 186.

5 M.L.Gentileschi, *Sardegna Emigrazione*, pp. 14-26.

6 G. Puggioni, M. Zurru, *I sardi nel mondo, Atlante socio-economico dell'emigrazione sarda*, Cuec, Cagliari 2018, cit. p. 13.

7 For a social and economic reconstruction of Italian emigration abroad in the first decade of the twentieth century, see the following documentation kept in the historical archive of the Paolo Cresci foundation: Ministero degli Affari Esteri, Regio Commissariato dell'Emigrazione, *Bollettino dell'Emigrazione, Annate 1902-1915*; As regards the conditions of Sardinian emigrants, see the following contribution: : G. M. Lei-Spano, *La questione sarda*, Ilisso, Nuoro 2000, pp. 99-100.

8 *Ibidem*.

9 Associazione dei sardi a Roma, *Atti del primo congresso regionale sardo*, Roma 10-15 maggio 1914, Tipografia Manunzio, Roma 1914. G. M. Cherchi, *Il dibattito sull'arretratezza della Sardegna tra protezionismo e liberismo nel 1913-14*, in "Quaderni sardi di storia", n. 5, 1985-86

10 G. M. Lei-Spano, La questione sarda, cit. p. 54.

11 G. sotgiu, *Storia della Sardegna durante il fascismo*, cit., pp. 156-157;m. brigaglia, a. mattone, f. manconi, g. melis (a cura di), *L'antifascismo in Sardegna*, Vol. 1, cit., p.16.

between early forms of opposition to fascism and the role played by the Sardinian emigrants, which gave shape to the anti-fascist movements that would have fought the fascist regime abroad. In the analyzes of the historian Manlio Brigaglia, the malaise seen in the socio-economic context island became a topic of prime importance in the analysis of Sardinian emigrants, used as a form of propaganda to stigmatize the work of the fascist regime and defend the values of democracy[12]. In this context, the Sardinian anti-fascism took on a key role of political maturation of that portion of political exiles and emigrants, forced to leave the island because the context of their anti-fascist militancy, as well as for the economic crisis that raged in Sardinia. Studies conducted by Leonardo Rapone, in this regard, how the migration accrued during the Fascist persecution had contributed to the development of the opposition movements to fascism abroad[13].

Despite the contrasting forms of the anti-fascist movement abroad, which would be characterized by the progressive control of Italian organizations abroad by the fascist regime, the social and political dynamics in the period between the end of the twenties and thirties were marked by heightened the fuoriuscitismo antifascist Sardinian phenomenon, and the constitution of those forms of association which abbinavano political purposes social ones, with the aim to respond to political, social and economic challenges that the island and the mainland were no longer can guarantee to the emigrants[14]. Faced with this context, the experience of the Sardinian exiles would represent a turning point for those expansion processes of political and union participation of migrants in the cause of anti, which must be traced not only in the contribution from the experience of the opposition leaders in exile, but also by the role played political and cultural environment of the host countries, with which it could form the basis for the development of the anti-fascist movement abroad, to which it binds the activity of Sardinian emigrants, which would affect in dynamic local / international policies before the advent of World war II[15].

For its part, fascism tried to hinder the departures through a series of regulatory measures intended for the containment of demographic outflow, especially against those who had employed in the Italian territory. At the beginning of the second decade of the twentieth century, the regime and its ideologues proclaimed the absolute necessity of emigration to the economy and Italian society. At this time of fascism he tried to exploit the political weight of Italian citizens residing in Europe, in Africa and in the Americas, according to a demagogic line based on the defense of citizens and Italian workers abroad to ensure a semblance of protection in respect of Italian spirit of the Italian-born emigrants[16]. Such a policy will change dramatically in the late twenties, when the regime will resume emigration vision as unnecessary erosion of forces by the nation and will take measures intended to impede and discourage a movement which, however, was already declining as a result of the control mechanisms adapted from some countries of arrival, as for the United States.[17] Since the thirties, the Fascist regime enacted a series of measures with the aim of stopping illegal emigration and control migration flows to other countries, while on the domestic front he tried to promote the economic and infrastructure initiatives to counter the demographic hemorrhage. Despite the attempts adopted by the fascist regime to stem the expatriation and to replace the so-called colonization to emigration, the migratory flows continued to affect the island context during the decade 1930-40, based on the quantitative point of view of the rules of the regime and the subsequent outbreak of the Second World War will contribute incisively to the slowdown in the movement of Sardinians abroad until the end of the war and to the socio-economic dynamics of the second post-war period[18].

3. The second post-war, and representations standards, the protection of the historical memory of the sardinia's migration.

Studies conducted by the historians of the Second World War showed that until the end of World War II the total of Sardinian emigrants abroad was wandering around 133000 units, many of whom chose the destinations of the Euro-Mediterranean and the modestly transoceanic countries. Since the fifties, however, Sardinia has been affected by a massive exodus that will go down in history as the "new immigration", in which more than 2 million Sardinian residents will contribute to the demographic collapse that will mark the period 1958 and 2014[19].

12 *Ibidem*
13 L. Rapone, *Emigrazione italiana e antifascismo in esilio*, in *Archivio storico dell'emigrazione italiana*, IV, n. 1, 2008, pp. 53-67.
14 M.brigaglia, f. manconi, a. mattone, g. melis (a cura di), *L'Antifascismo in Sardegna*, Vol. 2, cit., pp. 12-15; A. Mattone (a cura di), *L'emigrazione*, in Aldo Brigaglia et al., (a cura di), *L'antifascismo in Sardegna*, I, Cagliari, Ed. Della Torre, 2008, pp. 357-388; M. Contu, *"L'antifascismo italiano in Argentina tra la fine degli anni Venti e i primi anni Trenta del Novecento. Il caso degli antifascisti sardi e della Lega Sarda d'Azione «Sardegna Avanti»"*, in *RiMe. Rivista dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Europa Mediterranea*, n. 6, giugno 2011
15 G. Atzei, M, Contu, *Emigrazione antifascista e esilio politico tra le due guerre*, in *Ammentu*, n. 1, 2011, pp. 15-75.

16 *J. F. Bertonha,*, Emigrazione e politica estera: la «diplomazia sovversiva» di Mussolini e la questione degli
 italiani all'estero, 1922-1945, In Altreitalie, Studi sulle emigrazioni italiane, n°23, luglio-dicembre 2001, pp. 39-62.
17 *Ibidem*.
18 F. Mazzuzi, L'emigrazione sarda nel secondo dopoguerra (1944-2000), Veprint Unica, A.A 2013-2014.
19 For a reconstruction of the post-World War II migration dynamics, see the following contributions: G. Puggioni, M. Zurru, I sardi

The reasons that led to a new increase of departures in the context isolate, in this regard, can be traced back by the lack of any prospect of development in the supporting sectors of the island economy which they were marked by the negative impact of industrial activities and insecurity of the internal labor market linked to the agricultural world, to the craft, and general laborers[20]. As regards the context in the post-Second World War years, Sardinian migration dynamics will be marked by the presence of four distinctive phases that will affect various layers of the Sardinian population. Among the migratory contexts of the first and second phases (the Fifties and Sixties) were workers from the industrialized areas of Sulcis-Iglesiente, from young people and those who worked in the agricultural world, while in the third phase (second half of the 1960s) will significantly affect the depopulation of the internal regions and the island's demographic and economic development, as it represented the loss of an important component of the Sardinian economy that could have provided development opportunities in the agricultural sector. In the late Eighties and over the following decades, migration of Sardinians have marked the last phase called "new migration", composed by the younger section of the population and is characterized by individuals possess a high level of education and highly specialist, who choose to build their future working in socio-economic areas outside Sardinia[21]. Despite attempts to stem the demographic bleeding and begin the interventions in favor of the socio-economic fabric during the season of the revival plan of Sardinia, the second half of the twentieth century was marked by heightened emigration of Sardinians abroad, with the inevitable impact on the political, social and economic impact which affects the dynamics of the contemporary Sardinian society[22]. Beyond the above-mentioned problems, the Sardinian mi-

gratory push abroad became the object of attention from regional institutional bodies, so much so that they were engaged in the second half of the twentieth century to promote the regulations that were operating in emigration area[23]. The sensitivity of the Sardinian emigrants political class was sanctioned by the approval of the regional law n.10 of April 7, 1965, which provided for the establishment of a social fund of the Sardinia Region, with the aim of promoting the material assistance, moral, cultural and social development of Sardinian emigrants abroad[24]. The regulatory framework was trying to make an investigation into the Sardinian emigration phenomena to determine the causes, its actual weight the living and working conditions of Sardinian emigrants in the host countries and, at the same time, had contributed to the subsidization of those initiatives for association activities (clubs and associations of Sardinia) and the safeguarding of the cultural heritage which in fact was an expression of the experience of Sardinian abroad[25]. Within this political and cultural climate, the years following the approval of Law 10/1965 were marked by the birth of the monthly magazine " Messaggero Sardo" which became a point of connection between Sardinia and the Sardinian communities around the world. The newspaper island was born from the initiative of the Autonomous Region of Sardinia at the end of the sixties, with the aim to fill the void of separation between emigrants and their homeland and respond to the needs of the latter. While periodic island side took on a communicative function and disclosure of political, cultural and social differences between the Sardinian communities in the world, on the other it represented an instrument able to listen to the problems of migrants and consequently bring them aware of political power[26].

The newspaper "Messaggero Sardo" represent a valuable element in the diverse social and cultural context of emigration Sardinian and despite the subsequent advent of the digital age, the magazine continues to this day to play a leading role in processes safeguard the historical memory of what concerns the Sardinian emigration[27]. In the last decades of the last century, the Sardinian regional institutions continue to legislate in favor of Sardinian emigrants, with

nel mondo, Atlante socio-economico dell'emigrazione sarda, pp. 13-14; S. RUJU, *L'irrisolta questione sarda: economia, società e politica nel secondo Novecento*, Cuec, Cagliari 2018, pp. 99-103. A. ALEDDA, "Le cause dell'emigrazione sarda nell'ultimo dopoguerra. La rottura del tradizionale modello economico-culturale", in *Bollettino bibliografico e rassegna archivistica di studi storici della Sardegna*, n. 5-6, 1986, pp. 111-118; A. ALEDDA, *Tendenze odierne dell'emigrazione e dell'immigrazione in Sardegna*, in *Affari sociali internazionali*, n. 1, 1987, pp. 61-70; S. Sechi, "La Sardegna negli «anni della Rinascita»", in M.BRIGAGLIA, A. MASTINO, G.G.ORTU (a cura di), *Storia della Sardegna*, V, Il Novecento, cit., p. 153; L. Favero, G. Tassello, *Cent'anni di emigrazione italiana (1876-1976)*, cit., p. 40; N.RUDAS, *L'emigrazione sarda*, pp .23-25; P. CRESPI, *Analisi sociologica e sottosviluppo economico. Introduzione a uno studio d'ambiente in Sardegna*, Giuffrè.1963; A.ALEDDA, "Tendenze odierne dell'emigrazione e dell'immigrazione in Sardegna", in *Affari sociali internazionali*, n. 1, 1987, pp. 61-70; A. ALEDDA, *I sardi nel mondo. Chi sono come vivono che cosa pensano*, Cagliari, Editrice Dattena, 1991.

20 *Gli scenari dello spopolamento in Sardegna*, Centro regionale di programmazione, Regione autonoma della Sardegna, Cagliari 2013, pp.9-58.

21 *Ibidem*.

22 G. PUGGIONI, M. ZURRU, *I sardi nel mondo, Atlante socio-economico dell'emigrazione sarda*, p. 16.

23 For a reconstruction of the political debate on Sardinian emigration and the related measures that the Sardinian assembly intended to undertake, see the following documentation: CRS, Resoconti Consigliari, Atti prodotti nel corso della IV Legislatura, CCCXVIII Seduta, 4 marzo 1965, pp. 7141-7460; CRS, Resoconti Consigliari, Atti prodotti nel corso della IV Legislatura, CCCXXXV Seduta, 7 aprile 1965, pp. 7509-7531.

24 Regional law 7 april 1965, n. 10

25 *Ibidem*.

26 «Il messaggero Sardo», Anno I, Maggio 1969, Un nuovo significato.

27 Regione Autonoma della Sardegna, Programma Annuale per l'emigrazione 2019, Progetto regionale di rilancio del «Messaggero sardo», p. 7.

the aim to provide new forms of support for the Sardinian communities abroad. In this regard, the law No. 7/1991 would contribute to strengthening the organizations representing Sardinian abroad, coordinated by the Regional Council for emigration, and allowed them to have their voice heard on the bills proposed by the institutions regional on migration[28]. Faced with this context, Sardinia Region provided the tools to promote the democratic and cultural function of associations of Sardinia off the Island, with the specific aim of enhancing and protecting the human resources represented by Sardinian emigrants and ensure, at the same time, the progress of those useful activities the development of the economy and culture of Sardinia in the world. The Sardinian clubs in the world, as underlined by Tonino Mulas studies, represent an extraordinary instrument of inclusion and integration, although they contribute to delete the processes of alienation and typical cancellation of the migrant condition[29]. The association has helped the Sardinian abroad and cooperates in the current context to the strengthening of the identity sentiment typical of the Sardinian people and keeps alive the network of cultural ties, economic and social relations between the Sardinians living abroad and Sardinia, while the latter continues to support the life of the regional community abroad and the representative bodies of the organization in view of a recognition of the human and cultural value emigration Sardinian,.

The Sardinian associationism abroad has contributed and cooperates in the current context to the strengthening of the feeling of identity typical of the Sardinian people and keeps alive that network of cultural, economic and social ties between the Sardinian residents abroad and the Sardinia Region, while this The latter continues to support the life of the regional community abroad and the bodies representing the organisms with a view to recognizing the human and cultural value of Sardinian emigration, as underlined by the recent legislative proposals for a redefinition of the Sardinian statutory specialty and in intervention programs to support emigration[30].

28 CRS, Resoconti Consigliari, Atti prodotti nel corso della X Legislatura, LVII Seduta, 25 luglio 1990, pp. 1730-1757; Legge Regionale 15 gennaio 1991, n. 7.

29 Federazione Associazioni Sarde in Italia (Fasi), Assemblea delle rappresentanze del popolo sardo, Cagliari, 30 novembre 2009, Note sull'emigrazione dei sardi nel mondo, pp. 1-11.

30 CRS, XV Legislatura, Proposta di legge nazionale N.11, Nuovo statuto della Regione Autonoma della Sardegna, 17 dicembre 2015; As far as the context of Sardinian associations is concerned, today there are 5 Federations, 4 protection associations and 112 Circles of Sardinian emigrants, formally recognized by the Region, with a specific administrative and operational provision dated 17 January 2019, of which: - 58 Circles are present in Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, China, Denmark, France, Germany, Japan, Holland, Spain, United States, Switzerland; - 61 Circles are those present in the Peninsula, mainly in the Provinces and cities of Central-Northern Italy. The data relating to the current period were provided by the following documentation: Autonomous Region of Sardinia, Three-year Plan 2019/21, Guidelines for interventions in

In conclusion, the phenomenon of Sardinian emigration has taken on an important role in the social and economic processes of the contemporary age and, in this context, Sardinia gave a contribution in terms of human and cultural resources in the Italian migratory dynamics that affected the affairs historical between the end of the XIXth and the XXIth century.

favor of emigration, financial years 2019-2021, Annex to Resolution 5/27 of the Regional Council of 01/29/2019, pp.1-7. A careful analysis of the statistical data Aire (Italian Registry of Residents Abroad) updated as at 31/12/2017 shows that the migration phenomenon had affected 5,114,469 Italians registered in the AIRE, while for the Sardinia region there are 117,668 Sardinians residing abroad. For a reconstruction of the statistical trend of Sardinian emigration, see the following contribution: Fondazione Migrantes, *Rapporto italiani nel mondo 2018*, Tau Editrice, Todi 2018, p. 5.

Figure1 First congress of Sardinian emigrants: Savona, 28-29 February 1977. Source:http://www.sardegnadigitallibrary.it/index.php?xsl=2436&id=157925

Figure 2 Assembly of a Sardinian association. Source:http://www.sardegnadigitallibrary.it/index.php?xsl=2436&id=157851

Figure 3 1970, Sardinian emigrants in France. Source:http://www.sardegnadigitallibrary.it/index.php?xsl=2436&id=157912

STATISTICS
SARDINIAN EMIGRATION 1906-1914

Years	Mediterranean Basin and Europe	Transoceanic countries	Total
1906	4,655	2,017	6,672
1907	8,294	3,365	11,659
1908	3,150	3,425	6,575
1909	3,048	2,582	5,630
1910	4,389	6,274	10,663
1911	4,040	1,319	5,359
1912	4,872	4,259	9,131
1913	5,071	7,203	12,274
1914	3,351	2,000	5,351

Source: Giovanni Maria Lei-Spano, La questione sarda, Nuoro, Ilisso, 2000 (Biblioteca Sarda n. 55), p. 99-
SARDINIAN MIGRATION BETWEEN 1926-1950.

Years	European countries and the basin mediterranean	Transoceanic Countries	Total	Expatriations
1926	1481	680	2161	2152
1927	565	476	1041	1066
1928	582	165	747	558
1929	899	257	1156	1128
1930	799	116	915	1194
1931	1207	100	1307	1307
1932	803	33	836	832
1933	—	—	—	566
1934	319	46	365	365
1935	—	—	—	268
1936	143	37	180	180
1937	247	65	312	312
1938	213	30	243	243
1939	42	39	81	81
1940	14	31	45	19
1941	2	10	12	2
1942	6	—	6	6
1943-45	—	—	—	—
1946	33	2	35	1663
1947	1047	81	1128	3181
1948	878	287	1165	3411
1949	945	502	1447	2052
1950	56	459	515	948
Total	10281	3416	13697	21534

Source: Annuario statistico italiano. Compendio statistico della Regione Sarda, in Nereide Rudas, L'emigra-
zione sarda, Roma, Cser, 1964, p. 14

The Sardinians migratory phenomenon in the second post war

| Provinces	1960-1969			1970-1979			1980-1989			1990-1999			2004-2014		
	Total	For other common	For foreign countries	Total	For other common	For foreign countries	Total	For other common	For foreign countries	Total	For other common	For foreign countries	Total	For other common	For foreign countries
Cagliari	31.7	30.5	1.2	25.9	25.1	0.8	26.7	25.9	0.7	25.9	25.0	0.9	25.4	24.3	1.1
Carbonia Iglesias	48.4	46.3	2.1	29.3	28.0	1.3	20.3	19.5	0.9	18.5	17.7	0.7	16.3	15.3	1.0
Middle Campidano	36.0	34.5	1.5	23.0	22.2	0.9	19.3	18.6	0.7	16.3	15.5	0.8	14.4	13.3	1.1
Nuoro	37.1	32.9	4.3	29.0	27.6	1.4	22.5	21.7	0.8	17.1	16.5	0.6	15.5	14.9	0.6
Ogliastra	32.5	30.6	1.9	28.5	27.4	1.1	25.6	24.1	1.6	20.4	19.3	1.1	17.5	16.5	0.9
Oristano	37.7	35.5	2.2	28.3	27.2	1.1	21.9	21.2	0.7	18.6	17.3	1.2	18.2	17.2	1.0
Olbia Temple	38.5	37.0	1.4	23.8	23.2	0.6	19.0	18.6	0.4	19.2	18.7	0.5	18.8	17.7	1.1
Sassari	34.4	32.3	2.1	22.9	22.0	0.8	19.6	18.8	0.8	16.4	15.6	0.8	16.0	15.1	0.9
Sardinia	35.9	33.9	2.0	25.9	25.0	0.9	22.6	21.9	0.8	20.3	19.5	0.8	19.5	18.6	1.0

Source: Marco Zurru, Giuseppe Puggioni,The Sardinians in the world, Socio-statistical atlas of the Sardinian emigration, cit., p.25.

Citizens registered in the Aire in 2018. Source: migrantes report 2018.

Cittadini italiani iscritti all'AIRE per nazione di residenza e regione di origine. Primi 28 paesi. Valori assoluti. Anno 2018.

Paesi	Totale	Abruzzo	Basilicata	Calabria	Campania	Emilia Romagna	Friuli Venezia Giulia	Lazio	Liguria	Lombardia	Marche	Molise	Piemonte	Puglia	Sardegna	Sicilia	Toscana	Trentino Alto Adige	Bolzano/Bozen	Trento	Umbria	Valle D'Aosta	Veneto
Argentina	819.899	36.592	31.006	98.687	60.606	26.782	40.759	64.927	23.224	56.547	68.233	22.012	91.529	23.071	3.986	90.852	21.739	8.007	631	7.376	3.170	318	47.852
Germania	743.799	15.119	18.358	76.457	86.288	12.114	10.912	21.915	6.218	27.539	6.887	8.753	13.310	108.837	32.240	236.333	11.385	19.785	15.172	4.613	3.293	255	27.801
Svizzera	614.545	20.493	17.935	50.897	79.927	20.138	17.635	17.036	8.218	101.687	9.130	8.458	26.450	74.545	9.475	72.586	15.169	14.895	7.703	7.192	4.465	1.777	43.629
Brasile	415.933	7.060	9.487	19.487	24.408	15.328	9.636	92.741	3.545	44.768	3.962	3.332	9.312	6.213	1.348	8.512	19.080	20.302	700	19.602	3.547	170	113.695
Francia	412.263	14.981	6.150	35.918	24.677	20.778	18.629	29.701	12.876	34.877	8.335	4.792	28.853	31.418	24.253	61.597	13.694	2.837	730	2.107	6.970	1.641	29.286
Regno Unito	301.439	6.462	4.051	9.589	43.871	19.909	7.127	33.510	7.405	42.421	5.746	4.860	13.470	14.152	9.830	30.675	14.396	3.401	1.180	2.221	2.749	315	27.500
Belgio	267.912	17.089	3.310	9.527	15.022	7.745	8.594	9.621	2.710	12.143	6.091	6.717	6.053	25.256	13.346	98.111	5.469	2.145	383	1.762	2.208	182	16.573
Stati Uniti d'America	263.447	11.553	3.619	18.933	39.458	9.665	5.707	29.912	6.152	23.410	3.475	5.685	10.497	15.132	2.165	49.737	11.721	2.291	834	1.457	1.613	211	12.511
Spagna	164.117	4.764	4.276	8.271	14.319	8.965	5.023	18.806	7.267	23.543	6.172	1.833	16.250	6.518	3.306	12.884	7.444	1.790	549	1.241	1.287	250	11.149
Australia	146.938	11.489	2.967	27.597	14.345	2.844	6.985	9.564	1.792	8.576	2.479	3.050	4.207	5.112	1.666	24.847	3.760	1.024	328	696	611	88	13.935
Canada	140.734	12.920	2.564	26.218	13.712	2.167	6.616	15.632	1.247	5.361	2.983	11.985	2.481	9.414	694	12.648	2.311	1.192	244	948	530	89	9.970
Venezuela	119.713	15.143	5.642	2.640	28.459	3.750	3.128	9.396	1.489	2.668	1.530	3.167	2.187	11.018	335	20.561	3.007	260	117	143	410	42	4.881
Uruguay	97.303	886	8.399	6.229	14.562	2.039	1.690	10.402	12.440	12.997	1.089	840	13.271	626	144	1.711	4.235	1.432	39	1.393	182	4	4.125
Cile	58.270	732	1.892	482	1.345	3.535	614	11.543	17.337	4.714	917	48	5.524	597	492	1.674	2.707	1.772	102	1.670	337	23	1.985
Paesi Bassi	44.395	844	322	1.038	3.661	1.945	1.982	3.991	1.676	4.951	602	273	2.278	2.504	6.714	5.814	1.807	742	315	427	402	64	2.785
Sudafrica	34.350	1.485	409	539	2.903	1.657	3.181	4.222	895	3.690	595	220	3.832	1.746	475	2.072	2.226	427	211	216	462	55	3.259
Perù	33.827	240	354	357	607	797	471	16.870	6.036	2.242	207	64	1.620	353	166	987	908	179	55	124	152	7	1.210
Austria	31.469	358	188	656	1.414	887	2.550	1.766	465	2.515	414	91	878	1.257	531	1.428	882	12.142	11.335	807	173	35	2.839
Lussemburgo	28.619	1.596	827	1.577	1.121	1.016	1.682	1.686	344	2.576	1.574	153	1.292	6.758	593	1.603	614	243	121	122	1.819	43	1.502
Colombia	19.685	337	895	1.878	3.605	868	675	2.347	1.056	1.689	465	32	1.438	342	157	631	2.011	243	65	178	129	8	879
Messico	18.326	242	524	256	1.444	1.071	551	2.107	944	2.757	417	53	2.114	441	183	636	1.308	319	64	255	205	24	2.730
Ecuador	18.282	102	896	718	1.866	505	342	3.041	4.234	2.312	182	47	1.195	148	164	538	733	167	29	138	145	2	945
Croazia	15.992	44	19	39	115	251	12.434	451	110	522	141	6	172	183	40	128	155	149	47	102	23	6	1.004
Irlanda	15.870	541	153	501	1.044	738	329	3.728	403	2.495	340	86	837	631	740	987	718	237	91	146	224	20	1.118
Israele	14.892	61	47	35	185	462	417	3.321	254	2.075	187	40	628	199	62	208	5.566	68	34	34	50	0	1.027
San Marino	13.770	70	33	43	65	10.489	50	281	112	342	1.650	3	75	174	14	58	106	29	11	18	51	5	120
Svezia	13.211	221	83	218	949	873	540	1.880	689	2.054	267	74	972	528	306	1.004	1.049	241	139	102	163	34	1.066
Grecia	11.872	222	108	393	1.324	979	350	1.460	462	1.325	261	70	642	1.151	249	1.073	638	141	70	71	157	7	860
Altri	233.597	4.111	3.749	6.552	14.588	15.548	11.380	28.990	11.649	40.226	5.509	940	19.764	7.771	3.994	16.052	14.543	4.495	1.590	2.905	2.346	475	20.915
Totale	5.114.469	185.757	128.263	405.732	495.890	193.845	179.989	450.847	141.249	473.022	139.840	87.684	281.131	356.095	117.668	755.947	169.381	100.955	42.889	58.066	37.873	6.150	407.151

Fonte: Migrantes-Rapporto Italiani nel Mondo. Elaborazione su dati AIRE.

Rapporto Italiani nel Mondo 2018
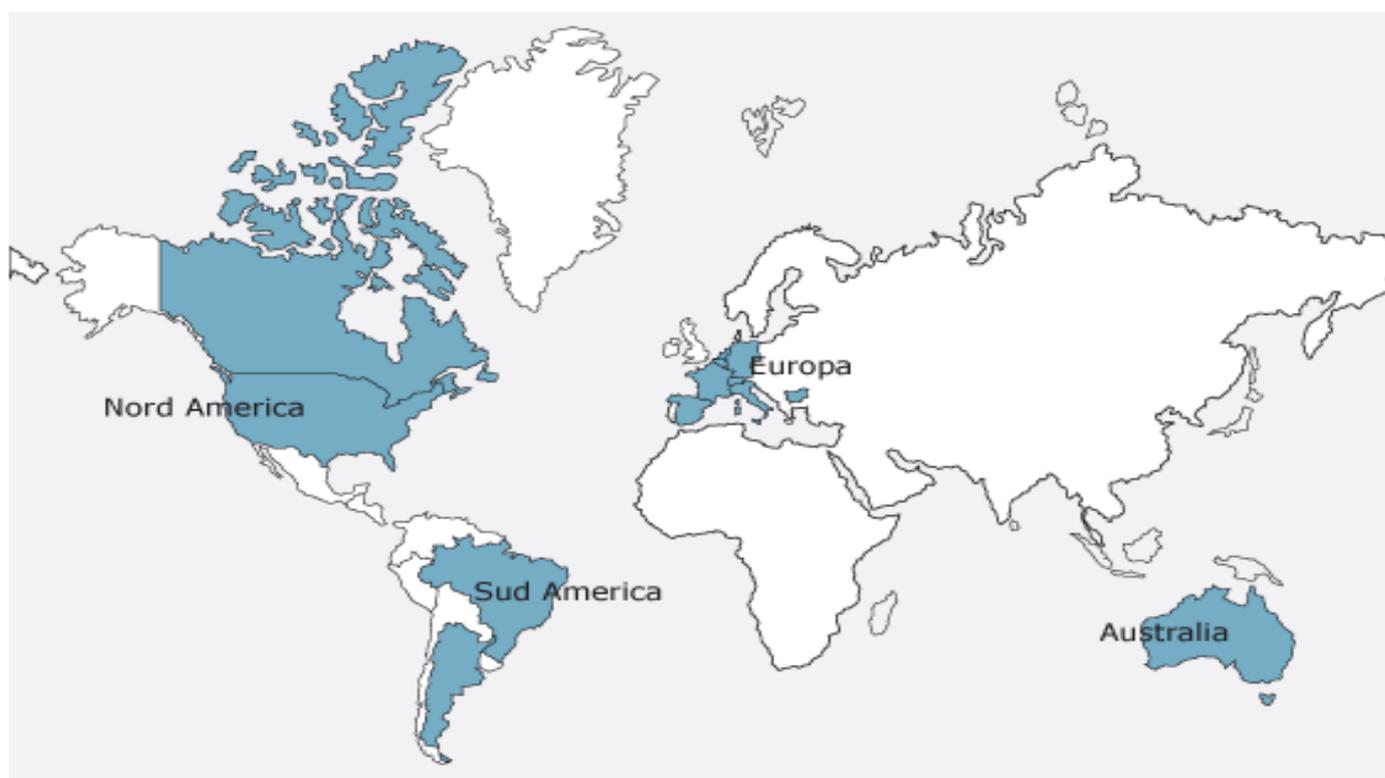
Gli stati in azzurro indicano la presenza di circoli di emigrati sardi.

Sardian Association in the world. Source: Autonomous Region of Sardinia.

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The identity value as integration factor: the Arbëria case

Rosa Ciacco

Abstract

In the different political and social contexts of the Italian peninsula, the inclusion of communities coming from the Balkan area has required the definition of its own identity. It involved firstly the unification of these communities to defence its homologating cultural dimension, language and Byzantine rite. The development of a national consciousness has allowed the Italian-Albanians to actively participate in the history of Italy and Albania, guiding the national revival (*Rilindja*). Today, Arbëria represents the symbol of the mestizo "Mediterranean identity". Arberia-Italy-Albania collaboration becomes an example for the realization of a more authentic Europe as a peaceful, multi-ethnic and multicultural society respecting differences.

Keywords:

Arbëreshë, Byzantine rite, Risorgimento, Mediterranean question

The historical process of identifying identity was carried out by the Albanian communities in the Italian peninsula (now, they are united in an ideal nation called Arbëria[1]). This process represents a strong testimony of the multicultural perspective of the Italian government in the implementation of integration policies, not as assimilation processes but as an inclusion processes by enhancing the differences[2]. However, the current results of this process

[1] Arbëria identifies the southern Italian territories that are the headquarters of the Albanian ethnic-linguistic minority of Italy, recognized by the Law No. 482/99 *Norme in materia di tutela delle minoranze linguistiche storiche* (Rules on the protection of historical linguistic minorities). Arbëria is basically a *feeling*: it represents an ideal bond that has been handed down between who share and shared a certain cultural heritage, characterized by the Arbërisht idiom and the Byzantine rite, from generation to generation. This linguistic and religious island does not occupy a homogeneous territorial area, but it includes 50 communities between municipalities and hamlets sited in seven regions: Abruzzo, Basilicata, Calabria, Campania, Molise, Puglia and Sicily. The communities bloomed in peninsula between the 15th and 16th centuries, and they are today united in two Eparchies, one based in Lungro (in Calabria, it was established on 13 February 1919) and one based in Piana degli Albanesi (in Sicily, it was established on 26 October 1937). Albanian groups are present in other Italian regions, such as in Chieri (in Turin), and in America, such as United States, Argentina and Brazil. However, these communities formed during the 1900s as the result of a phenomenon called "diaspora in the diaspora" by historical and anthropological research. They have not been recognized by Law No. 482/99 because it refers only to the historical central-southern Italian communities. The list of communities is reported in Table 1 and 2. References regarding history, culture and traditions are: Mandalà M., *Gli antichi insediamenti in Italia della comunità albanese e sua recente emigrazione*, in *Studio antropologico della comunità arbëreshë della provincia di Torino*, edited by Tagarelli A. (pp. 21-33); TORINO: CNR Calabria - Provincia di Torino; ID., Mundus vult decipi. *I miti della storiografia arbereshe*, Palermo, 2007; Muhaj A., *Le origini economiche e demografiche dell'insediamento degli arbëreshë in Italia. Dal medioevo alla prima età moderna*, in «Basiliskos», anno III (2016), pp.21-34; Cassiano D., *Le comunità arbëreshë nella Calabria del XV secolo*, Cosenza, Brenner, 1977; Bolognari M., *Il silenzio della tradizione. La partecipazione della tradizione arbereshe alla formazione della cultura nazionale, per un progetto di plurilinguismo*, Caltanissetta, Sciascia, 1978; Vaccaro A., *Nel Centenario di istituzione dell'Eparchia di Lungro* (1919-2019) - *Aspetti storici di una presenza neo-bizantina nell'Occidente cattolico* (XV-XX centuries), «Palaver», 8 (2019), n. 2, pp. 225-280; Mons. Oliverio D., *I Centenario dell'Eparchia di Lungro. Il sogno di Dio sulla nostra Chiesa*. Pastoral letter for 2018/2019, in «Lajme Notizie», anno XXX (2018/19), n. 1 (January- April), pp. 3-68; Eparchia di Lungro. P. Lanza, *Una piccola diocesi cattolica bizantina per i fedeli italo-albanesi «precursori del moderno ecumenismo»*, Guzzardi D., Cosenza, 2019; Bellusci A. – Burigna R., *Storia dell'Eparchia di Lungro. Le comunità albanofone di rito bizantino in Calabria*, Venezia, 2019; AA. VV., *La diaspora della diaspora*, edited by Bolognari M., Pisa, ETS Editor, 1989.

[2] In the Decree of 5 August 1998 (Approval of the policy document relating to immigration and foreigners policy in the State – Article 3 of Law n. 40 of 6 March 1998) of the President of the Republic, the integration is understood as a "process of non-discrimination and inclusion of differences, in the constant and daily attempt to hold together universal principles and particularism, preventing marginalization, fragmentation and ghettoization situations, which threaten the balance and cohesion of female freedom, the enhancement and

open new and stimulating scenarios in the geopolitical context, in which the Italian-Albanians have seen as a connecting element for the cohesion of European people in the eastern Mediterranean.

In Italy, the origin of the Albanians is varied. In Italy, Albanians do not have a specified ethnic matrix but they represent the result of a historical-political process involving cultural, linguistic and religious changes. Migrations from the Balkan area to the Italian peninsula have always existed. Their first presences were completed assimilated by the local culture, but from the 15th century the Albanians are in established communities, as reported in *Foundation chapters*[3]. What determined their resistance from the 15th century?

The migrations of the fifteenth century have different motivations reported in historiography[4]. The main motivation has been represented by military missions. The military value of the Albanians was already known from the previous centuries and the *Stradioti* were employed throughout Europe[5]. Alfonso of Aragon turned to Scanderbeg to defend his throne from the Angevin claims, supported by several barons of the Kingdom. Probably, he considered the usefulness of their appropriation in the Kingdom also in function of the Ottoman danger. The "epic" historiography of Rodotà (1762) linked the migrations to this aspect. For a long time, the "epic" historiography of Rodotà misdirected the Italian, Albanian and the all Italo-Albanian origin countries historiography. Rodotà exalted the myth of Scanderbeg as the epirote warlord *defensor fidei*, undisputed protagonist of the *League of Alessio* (1444), union of Albanian and Montenegrin princes in anti-Ottoman function[6].

Indeed, by the documentary sources, in Italy military migrations were different and, even before Scanderbeg, they came with Domenico Reres and Giovanni Stresa Balsha, nephew of Scanderbeg, as leaders. Scanderbeg's work constituted the bulwark for the West against the Turkish advance. Constantinople fell in 1453 and, after the death of Scanderbeg in 1468, the advance became unstoppable defeating all the Balkans and arriving in the Peloponnese and Koroni (known as Corone) in 1534. The ethnic-linguistic origin of the diaspora populations was not homogeneous. There were Albanian-speakers, Greek-speakers, as well as *Arvanites* (or bilinguals)[7]. In the fourteenth century, a first displacement occurred from the original nucleus, constituted by the Principality of Albanon (with Kruja as capital), to different directions in the Balkan area (today known as Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro, Greece)[8].

Therefore, in the "Latin" context, the ethnic and linguistic divergences within the Balkan population have been appeased by the sharing of the common Orthodox religious matrix and by the practice of the Greek rite. Thus, religious identification prevailed over ethnic identification[9].

Against, differences in religion and language involved an alienation condition and a social isolation among the Italian context. These communities became hermetic microcosms, similar to each other, with an agricultural and pastoral closed and self-sufficient economy and with a static social structure characterized by severe endogamy. The isolation promoted the preservation of Greek and Albanian idioms, a poor knowledge of Italian until recently[10] and the transmission of their almost

protection of children, on which exemptions cannot be granted, even in the name of the value of the difference". See: Cellini E. - Fideli R., *Gli indicatori di integrazione degli immigrati in Italia. Alcune riflessioni concettuali e di metodo*, in "Quaderni di sociologia", n. 28 (2002), pp. 60-84.

3 For example, the chapters of S. Demetrio Corone (1471), the Greek-Albanian colony of Palazzo Adriano (1482) and Biancavilla (1488) can be consulted. See: Mandalà M., *Gli antichi insediamenti in Italia...*, cit., P. 15, note 15; Mastroberti F., *Le colonie albanesi nel Regno di Napoli tra storia e storiografia*, in "Annali della Facoltà di Giurisprudenza di Taranto ", year I (2008), n. 2, pp. 241-251; Nadin L., *Venezia e Albania. Una storia di incontri e secolari legami*, publication by the Veneto Region, 2013; Lutri A., *Immaginarsi Arbëreshë. Poetiche pratiche e cognizione dell'identità in una comunità dell'arbëria siciliana*, Editorial Center and Bookseller, University of Calabria, 2005.

4 Migrations were wanted as workforce for the baronial lands, especially in Sicily, and to repopulate the farmhouses emptied by natural phenomena, such as the earthquake of 1456 and the subsequent epidemics. See: *Idem*.

5 See: Petta P., *Stradioti. Soldati albanesi in Italia (sec. XV-XIX)*, Roma, Argo, 1996.

6 In the sixteenth century, the writer and religious Marin Barleti (Scuteri 1450 - Rome 1513) had already written about the exploits of

Scenderbeg in the form of an epic-lyric poem: M. Barleti, *Historia de vita et gestis Scanderbegi Epirutarum Principis*, Rome, 1508-10. Rodotà P.P., *Dell'origine, progresso e stato presente del rito greco in Italia*, Rome, 1763.

7 Arvanitico is a Tuscan dialect, typical of the southern area of Albania, with influences from the Greek language. See: Hassiotis I.K., *Ósmosis cultural y mutación étnica: the italo-griegos and italo-albaneses de la Italia meridional*, in «Erytheia», 28 (2007), pp. 197-215.

8 The most ancient historiographical reference concerning the Albanians can be considered the one contained in the *Geografia* of the Greek Tolomeo (about 130 A.D.), which in the maps reports *Albanopolis*, city of the *Albanoi*, a population of Illyrian ethnicity in the area of current Albania. However, the Albanians call themselves *Shqipëtarë*, which means "those who understand", or "the eagles", and their country *Shqipnia* (ghego dialect) or *Shqipëria* (tosco dialect), meaning "country of the rocks". See: Sestieri Pellegrino C., *I popoli ed I centri illirici dell'antica Albania*, in "Iliria", vol. 4 (1976), pp. 381-384; Guide of Italy, *Albania*, Touring Editor, 1977, p. 17; Muhja A., *Le origini ...*, cit., P. 23.

9 See: Hassiotis I.K., *op. cit.*, pp. 199-200.

10 Since the eighties of the last century, an Albanology Laboratory has been activated at the University of Calabria, producing many results in terms of research and study of the Italian-Albanians lin-

similar cultural tradition[11].

After the fall of Corone, the occurred migrations led to an increase of the "Greek" element in these bilingual communities, and to their social redefinition. These communities boasted the presence of professionals and scholars and Corones were privileged from the Crown. This privilege was differentiated in terms of consistency and duration (knighthood, continue income, gratuity, tax exemption, state offices or other) and it was a credit for the defence work in the taking of Corone on behalf of Carlo V. This credit lost its financial consistency over the centuries but it remained in the family memory as recognition at the community level and relations with public officials[12].

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the social supremacy of the Greek ethnic element and the religious community extended the "Greeks" reference to all migrants. They enjoyed the support of the Crown but they had to fight the attempt of the Counter-Reformation and the Inquisition – the Waldensians' massacre in Calabria (in June 1561) by the Roman Church – to absorb the sister communities. The defence of the ritual became decisive and its survival during the six-

teenth century proves it, despite all the contrary provisions[13].

The Church of the East was present in Italy from the sixth century. After the schism of 1054 it had only a brief period of agreement with the Catholic Church from 1439 (Council of Florence) to 1484 (Synod of Constantinople). The arbëreshë communities were connected to the Metrolia of Ohrid and they never gave up practicing the Greek ritual despite the prohibitions and papal measures on the supremacy of the Latin ritual, which included the imprisonment of the defaulting priests. In 1573 the Church instituted the *Congregation of the Greeks* allowing them the practice even though under Latin jurisdiction[14]. This was a decisive compromise for the survival of this cultural island. The Arbëreshë communities are still today *Catholic with the Byzan-*

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guistic phenomenon, who keep their ancestors' language almost unchanged. See: Belluscio G., *Bibliografia degli studi linguistico-dialettologici sulle parlate albanesi d'Italia, 1994-2014*, https://www.academia.edu/28768909/2015_BIBLIOGRAFIA_DEGLI_STUDI_LINGUISTICO-DIALETTOLOGICI_SULLE_PARLATE_ALBANESI_DITALIA_1994-2014; AA. VV., *I dialetti italo-albanesi. Studi linguistici e storico-culturali sulle comunità arbëreshe*, Altimari F. - Savoia L.M., Rome, Bulzoni, 1994; Trumper J. - Belluscio G., Logonomia. *Alcuni dettagli del celtico e dell'albanese nella loro deriva: l'uso del fondo indoeuropeo originale rispetto ai prestiti dal latino, in Le parole per le parole. I logonimi nelle lingue e nel metalinguaggio*, conference proceedings (Naples, 18-20 December 1997), Rome, il Calamo Editor, 2000, pp. 441-488.

11 This does not mean that they abandoned their ethnic specificity since, despite the indistinct use of the *Greek, Albanian and arbresh* terms, the definition of *Illiri* and *Epiroti* was sometimes used. See: Hassiotis I.K., *op. cit.*, pp. 204.

12 The historian Fausto Cozzetto draws these conclusions from the study of the fiscal documents of the Naples Kingdom. The surveys of the fires (1508 and 1543) report an increase of the 52% of Albanian population in the first half of the sixteenth century, representing the 34% of the total population of Calabria Citra. Furthermore, the historian has highlighted the practice of the Spanish Crown to keep the defenders of the Kingdom with *mercedes*, and to recognize again in 1737 the privilege of the crowns (a document of the Chamber Summary decrees that it should be "treated as such" ascertained the noble descent of the crowns). Moreover, in the land register of San Benedetto Ullano, Giuseppe Rodotà is referenced as "privileged crown", although the tax condition does not denote economic wealth. See: Cozzetto F., *Un caso di studio: I Coronei e la Calabria del Cinquecento*, in *La Calabria nel Mediterraneo. Flussi di persone, idee e risorse*, edited by G. De Sensi Sestito, Soveria Mannelli, Rubbettino Editor, 2013, p. 312 (note 36), p. 316. The document is cited by Giuseppe Schirò senior, *Gli Albanesi e la questione balcanica*, of 1904, and it is reported in G. Mazziotti, *Immigrazioni albanesi in Calabria nel XV secolo e la colonia di San Demetrio Corone* (1471-1815), Castrovillari, Il Coscile, 2004.

13 See: Vaccaro A., *Nel Centenario…*, cit.; Mons. Oliverio D., *op. cit.*; P. Lanza P. – Guzzardi D., *op. cit.*.

14 The Church of the East has been present since the 6th century, when the emperor of the East Giustiniano conquered the peninsula. In Calabria there was a great flowering of the Basilian Calabrian-Greek monasticism. A small part of the Greek rite resisted beyond the fall of the Exarchate of Ravenna (751). In Calabria, Gerace, Oppido and Bova still resisted to the Latinization in 1334. In 1480, the Latin cult was imposed in Gerace and Oppido, and in 1573 in Bova. The migrations coming from the Balkan area invigorated the eastern rite. In 1054, the schism between Western Church and Eastern Church happened and it was recomposed in 1439 with the Council of Florence. It was an attempt by Emperor John VIII Palaeologus to obtain help from the West against the Turkish advance, but he was later repudiated in the Synod of Constantinople in 1484. However, the Autocephalous Metropolia of Ohrid, under which it was Albania in the XV-XVI century, never ignored the Council of Florence. Documents attest that the residential archbishop based in Agrigento exercised his ministry over all the Eastern faithful residing in Italy, legitimately and in agreement with the Pope. The Council of Trent (1545-63) brought out the presence of reforming bishops in the south dioceses and the existence of an episcopal hierarchy and of a clergy that administered sacraments and exercised jurisdiction in the territory of the dioceses, aware that they depended ecclesiastically on the patriarch of Constantinople. The Church was far from to be tolerant: in 1564 Pius IV subjected the eastern communities to the jurisdiction of the ordinary Latin bishops with the brief *Romanus Pontifex*, and in 1566 Pius V strictly forbade any liturgical promiscuity and the possibility of choosing the rite with the *Providentia Romani Pontificis* bull. However, this did not stop the rite's practice, which continued despite the provision of imprisonment for the bishops exercising the Greek rite. Gregory XIII established the "Greek Congregation" in 1573 (the Roman Curia never differentiated the Italo-Albanians, always using the Italian-Greek formula) to recover the faithful to the Church of the West. To circumvent the obstacle, the designation of a bishop of Greek rite but Catholic was decided with the *Perbrevis instructio* of Clement VIII in 1595. Germano Kouskonaris was the first. This allowed to recover the unity of the Church: no longer two Churches, two communities with their own liturgical, spiritual, disciplinary and theological tradition, in communion, but only one Church. In this way, Catholic communities were united and they could maintain part of their tradition without a real hierarchy. The Papas refusing it were persecuted, like as Nicola Basta of Spezzano Albanese, who was imprisoned and died in 1666. This meant that Spezzano and other communities subsequently lost the Greek rite (Barile, Ginestra and Marchito in Basilicata; Campomarino, Montecilfone, Portocannone, Ururi in Molise). See: *Idem*.

tine ritual!

The eighteenth century was relevant for the recognition of the Arbereshe identity. The ritual practice was not enough for the survival of the Greek element, which was mostly absorbed due to the greater social mobility characterizing it. Professional and social integration provided training courses implying a gradual religious and cultural alienation (for example, the knowledge of the official language). The Albanian-speaking communities were subtracted due to their rigid family organization and social marginalization[15].

The Age of Enlightenment was marked by the anticlerical policy of the Bourbon government[16]. In this context, the attitude of the Catholic Church became more conciliatory towards its faithful of Greek ritual. In 1742, the *Etsi pastoralis* underlined the supremacy of the Latin ritual but it recognized the right to the preservation of own rituals and discipline (especially for the uxorate priests). Moreover, other measures had been made to recognize a type of autonomy, such as for example the exemption of Orientals from papal decrees unless specifically intended[17].

Moreover, the Church allowed the establishment of two colleges aiming to train young people for the Byzantine ritual due to the difficulty of finding Catholic priests to officiate in Greek. In 1732, Pope Clement XII erected the Corsini College of San Benedetto Ullano in Calabria, and in 1734 the Italo-Albanian Seminary of Palermo in Sicily[18].

These centers were decisive for the formation of a national identity consciousness and of the Italo-Albanian intellectual class. In the nineteenth century, this class will even feed the Albanian National Rebirth under the pressure of the romantic current (*Rilindja kombëtare shqiptare*)[19].

These cultural centers were decisive for the conservation and transmission of the historical and cultural arbëreshë heritage. Moreover, they generated a current of civil and intellectual commitment supporting the libertarian and democratic requests of Italian society, and making foreground intellectuals and progressive clerics during Italian Risorgimento. By some historiographical reconstructions, Italian-Albanians were bearers of unitary and republican idea, founding the left side of the Risorgimento movement and feeding the first ferments of the socialist movement[20].

The transformist solution of the unitary Italian policy repressed this current in the blood as, for

15 From the XVI century the Catholic Church had also supported the realization of translation works to facilitate the indoctrination of the Albanian-speaking elements, such as the translation made by Lucas Matranga in 1592 of the *Dottrina Cattolica* of Diego Ledesma, which starts the Albanian literature, or the *Dictionarium latinum-epiroticum* by Frang Bardhi (1606-1643), published in Rome in 1635: Hassiotis I.K., *op. cit.*, p. 208.

16 The *Enlightened Reform* of Tanucci (prime minister with Charles III and then protagonist during the Regency in place of the infant Ferdinand IV) tended to impose the supremacy of the modern secular state and it harshly struck the privilege of nobles and clergy. The aim of the Concordat between the Holy See and the Kingdom of Naples in 1741 was to guarantee "a more just distribution of public burdens". Probably, in 1767 the Jesuits were expelled from the Kingdom and their property was forfeited. In 1740 the Jews had been recalled to contribute to the economy of Naples, but they were expelled again in 1749 as they were fiscally unproductive. In this context the mystifying work of Rodotà had its genesis. The aim of this work was hypothetically to legitimize the arbëreshë communities with Byzantine rite with regard to the state power, playing on the feeling of gratitude of the sovereign towards historians Kingdom supporters! On the Jewish event, see: Latranga G., Carolus Rex Iudaeorum? *Per una rilettura dei rapporti fra Carlo III e gli Ebrei*, in the University of Naples "L'Orientale", *Carlo di Borbone. Un sovrano nel mosaic culturale dell'Europa*, Naples, 2017, pp. 141-160.

17 See: Vaccaro A., *Nel Centenario…*, op. cit.; Mons. Oliverio D., *op. cit.*; P. Lanza P. – Guzzardi D., *op. cit.*.

18 In 1794, the Corsini College was transferred to San Demetrio Corone and it assumed the title of S. Adriano College. In 1945, the

Sicilian Seminary was transferred from Palermo to Piana degli Albanesi. See: D. Cassiano, S. Adriano. *La Badia e il Collegio italo-albanese*, I (955-1806), Lungro (CS), Marco Editor, 1997; ID. *S Adriano. Educazione e politica*, II (1807-1923), Lungro (CS), Marco Editor, 1999; Zavarroni, A., *Il Collegio Corsini di S. Benedetto Ullano*, Cosenza, 2001; Vaccaro A., *Il Pontifico Collegio Corsini: presidio di civiltà e ortodossia per gli albanesi di Calabria*, in "Hylli i dritës", 3 (2008), pp. 145-181; 4 (2008), pp. 102-136; Cucci M. F., *Il Pontificio Collegio Corsini degli Albanesi di Calabria. Evoluzione storica e processo di laicizzazione*, Cosenza, 2008.

19 Gerolamo De Rada (1814-1903) was the leader of the cultural movement of national awakening and the roots of this movement are located in Italian Albania rather than in the Balkans. Many initiatives in the Italian communities have been undertaken for the Albanian cause, such as publications, magazine and associations foundations, and the promotion of conferences in many areas of Arbëria, supporting a political, cultural and even "military" support, until the birth of the Albanian Republic in 1912. See: Altimari F., *Gli Arbëreshë d'Italia per la rinascita dell'Albania tra XVIII e XIX secolo: parallelismi con altri diaspore di area italo-balcanica:* available online at https://www.academia.edu/24927912/GLI_ARBERESHE_DI-TALIA_PER_LA_RINASCITA_DELLALBANIA_PARALLELI-SMI_IN_AREA_BALCANICA; AA. VV., L'*Albania indipendente e le relazioni italo-albanesi (1912-2012)*, Conference Proceedings (Rome, La Sapienza University, 22 November 2012), Rome, Nuova Cultura Editions, 2013.

20 On the contribution of the Arbereshe to the Italian Risorgimento see: M. Brunetti, *Resi noti i documenti di Domenico Mauro*, report in press. I warmly thank the Hon. Mario Brunetti for having provided me with the text of his contribution to a conference organized by the Italo-Albanian cultural association "Occhio Blu - Anna Cenerini Bova", which promoted the cataloguing of the materials of the Calabrian patriot of Italian-Albanian origin, curated by prof. Aldo Maria Morace of the University of Cagliari; Tavolaro E., *Il contributo degli italo-albanesi al Risorgimento*, in *Atti del secondo congresso storico calabrese*, Napoli, 1961; Cingari G., *Romanticismo e democrazia nel Mezzogiorno. Domenico Mauro (1812-1873)*, Naples, ESI, 1965; Cassiano D., *Democrazia e socialismo nella comunità albanese di Calabria: Attanasio Dramis,* Napoli, Il Rinnovamento, 1977; Cortese N., *La Calabria nel Risorgimento Italiano*, in Proceedings of the 2nd Calabrese Historical Congress; Cassiano D., *Il contributo degli albanesi di Calabria al Risorgimento,* in «Rivista Calabrese di Storia del '900», 1 (2012), pp. 9-54.

example, during the story of post-unitary brigandage and Sicilian fasces in the 1891-1894. Moreover, the subordination of the southern political classes led to a political and economic choices in support of the North. Brunetti asserted that both these aspects produced devastating results for the South of Italy and for the arbëreshë communities[21].

The laicization process carried out by the State and the Latinization risk[22] revived the aim of ecclesiastical autonomy in the Arberese communities. This autonomy was reached thought the establishment of the *Eparchy of Lungro* and the *Eparchy of Piana dei Greci* in 1919 (on February 13) and in 1937, respectively. The last one took the name of Piana degli Albanesi for Sicily in 1941 and the monastery of Grottaferrata was elevated to an exarchic monastery[23]. Another decisive step was represented by the introduction of the Albanian language in the liturgy in 1968[24].

Politically, legal recognition came later. Brunetti asserted that "the materialized idea of a centralized State always worked to dismantle every cultural peculiarity and to build an artificial scheme of values, supported by the forced adherence to the monolingual system based on the Italian language".

The school orientation was alien and hostile to the social and cultural reality. Moreover, from the end of the nineteenth century, economic processes of marginalization had produced the transoceanic exodus and the exodus towards the North of Italy following the myth of capitalist industrial development of the North. These conditions produced the emptying of the South of Italy and the "linguistic genocide" of the Albanian minority.

According to Brunetti's idea, the centralist attitude is a historical legacy spilled over into the Republican order up to the present day, not implementing the rules of Article 6 of the Constitution, aimed to protect linguistic minorities.

In the eighties of the twentieth century, a first awareness of the legislative vacuum compromising the identity of minorities emerged in response to the spread of typical consumer overseas cultural models. A strong awakening of the arbëreshë identity defence movement was carried out by the *Italian league of minority arbëreshë*, established in those years in agreement with the University of Calabria, supported by the Law No. 482/99.

However, the legislation concerning the Law No. 482/99 was not adequately applied by regional bodies, as noted by Brunetti. The introduction of the Albanian minority language as a subject of study in schools was one of the main rules. The use of this language was expected in nursery schools, alongside Italian, to perform educational activities, and in primary and secondary schools to be employed as teaching tool[25].

Currently, we can only testify that an "Albanology Section" has been established within the Department of Linguistics at the University of Calabria, which provided to activate different teachings[26]. The Section also collaborated with the Province of Cosenza and Catanzaro for the activation of "linguistic

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21 AA.VV., *Il Risorgimento. Una rivoluzione conservatrice*, edited by Brunetti M., Soveria Mannelli, Istituto MeMe – Rubbettino, 2012; AA.VV., *Il passato pesa sul presente*, edited by Brunetti M., Soveria Mannelli, Istituto MeMe – Rubbettino, 2011; Rizzo G. – La Rocca A., *La banda di Antonio Franco. Il brigantaggio post-unitario nel Pollino calabro-lucano,* Castrovillari (CS), Il Coscile, 2002; Rizzo G., *Il Brigantaggio, una reazione civile all'annessione senza unità*, report held at the XIVth Edition of the Gramscian Itineraries (Plataci, 2011), available online at http://www.albidona.eu/files/relazione_plataci.pdf

22 In 1897, the Congregation of Propaganda Fide established that the formation of the Greek-Byzantine clergy took place at the Pontifical Greek College in Rome. Since this was possible for a few, many attended the Seminaries of the Latin dioceses on which the Italian-Albanian communities depended, or they gave up an ecclesiastical formation. Instead, in 1932 the ex Corsini College will be transformed into a College and State High School.

23 In 1888, the archimandrite Pietro Camodeca de 'Coronei involved the whole arbëreshë community, Albanian and Latin priests, and the communities of Sicily. He requested to Leo XIII the nomination of an ordinary Italian-Albanian bishop and the institution of a diocese to gather all the Italo-Albanian parishes of Greek-Byzantine rite subjected to the jurisdiction of the Latin Bishops. In 1917, Pope Benedict XV (elected Pontiff in 1914) established the "Sacred Congregation for the Eastern Church" to promote relations and dialogue with the Eastern Churches. One of the very first provisions of this new Congregation was to give a definitive canonical order and a permanent solution to the age-old problem of religious autonomy of the Italo-Albanian communities of the Byzantine rite in southern Italy. Proof of this is the *Nota di Segreteria – Il rito Greco dell'Italia inferiore* printed by the Vatican Polyglot in 1917. This is an accurate, punctual and documented historical summary about the whole problem concerning the foundation of a diocese of Greek rite for the Italian-Albanians of Italy Southern. See: Mons. Oliverio D., *op. cit.*, pp. 18-20.

24 Bishop Giovanni Stamati decreed the use of Albanian in the liturgy. See: *Ivi*, pp. 32-33.

25 By the relation of Brunetti M., *Resi noti…,* cit.

26 The Albanology Section currently offers the following courses: *Albanian language and literature* (since 1973), *Albanian dialects of southern Italy* (since 1980) and *Albanian philology* (since 1993). With the reform of the educational systems (2002), the two distinct teachings of *Albanian literature* and of *Albanian language and translation* were added to the teaching of *Albanian language and literature*. The Section has stipulated scientific and cultural cooperation agreements with other foreign albanological centers: University of Tirana (since 1990), National Library - Tirana (since 1995), University of Valona (since 1999), University of Prishtina (since 1999), University "Ludwig-Maximilian" of Munich (since 2001), University of Scutari (since 1999), University of Constance (2006). Furthermore, it promotes congresses, conferences and seminars at international level, and it carries out collaborative activities with Italian and European institutional bodies. It started a copious editorial activity and it created an albanological themed bibliographic database (BESA - Siti Arbereshe Electronic Library). See: http://www.albanologia.unical.it/info.htm

branches" (2005)[27].

Today, in according to Brunetti thesis, arbëreshë acquire the role of "common good" to be protected and use in a collective socialization perspective and in the construction of another Europe, thanks to their historical and cultural heritage. This is in consideration of the danger represented by the spread of the neoliberal capitalist model towards a cultural and linguistic homologation. Arbëreshë represent a valid link within the Euro-region (known as the Ionian Region) between the Italian and Albanian people, and between South Italy and Mediterranean areas impoverished by the globalization's crisis[28].

Arbëreshë support a unification purpose rather than integration in the recognition and respect for diversity in a Europe that privileges the identities of the people while respecting human rights.

Other important arbëreshe communities can be found in large metropolitan areas, especially in Milan, Turin, Rome, Naples, Bari, Cosenza, Crotone and Palermo.

Strong arbëreshe communities survive in the Americas – U.S.A., Canada, Argentina and Brazil – keeping alive the language and traditions of the fatherland.

(http://www.arbitalia.it/katundet/)

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27 The Calabria Region has also started a set of measures aimed to protect linguistic minorities in the area, with the S.A.S.U.S. project (Servizio Associato per lo Sviluppo Urbano Sostenibile – Associated Service for Sustainable Urban Development), especially with the creation of a network of linguistic branches: See: https://www.provincia.cs.it/portale/territorio/isolelinguistiche/; http://www.albanologia.unical.it/sportellolinguistico/CZ/default.htm; https://www.sasus.it/index.php/news/74-progetti-per-minoranze-linguistiche.

28 The project of Brunetti involves some fundamental steps: 1) the creation of a coordination committee between the arbëreshë associations and the establishment of an Italian center for linguistic minorities; 2) the application of the Law No. 482/99, which provides for the introduction of the Albanian language teaching in schools, and the inclusion of transmissions in minority languages in the program agreements between the government and RAI; 3) the expressly indication to enhance the linguistic, cultural and historical heritage of the Italian arbëreshë in the bilateral agreements of cultural and scientific cooperation between Italy and Albania, transforming the historical colleges into the Albanian Cultural Institute and constituting an interactive Mediterranean documentation center, which would be named to Antonio Gramsci. The origins of the Gramsci family are located in the community of Plataci. The recent findings on the biography of Gramsci and his influence in the political history of these communities make this figure as ideal link between past and present, between Albania and Italy. See: Brunetti M., *Resi noti ...*, cit.; AA.VV., *Passato e presente. Gli Arbereshe nel ventennio del silenzio*, MeMe Institute - Rubbettino, Soveria Mannelli, 2007; Brunetti M., *Le origini di Gramsci*, in «Sinistra Meridionale», n. 24 (1997); Sicilian G., *Le radici di Gramsci riscoperte a Plataci*, in "Calabria" (monthly by the Regional Council), Catanzaro, May 1998; Cassiano D., *Le radici arbresh di Antonio Gramsci*, in "Il Serratore", year XI (1998), n. 53. Latly, on 7 November 2019, the visit of the President of Albania, Ilir Meta, to Plataci translated this project of international cultural into political action.

Bio

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She pratices Iyengar Yoga from 2010.

In 2014, she published the book *Il Millant Amore. Quando l'amore diventa un crimine* (Falco Editor, Cosenza, Italy), which deals with the criminal aspect of manipulative relationships, especially in relation to the psychopathological figure of the "malignant narcissist".

Table 1

The Arbëreshë, or Albanians of Italy, live in 41 municipalities and 9 fractions, disseminated in seven regions of central-southern Italy, representing a population of over 100,000 inhabitants.

CAMPANIA:

1. Greci (AV) Greçi

MOLISE:

1. Campomarino (CB) Këmarini
2. Montecilfone (CB) Munxhfuni
3. Portocannone (CB) Portkanuni
4. Ururi (CB) Ruri

BASILICATA:

1. Barile (PZ) Barilli
2. Ginestra (PZ) Xhinestra
3. Maschito (PZ) Mashqiti
4. San Costantino Albanese (PZ) Shën Kostandini
5. San Paolo Albanese (PZ) Shën Pali

CALABRIA:
1. Acquaformosa (CS) Firmoza
2. Andali (CZ) Andalli
3. Caraffa di Catanzaro (CZ) Garafa
4. Carfizzi (KR) Karfici
5. Cantinella (CS) Kantinela (Fraz. di Corigliano Calabro)
6. Civita (CS) Çifti
7. Castroregio (CS) Kastërnexhi
8. Cavalerizzo (CS) Kajverici (Fraz. di Cerzeto)
9. Cerzeto (CS) Qana
10. Eianina (CS) Ejanina (Fraz. di Frascineto)
11. Falconara Albanese (CS) Fallkunara
12. Farneta CS) Farneta (fraz. di Castroregio)
13. Firmo (CS) Ferma
14. Frascineto (CS) Frasnita
15. Lungro (CS) Ungra
16. Macchia Albanese (CS) Maqi (Fraz. di San Demetrio Corone)
17. Marcedusa (CZ) Marçeduza

ABRUZZO:

1. Villa Badessa (PE) Badhesa (fraz. di Rosciano)

PUGLIA:

1. Casalvecchio (FG) Kazallveqi
2. Chieuti (FG) Qefti
3. San Marzano di San Giuseppe (TA) Shën Marcani

SICILIA:

1. Contessa Entellina (PA) Kundisa
2. Piana degli Albanesi (PA) Hora e Arbëreshëvet
3. Santa Cristina Gela (PA) Shëndha Stina

18. Marri (CS) Marri (Fraz. di San Benedetto Ullano)
19. Pallagorio (KR) Puhëriu
20. Plataci (CS) Pllatani
21. San Basile (CS) Shën Vasili
22. San Benedetto Ullano (CS) Shën Benedhiti
23. Santa Caterina Albanese (CS) Picilia
24. San Cosmo Albanese (CS) Strihari
25. San Demetrio Corone (CS) Shën Mitri Korone
26. San Giorgio Albanese (CS) Mbuzati
27. San Giacomo (CS) Shën Japku (Fraz. di Cerzeto)
28. San Martino di Finita (CS) Shën Murtiri
29. San Nicola dell'Alto (KR) Shën Kolli
30. Santa Sofia d'Epiro (CS) Shën Sofia
31. Spezzano Albanese (CS) Spixana
32. Vaccarizzo Albanese (CS) Vakarici
33. Vena (CZ) Vina (Fraz. di Maida)

Table 2

The following 30 communities exist and they are characterized by a marked historical and cultural arbëreshe heritage, but which have lost the use of the Albanian language for different reasons:

Pievetta Bosco Tosca (PC) (Fraz. di Castel San Giovanni)

Santa Croce di Magliano (CB)

San Paolo di Civitate (FG)

Casalnuovo di Monterotaro (FG)

Monteparano (TA)

San Giorgio Jonico (TA)

S. Crispieri (TA)

Faggiano (TA)

Roccaforzata (TA)

Monteiasi (TA)

Carosino (TA)

Montemesola (TA)

Pianiano (VT) (Fraz. di Cellere)

Brindisi Montagna (PZ)

Rionero in Vulture (PZ)

Cervicati (CS)

Mongrassano (CS)

Rota Greca (CS)

San Lorenzo del Vallo (CS)

Gizzeria (CZ)

Amato (CZ)

Arietta (CZ) (Fraz. di Petronà)

Zagarise (CZ)

Zangarona (CZ) (Fraz. di Lamezia Terme)

Palazzo Adriano (PA)

Mezzojuso (PA)

Sant' Angelo Muxaro (AG)

Biancavilla (CT)

Bronte (CT)

San Michele di Ganzaria (CT)

A visual exploration of cultural loss in the regional Australian town of Mildura, Victoria

Filomena Coppola

Abstract

As a visual artist whose parents migrated from Italy to Australia in the 1950's, these four artworks attempt to capture the experience of this generation. Many of this aging generation are now passing. They are the cultural bridge between Italy and Australia. With particular attention to language, dislocation, distance and cultural loss, these artworks aim to capture and celebrate this particular moment in history and this brave generation.

Keywords:

Cultural loss, postwar migration, artist, language

Mildura is a regional town on the banks of the Murray River, in the state of Victoria in Australia. There is a large Italian population, which was part of the post war migration from Italy. As a child I took this for granted, as I was consumed by my navigation of both cultures while attempting to integrate into an Australia environment, language and culture. My art practice has explored the complexities of duality and what it means to navigate a journey between two cultures. Delicate pastels capture these moments of duality – of being a hybrid of Italian/Australian cultures. This is represented in my work through explorations of presence/absence, plant/animal, and internal/external. I utilize segments of native Australian orchids, intentionally taken out of context, enlarged and drawn so that the texture of the petals resembles animal fur. They are depicted in the foreground of William Morris wallpaper designs, a reference to the migration of my parents to an English colony. This narrative explores what it to be caught in-between two cultures.

As an adult, I returned to Mildura and observed that my parents' social life was filled with attending funerals of their peers who had made this same migration. It became even more confronting when my uncle passed away on 16 March 2011. He was the first Coppola of the three brothers who migrated to Australia to be buried in Australian soil. This moment was personally significant as I realized that we were no longer immigrants. We were now part of this new country, as our DNA became integrated in the Australian soil. Since this time, I have thought a lot about the loss of this first generation of migrants and its cultural significance. In particular the notion that through loss we want to reconnect with the past and find a way back to a sense of its authenticity. I am particularly interested in the language, dialect and cultural traditions, and how migration and assimilation has mutated them from the original.

Wallflower – Mirror, rorriM was directly influenced by the burial of my first blood relative in Mildura. It signifies the moment where we are no longer immigrants working this land. We are now connected to this country through the soil, new roots and histories. This piece was installed in the cellar basement of Rio Vista, the original Chaffey home. The Chaffey's were responsible for introducing irrigation to the Mildura region, which initiated the

Image: Wallflower – Mirror, rorriM, pastel on paper, 108h x 216w cm, Mildura red dirt and Murray River sand, approx. 300 x 300 cm, 2011.

planting of vineyards. It was this agricultural industry, which encouraged my parents' migration to Mildura.

The installation comprised of a large drawing depicting an Australian native orchid and a mirrored repeat of the William Morris wallpaper background depicted as fur markings. I covered the floor of the room in a carpet of Mildura red dirt and repeated the William Morris design as a simplified embossed pattern of Murray River sand. The viewer was faced with the dilemma of crossing the sand carpet to view the drawings or viewing them from the doorway. The floor piece mapped the journeys of the viewers and eventually the yellow sand merged into the red dirt and only the edges retained the definitive pattern. This reflected the experience of migration. Initially viewers only placed their feet on the red dirt in an attempt to maintain the pattern but eventually the footsteps covered more of the surface. The lush feel of the dirt carpet returned to flattened, trampled dirt; the yellow sand was absorbed by the red dirt; the pattern and texture was still in its original state at the edges, which to me reflected the attempts to retain the authenticity of cultural traditions.

The second work is part of a trilogy of works, which include *Chasing the Disappeared*, *Mother Tongue* and *Alpha Sound*. *Chasing the Disappeared* uses the markings of the now extinct Tasmanian Tiger (Thylacine) to further explore cultural loss. It is not until things are gone that we mourn their

loss and long for their return. The markings are symbolic of the loss of the first generation of Italians that came to Australia in the 1950's. With their passing we lose stories, dialects, recipes and memories that marked the early crossings to Australia. I am reflecting on the passing of the first wave of immigrants and the losses; the genealogical dis/connection to Italy; the local dialects of the 1950's that migrated with them and the dis/connection to the Catholic faith. As the first generation born of Italian immigrants we wanted to assimilate and dilute the cultural differences, yet the second generation born in Australia is strongly claiming their Italian identity, sometimes without a direct connection to the language, culture or the country itself.

Chasing the Disappeared is eight metres in length and refers to a buggy rug that consisted of eight Thylacine skins which is now in the collection of the Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery. The Thylacine markings are drawn vertically and repeated to create the sense of a seismic reading, a line of fossilized backbones, markers of time, journeys across continents or sound waves which carry the silent voices and dialects. The work is drawn to look like fur thus appearing tactile and inviting to the viewer. The drawing is a direct reference to linear time, which the viewer participates in as they walk the length of the drawing. It represents time past and time ahead, looking back on what has gone before and ahead to what is yet to come.
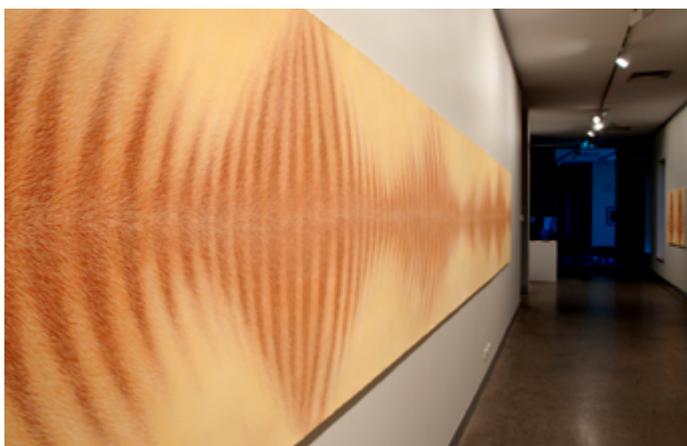
Image: *Chasing the Disappeared, pastel on paper, 108h x 800w cm, 2012*

Image: *Mother Tongue, 20 drawings, each titled after one of the 20 regions of Italy, pastel on paper, 345h x 615w cm, alphabet sound piece and video documentary, 2013*

Mother Tongue, the second work in the trilogy, is a multimedia sound, film and drawing installation, which connects directly to the moment of migration – leaving Italy, the journey and the arrival. In this work I have record over 30 individual voices from the three generations – the original Italian migrants, their children and the grandchildren saying the alphabet in their mother tongue and dialect. I have chosen the alphabet because the Italian alphabet has only 21 letters as opposed to 26 in the English alphabet. The overlay of voices creates symphony of sound and language. The j,k,w,x and y, emphasizes the absence and presence in each of the alphabets.

The sound piece is heard whilst viewing a series of twenty drawings, which visually explore the notion of 'mother tongue' and pays tribute to the 20 regions of Italy. It is a dislocated map of Italy. Drawing from my research into the native orchid, I have used petals and leaf forms to allude to the tongue form, elaborating on shape and movement to create a visual dynamic as a means to complement the sound. The plant forms are worked on a background of William Morris design based on the vine leaf and grape pattern, which refers to the agriculture specific to Mildura. In the video work, I invited first generation migrants to share their story of migration by asking them questions about leaving Italy, the journey and their arrival in Australia. The video creates a dynamic connection between the voices, the drawings and the faces of immigration to this region.

The final work is *Alpha Sound,* (page 74) which visually connects the three works and places me directly within the work. The work consists of 52 drawings. The first 26 are an alphabet based on the Australian native orchid forms that I have been using in my work. These plant forms make strong calligraphic shapes and the j, k, w, x and y are emphasized through colour. Opposite this alphabet are drawings of 26 sound waves created by my voice as I spoke each letter in English. These sound waves are drawn to look like fur, creating a pulsing version of *Chasing the Disappeared*, drawn in blue to indicate ink, language and the written word. The five sound waves of j, k, w, x, and y are drawn in pinks to emphasize their absence/presence and also refer back to the *Mother Tongue* artwork. The work is accompanied by a recording of spoken letters of the alphabet, voiced by the three generations. By playing a different audio track at four locations along the length of the alphabet, the work emphasizes a sporadic mixing of voices, generations, language and time

Currently, my parents are 90 and 82 years of age, and I know that I am very fortunate to have had the time with them to explore and create this work. The interviews and connection to community that were facilitated by this work were invaluable and I am honoured to have been able to document and creatively interpret this important moment in the cultural history of Mildura. These works serve as a reminder to look back, move forward, accept, celebrate and learn from our past. I have heard many stories of loss, suffering, dislocation, longing and also gratitude, abundance, security and belonging. Migration is challenging to the original immigrants and to those that follow. These four artworks are a visual documentation of my journey
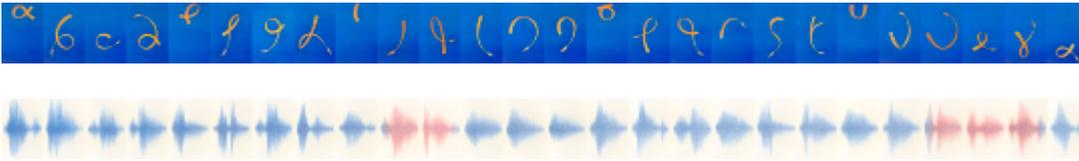
Image: Alpha Sound, 56 drawings, pastel on paper, each alphabet 120h x 2080w cm, 2014

to understand and connect with my past in order to create my future. My language is a visual one, which attempts to render English and Italian not in opposition but as equals in this journey.

Image: Mother Tongue, opening night with many of the participants watching themselves on the video documentation.

Bio

Filomena Coppola's work is a response to being born in the regional Victorian town in Mildura, to Italian parents who migrated from Campania. She visually re-presents this migrant experience by reflecting nostalgically on the dialects, language and stories that will be lost with this generation. She focuses on the moment of dislocation/migration from Italy to Australia. Coppola has exhibited widely and has been included in several drawing exhibitions including JADA Drawing Award, The Robert Jacks Drawing Award, the City of Banyule Drawing Award and The Hutchins Drawing Prize, where she was awarded a Judges Selection in 2001, and she was awarded The City of Hobart Art Prize in 1994. Filomena has been the recipient of several awards and residencies including Arts Victoria Development Grant in 2013, Regional Arts Victoria Project Funding in 2012, the Vermont Studio Centre Residency and Part Fellowship, Vermont, USA in 2004, Ian Potter Foundation Individual Grant in 2001, Arts Tasmania Development Grant in 1999 and the Rosamond McCulloch Scholarship to the Cite Internationale des Arts, Paris in 1997. Her work is represented in collections including Artbank, Parliament House Collection Canberra, Print Council of Australia, University of Tasmania Launceston and Hobart, Mornington Peninsula Gallery, The Hutchins School, Banyule City Council and the Devonport Art Gallery.

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Not so white on arrival: unearthing the memory of Italian American slavery in Mary Bucci Bush's *Sweet Hope*

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Abstract

At the turn of the 19th into the 20th century, Italian migrants to the USA were often considered as "not-white" An example is the experience of the Italian peasants who ended up working in the Southern plantations as replacements of the former black slaves who had left for the North. Mary Bucci Bush's *Sweet Hope* (2011) – based on the recollections of Bush's grandmother, who worked on the Sunnyside Plantation (Arkansas) as a child – tells this almost unknown story. My essay aims at showing how the novel tries to create a fictional substitute collective memory to fill the gaps in official historical reconstructions of the Italian American experience – to unearth a harsh reality both cultures, American and Italian, have long tried to bury in historical amnesia.

Keywords:

Thomas Guglielmo's groundbreaking *White on Arrival* (2000) persuasively argues that the ethnic prejudice against Italians in the high tide of the Italian migration to the United States was based much more on notions of "race" that on differences in skin color, so that Italians were not actually considered on the same ethnic level as African Americans or Native Americans (or Mexicans), but rather grouped together with Southern European/Latin/Mediterranean immigrants, who clearly belonged to a much different race than "Blacks," "Reds," and "Browns," notwithstanding the varieties of skin colors they featured (and which sometimes made them look as "lighter" African Americans or average Mexicans). This even helped Italian migrants, according to Guglielmo, to enjoy, at least in the Chicago area he studied, some of the "privileges" accorded to people unambiguously labeled as "white." Nonetheless, examples of the crossing of the "color line" (using Frederick Douglass's expression, made even more famous by W.E.B. Du Bois) which located Italian Americans in an equivocally "colored" racial space peopled also by Mexicans and African Americans may easily be found in the last quarter of the 19th century and the first of

the 20th, as in the case of the Italian peasants who migrated to the USA and ended up working in the Southern plantations as replacements of the former black slaves who had left for the Northern cities. This is what happened with the Sunnyside Plantation in Arkansas, whose workforce mostly consisted of migrants from Northern and Eastern Italy. Mary Bucci Bush tells this story in *Sweet Hope* (2011), directly based on the experiences of her grandmother, who worked on the Sunnyside Plantation as a child, and was therefore a first-hand witness of this experiment in the racialization of Italians, which repeated the very first process of ideologically justifying slavery on the basis of race – the enslavement of Africans. For all their being more or less clearly "white on arrival," Italians were the victims of the protocols of sub-division of the migrant communities according to their supposed belonging to this or that racial group, so that their whiteness often got "darker" from the very beginning.

In the last few decades historians and literary scholars have tried to unearth the memory of this systematic categorization of Italians as "non-whites" and of its social and cultural

consequences, but both in the United States and in Italy public discourse has very rarely addressed this disquietingly problematic issue and its annexes, first of all that of how African Americans have been exploited at least twice by white dominant culture – on the more concrete level as "free labor," but then also as a sort of touchstone, if not as a proper template, for the exploitation of other ethnicities. Also thanks to its extreme readability and its adhesion to the imperishable tenets of literary naturalism, Mary Bucci Bush's novel tries to fill this void, to close the gap between official history and those personal experiences whose legitimation is always deferred when it does not fit into dominant cultural formations. And the "blackening" of Italians which the novel exposes (as Fred Gardaphé has stated, the distinction between Italian and white "has never before been dramatized with such power and precision in American fiction"; Gardaphé 2014, 417) is of course something that neither the myths of America as the migrants' promised land nor the Italian cult of the migrant hero can easily accomodate. Besides, the novel draws a picture of both the Italian American and the African American experiences, and of their intersections, which is much wider and goes much deeper than the surface plot of the novel, with its obsessively extended metaphor of the plantation as a claustrophobic concentration camp.

As the late JoAnne Ruvoli stressed, Bush connects the predicament of the Italian migrant family, the Pascalas, "to the global circuits that support the agricultural labor and racial violence that dominate American economic and social history" (Ruvoli 2018).

This also means that, as often happens when the issue at hand is the location of Italian Americans and African Americans inside US history and culture, on the one hand the novel places these two communities in the most marginal space one could think of – and images of margins and boundaries can be found everywhere in the text, from the first major scene occurring on the edge of a river where two boys, one Italian and the other African American, almost get drowned, to the final one, when Angelina, the Italian American girl who is pregnant of a child and whose Black lover has been killed by the Sweet Hope overseer, decides not to cross the river on the boat that will take her Italian family to some other plantation and to be adopted by her new, African American family. But on the other hand the whole narrative structure clearly sets the two communities

of workers at the very heart of the American economic system (or at least of what still was the mainframe of the agricultural economy of the Southern States at the beginning of the 20th century), and also of the political superstructure which in the novel is explicitly described in almost Marxist terms as being based upon the governance of the exploitation of (almost) free labor.

As a matter of fact, the owner of the plantation, Harlan Gates, builds up his political career and the possibility of winning a seat in the State Senate thanks to the "enlightened" experiment of Sweet Hope: "The Italian Colony experiment itself had earned him praise, even from some of his earlier detractors, for replacing the recalcitrant and diminishing Negro labor supply with eager, industrious Italians" (Bush 2011, 308-309).

The parallels and contrasts in the novel between the two predicaments, the Italian Americans' and the African Americans', also demonstrate in almost didactic terms one central feature of the Italian diaspora in the United States (and of all migration processes and diasporas).

As a matter of fact, every attempt to study and also to artistically represent a migration experience cannot but adopt a "comparative" perspective, but this perspective is not to be intended as the filter scholars and writers apply to the object under scrutiny from the "outside." The comparative dimension is an inherent component of the object *per se*, both on the merely "factual" level (since migrations and transnational relations do not take place in a "void," but are constantly enmeshed in a network of contacts with other migrations and transnational relations, from the places of origins of these movements to the places of arrival, and throughout their various, intersecting trajectories), and also on the level of the subjective perceptions and interpretations of the individuals and the communities involved in these phenomena and processes, who inevitably create their own identities by "comparing" their experiences to those of the other migrant (and non-migrant, or not migrant anymore) individuals and communities. This comparative attitude has always already been *there*, in Italian American literature: just think of the number of parallels between Italians and Blacks in Pietro di Donato's *Christ in Concrete*, or at the ways in which Arturo Bandini in John Fante's *Ask the Dust* constructs and deconstructs his ethnic identity through the dual dynamics of identification and distancing, also with clear racist overtones, that

governs his love-hate relationship with a Mexican woman. In her introduction to *Re-Mapping Italian America*, Sabrina Vellucci reminds us of the "benefit" Italian American studies can have "from in-depth studies and analyses of Italian/American culture in conversation with other ethnic traditions as well as with the dominant cultures (both literary and artistic canons) of the places in which the Italian diaspora has set its roots" (Vellucci 2018, xvii), and she quotes a number of recent studies that have followed this approach (Mary Jo Bona's *Women Writing Cloth*, John Gennari's *Flavor and Soul*, Samuele Pardini's *In the Name of the Mother*, and so on). But this conversation is already working both inside *Sweet Hope* and in the historical reality the novel reproduces, and is made directly available to the reader thanks to the adoption of a multiplicity of points of view, through which events and actions are constantly revised by the various characters who explicitly compare their own interpretations with those they think could be the interpretations of the "other." By way of these repeated comparisons, the Italian migrants become aware that even the African Americans can enjoy a far greater freedom of movement than them: in their condition of indentured laborers, they simply cannot leave the plantation until they have repaid their debt, while the Blacks are sharecroppers, and can decide to leave whenever they want. Besides, the company deliberately brings the Italians to the plantation late in the year, when there is no crop to be harvested and sold:

> *That way they could charge rent for the houses and land, charge outrageous prices for food and staples over the fall and winter and all the next year until the Italians made a crop. They would already be in debt before half a year was out. There'd be no way they could pay off their contract. They'd be stuck at Sweet Hope indefinitely in a never-ending cycle of debt. And with no letters allowed out, and travel off the plantation forbidden for Italians, it seemed they were doomed. (Bush 2011, 49)*

This strongly contradicts what Donna Gabaccia has called "the centuries-long American celebrations of the mobility of white immigrants in the face of long histories of racialized oppression and immobility" (Gabaccia 2017, 47). So maybe sometimes Italians *are* white, as the novel shows more than once in their confrontations with blacks and in the ways in

which the "real" whites juxtapose and compare the ones to the others, but even when they are considered as "whites" they are *literally* "whites on a leash" (Gardaphé, p. 4), to use Fred Gardaphé's felicitous metaphorical expression. Or rather, their ambiguous racial positioning has perhaps led both Italian Americans and WASPs (and other ethnic groups) to conceptualize, like Rudolph Vecoli suggests, "Italianness" as an in-between identity which is not "white, nor black, nor brown, nor red, nor yellow" (Vecoli 1996, 17) – an identity marked by negative difference, and in this way circuitously re-connected once again to the African Americans', defined by what they are or were *not* (white, free, migrants by their own volition, and so on).

Another aspect the novel makes clear is the Italian migrants' agonizing awareness of the fact that the ruthless system of exploitation they are subject to is totally unknown (or better, censored and erased from public discourse) outside the plantation, both in the United States and in Italy. In a sort of narrative dead end, the Italian priest who has reluctantly accepted to become a passive and ineffectual *pastore* of the community, seems to finally "see the light" when he discovers that the Black conjure woman who lives in the swamp has witnessed the killing of Angelina's lover, and then makes her testify at the murder trial (to no avail, of course); he then decides to leave the plantation and denunciate what is happening at Sweet Hope: "his eyes were opened. The train station was a few blocks away. He'd be able to reach New Orleans within two days, and no one would question his traveling. He would tell everything he knew – no matter the consequences for him at Sweet Hope" (Bush 2011, 356). This decision seems to open up the possibility of a happy ending, with the good guys coming to save the exploited workers and righting the wrongs that have been done to them. Nothing of the kind happens. We do not know about Father Odetti's fate after he leaves the plantation, the Pascala family is forced to leave Sweet Hope (after having unsuccessfully tried to do it a number of times in the past) with no sure prospect of their future, and Harlan Gates even seems to make the best out of the possible scandal created by the murder trial and the rumors about the conditions of life of the plantation workers when he "reforms" the Sweet Hope system:

> *He outlined the changes he was calling for: filters installed on the wells, to improve the*

drinking water. Each household would get free mosquito netting, and the cost of quinine tablets would be reduced.

"It's the high store prices and taxes they're hot about," Wade said. "And they want to be able to sell their cotton off Sweet Hope."
"I'll cross that bridge when I come to it – if I have to. Let's see if we can't pacify them with a little sugar water first." His pat smile was almost a grimace. "It costs a lot less."
[…]
In the end, he hoped to be seen as benevolent and long-suffering in the way he dealt with the disgruntled Italians. (358-359)

Only in the Afterword we come to know about the end of the Sweet Hope experiment (or better of the Sunnyside plantation), but we are told nothing about what can or cannot have happened to the Italian and African American families whose stories we have followed throughout the novel. Their memories seem to be lost forever, if it was not for the novel itself, which manages to create a fictional substitute collective memory to fill the gaps in the official historical reconstructions of the Italian American experiences by bringing back to (cultural, public) life personal recollections (those of the author's grandmother) which never made into "history." In some sense, besides being the story of both the solidarity and the clashes between the Italian and the African American communities, *Sweet Hope* also creates a new connection between them by adopting and adapting the most "black" of literary genres, the slave narrative, so that its configuration could be defined as that of an Italian American neo-slave narrative. And precisely like the African American neo-slave narratives, whose *raison d'être* is fighting against the cultural amnesia that simply wants to delete slavery from the shared "vision" of America, *Sweet Hope* aims at keeping alive the memory of a harsh reality both cultures, American and Italian, have long tried to bury in historical forgetfulness.

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The road to exile: from the foibe to the Refugee shelter centres. The case of Genoa

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Abstract

Between 1944 and the second half of the 1950s, the Italian community of Istria, Fiume and Dalmatia left their homeland after the assignment of these areas to the Yugoslav Federation. This phenomenon, called the 'Istrian Exodus', consisted of a continuous flow of departures of Istrian refugees especially towards Italy, where they were welcomed at refugee shelter centres. To examine the process of inclusion of Julian refugees into post-war Italian society, this paper examines the system of assistance activated by the city of Genoa from 1945 to 1955.

Keywords:

Foibe, Istrian exodus, refugees studies, Genova

In spring 1945, while people in the Italian peninsula were celebrating the end of the World War II, in the region of Venezia Giulia for many it seemed that the war had never ended.

In May 1945 the region was liberated from Nazi-fascist troops thanks to the joint intervention of the Allied forces and the Yugoslav liberation army. Tito's army advanced along the Upper Adriatic coast and broke into internal Istria and reached the city of Trieste before the Allies.

The Yugoslav troops instituted a reign of terror and domination, consisting of arrests, deportations, silent disappearances and took control of all symbols of power of the previous Italian state authority. The Yugoslavs had rapidly established a civil administration which, even in the event of a sudden retreat, would have constituted a valid counter power position. Although the Allies were not opposed to a possible territorial concession in favour of Yugoslavia and at the expense of the Italian state, they did not intend to accept the situation imposed by the Yugoslavs.

On 12th June 1945, the Allied forces reached an agreement with the Yugoslav troops to divide the Julian region into two different spheres of control: Zone "A" under Allied administration (Trieste, Gorizia, the eastern border and the enclave of Pola were to remain under Anglo-American control until 1947); Zone "B" under Yugoslav administration (comprising Fiume, the Istria peninsula and the Kvarner islands).

Despite the fact that Zone B was not yet part of the new Yugoslav state, the Yugoslav authorities adopted a series of political, economic, social and ideological reforms that profoundly changed the administrative and institutional structure of the region so that it would now be subjected to the new regime. In order to do this, they immediately started a preventive purge against all the fascist elements, but also against any opponent of the new regime, or allegedly so. It is in this context which the violence perpetrated against the Italian population by the Yugoslav partisans took place, namely the *foibe* massacres[1].

The term *foibe* is normally used to indicate a morphological characteristic, i.e. a sinkhole of the karst area, which appears as natural cracks in the ground.

1 Pupo R., Spazzali R., 2003, *Foibe*, Milano, Bruno Mondadori.

At first sight they appear not very significant, but in fact open into large chasms that proceed vertically in depth, with an irregular course, sometimes even reaching 300 meters from ground level. The term became notorious for the sinister use that Yugoslavian partisan made of them during and shortly after the II World War, against Italians and other real or perceived enemies of the incoming Tito communists. In fact, there were two waves of violence perpetrated against the Italian population of Istria, Fiume and Dalmatia: in September-October 1943 (following the armistice of 8th September) and in May-June 1945. This atmosphere consolidated in the Italian population the conviction that a new type of power and reality had become definitive and there was no possibility of change.

Due to psychological, political, social, economic and cultural reasons, between 1944 and the second half of the 1950s, the Italian community of Istria, Fiume and Dalmatia left their homeland. This phenomenon of population mass displacement took the name of 'Istrian exodus'[2].

The number of persons is estimated to be from 280,000 to 350,000, however the most important information is not the real number of who left, but the "total" aspect of this phenomenon. Compared to the other phenomena of displacement of population that interested the North-East Adriatic area, the Istrian exodus is the greatest migration of people because it led to the 'almost total disappearance of an ethnic minority, the Italian one'[3].

Indeed, around 90% of the Italian community left the shores of the Upper Adriatic and those who remained – in Raoul Pupo's definition – became 'relics'[4].

The continuous flow that began at the end of the war increased after the signing of the peace treaty on 10th February 1947, which sanctioned the definitive passage of the entire zone B and of the city of Pula to the new Yugoslav state. Most Italians thought that nothing could be the same and the only possible choice was the road to exile. A choice often made by resorting to clandestine expatriation or through the "options" instrument, provided for by art. 19 of the peace treaty. Indeed, the terms of that treaty required residents of the newly-created Yugoslav area of Istria to legally opt for Italian citizenship or become de facto Yugoslav citizens[5].

Most of the Istrian population chose to restart a new life in Italy. The first step of their journey were the sorting centres set up in the cities of Trieste and in the ports of Venice and Ancona. There the Istrian people lived temporarily for a few days, waiting for a new destination.

From this first shelters they were welcomed at the 109 Refugee shelter centres spread across all the Italian peninsula. The Istrian people became the 'Venetian Julian refugees' and were assimilated by the Italian state bureaucracy with the other displaced person and refugees, that came from every parts of Europe. The shelters had been set up with the help

2 The term 'Istrian Exodus' has recently consolidated in Italian historiography, on the subject see E. Miletto, 2007, *Istria allo specchio. Storia e voci di una terra di confine*, Milano, Franco Angeli; - , 2011, *Senza più tornare. L'esodo istriano, fiumano, dalmata e gli esodi nell'Europa del Novecento*, Atti del seminario di studi *Noi e l'altro. L'esodo istriano, fiumano, dalmata e gli esodi del Novecento. Per una storia insegnata in chiave europea* (Torino, 8-9 febbraio 2011), Torino, Edizioni SEB 27; R. Pupo, 2005, *Il lungo esodo. Istria: le persecuzioni, le foibe, l'esilio*, Milano, BUR Rizzoli; G. Oliva, *Profughi. Dalle foibe all'esodo: la tragedia degli italiani d'Istria, Fiume e Dalmazia,* 2005*,* Milano, Bruno Mondadori: M. Cattaruzza, M. Dogo, R. Pupo (a cura di), *Esodi, Trasferimenti forzati di popolazione nel Novecento europeo*, 2000, Napoli, Edizioni scientifiche italiane; M. Cattaruzza, *L'Italia e il confine orientale.1866-2006*, 2015, Bologna, il Mulino.

3 "[…] *l'esodo ha segnato* la scomparsa pressoché totale di una minoranza, quella italiana. *[…] Quello che resta – non la si prenda come una mancanza di rispetto – non è una minoranza ma una reliquia, sono brandelli di popolazione, che molto difficilmente riescono a coordinarsi fra loro, che in qualche modo sono riusciti a resistere sul territorio salvaguardando la loro identità nazionale, ma hanno solo limitata parentela con la realtà precedente, con quella che storicamente veniva considerata l'italianità adriatica.*» in R. Pupo, *L'esodo dei giuliano-dalmati*, in A. Algostino, G C.

Bertuzzi, F. Cecotti and others, *Dall'Impero austro-ungarico alle foibe. Conflitti nell'area alto-adriatica*, 2009, Torino, Bollati Boringheri, [1]97; the same idea is expressed « *Lo possiamo chiamare «la catastrofe dell'italianità adriatica», intendendo con questa definizione – certamente un po' drammatica, ma tutt'altro che eccessiva – la scomparsa dalle sponde adriatiche della forma specifica di presenza italiana che lì si era costituita come ultimo atto di una vicenda storica iniziata all'epoca della romanizzazione: una scomparsa quasi totale, poiché oggi di essa rimangono solo alcune reliquie, fatte di pietra – molte – e di persone, assai meno numerose, che configurano un tipo diverso ed inedito di presenza italiana*», R. Pupo, *La catastrofe dell'italianità adriatica*, «Qualestoria» n. 2, dicembre 2016.

4 Ibidem.

5 The clause is quoted in M. Cattaruzza, 2015, *L'Italia e il confine orientale. 1866-2006*, Bologna, il Mulino, 310-311; C. Colummi, L. Ferrari, *Il problema delle opzioni*, in C. Colummi, L. Ferrari, G. Nassisi, and others, 1980, *Storia di un esodo: Istria 1945-1956*, Trieste, Istituto regionale per la storia del Movimento di liberazione nel Friuli-Venezia Giulia, 325; for a complete reading of the Treaty see *Trattato di pace (1947),* Comitato Scientifico Centro Studi Historica Italica, 7-143; S. Lorenzini, 2007, *L'Italia e il trattato di pace del 1947*, Bologna, il Mulino, 155-204.

of the Vatican Assistance Commission, the Ministry of Post-War Assistance and the Italian Red Cross. The places chosen were usually disused barracks, schools and meeting places set up for the purpose. Sometimes they could also be disused prison or concentration camps such as Laterina, Arezzo and the notorious Risiera di San Sabba. In the various Italian provinces, in addition to the government refugee camps, there were also other welfare solutions such as hotels, dormitories, public bodies and privately managed collective housing. An example of this fragmentary approach at the problem was the welfare program activated by the city of Genoa from 1945 to the 1955[6].

The first exiles from the lands of Istria and Dalmatia came to Genoa since the end of the war, but their presence became increasingly evident and numerous, only starting from 1947. Coinciding with the signing of the peace treaty, the arrivals became more and more consistent. Only on 3rd February 1947 from Venice to the Ligurian capital came 109 Istrian refugees, followed by another 137 that arrived on 7th February[7].

They were welcomed by the volunteers of the Vatican Assistance Commission 'Auxilium', that set up a first shelter at the train station of Genoa Piazza Principe. The shelter was active since 1945 and had the function of assisting with a hot meal and refreshment, refugees and veterans in transit through the city of Genoa[8].

An uncertain situation that could not be resolved was the imminent problem of a stable location for the thousands of Julian refugees who were soon to arrive in Genoa (6.530 people found assistance and the fix abode in Genoa and 8. 345 in Liguria)[9]. Within the city perimeter they were placed in about twenty structures, scattered in the different city districts for a total of nine schools, two kindergartens and three convents.

The only government Refugee shelter center was located in Genoa until the December 1946 and then was moved in a small town of the Ligurian East Riviera, named Chiavari. It is located in an open space close to the marina. The Chiavari call it the skyscraper and they are not wrong, being the largest building in the city.

The edifice, recently renovated, reaches 49 meters in height and consists of two superimposed blocks. While the lower part is composed of two floors that housed the services and recreational areas, the upper one develops vertically taking the form of a nine-story tower, of which eight were intended for dorms with a total capacity of 400 and about 50 beds per floor, while the last was used as an infirmary. We know that in 1949 the refugees were 479 displaced persons, subdivided as follows: 79 between people from Pula and from Zara, 223 people from Fiume, 149 repatriates, 38 Libyans[10]. They lived in the confined space of a "box" no for weeks and months, but even for years. It was a temporary solution that could not restore the comfort of a stable arrangement.

Although Istrian refugees were introduced to the working world since 1947, they found a permanent residence in the Ligurian capital only since the 1950s.

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6 P. Di Laghi, 2019, *Profughi d'Italia. 1943-1955. Il dramma dei giuliano-dalmati dalle foibe ai Centri di raccolta. L'accoglienza a Genova e in Liguria*, Genova, Erga edizioni, 189-258.

7 Elaboration on data contained in the phonogram (n. 6671) sent on 2 February 1947 to the Presidency of the Council - Office for Venezia Giulia and a handwritten note signed Meneghini causing the text : *«Toscana partito ieri mattina 7 febbraio alle 6,30»*, found in Pcm, Uzc, Sezione II, Sottosezione Profughi, Busta 23, *Smistamento profughi nelle varie province* in Enrico Miletto, 2001, *L'esodo giuliano- dalmata: itinerari tra ricerca e memoria*, in E. Miletto (a cura di), *Senza più tornare*, cit., 90.

8 We can read in the minutes of the meeting of the Provincial Committee for post-war assistance in Genoa on 24 October 1947 *«nella seduta del 3 dicembre 1945 il comitato provinciale dell'assistenza post-bellica approvato la proposta di concedere l'erogazione di un contributo a favore del posto di ristoro della pontificia commissione Auxilium che funziona a stazione di Genova Principe ed assiste, con il pasto caldo o ristoro, profughi reduci in transito. In tale occasione il comitato provinciale assistenza postbellica si riservava di approvare ulteriori sulle pensioni in relazione all'eventuale documentate richieste della Auxilium. In data 31 luglio 1946 su richiesta dell'ente predetto il comitato provinciale assisten-*

za postbellica stabiliva il mantenimento del costo del pasto completo a lire 40 è una maggiorazione del solo ristoro da lire 10 a lire 15», Prot. Nro 15133, *Posto di ristoro – Stazione di Genova Principe*, Processo verbale del Comitato provinciale assistenza postbellica, seduta 24 ottobre 1947, ASG, Ministero dell'assistenza postbellica, fascicolo 118, *Assistenza postbellica 48/49*.

9 A. Colella, *L'esodo dalle terre adriatiche. Rilevazioni statistiche*, 1958, Tipografia Julia, Roma, 52-53.

10 The number of 400 people is shown in the document prot. n. 046299/0/1 sent by the Ministry of the Interior, Directorate General for post-war assistance, Division 7 Fields, dated April 18, 1947, concerning the ratification of white-collar staff serving at the CRP No. 72, in ASG, Ministero dell'assistenza postbellica, fascicolo 23, Assistenza postbellica – personale; the number of 479 is shown in F. D'Asta, *Inchiesta dietro la facciata dei nove piani*, in *L'Arena di Pola*, n. 624, anno IV, 1° settembre 1948, p. 4.

In particular, two buildings were built in the area of Sturla and inaugurated in 1955 thanks to the intervention of the private body «Opera per l'accoglienza e l'assistenza ai profughi giuliano dalmati» and to the application of the Scelba Law of 1952. In the years later another housing unit in the Oregina district to be allocated, arranged in agreement with the municipality of Genoa, not only for Istrian refugees but also for those who came from the former colonies of Africa[11].

Like in the other places of Italy, the return to normality for the "Julian refugees" in the city of Genoa was a slow and long process. This hard and difficult human journey led them from the initial displacement - caused by the drastic political and economic changes brought by the Yugoslav authorities and persecutions - to the social closure determined by the application of the status of 'refugee'. This reputation increased the distance from its moral economy, determining a fossilization of the dynamics and events linked to the exodus, confining them so often in the memory of those protagonists, deprived for long of interlocutors.

The physical and mental destruction of the original identity determined in the Julian-Dalmatians the conviction that, rather than 'refugees', they would remain 'exiles' for the rest of their lives.

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Bio

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11 *Benedetti gli alloggi per i profughi giuliani, Il Nuovo Cittadino*, 3 maggio 1955, p. 4.; *Cronache di Casa, L'Arena di Pola*, n. 974, 22 giugno 1955, p. 2; *Lo sfollamento del CRP di Chiavari, L'Arena di Pola*, n. 976, 6 luglio 1955, p. 4.

Italian-Levantines in Istanbul: memory and heritage

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Abstract

The study of the Italian communities abroad has seen unprecedented developments in recent years following the establishment of a large number of study centres, associations, museums and university departments dedicated to the study and preservation of the Italian migration heritage.
While it is common to hear about Little Italy, Petite Italie and Barrio Italiano, unfortunately, the Italian migration heritage still remains largely unknown for the Eastern Mediterranean regions. Yet, in this very same geographical area, resides one of the most ancient Italian communities abroad: the Italian-Levantines. This short paper aims at exploring the Italian heritage in Istanbul and the ongoing projects which are addressed to create an Italian-Levantine memory.

The study of Italian heritage and memory abroad has seen unprecedented developments in recent years. Following the growing interest in migratory processes, a large number of researches have come to light, bringing a new focus on Italian migration history. The historiography of Italian migration has therefore begun to take place; this phenomenon, which was marked for long decades and continues, albeit differently, to distinguish Italian society, is now finally studied in all its aspects.

In the United States of America, Canada, Argentina, UK, France and in all those countries that have received a long immigration trend from the Peninsula over the centuries, numerous study centers, associations, magazines and university departments have in their mission the study and the heritage of their local *Little Italies*, *Petites Italies* and *Barrios Italianos* in the world. The same, unfortunately, cannot be said for an area that even since the Middle Ages has welcomed migratory waves from the Italian coast: we are talking about the Levant. Yet, the cities and coasts of the Eastern Mediterranean region have for centuries been the shelter of an Italian-speaking community whose culture found its *trait d'union* in shared faith, language(s) and culture. We are

speaking about the Italian Levantines; in this short paper, we will try to provide a picture of the Italian memory in one of the Levantine countries, Turkey, with a special focus on what a network of people reunited under the Levantine Heritage Foundation (LHF) is trying to do for preserving and divulging the Italian heritage in this country[1].

The first question we should deal with is a simple: who are the Italian Levantines? Today, in Italy, the word *Levantino* mainly refers to a trader or merchant (also metaphorically speaking), typically very quick and sharp, to the point of not being considered honest. In literature and history, though, the very same term is used to refer to a transnational, transcultural, multilingual community that originated from Western Europe and lived in the whole of the Middle Eastern area since the times of the Ottoman Empire. The history of the Italian communities in Turkey embraces centuries of contacts and relationships between the two shores of the Mediterranean Sea. A long period of time, enriched with the circulation of ideas, goods and people. In this region, a permanent Italian presence began during the time of the Maritime Republics and the Byzan-

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1 http://www.levantineheritage.com

tine Empire. During that period, Italian merchants established their emporiums around the Eastern Mediterranean regions in order to better control trade routes and therefore ensure maritime superiority. With the final collapse of the Byzantine Empire due to the fall of Constantinople in 1453, the relationship between the Italian peninsula and the Eastern Mediterranean continued. Few centuries later, in the nineteenth century a new pathway opened up for Italian activities in Turkey. In regards to the composition of the Italian families in Istanbul at the beginning of the 20th century, Giuseppe Zaccagnini gives us a detailed description:

> *Over the years, the intersections with indigenous families have been frequent; And so, besides the breed, they have changed the character and sentiment of our fellow countrymen, to the point that in a large number of families (I would say most of them), Italian is no longer spoken and understood. It is easy to meet a family composed by: Italian grandfather and Armenian grandmother, Italian father and Greek mother, Ottoman uncle and Russian aunt, one Austrian child and another French*[2].

Now that we have made a first picture of how many cultures, languages, religions composed the so-called Levantine community, the reader will probably be wondering why someone chose to define this community as an Italian one. The answer is, in fact, very ingenuous: the primary factor that determined this classification is the legal status. Within the Levantine community, three main national groups could be found: French, British, Italian. Although most of the Levantines spoke all the vehicular languages in use within Ottoman port cities, what really defined the status of these families was, in the end, the passport of the family man. So, if this person had an Italian passport, then the family was considered Italian. The benefits of keeping a Western European passport were many: first of all, it was very difficult to obtain Ottoman citizenship. Secondly, there was the matter of convenience involved while choosing the Italian nationality. At the time, in fact, the western European communities resident within the Ottoman Empire were regulated by the capitulations system. What were the capitulations? They were grants, made by several Sultans of the Empire, to Christian nations, conferring rights and privileges in favor of their subjects resident or trading in the Ottoman dominions. As non-Ottoman citizens, Europeans did not have to pay local taxes, nor were they obliged for military duty. We can, then, easily imagine how, in the case of a marriage between an Italian and any other Ottoman minority subject, the Italian passport would "win" over the other option. The result, was a very atypical and hybrid community.

It is interesting to see how Italian migration was supported by Rome, which saw in the Italian presence in the Levant a precious tool for increasing national economic and cultural influence into the Mediterranean region. The late 19th century was the time marked by the foundation of many Italian schools in the Ottoman Levant, with the intent of creating an Italian youth educated to promote and preserve the national interests and to face the French "rivalry" in the region.

The opening was massive and rapid: Italian schools in 1911 were almost 80 in number across the empire.
Thanks to the actions of the *Società Dante Alighieri*, the Italian language found a new centrality next to the *Alliance Française* and the *Alliance Israelite Universelle*. Unfortunately the break-out of the Libyan war against the Ottoman Empire, in 1911, caught by surprise the Italian-Levantines, who found themselves suddenly in a very difficult position.
In May 1912, in response to the Italian occupation of the Ottoman Dodecanese islands, the government of Constantinople began by decree the expulsions of the Italians[3].
For a community whose majority didn't even know Italy, the Peninsula became, as a matter of fact, a place where they found shelter, living for months in refugee camps in the suburbs of the cities of an unknown country and in which they were seen as "Turks". At the end of the war, almost all the refugees returned to the Levant, a region in which they felt at home; going back, though, wasn't easy at all, and once returned they found a completely changed environment, in which they, as members of a hybrid community, had to live viewed as potential internal enemies in a dying empire. In conclusion, we can affirm that the Libyan war was the first traumatic conflict that led the Ottoman Empire to its dissolution resulting in the birth of the Republic of Turkey in 1923.
The massacres, expulsions, devastations that affected the region between 1912 and 1922, altered its society irredeemably.

2 Giuseppe Zaccagnini, *La Vita a Costantinopoli*, Fratelli Bocca Editori, Milano-Roma, 1909, p.72.

3 Francesco Pongiluppi, *Les Réfugiés Levantins de la Guerre Italo-Ottomane*, in J.E. Bernard et al.(eds) *Continuité et Rupture des échange en Méditerranée*, Univ. de Toulon, Toulon, 2016, pp. 77-95.

The cohabitation and multiculturalism, the sense of strength and pride of the Ottoman Empire died with its political defeat and left the Italo-Levantines as orphans: and this, is what the last Levantines are. Orphans of a trans-cultural empire and hostages for decades of nationalisms that troubled the post-Ottoman environment.

We could probably define the Italian community of Turkey - today represented by a few hundred individuals – as the oldest Italian community all over the world. The port cities of this vast Levantine country, such as Istanbul and Izmir, preserve many heritage signs of this historical presence. Nowadays, the Italian legacy can be easily found in the urban landscape, with clear signs of its influence also shown in the Turkish language which still includes many Italian loanwords. However, this memory has been ignored for years by scholars and institutions.

Only recently has something been moving forward. For instance, a valuable contribution for the historical mapping of the Italian institutions and personalities of Istanbul, came following the publication of the proceedings of the study conference held at the Italian Cultural Institute in Istanbul in 2006. The volume, published in 2007, hosts 27 contributions and offers a photograph of the Istanbul's Italian community during the Ottoman period[4]. It is an extremely interesting work due to its interdisciplinary approach and the involvement of academics, scholars and representatives of local Italian institutions.

The story of an online network for Levantine history and culture: the evolution of LHF from a website to a foundation

Finally, few associations and networks have been active in the promotion of the research and on the preservation of Italian heritage in Turkey[5]. One of the main actors involved in the research and education about Levantine heritage and memory in a

4 Attilio de Gasperis, Roberta Ferrazza (eds), *Gli Italiani di Istanbul, figure, comunità e istituzioni dalle riforme alla repubblica 1839-1923*, Istituto Italiano di Cultura di Istanbul, Centro AltreItalie, Fondazione Giovanni Agnelli, Torino 2007.

5 Among these, we recall the commitment recently made by the historical Istanbul Italian Workers Mutual Aid Society trough the renovation of its historic venue and the cultural activities planned by the Istanbul Circolo Roma, an historical club attended by local Italian expat community, Italian-Levantines and local Italian speakers. Likewise, it is to underline the engagement made by the Istanbul Roman Latin Catholic Deanery in the promotion and research on Levantine heritage, thanks to its current official historian Rinaldo Marmara, a Levantine himself.

post-Ottoman country such as Turkey, has been the LHF.

The institution, through its own website and periodic conferences, brings together the scholars of these Levantine communities. LHF was set up in London in 2010 following an organic evolution started by the current General Secretary with a website dating back to 2004. The website was a means to both collate material collected by him and reach out to others who had an interest in Levantine history and culture. This outreach first connected with descendants of Anglo-Levantine families and this made it possible to have social gatherings at regular intervals in London and so far 32 of these lecture followed by dinner meetings have taken place since the summer of 2009.

The website was and is still the main driver of this multi-layered project which includes descendants, cultural historians, collectors of ephemera and art and academics working free-lance or within institutions. Exploring the nature and definition of the Levantines is a key point in this investigation as there is no firm agreed consensus, however that ongoing debate does provide its own richness as it pulls in many national, religious and ethnic strands that have shaped that cultural mosaic.

With the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire in 1923, many of the cosmopolitan communities of the Levant region scattered around the globe. LHF is piecing together these communities' histories and legacies for future generations to study and build on. The study and recording of this legacy takes on many different forms, including oral history recordings from senior descendants of the community, scanning of family and trade photo albums and analysing and captioning this visual reference, bringing academics together to explore the different sides of this long and wide story of multi-culturalism in Eastern Mediterranean. We continue to expand our network organically and bring in researchers from different centres and disciplines and welcome future contributors.

Right from the start the remit of the website and its later incarnation of the Foundation was open access of information to share and build up on. That richness brings its own future material through contributions and regular events helps the momentum. These events include a total of 7 conferences and round-tables and over 30 lecture & dinner gatherings in London to date. We have plans to continue with both small and larger events across the centres of London, Istanbul and Italy,

working with friends sharing the same vision. There were initial organisational difficulties in setting up a foundation and the mission statement emphasized the open nature of this network dedicated to preserving, researching and cataloguing the diverse sides of this cultural heritage. All members who operate within the LHF give their time and effort voluntarily. Diaspora and migration heritage has only received serious academic consideration recently and I feel we are part of this appraisal disentangling this story away from a national perspective where people are label confined according to their origins. We like to show nationalities can be fluid and identities can be shifted according to the constraints of the times and opportunities offered through extra-territorial self-identification. This supra-nationality perhaps is a convenient, though not definitive definition of Levantines we continue to explore.

Today the Italian Levantine community is still the biggest remaining Levantine presence in Istanbul and Izmir, though the numbers are still tumbling, with perhaps around 1000 left who can claim direct Italian descent. Most members of this community know their history quite well and have a deep sense pride and achievement yet they feel within a generation or two they will be no longer able to retain any sense of community as the numbers would then be too small to allow for that unique culture to still flourish. The work of the LHF continues to preserve this culture through study and recording of its diverse elements. The Foundation continues to strive to be a nurturer of research on the Levantine communities and acts as a facilitator for these human connections.

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Bio

Craig Encer was raised in Istanbul creating the framework allowing for his explorations of multi-culturalism in the Levant present and past. Collaborating with interested amateur researchers brought the need for a networking system to reach out to descendants to raise awareness and through that protection of a fragile heritage. The subsequent website allowed for that bridge to be formed between descendants and researchers. Craig continues in his role as the General Secretary of the Levantine Heritage Foundation.

Francesco Pongiluppi has been studying and working between Italy and Turkey for ten years. He received his PhD in History of Europe at La Sapienza University of Rome in 2017, with a dissertation on the Italian presence in the late Ottoman Turkey. He authored several publications on the role played by Italians in the socio-cultural, economic and political life in the Eastern Mediterranean region. He is now a post-doctoral fellow in the Department of Philosophy and Educational Sciences at the University of Turin. He is the academic advisory committee coordinator of the Levantine Heritage Foundation.

Old stories and new narratives: second generation Italian-Australian middle-aged women

Maria Fantasia

Australia

Abstract

From Repression to Resistance – I am my mother's daughter
Maria utilises auto-ethnography to document her post-war second generation Italian-Australian experiences. Traversing generations and nations, she explores the often hidden realities of Italian women's experiences as grandmothers, mothers, daughters and siblings, including rape, violence, misogyny and other forms of oppression. However, resilience and resistance persist in the navigation of maternity and marriage as both migrant and second-generation Italian women in Australia. Framed by universal themes of love and loss, the oppressive specificities of some Italian-Australian women's lives, often too shameful to disclose in fear of disrupting the "good migrant family" performance for a wider Anglo-centric society, are given voice.

Keywords:

Migration, Repression, Living on the Boundaries, Resistance

My name is Maria Fantasia. I am the daughter of Francesco Fantasia and Angela Varricchio and I'd like to invite you on a quick journey from post-war Italy to modern day Australia.

As we all know, Italy was left with widespread destruction after the Second World War – scarcity, high unemployment and desperation were commonplace, and people were starving, as my father would say –*"Eramo morte di fame".* All the talk at the time was of the *"New America"* (as Australia was known) and the Agreement between Australia and Italy – *"Atto di chiamata*[1]*"* – to attract migrants to the "land down under".

My mother was a shy, quiet, obedient daughter, very respectful of her parents and mindful of their expectation and the broader community that she should marry well – be *"sistemato"* – settled with a good man from a good family of reasonable means, according to societal protocols of the time. Her parents were devoutly Catholic, and held the Catholic Church and priest in high regard, attending church each Sunday and paying their respects to the many patron Saints at *feste* held in the *paese*[2] and provincial town of Benevento[3].

At 15, my mother fell in love during her weekly sewing lessons with Umberto, the *"Sarte's*[4]*"* son, but his family was poor and my grandparents did not approve of such a match for their eldest daughter. With no work in the village, Umberto joined the Carabinieri[5] and was sent away, suddenly freeing up my mother to be married off to a more acceptable suitor. She was heartbroken. And turned her mind to the *"New America",* filling her head with grand illusions of freedom and independence away from prying eyes and the restraint of a provincial life. It would be this obsession that led to a rebellious decision, which changed her destiny and left her with a lifetime of regret.

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1 *Atto di chiamata - Italians already living in Australia could nominate and sponsor their families and *paesani* to migrate too
2 *Paese – is the word for "village"
3 *Benevento – is the provincial town closest to my mother's village

4 *Sarte - the Sarte was the village dressmaker who taught my mother the art of dressmaking
5 *Carabinieri the domestic police

At 18, a paesano[6] from a neighbouring village approached my mother's parents with a photograph of a young man already living in Australia who wanted to marry *"una brava figliola Italiana"* – a good Italian girl – from back home. Without a second thought and knowing nothing about him, my mother saw this as her way out and agreed to the match, sending her photograph to a stranger on the other side of the world to gain his approval to marry. That's how she became a *"proxy"* bride marrying a stranger by *"procura"* as she stood in the Council Chambers of Benevento with a proxy groom by her side, and my father stood in a registry office in Australia. My grandparents were devastated.

For two years, letters were exchanged and promises made, during which time my grandparents did their best to have the marriage annulled. But my mother would not give up on her dream of freedom, and they in turn did not succeed. In December 1957 at the age of 20, my mother set sail from the Bay of Naples and after spending a month at sea, arrived in Port Melbourne, Australia.

With fanciful notions of a *"new life"*, her dreams were immediately shattered when she walked into a marriage and community more controlling than that of her parents and the *paese* could ever be, with all its traditions and customs and old world mentality about what women could do and say.

My father expected *"un brava moglie"* as did the Italian community and church, reinforcing the belief that *"l'uomo comanda[7]"*. *"Dovere[8]"* too compelled my mother to be a dutiful wife for her new husband, despite his violent and abusive tendencies, and a dutiful daughter-in-law for an overbearing and meddling mother-in-law.

My mother bore eight children, the first of whom died in her arms whilst still a baby. But with no family in Australia, she had to dig deep relying on grit and determination to endure the isolation, loneliness, violence and abuse that now framed her existence. She had to protect herself; she had to protect her children.

She suffered much heartache over the years, but with no voice to speak out and no confidence in herself or her place in the world, not as a wife and not as a migrant woman in a foreign land that didn't always make sense, she suffered in silence, for the shame – *"vergogna"* – was too much to bear, and she was too proud – *"orgoglioso"* – to admit her rebellious decision had been a mistake.

Her worldview was restricted to what my father allowed her to see, her sense of *"self"* restricted to that of wife and mother, strongly enforced by community and church alike. Her focus never strayed far from family, faith and food, and the customs and traditions brought with her from the Campania region of Italy. Nothing was better than a feed of *taralli*[9], Strega liqueur espresso-coffee-infused sponge cakes and Pizza Cchiena[10] around the kitchen table – they were definitely a drawcard for *"la famiglia"* and symbolic of the importance of tradition that became the epicentre of Italian migrant families in Australia.

But the truth was, growing up with Italian migrant parents in Australia was like growing up in a time-warp and it wasn't an easy path to tread. While I loved the rich Italian culture I was immersed in, I struggled with my parents expectations that I be *"una brava figliola Italiana"* at home, while the outside world saw me as Australian. I was bullied and taunted at school when the smell of my salami sandwiches caused offence – *"you dago*[11]*"* they'd say, as I flitted between cultures, carefully negotiating the boundaries, stumbling and fumbling not knowing quite where I fitted in.

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6 *Paesani – is Italian for relation or relative from the same village

7 *L'uomo comanda – means "the man is in charge"

8 *Dovere – means "duty"

9 *Taralli – are an Italian snack food that can be savoury or sweet in taste and are typically made in southern Italy

10 *Pizza Cchiena - Neapolitan dialect for Pizza Rustica

11 *Dago – is an ethnic slur referring to Italians and people of Italian origin or ethnicity

And to make matters worse, dominating every aspect of family life was my father – the *"patrone[12]"* – constantly subjecting us to his violent and abusive behaviour, and expectations that females must be subservient. This construct was problematic for me. It bore the weight of *"dovere"* – a duty that I must serve just as my mother had done. I served. I submitted too. But I dreamed of freedom and independence, and saw education as the *"way out"* of the dysfunction in my father's house.

I loved to read but reading was banned… so I read in secret, not realising my mother loved reading and was reading in secret too! And at the end of high school when I hinted at becoming a teacher, despite my father raising his fist to my face to threaten, *"No daughter of mine is going to university!"* – I applied anyway. My father did not approve. So he punished me – brutally and repeatedly – relegating my dream to the shadows, hidden from view.

But I was Angela Varricchio's daughter… and I resisted.

With no voice and no confidence in myself or my place in the world, I hid the turmoil in my life from university friends, many of them second-generation Italian-Australians like me. I was ashamed of the violence in my father's house – so I clowned around, hoping nobody would see the bruises and guess the ugly truth.

And in the background was my mother – *"Non ti scoraggi"* – she'd say, quietly, defiantly, encouraging me to persevere.

12 *The patrone – is Italian for "Master"

I absorbed the punishment meted out… and resisted my father's attempts at derailing my dream. And on the day of my graduation, after my mother convinced him of his duty to stand by my side, my father came, he stood by my side, proud of my achievements despite how hard he'd made it for me to achieve them.

I'd resisted and risen above it, because inside the heart of the subservient daughter he expected me to be, was the same dream my mother had once dreamed.

My mother's dream of freedom and independence, and the sacrifices she made, and the encouragement she provided, was the foundation upon which I could build my own life. She created the spaces for me to push the boundaries of who I wanted to be as a second generation Italian-Australian living within and between and on the boundaries and outer of two cultures that clashed in my father's house.

I was proud of my Italian heritage and my parents' sacrifices in starting a *"new life"* in a foreign land that wasn't always hospitable or accepting of them. But I wanted to be my own woman, not restricted because I was *"femmina"* – female – but able to explore and negotiate my own way through life and relationships.

As a second-generation Italian-Australian, I was brought up immersed in the traditions, customs and beliefs that came with my parents from Italy. Yet, standing one generation removed from migration, I was distant enough to know that I wanted more. It was a challenging journey, at times harrowing and painful, but my mother's strength and hope gave me the freedom to go searching in spaces I would never have been able to enter had she not been my greatest ally.

To my mother Angela Varricchio, for the dreams she had, the courage she showed, the pain she endured, the sacrifices she made, the determination and resilience she demonstrated, I will always be grateful – she was my hero – and gave me the freedom and independence to continue my journeying as a second-generation Italian-Australian in the most ancient culture in the world.
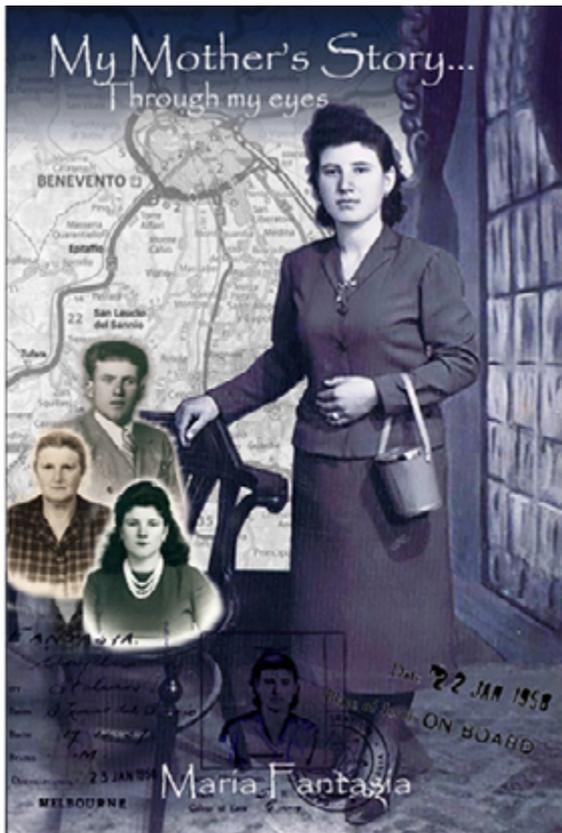
Songs

As a second generation Italian-Australian, I'd like to share with you a taste of the song lines and sentiments that pulse through my veins.

Song 1: *L'Italiano* – Toto Cutugno

Song 2: *Land Down Under* – Men at Work

Song 3: *Australian Aborigines* – Australian Aboriginal Music

Bio

Maria Fantasia works in the public sector in community and stakeholder engagement. She was a secondary school teacher in Geography, History, Aboriginal Studies and Australian Studies for several years before retraining and entering the private sector in town planning, community planning and stakeholder engagement. Her specialist area was social/community planning projects in Aboriginal communities, which lead to a number of state and national Planning Institute Association Awards. She has also undertaken short residences in Aboriginal communities in remote parts of Australia. As a second-generation Italian-Australia woman, she has captured the story of her migrant mother in a recently published memoir.

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Italian migrant memory and cultural promotion down under. The CO.AS.IT. model in its social and institutional contexts

Marco Fedi, Ferdinando Colarossi, Paolo Baracchi

CO.AS.IT. Italian Assistance Association, Melbourne, Australia

Abstract

The Italian Language, Culture and Heritage Department is the cultural branch of CO.AS.IT. (Comitato Assistenza Italiani) Melbourne, founded in 1968. The Department supports the teaching of Italian in Victorian schools, and includes the Italian Historical Society and Museo Italiano. CO.AS.IT. is a founding member of the network MMV (Multicultural Museums Victoria), which includes also the Chinese, Hellenic, Islamic and Jewish museums, and reflects the increasingly transcultural character of Australian society. CO.AS.IT.'s Italian Language, Culture and Heritage Department engages and brings together the community, students, teachers, scholars and artists.

Keywords:

CO.AS.IT., Museo Italiano, transcultural, multiculturalism

1. The social, political and institutional context of CO.AS.IT.'s cultural work. Founding values and strategic vision for the future. (*Marco Fedi*)

In 2018 CO.AS.IT. celebrated 50 years of presence in Australia. We were established by Italian law, but grew to be a very different organisation. We now receive funding from the Italian government only for the Italian Language Assistants Program; such funding represents less than 4% of the entire annual operating budget. We have over 200 staff and an equal number of volunteers engaged in the welfare and cultural sectors; we have language assistants arriving from Italy every year to work in Victorian schools; we have important, growing collections in our historical society; we have a museum that shows the fundamental pathways of the Italian presence in Australia; lastly, we run a significant and innovative cultural program.

Today we are thoroughly global in outlook and operationally. We shun parochialism in all its forms and we regularly engage other communities in our practices. We have a strategic vision for our future that coincides with the multicultural future of Australia.

CO.AS.IT., through its Italian Language, Culture and Heritage Department, will continue supporting the Italian Australian community to develop a strong and rich cultural identity that will empower it to be a confident voice in multicultural Australia, and an effective conduit for relations between the two countries. We will serve the Italian Australian community, as well as other CALD[1] communities, diversifying our portfolio of services. CO.AS.IT.'s participation as a founding member in the MMV[2] network testifies to this commitment.

We will continue to provide state of the art services to teachers and students of Italian in Victoria, consolidating our role as the peak body in the field. We will support Italian Australian culture and studies through our cultural programs, Italian Historical Society and Museo Italiano. We will actively engage second and subsequent generations in our community, young people and other CALD[3] communities.

We are committed to developing our activity in the fields of Italian Australian Studies, Italian Migration and Diaspora Studies, Italian Translation Studies,

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1 CALD = Culturally and Linguistically Diverse.
2 MMV = Multicultural Museums Victoria.
3 CALD = Culturally and Linguistically Diverse.

Teaching of Italian as a Foreign Language and related areas through conferences and other initiatives, including strategic partnerships and collaborations with universities, museums, study centres and other organisations in Australia, in Italy and internationally.

Multiculturalism has been for several decades, and still is, an official policy in Australia. It remains the best framework for our aim of contributing to Australian society while developing a truly global identity. My personal connection with the language, culture and history of Italy is important to everyone connected to me, and my connections with other cultures allow me to grow as a human being and professionally. As mobility increasingly affects societies worldwide, we must work towards diasporic communities becoming integral parts of the fabric of society, and make people aware of the positive changes diversity brings.

To what extent is this idea of global identity, in an age of transnational mobility, challenged by the resurgence of nationalisms? We are still in the middle of a transformation, the outcome of which is far from clear. The belief that barriers, national boundaries and cultural obstacles may be removed by institutional changes, political determination and the need for social cohesion has been shaken. If we look at the European Union, we may legitimately ask if it truly is, today, a space of transcultural existence and transnational interests, a place of integrated politics and citizenship. The recent elections may not have handed over the future of the EU to nationalists and populists, but their impact will certainly set back much needed cultural change.

Is a pluralist, cohesive and democratic EU still a model to follow, in principle? And what impact may CO.AS.IT. – a welfare and cultural organisation in multicultural Melbourne, Australia, a distant land – hope to have on these matters?

We need words to tell our story. We need "diaspora" because it gives a sense of "the dispersion of people". We may call it "migration" (or "immigration," or "emigration," depending on our point of view), or we may call it "mobility," if we wish to emphasise the aspect of movement – or we may choose to look at the result of the phenomenon, and refer to it simply as the Italian diaspora.

We need "global" because our actions, as well as our ideas and ideals, shape the world. We need "local" because we live in smaller communities that need local actions / reactions to keep pace with the wider changes. We produced a "glocal" vision of the world, made up of global objectives, goals and dreams furthered, every day, by local communities.

What we don't need are restrictive forms of self-identification within the constraints of fixed models. I prefer to be able to find Italian markers within a complex multicultural identity that is made up of my Italian and Australian experiences, as well as of the personal relationships I have established with other parts of the world.

It is within this framework and guided by these ideals that CO.AS.IT. operates, in its integrated role of welfare provider and cultural centre.

As the peak body for the delivery of services to the Italian Australian community, we are proud of our contribution to the wellbeing of our community, and to Australian society at large.

We pride ourselves on a transparent and accountable system of governance and on the quality of our services in the welfare and cultural sectors. We are valued for our performance-based results, for our excellence in consumer-oriented services and for our leadership in the areas in which we operate. And we carry forward with us, as the organization grows, strong connections with Italy as a core element of what we are.

2. CO.AS.IT. and the teaching of Italian in Victoria. The MMV (Multicultural Museums Victoria) network. (*Ferdinando Colarossi*)

CO.AS.IT. was founded in 1968 to provide welfare support for Italian migrants. It quickly began to play an important role, along with other ethnic community institutions, in laying the foundations of Australian multiculturalism. With funding from the Italian and Australian governments, CO.AS.IT. initiated a large number of Italian programs in primary and secondary schools: Italian soon became, and continues to be, one of the most taught foreign languages in the State.[4]

CO.AS.IT. plays a vital role in supporting the teaching of Italian in government, Catholic and independent schools. Its Resource Centre is a major focal point for teachers of Italian, providing them with a wealth of teaching resources, professional reading and advice. CO.AS.IT. offers an extensive program

4 Largely as a result of CO.AS.IT.'s activity, Australia has the greatest number of students of Italian outside of Italy – some 350,000: more than half of these are in the State of Victoria.

of professional development for teachers, including in-country courses in various centres throughout Italy. The After Hours Italian Language Program (Doposcuola) offers classes from preschool to senior secondary level. CO.AS.IT. also provides Italian language classes for adult students of all ages and levels. CO.AS.IT. is the only centre in Victoria authorised by the University for Foreigners of Perugia to administer the CELI exam.[5]

CO.AS.IT.'s language assistant program, which started in 1994, every year brings 25-30 young graduates to work alongside teachers of Italian in Victorian schools. Selected through a formal application process from eight Italian partner universities, the assistants enhance Italian programs with current language usage and cultural trends.

CO.AS.IT. is a founding member of MMV (Multicultural Museums Victoria), an alliance of five museums that play a significant role in presenting Victoria's multicultural heritage.[6] MMV aims to showcase a positive message about diversity. As institutions deeply rooted in their communities, the individual museums do important work in promoting people's pride in their culture and identity. They also play an important role in educating the broader community about their respective cultures. As a collective, MMV can even more effectively and powerfully celebrate and encourage all Victorians to embrace the state's diversity, and foster cross-cultural understanding.

MMV delivers a powerful program of intercultural events, which includes the beloved Museums cook-off, community workshops, live music and talks. In 2018, MMV launched *Grandmothers* – five exhibitions on the role of grandmothers in five different cultures. Because of the universal appeal of the theme and because of its emotional associations, *Grandmothers* provided an accessible encounter with cultural difference, and opportunities to develop intercultural interaction, understanding and appreciation. MMV was the recipient of the Museums Australia (Victoria) Award for Medium Museums for this exhibition.

3. Supporting Italian Australian culture and studies through a democratic cultural program. (*Paolo Baracchi*)

An integral part of CO.AS.IT.'s Italian Language, Culture and Heritage Department, the cultural program includes, in any given year, up to half a dozen temporary exhibitions and over 30 events (talks, conferences, workshops, theatre, film and live music nights). Almost all of the program is free, and almost all of it is held at CO.AS.IT.

The cultural program, like the rest of CO.AS.IT.'s activities, supports the Italian community reach its full potential within multicultural Australian society.

This community is currently characterised by two major dynamics: (1) The Italian-born cohort[7] is waning as the community enters the third and fourth generation, while increasingly mixing with other ethnic groups.[8] (2) A new, socially and culturally different wave of migrants and prospective migrants has been arriving since the turn of the century.

From a cultural point of view, Italian Australians are increasingly interested in preserving and creatively (re)discovering their heritage; in parallel, interest in Italy and things Italian is growing within an increasingly well-educated and well-travelled wider Australian society. This auspicious state of affairs is also a result of the successful integration of Italians, within the multicultural policies of the past 40 years.

Conversely, socio-economic success hinges on a strong culture, including solid values of work, resilience, family, solidarity etc. Surely, an Italian Australian community that is, as well as socially and economically successful, also culturally conscious and proud, is better equipped to participate with confidence in the multicultural dialogue of 21st century Australia, and is a stronger conduit for cultural and economic exchange between the two countries.

I think we should be clear that the culture we wish to claim as our own is not the high-brow culture of the traditional centre, with respect to which until recently we of the diaspora identified as peripheral and subaltern. Nor is it the traditional culture that is the immediate heritage of many of our migrants.

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5 CELI = Certificato di Conoscenza della Lingua Italiana.
6 The museums are: The Chinese Museum, The Hellenic Museum, The Islamic Museum of Australia, The Jewish Museum of Australia and CO.AS.IT. Museo Italiano.

7 About 250,000 Italians migrated to Australia between 1947 and 1971.
8 Just over 1,000,000 people claimed Italian ancestry in Australia's last census (2016).

Italian Australian culture, then, as an integral part of Australian culture, and one of many Italian diasporic cultures worldwide. This is not so much a culture to which we belong: it is more a culture that we make, working within that "third space" of migration which this conference tries to explore as – at least in principle – a space of dialogical reason, a laboratory for civil coexistence in the 21st century. Italian Australian culture is the creation of a diasporic community, which embraces, from a modern Australian standpoint, both its migrant heritage and contemporary Italian culture.

CO.AS.IT.'s cultural program supports Italian Australian culture by means of a two-pronged strategy: (1) we nurture community testimony and artistic and cultural expression by engaging established as well as young and emerging practitioners; by providing a safe space for artists to show their work, for memory keepers to tell their stories, and for all to share and discuss, within and, importantly, beyond the Italian community; (2) we promote Italian Australian studies by collaborating with universities, institutions and scholars on initiatives such as research projects, conferences etc. Accordingly, the inaugural conference of *Diaspore italiane. Italy in Movement*[9] was part of CO.AS.IT.'s democratic and community oriented cultural program.

Bio

Marco Fedi was born in Ascoli Piceno (Italy). He migrated to Australia in 1983 and worked for F.I.L.E.F. (Adelaide) until 1992. After moving to Melbourne, he was National Director of Patronato INCA-CGIL until 1997. He directed CO.AS.IT.'s Multimedia Centre until 2005. In 2006 Marco was elected to the Italian Chamber of Deputies and remained a Member of Parliament until 2018. Marco focused his parliamentary activity on human rights, foreign affairs and issues affecting migrants. Marco is the CEO of CO.AS.IT. Italian Assistance Association (Melbourne).

Ferdinando Colarossi was born in Abruzzo (Italy) and migrated with his parents to Australia. He attended Lilydale High School and completed a Bachelor of Arts and Diploma of Education at Monash University. He taught history, politics and Italian in Victorian high schools for many years. In 2004 he began working as the CO.AS.IT. Italian network leader in the Eastern region of the Education Department. Since 2012 he has been Manager of the CO.AS.IT. Italian Language, Culture and Heritage Department. Ferdinando is President of the Victorian Association of Teachers of Italian.

Paolo Baracchi was born in England and grew up in Florence (Italy). After graduating in philosophy from the University of Florence with a thesis on Freudian psychoanalysis, he moved to Australia in 1994, where he obtained a PhD in philosophy from the University of Melbourne and a DipEd (Secondary) from RMIT University. Paolo has worked as a translator, editor and tutor. He has been with CO.AS.IT. since 2007, where he currently looks after the cultural programs. Paolo is the Secretary of the Dante Alighieri Society, Melbourne.

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9 Held at CO.AS.IT. in April 2018.

'Immigrant words': a lexical renewal in Italian?

Jacopo Ferrari

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Abstract

About thirty years since its birth, Italian Literature of Migration still offers many unexplored ways of research, particularly on the language of immigrant writers. A common feature is their plurilinguism: Italian and (various) mother-tongues coexist in their works. Migration does not cancel memories and images from the motherland, so Italian readers can find foreign words - probably never read before – about food, religion, culture, clothing. Do these words live beyond books? Do they truly circulate and are they truly used in Italian? Do these words represent a real lexical innovation due to the presence of millions of immigrants from all over the word? In case of affirmative answers, we have to consider these 'immigrant words' as important keys of Italian lexical renewal.

We find 'immigrant words' in the works of Italian Literature of Migration, but also reading newspapers and magazines, shifting through online archives and databases. The Linguistic Landscape is also an important resource: the LL tells us how visible 'immigrant words' are, and visibility shows their vitality in Italian cities.

Keywords:

Immigrants, Lexical renewal, Linguistic Landscape, Literature of Migration

The Syrian writer Yousef Wakkas in the preface to his book *La talpa nel soffitto* (Bologna, Edizioni Dell'Arco, 2005) spoke about the experience of many immigrant writers in Italy like him by saying: «Oltre l'immigrazione, ciò che li accomuna è la scelta della lingua italiana come lingua franca» (p. 15). The words of Wakkas intend to enhance, beyond the individual migratory paths, the deepest and heartfelt goals achieved by these authors: learning new language, using Italian for writing, the heteroglossia.[1]

Foreign writers have reached this "Italian lingua-franca" with difficulty thanks to the collaboration of professional native speakers who have followed them during the writing of the text. Depending on the case, they are teachers, journalists, coauthors, editors. The influence of these 'employees' has a significance that is difficult to calculate. What is clear is that, as the Mexican Juan Carlos Calderon wrote at the end of his collection of short stories *Il cane bilingue* (Isernia, Cosmo Iannone, 2015), without their intervention the work «sarebbe rimasto in un limitato *itañol*» (p. 165). The

same story can be applied to all immigrant writers.

From a morphosyntactic point of view the "Italian lingua-franca" presents, except in rare cases, a (new) standard Italian, near to the average use, correct and without grammatical errors. However, it offers many discussion points under the lexical aspect. The preservation of words of their respective mother tongues, which enriches the Italian text with an infinite variety of foreign voices, is a common and true stigma of the Italian Literature of Migration.

An interesting novel is *Divorzio all'islamica a viale Marconi* (e/o, 2010), written by the Algerian native Amara Lakhous. The Egyptian Safia (also known as Sofia) is one of the two narrative voices and leads the reader into the heart of cultural and linguistic "superdiversity" of contemporary Italy. Safia, a Muslim who grew up in Cairo and then moved to Rome, tells us about the meeting with her friends Giulia, an Italian girl, and Dorina, a Muslim Albanian woman who is different from Safia, because she does not wear the veil and in private life wants to

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1Cf. Cartago 2017.

be free. As soon as the discourse falls on the subject of aesthetic surgery, the clash of the cultures becomes inevitable.

Giulia and Dorina would like to rebuild their breasts and are in favour of the surgery. Safia, on the other hand, is against it. She is in favour of Islam («Devo cambiare strategia […] passo alla religione, una materia che conosco meglio», p. 102), and Islam leaves no doubt. Cosmetic surgery is *haram*. Modifying one's body is *haram*. Even tattoos are *haram*, Safia concludes.

The Arabic word *haram* ('illicit, forbidden') is one of the most important words of the chapters narrated by Safia. It appears several times, in different contexts, and is also used as a nickname for Mrs. Paola, Italian converted to Islam, rigorous and extremist, also known as "Mrs. Haram" (while her husband is "Mr. Haram"). But we can find *haram* also in other immigrant authors from Arabian and Islamic culture states:

> Per la prima volta da quando sono nato, oggi ho mangiato carne haram, che non è stata macellata come prescrive il Corano (M. Bouchane, *Chiamatemi Alì*, p. 79);

> Vino?! È haram, impuro, solo toccarlo è haram, darlo a un altro è haram! (A. Smari, *Fiamme in Paradiso*, p. 156);

> Essere deflorata al di fuori del matrimonio poteva scatenare uragani di rimproveri quotidiani dei parenti, la condanna dei vicini e poi di tutta la città e infine il grido haràm dei religiosi (Y. Tawfik, *La sposa ripudiata*, p. 60), "È sbagliato, haram! Non voglio farlo" (Ivi, p. 150);

> Spegnava persino la televisione, dicendo che era haram – illecito – e che insegnava la deviazione e il malcostume (Y. Tawfik, *La ragaza di piazza Tahrir*, p. 140);

> "Che ci vuoi fare, in questa vita certi sono della madre e certi della matrigna. Io, sua sorella, sono della matrigna! Che il latte che abbiamo preso insieme diventi haram per te!" (A. Ibrahimi, *Rosso come una sposa*, p. 55).

The same goes for the opposite of *haram*, *halal* ("lawful, allowed"), another Arabic word of great fortune for immigrant writers:

> Alla macelleria islamica compro carne halal, cioè di animali uccisi come richiede il Corano (M. Bouchane, *Chiamatemi Alì*, p. 45);

> Ecco il pranzo… sarà halal? Potrò mangiarlo? (A. Smari, *Fiamme in Paradiso*, p. 19);

> Versetti del Corano e cartelli in arabo, dove si precisa che la carne in vendita è halàl, macellata secondo la Shari'ah islamica (Y. Tawfik, *La straniera*, p. 189);

> Era convinta che quel fuoco l'avrebbe resa 'halal' (B. Zarmandili, *La grande casa di Monirrieh*, p. 71);

> Dovevamo fare la spesa e comperare la carne halal da una delle macellerie islamiche che affollavano la via principale (Y. Tawfik, *Il profugo*, p. 240);

> "Hai mai sentito parlare dello sceicco, il proprietario del mercato della carne halal?" (A. Dekhis, *I lupi della notte*, p. 156);

> "Una fatwa contro il mio velo? Emessa da chi? Dalla macelleria halal di tuo marito? (A. Lakhous, *Divorzio all'islamica a viale Marconi*, p. 107), "Perché parli di tradimento? Tutto è halal. Adesso sono una donna divorziata e posso sposarmi con un altro a condizione che sia musulmano, e tu lo sei. L'Islam è chiaro su questo punto (Ivi, p. 172);

> «Le macellerie halal occupavano intere vetrine, una vicino all'altra come per non lasciare spazio libero senza carne, senza prodotti alimentari, senza spezie e alternate a negozi di kebab e piccoli bazar» (Y. Tawfik, *La sposa ripudiata*, p. 127); «Voleva farsi portare al mercato del centro città, cercava tè verde, menta e carne halal» (Ivi, p. 168); «Non sono forse tua moglie? Nel halal come ti insegnano i tuoi fratelli, non ho i miei diritti?» (Ivi, p. 246);

> Fare pressioni sul comune per ritirare le licenze alle macellerie hallal, ai fast food di kebab, e chi più ne ha più ne metta (A. Lakhous, *Contesa per un maialino italianissimo a san Salvario*, p. 32); C'è ovviamente un ingrediente indispensabile: il merguez, una salsiccia fresca e speziata, fatta con la carne del montone, ovviamente halal, e diffusa fra i maghrebini» (Ivi, p. 119);

> Questa volta non ha fatto la sua solita domanda se la macellazione è kosher o no. Ruth le avrebbe risposto che è halal. Non è la stessa cosa ma hanno tanti punti di somiglianza (A. Ibrahimi, *Il tuo nome è una promessa*, p. 64)

What diffusion do these Arabic voices have beyond the texts of migrant literature? Can these be consi-

dered as valid starting points for «una riflessione e una verifica sulla presenza e consistenza nella lingua italiana di nuove parole migrate»?[2] These 'immigrant words' (also called 'migratismi' by Laura Ricci) are actually taking root in collective use or should they rather be considered isolated creations of authors?

Using the 'Dow Jones Factiva' database it is possible to verify the presence of these words in Italian newspapers. Considering the most recent results (starting from 01.01.19), *haram* has several occurrences due to "Boko Haram", a terrorist organization infamous for its brutality. But *haram* is also used as a symbolic word of Islamic prohibitions:

> Esattamente quel che fanno molte sure del Corano, soprattutto la quinta e la sesta, opponendo gli alimenti permessi, halal, a quelli vietati, haram. (*la Repubblica*, 17/08/2019);

> Haram: proibito. Proibito toccare una donna che non è tua; proibito mangiare carne di maiale e bere alcol; proibita la musica. Haram: la parola che per l'Islam significa peccato (*la Repubblica*, 1/02/2019).

There are a good number of occurrences also for *halal*. Il *Sole 24 ore* (a journal of economics) is one of the newspaper that gives more feedback, due to the growing attention of the Western world for the Arabic finance, governed by the laws of Sharia:

> A Londra la prima app per risparmiatori halal (il Sole 24 ore, 9/07/2019);

> La spesa dei musulmani per cosmetici halal supera infatti i 60 miliardi di dollari (il Sole 24 ore, 4/05/2019)

The graphic created by Google NGram[3], which considers the occurrence of *haram* and *halal* in the Italian texts present in *Google Books* (until 2008), allows us to evaluate their use in non-literary contexts.

It should be noted that since the early Nineties the curve of occurrences has risen a lot. It is clear that these words have known a growing success from that moment.

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2 Cf. Ricci 2015: 125.

3 Cf. https://books.google.com/ngrams.
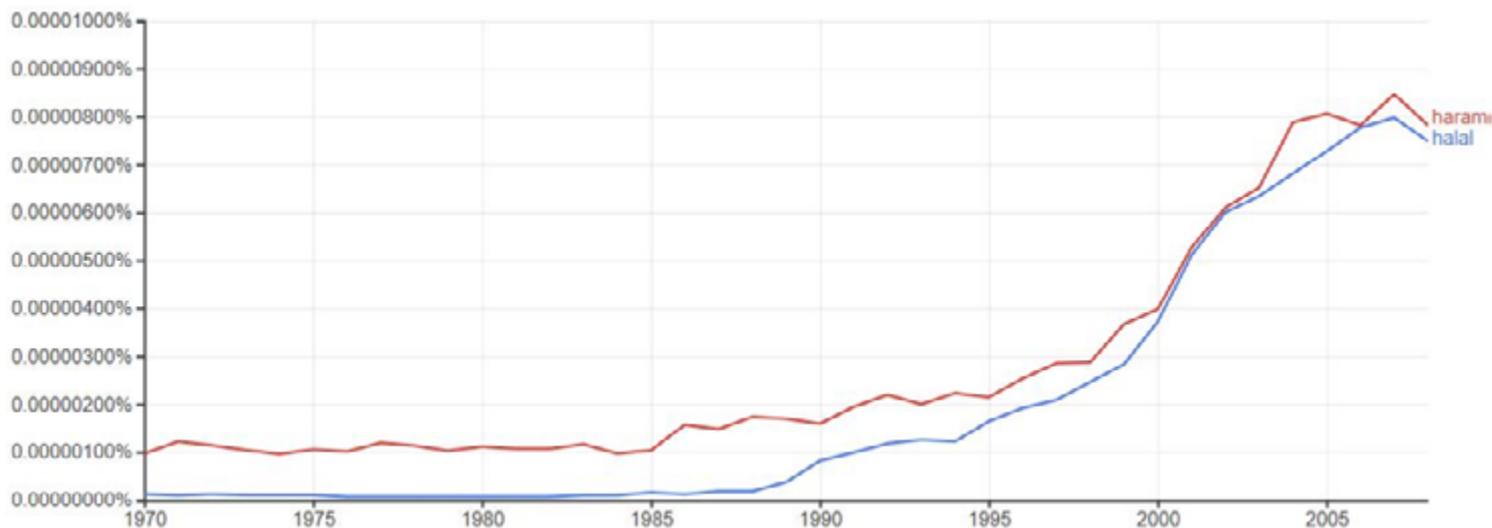
Meeting *halal* in the linguistic landscape and in food stores in Italy is increasingly common. Butchers and supermarkets specify that they sell *halal* meat - cooked according to the rules of Islam.

Source: https://www.istockphoto.com/it/foto/macelleria-halal-macellaio-bloccato-il-mercato-centrale-firenze-gm458566577-18476844.

Source: https://www.mangiaebevi.it/halal-made-in-italy-la-start-up-dei-prodotti-italiani-ammessi-dalla-religione-islamica/.

Of course, not all the foreign words proposed by immigrant authors know the same fortune and have a success story beyond the literary texts. Safia's husband, coming back to the Lakhous novel from which I started, is called «bash-mohandes» (p. 97), or "architect", but it is hard to imagine that «bash-mohandes» will be recorded in the Italian vocabularies of the future. In addition the expression «anti tàliq» ('you are repudiated'; pp. 84, 166), functional to the novel, but, nowadays, not functional to the Italian language.

Alongside 'immigrant words' (or 'migratismi') and 'hapax' (occasionalisms) that have no life outside literary pages, the Literature written by immigrants

has another interesting group of foreign words. Those of long standing, attested in Italian sometimes for centuries, such as *bazar*, *couscous*, *imam*, *muezzin*, *ramadan*, etc., however of considerable interest in order to detect if new attestations lead to new meanings, or to semantic extensions not yet recorded (so called 'neo-semie'[4]).

Therefore, Italian Literature of Migration seems really an authoritative source if we want to catch the spies of a lexical renewal taking place in Italian. Today's Italian multiculturalism, with over 5 million foreign residents from nearly 200 countries, can lead to a new lexical plurality, in which the words of immigrants become immigrants themselves and begin to live in the Italian language.

4f. De Mauro 2006: 99-102.

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Bio

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Sentimental Power: Empathy and Nation in Edmondo De Amicis' *Sull'Oceano*

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Abstract

In 1884, Edmondo De Amicis joined a group of over 1,500 emigrants travelling from Genoa to Buenos Aires on the ship Nord America. His narrative of the voyage, *Sull'Oceano*, published in 1889, is one of the earliest literary accounts of the Italian migratory exodus towards the Americas. My intervention offers a reading of *Sull'Oceano* centered on the role of interclass empathy as antidote to emigration and safeguard of national allegiance among transplanted Italians. Central to the process of national reconciliation is the character of the "Signorina di Mestre," a young first class passenger affected by tuberculosis, whose illness functions as metaphor of the nation's crisis and instrument of its redemption.

On 10 March, 1884, Edmondo De Amicis, a well-known author of travelogues soon to become a household name with his bestseller *Cuore*, embarked as a first class passenger on the steamer Nord America, directed from Genoa to Buenos Aires, in Argentina, the destination of the 1,600 Italian emigrants also on board. Based on this experience, De Amicis wrote *Sull'Oceano*, published in 1889, in which he reflects on the negative impact that emigration had on Italy's international reputation. Witnessing the medical inspection undergone by Italian emigrants about to disembark, De Amicis comments bitterly on the incongruity between the shameful display of Italian poverty in front of him and the patriotic celebrations that had been taking place in Italy since national unification. "Provavo un senso di umiliazione," he writes, "che mi faceva sfuggire lo sguardo dei miei compagni di viaggio stranieri, di cui mi giungevano all'orecchio come ingiurie al mio paese le esclamazioni affettate di compassione e di stupore. E intanto seguitavano a passar panni laceri, e canizie tristi, e donne sparute, e bimbi senza patria, e nudità, e vergogne e dolori" (285). While the emigrants file in front of foreign custom officials, De Amicis imagines festivities may be taking place in the country the emigrants had

been compelled by need to leave. "L'immaginazione," he continues, "come uno scherno mi rappresentava ostinatamente le baldorie patriottiche degli sfaccendati, dei benestanti e degli illusi, urlanti d'entusiasmo carnevalesco nelle piazza d'Italia imbandierate e splendenti" (285). Such exalted displays of nationalism felt absurd in light of the blatant failure in the nation-building project represented by emigration. There could be no reason for celebration in a nation that failed to provide for its citizens.

My subject today is De Amicis' analysis of the challenge that the exodus of the agrarian masses posed to nationalist ideology in post-unitary Italy and the resolution he offers to such a threat. As we will see, De Amicis locates the cause of emigration in the breach of the bonds of kinship among national subjects essential to national welfare and proposes a narrative solution that restores the national compact through the circulation of affect across classes.

De Amicis was aware of the debates on emigration, its causes and its possible effects on the sending country, that had been taking place in Italy as early as the 1870s (Pastorino 47-49). Echoes of these debates surface in his conversations with other first class passengers, with some arguing that emigra-

tion would counteract Italy's population increase, which the economy could not sustain, some fearing it would raise the cost of the remaining manpower, and still others wishing for the reclamation of malarian swamps advocated in the parliamentary investigation on the conditions of Italian agriculture known as "inchiesta Iacini". On their part, the migrants universally cite hunger as the pushing factor—"*mi emigro per magnar*" (203), as one of them declares. A few add the embittered prediction that the Italian landed elite would not fare well in their absence. In the words of one such emigrant, "Quando saremo andati via tutti, ... creperanno di fame anche loro" (61).

While contemporary debates are reflected in *Sull'Oceano*, in a series of authorial asides, De Amicis shifts the conversation from the impersonal realm of economics and demographics to that of personal responsibility and ethics. A chapter significantly entitled "A prua e a poppa"—"prua" being where the 1,600 third class passengers are crowded in unsanitary conditions, and "poppa" where 70 first and second class passengers enjoy freedom from care (Figs. 1-2), contains two catalogues, one of peasants identified by their region and the other of their oppressors.

... eran gente costretta a emigrare dalla fame... (pag. 51).

.... mostrando sul viso la noia delle sei ore eterne che li dividevano dal pranzo (Pag. 28).

Figs. 1-2: Arnaldo Ferraguti's illustrations for the 1890 deluxe edition of Sull'Oceano capture class division on board transatlantic steamships.

Regardless of location, the peasants' description is centered on the disconnection between the amount of their labor and their meager gains. To cite one example among many, "I mondadori di riso della bassa Lombardia ... per una lira al giorno sudano ore e ore, sferzati dal sole, con la febbre nell'ossa, sull'acqua melmosa che li avvelena, per campare di polenta, di pan muffito e di lardo rancido" (35). All the reasons identified by politicians and economists, "impoverimento progressivo del suolo," "imposte aggravate per necessità politiche," "concorrenza straniera" or "malaria" (37) could not adequately account for all that suffering. De Amicis adds causes not mentioned by others, "la malvagità e l'egoismo umano," and his list of felons is long: "signori indolenti," "fittavoli senza discrezione né coscienza," "usurai senza cuore né legge," "impresari e trafficanti che voglion far quattrini ad ogni patto" (37-8), all conspiring to steal from those who do not have enough to eat.

"L'egoismo umano" is not a venial sin in De Amicis' ethical world-view in so far as it breaches the contract of kinship upon which the nation is built. Alberto Banti, whose *La nazione del Risorgimento* (2006) is a foundational study for the analysis of Italian nineteenth-century patriotic rhetoric, finds that nation was conceived of as "un sistema di parentela," "un reticolo relazionale che si estende all'indietro verso le generazioni precedenti, che agisce nell'oggi verso i coevi, e che si proietta verso il futuro delle generazioni a venire" (69). Even acknowledging that there were competing types of Italian nationalism, namely the liberal, elitist nationalism that prevailed and the democratic, egalitarian nationalism that did not, to starve one's kinsman into economic exile endangers the entire structure of the nation as extended family regardless of political creed. It is precisely the suffering of the nation that De Amicis presents alongside that of the agrarian class. For one, exploitation creates a chain reaction of resentment that is palpable on board the steamship. When De Amicis walks to the forward to mingle with the emigrants, he is rebuffed with a sarcastic "Largo ai signori!" (60) whispered to his back, because to them, as a first class passenger, he represented a group whose privilege, so visible in the restricted confines of the steamer, rests upon their suffering, and which pursues them even as they leave, "come un vampiro che li volesse andare a dissanguare fino in America" (60). Like the peasants, the nation is also drained of its blood. In an image that parallels exactly that of the poor leeched by a vampire, the homeland looses its blood to the steamer, now monstrous parasite that bites into her shores. "Due ore dopo che era cominciato l'imbarco," writes De Amicis in the opening chapter, "il grande piroscafo, sempre immobile, come un cetaceo enorme che addentasse la riva, succhiava ancora il sangue italiano" (4). And the nation is doubly wounded: while some of her children leave her with tears in their eyes, others, like an old man who, upon embarking, shakes his fist at the shore and cries sarcastically, "Viva l'Italia!" (7), have exchanged hatred for love (Fig. 3).

This emotional detachment from the nation affects even those among the emigrants who have fought to create her, above all a figure identified only as "il garibaldino," a veteran of the campaigns led by Giuseppe Garibaldi in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies in 1860, who chooses self-imposed exile rather than bear the disappointment of post-unitary Italy.[1]

Fig. 3: An immigrant curses Italy. By Arnaldo Ferraguti for the 1890 deluxe edition of Sull'Oceano.

If the cause of emigration is indifference to kinship, its consequences are both the sapping of the mother country's vitality and the weakening of her children's allegiance to her.

In the narrative world of *Sull'Oceano,* the ethical crisis in which the nation is mired is solved though the figure of a first class passenger visibly afflicted by tuberculosis, "la signorina di Mestre." As a disorder that destroys the flesh, consumption was associated with detachment from earthly matters and a virtuous disinterest in the accumulation of wealth and the acquisition of goods (Byrne 1-11). In *Sull'Oceano*, the "signorina di Mestre" adheres to this characterization and stands in stark opposition to the self-centeredness identified by the author as the root cause of mass emigration and the nation's infirmity.

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1 Whether De Amicis met a garibaldino on his transatlantic journey or not, the disillusioned republican is a topos of post-unitary literature and stands for the disappointment felt by many that a finally united and independent Italy had failed to live up to the dreams of the Risorgimento. For a discussion of this literary figure in *Sull'Oceano* and other texts, see Franzina and Sanfilippo.

Full of pain herself, she feels the pain of others. While other members of the upper classes have taken from the poor to the point of inducing them to economic exile, she offers empathy, "una pietà ardente per le miserie umane" and "un amore violento per tutti quelli che soffrivano" (117). To the rapacious logic of capitalist economy she opposes her own economy of the gift,[2] bequeathing upon third class passengers a range of offerings—her sympathetic presence by a sickbed, a sweet to a child, her ring to an especially virtuous young woman (Fig. 4).

La signorina di Mestre: *Ciapa, vìsuare, ti te lo smetterà sto inverno... quando me... (pag. 164.)*

Fig. 4: The "signorina di Mestre" offers her scarf to a third class passenger in the steamship's infirmary. By Arnaldo Ferraguti for the 1890 deluxe edition of Sull'Oceano.

2 This essay argues for the centrality of the character of the "signorina di Mestre" in the narrative economy of *Sull'Oceano*. However, very little critical attention has been devoted to her figure. De Caprio 405, De Nicola 46-47, and Salsano 6 barely mention her, focusing on her spiritual nobility and generosity. Only Bertone and Brambilla dedicate relatively more space to the analysis of her character. Bertone XXVII notices her role as intermediary between first and third class, but Brambilla 56-57, who builds upon this observation, highlights the material limits of her purely philanthropic response. Overall, critical attention has been superficial and dismissive. Rather than discounting her character as predictable, I attempt to unpack how her illness functions in *Sull'Oceano* both as metaphor of national crisis as instrument of national redemption.

Her ministry among the migrants offers a model of reformed, compassionate elite behavior, but it would not suffice to heal the divided nation without her own physical affliction. Central to her apostolate of unity is that compassion runs in more directions than just from the top down. The wasting of her body resembles and surpasses that of the migrants. Her arm is "senza carne" (167), "un povero osso bianco che pareva uscito da un sepolcro" (6). The peasants are also described as gaunt though, in their case, "le privazioni," not sickness, "avevano strappato la carne" (36) from bodies that had at one time been solid. Still, this common devastation of the body across class lines allows empathy to be reciprocal. Describing the emigrants' reverence towards her, so unlike the hostility demonstrated towards all other first class passengers, De Amicis writes, "Al suo apparire anche i contadini più rozzi si scansavano, e tutti guardavano attentemente le vene azzurre di quel collo sottile, quelle mani gracili." "Non era," he adds, "rispetto per la signora, ma per la triste sentenza che le vedevano scritta sul viso" (112). All eyes are on the signs of her illness, on the veins and bones that show through the skin, on a suffering so much like theirs in that the sufferer has no guilt of her own. In fact, after having decried that life was too hard on too many among the poor for things to continue this way, a peasant from Venetia adds that yet another example "che el mondo va mal" was the fatal illness of the signorina di Mestre. "[Q]uella povera *putela* inferma," he declares, "[u]n anzolo compagno, ghe tocarà morir zovene" (205). The perceived parallelism between two injustices, that a saintly young woman should have an untreatable disease and that hard working peasants should not earn enough to live, thus allows for the transformation of the negative, divisive cycle of exploitation and resentment into a positive, unifying one of mutual compassion. The solidarity among classes essential to wellbeing of the nation is thus reestablished.

The disembarking of the "signorina di Mestre" in Montevideo, Uraguay, witnessed by the migrants assembled to wave her goodbye, is the culminating ritual of national reconciliation. The young woman has suffered greatly during a storm and does not have the strength to walk. Having changed from her habitual green dress to a black one, she is propped on a chair and carried by two sailors who lower her on the boat that will take her ashore (Fig. 5).

Fig. 5: The "signorina di Mestre" disembarks, aided by two sailors. By Arnaldo Ferraguti for the 1890 deluxe edition of Sull'Oceano.

While the captain wishes her well, "Buon viaggio, signorina . . . guarisca!" (291), she is clearly dying and her vanishing in the distance is a figure for her death. Precisely because witnessing the young woman's departure is in fact participating in the funeral the migrants will not be able to attend, the scene has the power of creating emotional unity among the witnesses. The murmur of greetings that rises from the crows of third class passengers expresses "tutto quello che le amarezza e i rancori di un'esistenza travagliata avevan lasciato di buono e d'affettuoso in quella moltitudine" (292). To her, who cannot give anything any longer, the migrants offer their prayers--"Dio la benedica!" Dio la faccia guarire!" (292). *Sull'Oceano* closes with a victory of interclass sympathy over bitterness and resentment, and of emotional cohesion over division. The "signorina di Mestre," significantly described here as "dolce come una sorella" (291), dies to save the nation, a martyr after the end of armed conflict, to restore the relationship of kinship compromised by greed.

Such is the power of the final scene, that it has a salvific effect, or at least a silencing one, on the two most discordant voices in the narrative, the garibaldino who leaves post-unitary Italy in self-imposed exile out of contempt and the old migrant who raises his fist to curse the homeland as the Galileo leaves the Italian shore. Both characters feature prominently as disruptive presences in previous episodes in the text which, like the departure/funeral of the "signorina di Mestre," had the potential to produce emotional cohesion, namely, the funeral of a Piedmontese peasant who is travelling to join his son in Argentina but dies of pneumonia during the journey, and the baptism of a child born in the transatlantic crossing. The garibaldino stays stoic, unmoved by either the grief of an unfulfilled dream of family reunification or the joy of the new parents. The old migrant instead foments class antagonism by crying that the poor are expandable, thrown overboard to feed the fish--"La carne dei poveri si butta ai pesci" (201)—or that the child everybody fusses around will be worked to death nonetheless—"Oggi lo tengono a battesimo e quando sarà grande lo faranno crepare di fame" (168). The final scene of national reconciliation, however, is different: the old migrant is nowhere to be seen, his dissonant voice silent, and the previously impassive garibaldino, finally redeemed, bursts into tears: "Era il pianto finalmente! Era forse la bontà, l'amore, la patria, la pietà delle miserie umane . . . che rientravano impetuosamente nel suo largo petto di ferro per il vano che v'aveva aperto quella piccolo mano di moribonda" (292). Thus, the working class revolutionist is hushed and the middle class cynic rehabilitated by the restorative force of an innocent's sacrificial death.[3] At last, empathy for others and love of country are universal.

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3 The lively debate on the nature of De Amicis' conversion to socialism in 1891 has affected the reading of *Sull'Oceano*. While commentators agree that the journey to Argentina contributed to De Amicis' awareness of the depth of the social question, some argue that *Sull'Oceano* anticipates *Primo maggio*, the author's socialist novel, (De Caprio 407, De Nicola 57) while others insist that the narrative's solution to the social question is purely philanthropic, tied to middle class benevolence rather than the elevation of the working class. (Brambilla 57-58, Danna 155-159). I implicitly intervene in the discussion by noticing the multidirectional circulation of empathy, which refutes the philanthropic reading. However, my attention to the negative characterization of the old revolutionist, the one silenced but unredeemed character, similarly refutes a proto-socialist reading. Inspired by the scholarship on the cultural work of sentimental texts, I read De Amicis as placing emotional transformation rather than working class action at the center of his project of social unification (Romani 46-48).

Within the narrative world of *Sull'Oceano*, therefore, it is emotional engagement rather than legislative action or proletarian revolt that heals the divided nation, thereby eliminating the root causes of emigration and ensuring the allegiance to the homeland of those who have already left. De Amicis proposes a sentimental solution to a social problem, which begs the question of its effectiveness. The Marxist critic in me would be tempted to dismiss it as utopian and inadequate. De Amicis himself, who later joined the socialist party, may have felt reform required government action as well as empathy. Yet his call for solidarity has an undeniable appeal that has not lost its currency. To link this discussion to the overall theme of this conference, memory and its opposite—amnesia—I wonder whether we should not heed a nineteenth-century writer's words now, when lack of solidarity affects not the poor leaving the Italian peninsula but the poor trying to reach it. Looking out for one's interest only, that "egoismo umano" that De Amicis decried, may possibly protect the economic welfare of today's Italian nationals, but it most certainly does not preserve their humanity.

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Bio

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Ancestral tourism as a way to remember: the example of the Waldensian migration

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Abstract

The Waldensian Church represents a protestant religious italian minority whose members lived primarily in the Waldensian Valleys of Piedmont. Over the centuries, the Waldenses migrated to many different destinations, in Europe and America. Waldensian communities abroad always shared a heritage shaped on the ancestral Waldensian past and nurturing a special relationship with their Italian "extended family". Return visits to the ancestral Waldensian Valleys represent the main way by which Waldensian descendants maintain, develop and transmit their Waldensian heritage. These practices lead to the original creation of a "wide glocal imagined Waldensian community".

Keywords:

Ancestral tourism, transnationalism, heritage, Waldensian Church.

Ancestral tourism, genealogy tourism, roots tourism. The concepts, especially studied in the geographical and anthropological scope[1], arise from the African-American culture of the 1970s. At that time, descendants of slaves deported to the United States began a tradition of ancestral travels to Western Africa, as a way of recomposing their fragmented heritage and identity[2]. Since then, the phenomenon developed in many countries, above all in Northern Europe (Scotland, Ireland)[3]. In Italy, this kind of tourism is very rare and little sponsored[4]. An interesting case study of this geographical context is that of the Waldensian Church. The term "Waldensian" defines an Italian religious minority, that originated in Lyon, France, as a heretical movement in the early Middle Ages. Its members decided to adhere to the Protestant Reformation in 1532, consequently organizing themselves as a Church. Because of persecutions from both the political class and the Catholic Church, they were soon banished from Lyon and scattered across other regions.

Already in the 13th century, the Waldensian faith took root in some valleys of the Cottian Alps, in Western Piedmont, about 70 kms from Turin. Waldenses have lived in these valleys virtually since the origins of their religious movement to the present day, and there is probably no other place in which anything similar has occurred. This is the reason why this cluster of valleys is known as the Waldensian Valleys or simply as the Valleys. The very definition of this place has been gradually established both for external and internal purposes. Under the Savoy dynasty, the Piedmontese government long sought to confine the Waldensian population to this area. This policy culminated around the middle of the 18th century in the creation of a Waldensian ghetto. The Waldenses couldn't own any property, live and work outside the boundaries of the Valleys. This condition ended in 1848, when the then-king Charles Albert, with his Statute, granted civil rights to the Waldenses and the Jews of the kingdom.

1 See, for example, Duval 2004; Timothy 2008.
2 See, for example, Howe 1998; Schramm 2004, 2010; Bellagamba 2009.
3 See, for example, Basu 2004, 2005.
4 Anthropologist Francesco Vietti researched, for example, the phenomenon of the ancestral tourism from Italy to Albania. See Vietti 2012.

This emancipation led to idealize the Valleys as a point of reference for the Church and all the Waldenses. They began to observe particular Waldensian celebrations. There was the creation of Waldensian museums, the foundation of a Waldensian historical society (the Society for Waldensian Studies) and of Waldensian historical sites in the Valleys, resulting in the transformation of the landscape into a real cultural heritage[5].

The Waldensian Valleys are also the place from which many Waldenses migrated abroad over the centuries. The main destinations of the Waldensian migration were Western Germany, South America and the United States. Waldensians who migrated to Germany[6] in the late 17th century all originated from a specific place in the Valleys: from the so-called high Chisone Valley and from a portion of the low Chisone Valley, which at that time were both under French rule. The policy of King Louis XIV of France culminated in 1685 with the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which nearly one hundred years before conceded religious and civil freedom to the French Protestants. The French Waldensians of the Chisone Valley had to choose between conversion to Catholicism or flight and exile. Some of them converted, but the majority decided to escape elsewhere. They joined the stream of migration of the French Huguenots from their lands to countries of Protestant tradition, such as Switzerland and Germany. The Waldenses settled in some areas of south-western Germany, in Baden-Württemberg and Hessen. The transoceanic Waldensian migration to South and North America[7], instead, was part of the great stream of European and Italian migration from the second half of the 19th century to the early 20th century.

In every period, Waldensian ecclesiastical institutions attempted to follow and lead the migration step by step, in order to avoid the dispersion of the Waldensian group. South American Waldenses were able to found a new Waldensian Church, a "sister Church" of the one that they had left in Italy, the so-called *Iglesia evangélica valdense del Río de la Plata*. In contrast, those who migrated to Germany and the United States soon merged into local protestants denominations, such as Lutheran, Reformed and Presbyterian. Every diasporic group, nevertheless, kept alive a memory of the Waldensian past which has come down to the present day. Some of the present communities founded by Waldensian emigrants, are of particular relevance. Among the exemplary cases, are the *Waldensergemeinde* (literary "Waldensian community") Rohrbach-Wembach-Hahn in Germany, the Waldensian Presbyterian Church of Valdese and the Cardon Families Organization in the United States[8].

Waldensergemeinde Rohrbach-Wembach-Hahn[9] was founded in 1699 in the German region of Hessen by Waldenses from the village of Pragelato, in the high Chisone Valley. Here, the so-called *Waldenserfest* takes place every year in June to celebrate the memory of Waldensian ancestors. The day begins with a short religious service in a wood on the border of the village, near a wooden hut called *Waldenser-Schutzhütte*, where it is explained that the ancestors first stopped when they arrived in Rohrbach. After the service, a parade starts from this place and, crossing some streets of the town, arrives in the central square, in front of the temple. This procession is full of symbolic elements: there is the Waldensian emblem[10]; some people dress as ancient farmers, as their ancestors from the Valleys, carrying some old agricultural tools, while many women and little girls wear the typical Waldensian dress; there is a torture wheel to symbolize the ancestors' persecutions.

The Waldensian Presbyterian Church of Valdese, North Carolina, was founded 1893 and already in 1895 decided to join the American Presbyterian Church. In this location, there is a Waldensian Heritage Museum and every August the community celebrates the Waldensian Festival, with a typical Waldensian meal and the performance of an outdoor drama called *From this day forward*. The play is divided into two acts: the first dedicated to the Waldensian history in the Valleys, while the second directed to the narration of the history of the first Waldensian settlers of Valdese. The drama is played in a very special place: the Waldensian Trail of Faith, a park where some Valdese inhabitants projected and built the copies of the most popular Waldensian historic places in the Valleys[11].

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5 See Jalla 2009.
6 On the history of the Waldensian diaspora to Germany see, for example, de Lange 1999.
7 On the Waldensian migration to South America see Geymonat 2007; Gosso 2006a, 2006b, 2009. On the Waldensian migration to North America see Watts 1941; Pilone 2016.

8 I did a comparative multi-sited (Marcus 1995) ethnographic research concerning these Waldensian transnational communities during my doctorate in Anthropological Sciences (University of Turin) in the years 2013-2015 (see Gosso 2017).
9 See Gosso 2015a, 2016, 2017.
10 A burning candle usually placed on a Bible, surrounded by seven stars and the motto "Lux lucet in tenebris".
11 Such as the copy of the *Ghieisa 'd la Tana*, a large natural cave where it is told that Waldenses hid themselves to preach the Bible in the time of persecutions.

The Cardon Families Organization is an association that reunites Waldensian descendants whose ancestors converted to the Mormon religion. In 1850, some Mormon missionaries visited the Valleys and converted about seventy Waldenses, who later migrated to Utah[12]. Among them Philippe, Marthe Marie, and their nine children, progenitors of the Cardon Families Organization members.

These transnational Waldensian communities built and passed on a Waldensian heritage that is made of diacritics[13], such as a tangible heritage including museums and historical relics, the mentioned celebrations, the use of a family lexicon to refer each other[14], and attachment to the land of the ancestors. This heritage is also constantly lived and renewed through the ancestral tourism these groups practice in the Waldensian Valleys. Return visits to the Valleys may involve individuals or families, but most of the time they concern groups of people that organize together.

Waldensergemeinde Rohrbach-Wembach-Hahn, for example, established a twinning with Pragelato, the town of the forebears, in 1974. During particular occasions *Waldensergemeinde* organizes return visits to the land of origin, to meet their Italian cousins and wander around the Waldensian historical places of the Valleys. For the fourteenth anniversary of the twinning in 2014, for example, Pragelato's inhabitants visited Rohrbach-Wembach-Hahn during *Waldenserfest* time, while many members of the *Waldensergemeinde* visited Pragelato in the month of September. During this time Pragelato's inhabitants staged a theatrical performance dedicated to their German cousins. The play was called *Migrazioni e ritorni: La Storia della Storia* (*Migrations and Returns. The Story of the History*) and presented some symbolic historical scenes starting from the Waldensian exile to Germany and the town twinning agreement. Moreover, every year *Waldensergemeinde* arranges a visit to the Valleys especially dedicated to the young people of the community, to learn more about their ancestors' land of origin.

Another interesting example is that of the Cardon Families Organization, whose members regularly plan and make a tour in both the historical places of the Valleys and the places linked with their family trees. The most important family place is the

Cardon *borgata*, the place of origin of the Cardon ancestors. This is an inhabited hamlet of a small village in the Valleys. The ruined house recognized as the forebears' home became a real place of worship, where Cardons pray, sing and tell stories concerning family history. Nowadays Mormons also visit traditional Waldensian historical places, but some of them acquire a new meaning within a Mormon worldview. Monte Vandalino in Pellice Valley is one of these examples. Here, is the historical place of *Bars 'd la Taiola*, one of the caves where it is said Waldenses hid during persecutions. Mormons renamed the summit of this mount "The Rock of Prophecy", because 19th-century missionaries climbed to pray and prophesy the coming of a Mormon Italian Church.

In conclusion, the particular example of Waldensian ancestral tourism, represents the main instrument for thinking, building and rethinking both Waldensian heritage and identity that descendants of Waldensian emigrants continue to pass on for generations[15]. That happens every time, in the moment of meeting and confrontation with today's inhabitants of the Waldensian Valleys. An example concerning the Cardon Families Organization allows me to explain this generalization. During the visit to the Cardon *borgata* in 2014, the group's Italian Waldensian guide identified as the house of Cardon's ancestors a different building from the one recognized by the Cardon Families Organization coordinators. This episode started an argument without a solution. Now Cardons continue to consider the old assumption, even if they accepted the question raised by their local guide.

Memory originating from transnational heritage is therefore dynamic, because it takes shape thanks to dialogues, negotiations and exchanges with the context of origin, doubly framed into a diachronic dimension (as the ancestor's place of origin, not necessarily related to Waldensian history) and a synchronic dimension closely connected to Waldensianism (as the main Waldensian symbolic geographical place)[16].

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12 On the history of the Mormon mission in the Waldensian Valleys see Homer 2000; Ferrero 1999, 2001.

13 On the use of the term "diacritic" see Barth 1969.

14 Many times descendants of Waldensian emigrants refer each other with terms such as brothers and sisters, cousins, extended family, and so on.

15 On the rethinking of tradition in the diasporic experience see Che 2004.

16 See Gosso 2015b, 2017.

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Bio

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Bad propaganda: emigration, nationhood, and Italianità in Italian travel literature (1920-30)

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Abstract

This article identifies the reasons behind the silence surrounding the phenomenon of Italian emigration to the United States. Considering some of the travel narratives produced between the two wars by Italian intellectuals such as Giuseppe Prezzolini, Mario Soldati, and Luigi Barzini Jr who delineate the connection between the disparaging representation of emigrants and Italian nationhood. Perceived as "non-Italians", emigrants to the US were regarded as "bad propaganda" for the newborn Italian nation, whose main objective was to affirm itself among the most powerful countries of the world.

Keywords:

Travel literature, Italian emigration, nationhood, United States

In *Prison Notebooks*, Antonio Gramsci replied to Ugo Ojetti's complaint about the disdainful amnesia affecting Italian intellectuals, who completely neglected the Italian drama of emigration. What really surprised Gramsci, however, was less that intellectuals were not writing about the emigrant living abroad but more that they did not even write about them before they migrated. In order to represent the relationship between the Italian immigrants and the countries of immigration, Gramsci continued, it would be necessary to profoundly know both those countries and the Italians (Quaderno 23, VI, 58).

Gramsci's words encouraged me to do some further research, which led me to a dense article by Sebastiano Martelli titled "Dal vecchio mondo al sogno americano" in which the author presents a comprehensive literary overview on the representation of Italian emigration in novels, poems, and essays by Italian writers. Martelli too laments the general lack of interest of Italian literature in such a pivotal phenomenon. Surprisingly, even intellectuals who traveled to the US during the interwar period neglected to talk about emigration in their accounts. In those decades, Italian intellectuals traveled to the New World reporting their experiences and impressions in diaries, articles, and reportage, longing to unveil the mystery of the American Dream celebrated in the great novels first translated into Italian by Cesare Pavese and Emilio Vittorini. Italian Americans did not play a significant role in those accounts but when they did, they were portrayed in an often-biased, stereotyped, and simplistic way. In *Italoamericana*, Francesco Durante underlines how the attitude the intelligentsia had towards emigration was due to two main factors, namely the hopeless elitism of Italian culture and the desire to forget about a shameful piece of national history (2001, 5). The long-debated issue of the divorce between Italian intellectuals and the masses is extremely complex and would require much more time and a greater effort to be unpacked. Instead, the second factor proves more aligned to the objectives of this brief discussion. Aware that not every account written in those years shared these negative perspectives against Italians abroad, as works by Antonio Borgese demonstrate, in the following pages I will examine some major texts from the interwar period to determine the main reasons behind the criticism that several Italian writers from that time expressed

against their countrymen who migrated to the US. These intellectuals' neglectfulness and criticism, I suggest, can be better explained by examining the idea of a nation developing in those very years in the peninsula.

One of the most caustic critics of Italian migrants was Giuseppe Prezzolini. In *I trapiantati*, first published in 1963, the journalist and writer remarked that the Italian American identity was split into two absolutely incompatible cultures. In this sense, they were "transplanted" (*trapiantati*) and even "a little strange and I dare say disturbed" (1963, 11). Similar comments are sprinkled throughout Prezzolini's diaries, which represent a fascinating and valuable account of the author's life in the United States, where he moved in 1929 to start his teaching career at Columbia University. In its pages, Prezzolini made several observations on Italian Americans, who were described as ignorant, rude, and arrogant. "When I think about Italian Americans", he explained in 1935, "I feel like one who beats a huge bell planted in the soil" because they were "insensitive, without culture, and ungrateful, deaf to any call except to vanity or immediate profit" (1978, 539).

It is rather clear that Prezzolini demonstrated a certain form of personal intolerance and haughtiness towards Italians living abroad, but those were not the main reasons behind his attitude. In 1931, he declared:

> [Italian emigrants] are not Italians, because they have never been […] At the bottom, they still are southern peasants, without a culture, without an education, without a language. The moment of *Italianità,* in brief, never came for them. (1978, 470)

This passage proves emblematic of the general attitude shared by Italian intellectuals and politicians in the interwar period. By systematically excluding emigrants from the category "Italian", he diminished the role of their regional culture and, at the same time, he stripped them of their nationality. While it is well known that early emigrants did not consider themselves Italians but associated their identity with the culture and tradition of their native villages or regions, in his comment the journalist clearly affirmed their non-Italianness and even anti-Italianness by exploiting the controversial issue of the *questione meridionale*.

Other reportage from the same period shared his position. Pier Antonio Quarantotti Gambini, for instance, defined Italian Americans as "strange de-Italianized Italians" (1998, 113). In *Neve a Manhattan,* the author noticed how immigrants tended to gather close together like animals and how, when their children tried to speak Italian, they sounded as if they had been punched in the mouth. Was there a worse kind of propaganda for Italy, Gambini asked himself (149).

Unlike Gambini and Prezzolini, Mario Soldati's perspective in *America Primo Amore* (1935) is somewhat ambivalent. As Martino Marazzi pointed out, the author was capable of insightful comments on the generational clash between migrants and their children, and yet, he also became a paternalistic and "severe, even pitiless, critic, in the name of a banal appeal to the primacy of the old country" (2011, 296). On the one hand, Soldati considered them as victims. Their pain, he recognized, was even greater than the pain felt by other communities of migrants because they had "fallen from one of the most ancient civilizations and from that dignity that our people never lacks even in the most miserable epochs and regions" (2003, 71). On the other hand, Soldati scorned their food and wine, their rude language and stuttered English, "their noisy and conventional joviality" (58). Accordingly, he defined them as both "martyrs of expatriation" and "poor freaks of the new race" (87). The Italian word I translated with freaks is actually "*aborti*", aborted fetuses. With this expression Soldati placed emigrants in a limbo, because, like unborn children, they could neither reach their Italian identity nor build a new American one.

Luigi Barzini Jr.'s reportage *New York* is especially interesting because it avoids gross descriptions of Italian emigrants and, instead, celebrates their industry and talent. After the March on Rome, Barzini declared, emigrants gained a new role in the New World and Americans "forgot about an Italy crowded with ruins and mandolin-players … and saw an extremely young people" (1931, 255). Barzini triumphantly concluded his reportage by predicting that, in the future, by transforming the US into a "huge colony of our race, we may see another act of recognition of our genius" (272). Significantly, Barzini chose the words race, recognition, and genius to celebrate his country's manifest destiny, demonstrating that, even though he opted against a negative portrayal of Italian emigrants, he nonetheless recognized the importance of exporting a positive image of Italianness to improve Italy's international prestige.

It is possible to discern some common threads connecting these texts. First, the Italian writers here considered, blamed emigrants for their ignorance of the Italian language, culture, and history, a deficiency they implicitly linked to class and social inferiority. Emilio Gentile includes the myth of Dante's language and the onerous inheritance from the Roman Empire and the Renaissance among the core arguments defining the centuries-old debate over Italian identity (1997, 32; 48). As a consequence, the lack of these values led several Italian *letterati* to question the emigrants' Italianness.

And yet, what represents the common denominator of all these texts, besides the haughtiness of the authors' perspectives, is that emigrants were thought to be damaging Italy's international reputation. The aspiration to be recognized as a strong nation, which was particularly felt in the interwar period, had its roots in what Paul Ginsborg and John Agnew (Ginsborg 1990; Agnew 1997) defined as the myth of a backward Italy. The disillusionment following the unification, the absence of "heroic and sharp historical breaks" marking the birth of the nation, along with the issue of the "primitive" South, contributed to the formation of an image of backwardness that the Italian elite perceived as detrimental (Agnew, 1997, 36-8).

Ever since the Risorgimento, the idea of the *Grande Italia*, the Great Italy, spread as a revolutionary concept. Nonetheless, it was during the first decades of the Twentieth century, and most of all after the Great War, that it spread among intellectuals and politicians. The conflict represented the first time Italians took part as a people to an international event and, despite the mutilated victory and its consequences, it was able to strengthen the myth of the Great Nation and reinforced its nationalistic impulse (Gentile 2009, 73). The terms nationalism and Italianism spread out rapidly and became ideological means to interpret Italianness in an anthropological way.

Young intellectuals, such as those writing for the Florentine journal *La Voce*, hoped for a thorough moral and intellectual transformation of the Italian people. Prezzolini himself, in an article titled "Le due Italie" (The Two Italies) distinguished between an old apathetic, exploitative Italy and an industrious Italy which was nonetheless unaware of its potential. Prezzolini believed that intellectuals had "to be that force that destroys Old Italy and the light that illuminates the New one" (1904, 3). Hence, according to these middle-class intellectuals, what

distinguished the New Italian from its old reflection was a strong sense of nationhood, a modern Italian spirit grounded on its ancient history, culture, and language, but projected toward the future.

Italy's reputation in the US did not fit these young intellectuals' aspirations. Italians' complexion, the influence of pseudo-scientific theories, and the social proximity to black Americans contributed to the association of Italians with the Negroid race and with a series of stereotypes depicting them as dirty, violent, and ignorant. It was obvious, then, that the nation needed to be redeemed from these images, because, as Barzini wondered,

> how could one expect Americans to have a great admiration for Italy, master of civilization and progress, if they form their judgment on the basis of the Italians they have under their roof? (1931, 253)

Barzini, who previously celebrated emigrants as potential pioneers of the New World, represented emigrants as bearers of an Italian anti-myth which risked impairing Italy's international aspirations. Expressions such as "de-italianized", "transplanted", and "aborted" prove how Italians abroad were considered as strangers in the works here examined. Italian American culture was hence regarded as a deviated and inferior "para-culture", as Prezzolini labeled it, which lowered the emigrants' status to that of an uncivilized, even primitive people (1978, 585).

According to Emilio Gentile, in the interwar period Italians' inferiority complex towards more advanced Western nations was counterbalanced by a complex of greatness that had its roots in Italy's magnificent past (2009, 40-1). In this sense, the process of 'othering', separating the authentic Italian people from emigrants, emerged from that long-felt sense of inferiority. At the same time, it exploited the greatness of Italy's history and culture to exclude Italian emigrants from the homogeneous emerging concept of Italianness to redeem Italy's reputation among the greatest and most civilized nations of the world. As Giovanni Gentile declared in 1920, in other words, Italy's real enemy was the Italian people itself (1920, 71).

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Unless otherwise stated, all the Italian quotations have been translated by the author.

Bio

Chiara Grilli is an independent scholar. She attained her PhD at the Università di Macerata in 2018 with a dissertation on Italian American literature and Diaspora Studies. She is the recipient of fellowships awarded by the European and the British Association for American Studies. Her research project on Fascist colonialism and the racialization of Italian Americans in the US has recently received funding from the DAAD and the John F. Kennedy Institute. She has published essays on Italian American literature, cinema, and TV series in international journals such as the Review of International American Studies (RIAS). In 2019, she contributed a chapter, titled "A Cubist Portrait of Christopher Columbus: Studying Monuments as Transcultural Works", to the volume *Monument Culture*, edited by Laura Macaluso and published by Rowman & Littlefield.

Broken Memories of Ellis Island: Oral interviews with Italian Americans

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Abstract

The Italian American immigrants' oral interviews were conducted from 1988 to 1992 by the Ellis Island Oral History Project and were an attempt to preserve oral autobiographical testimonies of immigrants from all over the world who passed through Ellis Island. Despite much research in memory studies, a complete understanding of human memory does not exist much less applied to this corpus of interviews. The present study examines briefly different variables which influence the memory process through personal testimonies. Topics discussed are memory and identity, accuracy of oral sources, memory loss, positive versus negative recollections, trauma and memory.

Keywords: Oral interviews, memory loss, Italian American, Ellis Island

The phenomenon of Italian migration to the United States is a complex and articulated topic that cannot be summed up exhaustively in an academic publication. The purpose of this study is limited to a specific theme, which concerns different aspects that influence the process of remembrance of Italian Americans who arrived on Ellis Island between the late 19th and early 20th century. What is interesting to observe, among other topics, is the recollection of events of this experience, whether witnesses are more willing to remember negative aspects or whether they retain a positive or altered memory of an occurrence. Within this context, it is also important to examine one major problematic of oral narratives, that is, to what extent the immigrants' narrative is credible.

This investigation will be supported by theoretical studies on memory and oral history since the materials analyzed are oral interviews. The corpus of such material includes 300 conversations conducted from 1973 to 2009 by oral history specialists of the Ellis Island Oral History Program, which is located in the Museum of Immigration of the island itself. Standardized questions were asked to all Italian American immigrants and address topics such as the city of origin, reasons for immigrating, the sea journey, arrival at Ellis Island, family of origin, life in America, work experiences in the US, education level, etc.[1] However, my focus will be on the experience prior to immigrating to America, the transatlantic voyage and arrival at Ellis Island. Interviews with Italian Americans are among the most numerous in the Ellis Island Archive, along with those given by the Jews and Irish. The collection of interviews with Italian Americans was carried out by four oral history scholars, who formulated similar questions to be administered to immigrants who passed through Ellis Island regardless of the country of origin. On this corpus of oral autobiographical narratives, there are no studies that consider the interviews of Italian Americans from any point of view, whether, literary, linguistic or thematic. Therefore, it is important to attempt to bridge this gap by highlighting, for example, the role that memory plays in self-narration and how it is linked to identity. Since the mnemonic function is a complex cognitive activity, it will be important to address the impact that emotion or trauma has on memory.

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1 This reseach was supported by funds allocated by The City of New York's Chancellor's Fellowship and with the help of the Ellis Island, Chief Oral Achivist, George Tselos.

Memory is not static: it is an ever-evolving process, which changes with the passage of time and can become weak if many years go by from the event narrated. Furthermore, these stories are valuable not only for the information they contain, but as moments of self-representation and of the *remembrance* process that is, of the elaboration of memory. Moreover, it is important, as research background, to focus on the way immigrants talk about themselves during interviews, in which the interviewer is English-speaking and American: someone, therefore, who represents the country of arrival.

Theoretical Problems of interviews

Among the theoretical problems of the oral interview process is the truthfulness of the stories. They represents a source of information, and, underline the complicated relationship between the interviewee and the interviewer, which affects different aspects of the story, including memory. First of all, the oral interview can be strongly influenced by the project that motivated a specific type of research and its methodology, since it could have a pre-established agenda on the part of the promoter of a study.

Interviewing someone, in the end, is a unscientific method to collect data defined as "qualitative", as the American scholar Kathryn Roulston explains, according to which it is a less "verifiable" methodology: "This view is supported by studies that have found mismatches between what people say in interviews and what they do in everyday life."[2] (Roulston 263). Another problem highlighted by Roulston is the difficulty of understanding what goes through the respondent's mind with regard to personal experiences.

It is important to note that the interviewer is a pseudo-narrator-author (a kind of interviewee's alter-ego) who uses the information to emphasize a specific orientation or point of view.

To create a literary parallel, and to distance oneself from the point of view of the narrative, is what Mikhail Bakhtin suggests with the principle of polyphony in which a plurality of voices are part of the "great dialogue", and none of which is the voice of the author.[3] (Bakhtin 58). This process is also applicable to our body of interviews, which are part of the great migratory narrative and the countless <u>voices that have</u> shaped it both historiographically

and individually. In order to bring out these subjective truths, it is necessary to eliminate the intention of the author as such, in our case the interviewer who becomes a facilitator of stories.

It is therefore well known that the inaccuracies and errors emerge when one tells of one's past, whether in the form of a monologue or a dialogue. The historian Giovanni Contini, speaking of the legitimacy and reliability of the oral autobiographical narrative, reiterates the importance of the testimony despite sometimes being imperfect: "la memoria è un serbatoio in continuo divenire, un archivio in trasformazione dove accanto agli scarti si determinano correzioni, rivisitazioni e riscritture."[4] (Contini 52).

In addition, oral history theorist Alessandro Portelli offers a point of view on the question of the authenticity of oral sources, focusing on the relevant role of "authors": "Una cosa molto interessante di questo approccio è, ad esempio, accorgersi di quando i discorsi sono sbagliati, perché allora entra in gioco l'immaginario, il desiderio, la costruzione di senso: e bisogna giocare sullo scarto, sul dislivello che si viene a creare tra come è andata realmente la situazione e come questa viene raccontata. Quindi si mette in moto un meccanismo che ti permette di costruire delle ipotesi plausibili (non delle certezze) su cosa gli eventi significhino per le persone che vi hanno partecipato. Sul perché vengono raccontati: in fondo, se uno le cose se le ricorda è perché per lui hanno un significato particolare."[5]

A parallel topic of this study is the way in which Italian American immigrants talk about themselves, the manner in which they describe their own migratory journey. The time narrated takes on a different chronology from the lived experienced and it is shaped through the act of narration. Within the narrative we find two distinct components: the narrative (the structure) and the *fabula* (the plot).[6]
It is a question of understanding the relationship between the time spent on an event and the mnemonic elaboration of a stretch of life dating back many years before the interview and the narrative strategies adopted to recall it. The oral histories that Italian Americans confront us with are interesting as a manifestation of identity since through the act of narration they establish themselves, as

2 Roulston, Kathryn. *Reflective Interviewing: A guide to Theory and Practice*. Los Angeles: Sage Publications, 2010.
3 Bakhtin, Mikhail. *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984.
4 Contini, Giovanni. *Verba manent. L'uso delle fonti orali per la storia contemporanea*. Roma: Nis, 1993.
5 Portelli, Alessandro interview by Daniel Bova. *La storia orale nel mondo digitale: intervista ad Alessandro Portelli* (2016): Web.
6 Herman, David et al. *Narrative Theory: Core Concepts and Critical Debates*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2012.

current beings; "I recall, therefore, I am." In addition, they expand their subjectivity "out in the world" becoming part the collective memory, and through the connection with other immigration narratives, build an interdiscursive identity through memory practice.

The Memory Process

In storytelling, we face events that can emerge thanks to an interview which makes them come to surface many years later. Therefore, in recalling past events, selective memory, comes into play. In order to provide a backdrop for our study, it is important to briefly provide some information on different types of memory since this will explain some incidences, for example, of forgetfulness and selective memory.

We know that existence is built on our memories that can be activated at various points in our lives; for example, when we interact with others, or when recollecting events that happen to us daily. Coding, retention and recovery are three different types of memory; the first one acquires information, with the second information is retained, and the third kind keeps information active and recalls it at useful moments.[7] Coding is how new information is added to other previous information; and it can manifest as visual, auditory, semantic, etc. Encoding information on a semantic basis results in more effective retention. Memory can also be stimulated for example, by a "cue" (hint), that activates a trace and facilitate memory recovery.

Another important aspect is being able to discern true memories from false ones. If a memory is still very much alive does it mean that it is true? Or on the contrary, if a memory is uncertain does it necessarily mean that it is false? In the case of the interview, what comes into play is episodic memory--which is part of the long-term memory. Several studies by experts in the field such as Frederic Barlett, Alan Baddeley, Graham Hitch, and Richard Atkinson & Richard Shiffrin suggest something obvious: the more time passes from the narrated experience, the less the memory becomes accurate. Moreover, the Australian scholar Richard White also attests that memory fades when the images dating back to it are mixed with others that follow, but adds, that the more vivid and emotionally engaging memories are, they are more remembered. [8] (White 603). Moreover, a 2007 study by American

psychologists Robert Schrauf and Lesa Hoffman argues that positive memories tend to be better remembered than negative ones and this without distinctions in age. In sum, our memories are influenced by cognitive patterns that have been formed based on personal, family and social experiences. Individuals tend to fill what they do not remember with information derived from what they heard, seen or read. Occasionally the remembrance can also take place thanks to plausible suggestions that lead the subject to believe, without too much hesitation, that an event occurred and to describe it in the smallest detail. Sometimes memory is influenced by the fact that the subject wants to look good in front of the respondent, or it can be triggered by a flash-back, or by emotional and traumatic episodes. These are some instances that will surface in our interviews; sometimes the immigrants' memory is influenced by "collective memory" through external events, such as newspapers, films, novels and family. The witness, however, in telling his/her story creates a pact of empathy – one of compassion, as Philippe Lejeune says – with the listener or reader. The protagonist shares an autobiographical pact with his reader; an interaction that allows the reader to accept without hesitation the story in the autobiography.[9]

Memories of Young Italian Americans

During the first wave of the great migration to the United States which occurred between 1880 and 1915, more than 14 million Italians left their homeland. The reasons for emigration were many, from natural disasters, poverty, and an old feudal system that did not allow any social redemption to the masses and the opportunity to better the socio-economic status.[10]

Among these immigrants 300 Italian Americans were later interviewed and their testimony preserved in the Ellis Island archive. The focus of this study is to look at immigrants who when departed where teenagers -- those under the age of 14. The choice to narrow the age range is because few studies look at the memory process of Italian American youth.
In addition, it is important to study the accuracy of recalling events after so much time passed within this oral history context.

7 Anolli, Luigi and Legrenzi, Paolo. Psicologia Generale. Bologna, Mulino, 2012.
8 White, Richard. "Memory of Events after 20 years." *Applied cognitive Psychology*, No. 16, 2002.
9 Lejeune, Philippe. *On Autobiography*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988.
10 Lupo, Salvatore. Editor. *Verso l'America*. Roma: Donzelli Editore, 2005.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics reports of young boys, employed in different occupations, which accounted for 18% of the total immigration.*

From the age of 14 or younger immigrants worked in farms, construction, commerce, etc. as one can find in some Italian American Literature, from *Christ in Concrete*, by Pietro di Donato, *Umbertina* by Helen Barolini and the autobiographical story of Angelo Pellegrini, *Immigrant's Return,* just to cite a few examples.**

But how does memory work in younger people? In children and adolescents memory and attention are statistically very good because the brain is in the learning stage and absorbs more knowledge. However, as neurobiologist Alberto Oliviero points out, the child suffers from attention deficit more than an adult: for example, a 5-6 years old child may be able to pay attention for no more than 10 minutes. If involved and motivated, the child can be careful even longer, for example, with the help of drawings, sounds or other external stimuli.[11]

Several memory studies, such as the one curated by Cristanson (1995) and Rubin & Wenzel, (1996)), show that children can remember episodes dating back to when they were two years old, but they soon forget since their memory is so short-term. The causes of short-term memory loss in children is difficult to determine, but many experts attribute it to learning problems, possible head injuries (rare cases) and emotional stress. In the case of Ellis Island's immigrants, memories are recalled through "triggers", solicited by an interview, with the help of relatives, or by having experienced a traumatic event. Other scholars argue that memory in the child can be strengthened by sharing it with adults and family members who can recall same past events.[12] This mixture creates schematic mental structures, which help children organize, retain, recall and process memory in narrative form.[13]
 More research points out[14] that flashbulb memory (vivid and long-term memory) cannot be considered accurate even in the presence of a traumatic

11 Oliviero, Alberto. *Il cervello che impara. Neuropedagogia dall'infanzia alla vecchiaia. Firenze: Giunti, 2017.*
12 Orsi, Robert.The Fault of Memory: "Southern Italy" in the Imagination of Immigrants and the Lives of Their Children in Italian Harlem, 1920-1945." Journal of Family History, Vol 15.2, 1990. 133-134.
13Wang, Q., Hutt, R., Kulkofsky S., McDermott M, and Wei, R. "Emotion Situation Knowledge and Autobiographical Memory in Chinese, Immigrant Chinese, and European American 3-Year-Olds." *Journal of Cognition and Development*, 7(1) 2006, 95-118.
14 Talarico, Jennifer M. and. Rubin, David C. "Confidence, not Consistency, Characterizes Flashbulb Memories." *Psychological Science*, Vol. 14. no. 5, 2003, p. 460.

event.[15]
What this study will highlight is that, regardless of the vividness of an emotionally impacting episode, the story tends to be revisited and reconstructed every single time that an episode is revealed.

In my own words: Italian American and immigration stories

The study selected a few interviews with immigrants who came through Ellis Island and who were youngsters at the time of arrival. Through these interviews we hear directly about the migration experience and it is easily understandable how their memories have become weaker with the passing of time, and as age progressed. Memory theory demonstrates that human beings tend to remember more negative occurrences than positive ones, this is because "bad" memories alert our senses and helps us recognize future dangers or stressors. However, the contrary can also be true, and allow more positive events to surface in order to avoid painful memories to cause discomfort. This is attested by psychologist Alberto Oliviero, who confirms this process:"Le nostre aspettative e i nostri desideri, consci e inconsci, contribuiscono infatti a ristrutturare i ricordi: pensate, ad esempio, al modo in cui seppelliamo alcune memorie sgradevoli, legate a nostre azioni insoddisfacenti, o al modo in cui abbelliamo un fatto in cui siamo stati protagonisti."[16]

This is the case, for example, of Mr. Luca Salvator, interviewed in 1992. He was born in 1907, and at the time of his arrival, in 1913, was 7 years old. First he lived in Tunisia, but later had moved to Italy to travel to America. He says he doesn't remember anything about his time in Tunisia, when he was asked by the interviewer, however, he mentions that he remembers well his time in Italy. He is questioned about the house in Italy and he remains vague in his answer, as well as in questions of whether his family had brought valuable things to America. Mr. Salvator replies "everyone brings valuable things", glossing over the question and not mentioning anything specific. Mr. Salvator, understandably demonstrates trouble recalling details about events that happened many years before, nevertheless, he shows a murky perception sense of certain events.

He also showcases the typical memory mechanism

15 Brown, Roger, & Kulik, James. "Flashbulb Memories". *Cognition, 5*(1977), 73-99.
16 Oliviero, Alberto. *L'arte di pensare per imparate a decidere per usare la forza della mente*. Milano: Rizzoli, 1997. 23.

of turning traumatic experiences into positive ones, almost rosy, and this happens when he recalls that upon arriving in New York he was detained for a month for a broken arm in the Island's hospital and was not allowed to enter the United States. He recalls the doctor that treated him as very loving and kind and claims that the doctor "loved him". When asked, Mr. Salvator says that he only saw adults around him and does not remember any children. Even the interviewer appears to cast doubt on what is being told since facts point out that children were not detained without their parents alone for a month for a broken arm, perhaps he was detained for more serious health issues. Subsequently, he states that from the window he could see the Hudson river, which is not possible from Ellis Island. The interviewer suggests to Mr. Salvator that he might have been hospitalized in Manhattan and mixing past experiences. We take notice not because his memory is fuzzy, which is a normal process, but because his memory lapses are recognized memory patterns that explain the complexity of recalling traumatic episodes. The testimony given by Mr. Salvator, explains his desire to turn into positive (in the entire interview there is no mention of trauma of going through Ellis Island) his immigrant's journey which must have been painful for the young Italian boy.

The same mechanism is detected in Ms. Annette Terlizzi Monouydas, born in the province of Naples and arrived in America at the age of 8. The interview takes place after 67 years of the events narrated which impacted memory loss. Ms. Terlizzi Monouydas remembers the scene at Ellis Island was anything but pleasant, as she had disembarked from the *Conte Biancamano* vessel, and recalls being "pushed" around. She does not remember the inspections, the request to undress, the mass showers, the separation of men and women, etc. Even though she remembers being uncomfortable at Ellis Island, she understandably, does not remember many details of her immigration experience. Stuck in her mind, however, is the vision of the Statue of Liberty when the vessel arrived near the port. She recalls the sense of peace, relief and serenity this iconic symbol of America brought to her. Both Mr. Salvator and Ms. Terlizzi Monouydas, experience a process that Freudian psychologist, Cesare Musatti, calls *mnemic optimism*, in which one tends to forget events that are painful in order to defend from painful ones.[17] (Musatti 40).

Ms. Maria Chiappone Sandroni, born in Turin in 1907, arrived at Ellis Island in 1912 on the boat "*The America*" and was interviewed in 1997. She recalls in Ellis Island they changed her name to Clisbone since it was a difficult name to spell, a common practice for immigrants. Her stories are credible and supported by historical facts, for example, that women and men were separated on board and on the smaller boats which took them from the main vessel to Ellis Island. She recalls the bottom of the ship's large rooms (steerage) that welcomed several families and which were overcrowded. Painful memories are hard to recall, she admits to the interviewer. When her father and mother left for America, it was a young aunt who took care of her and siblings. Ms. Chiappone claims: "I do not remember well, perhaps it's better not to remember."[18] The interviewer, intrigued by the story, pressed her on how she felt when the parents left: "So how did you feel when your mother left? Do you remember?" Mrs. Chiappone replies, "Oh, yes, I remember. But, you know, when you're a child you forget everything. You think you, you think that you're never going to forget, but you forget." This testimony underscores that painful memories are often forgotten, as a soothing mechanism, while others get restructured and details get lost.

Another immigrant, Evelyn Cioffi Manella, who at the time of her trip in 1929 was only 7 years old, is one of the witnesses of the clinical examinations administered to emigrants, before setting sail from Italy and once they arrived in America. She points out she was vaccinated twice, once on Ellis Island, and even in Italy before departure. She suggests that she should remember the exams that had been done to her eyes to check for conjunctivitis but she forgot it probably because of its traumatic nature. Eye examinations were common at Ellis Island as portrayed in the film, *The Godfather,* where the young Vito Corleone is subjected to many examinations, including the sight.

More emblematic is the story of Maria Gabriele Lorini born in 1910 and arrived at Ellis Island on the vessel "*Stampalia*" in 1915 at the age of five. She recalls painful details of her past in Italy; she lived in a house without the floor and slept on straw beds. Ms. Lorini's story strikes the interviewer when she explains that her brother died on the ship. She recounts that during the trip she did not see much of her mother since she was attending to her brother and was left in the care of strangers. Suddenly, her

17 Musatti, Cesare. *Trattato di psicoanalisi*, Torino: Bollati Boringhieri, 2015.

18 Cioffi Manella, Evelyn. *Personal Interview* with Paul E. Sigrist, Jr., 19 June,1992.

mother confirms her brother's death and from that moment she does not remember anything. It is clear the strong impact this event had on a young girl and consequently on her memory. Ms. Lorini believes that something happened on the ship and does not know what happened to her brother Silvio. The interviewer doubts her story and suggest to Ms. Lorini that her brother might have died after the arrival in New York. Ms. Lorini's granddaughter, who was present during this interview provides documents showing that her brother had landed in Ellis Island and had died in a local hospital. Ms. Lorini's account is inaccurate and, thanks to the interviewer's intervention, she reconsidered her earlier version. This demonstrates how the interviewer can influence the course of an interview, spearheading other facts to emerge. In this case, we see how the oral historian took an active role in the historical rebuilding of this story of immigration.

The stories told by Italian American immigrants demonstrate the complexity of examining oral autobiographical accounts given the many variables and unknowns in interview analysis. For examples, the mental or physical history of some Italian Americans is undisclosed and we do not know, for example, if someone suffered from depression which could have impacted their memory process. Additionally, the time gap between the facts narrated and the actual experience must also be considered in order to understand that details may have been lost. Some scholars, such as Roediger and Tulving place fundamental importance on the recall process (retrieval), so much so that they considered it the key process for understanding memory, especially with regards to episodic (overtime) and autobiographical memory, which can relate to the current study. According to Tulving, the recall does not consist purely in storing memories, but rather in recollection and reproduction. Therefore, the idea that interviewers seek factual information needs to be revisited since in oral historiographies this may not occur. The approach to orality is to fill the gap where no written trace exists, argues Contini: "Le informazioni orali e audiovisive sono fondamentali per quelle vaste aree dell'esperienza e dell'attività che non hanno lasciato traccia scritta, per le quali non esiste il tradizionale documento/fonte o esiste in misura del tutto limitata ed insufficiente."[19] (Contini 35). What matters in dealing with the accuracy of a testimony is to grasp that the narrations examined here are important as part of a "collective", representing the memory of

the immigration community. Alessandro Portelli adds that these categories are further differentiated between story-telling and history-telling.[20] , the latter signifies becoming part of a community's identity. (Portelli, *Storie orali* 76). Further studies should investigate the link between memory and identity. How do we react when immigrants do not remember much of their experience or remember inaccurate details? Is the sense of self gone? Does memory presuppose existence? From the point of view of the identity discourse, the memories of past events and actions become part in constituting identity, as long as one continues to perceive the self, however, more research in this area is needed and would add to the filed of autobiographical studies. (Rathbone et al., 2009).

Notes

***I am grateful to these Italian Americans who agreed to be interviewed: Maria Chiappone Sandroni, Evelyn Cioffi Manella, Maria Gabriele Lorini, Luca Salvator, Annette Terlizzi Monouydas.

**The 1870 census found that 1 out of every 8 children was employed. This rate increased to more than 1 in 5 children by 1900. Between 1890 and 1910, no less than 18 percent of all children ages 10-15 worked. Age was only one consideration in deciding whether a child was ready for work. Being "big enough to work" was usually not a metaphor about reaching a certain birthday; rather it was often about the physical size of the child as well as the acumen the child appeared to have in performing the labor required." DuPre Lumpkin Katharine and Wolff Douglas, Dorothy. *Child workers in America*. New York: Robert M. McBride & Company, 1937), p. 17.

*** "At eight or nine years of age, if not sooner, the peasant child is old enough to bend his neck to the yoke and fix his eyes upon the soil in which he must grub for bread. I did not know it then, but I know it now, that is a cruel, man-made destiny from which there is yet no immediate hope of escape." Angelo Pellegrini, *Immigrant's Return*. New York: Macmillan, 1952; pp. 11.

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20 Portelli, Alessandro. *Storie orali*. Roma Donzelli editori, 2017

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Bio

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"The younger ones just aren't interested" Vs "Give us an opportunity to show you and we will surprise you every single time." Perspectives on the Third Generation: Between a history of Otherness and an Other-Australian Identity

Katrina Lolicato

Deakin University, Australia

Abstract

There are approximately 255,226 third generation Italian-Australians. Less than 18% speak Italian, nearly 45% are of mixed ethnic heritages. Many are still accustomed to being asked "Where are you from?" When we respond, 'Italian', to what are we referring?

Labelled as nostalgic and disinterested; placed precariously between Australia's multicultural narrative and an imagined Italianness imported by our grandparents and framed between States, our perspectives are used in social research as cultural barometers: Are we 'holding on to Italianness' or 'becoming Australian'? What is the role of the community museum in legitimising the unique emerging assets, attitudes and worldviews of this community?

Keywords:

Museums, third generation, nostalgia, cultural change

The paper I will be presenting today draws from the insights from conversations conducted for my PhD research[1]. In partnership with CO.AS.IT, I am investigating the future opportunities and challenges for ethno-specific museums in the context of Australia's changing ethnic communities. This of course, is done with the specific hopes and aims of CO.AS.IT in mind.

When I asked the team at CO.AS.IT what they wanted their work to look like, they didn't simply offer cultural components or topics, historical narratives - things to learn *about*. Their concern was the *need to* position ourselves into the future- to use collective experience as a form of knowledge, 'diasporic critical thinking' (Rivzi 2015). The wish was to instil confidence, strength and using creativity and culture to get to it. Now, of course, CO.AS.IT caters for many Italian and non-Italian communities, but these are some of the future hopes and visions expressed to me, by employees, with reference to the group I will be talking about today.

[1] The data presented in Text boxes are quotes from interviews and forum discussions conducted for current research, *Mapping Social Relevance in a Community Museum: Ethno-specific Museums as Intercultural Places* (Deakin University).

Text Box 1: Hopes for the future: Staff

"It's about broadening it out to younger people and getting them involved - which is something I'd really love to do with this collection - is get their view point, what they think is important".

"I think all this is very valuable work to support the development of an Italian-Australian culture that is living, that is confident, that is rich, that is strong, diverse and that would be a great service to our community and to multicultural Australia in the 21st Century. So that the Italian community has a voice that's distinctive, can participate in the multicultural dialogue of the coming century. That would be nice".

"We need to remain relevant, because, otherwise, we're just, you know, we're just an old, dinosaur really".

"Thinking more big-picture and linking to CO.AS.IT's mission, I would like, in the future to be able to say that the work done by CO.AS.IT's Italian Language, Culture and Heritage Department is about providing a service to the Italian community by assisting it to maintain and creatively develop its culture in a delicate

moment of generational transition. A socially integrated community that is also aware and proud of its traditional heritage and of its migrant history in Australia, well equipped to be a rich, confident voice in the transcultural dialogue of 21st century Australia."

I also asked young people what they needed from *their* museum.

Text Box 2: Hopes for the future: Third Generation

Massimo: I do enjoy coming here, but I don't need it to instil Italianness in me. I don't really want to know facts. I want to know how it felt.

I asked these students what they wanted to feel when they were in the museum. They told me that they wanted comfort, homeliness, a place outside of the family to feel their being *themselves.*

Text Box 3: How do you want to feel in the Museum?

Isabella: A sense of home. As it relates to my Italian culture. Just like home.

Lili: Like comfort.

Isabella: Like home.

Angela: A sense of like, happy, like what Isabella is saying….

Massimo: Like kind of like fatherland? Cos, I mean home is here (Australia). I don't think we can say home is Italy?

Isabella: No! Home like my home. Like drinking a cup of Italian coffee, with a big plate of pasta, watching Houseboat. The Italian culture involved in my house.

Massimo: Yeah! We don't really have anywhere   that's not family, just to be Italian.

Interestingly, this also mirrored the responses from adult participant group discussions:

Text Box 4: What is the potential of the museum?

Rosemary: Their real asset would be if they could get across people's feelings and experiences and expressing what they've been through, what it's like.

***

Katrina: What's missing?

Anna: Emotion

In thinking through the future of CO.AS.IT's *Museo Italiano*, topics and content were low priorities instead, most participants wanted to *feel* something. Culture is a mechanism - not something to be passively learned about, but something that can be *played with*. It is affective and can be used to our advantage. I started thinking about how museums can become important sites in and of themselves: Connected to their community, and recognised as valuable for what they can do i*n* the present, *for* the future? This has directed me towards the history, of the making, of the *idea,* of being Italian-Australian. Looking at Italian-Australian as a relational construct raised several considerations for CO.AS.IT and its Museo Italiano to think about into the future.

Cultural Change

Change, movement, and development are not always felt as positive. It can be scary and felt as loss. In some of our elder community members, not all, but many, this is what I heard. To me, these indicate a sense of a loss of relevance within this aging community. A sense of dislocation from the present. Many of these people are in active mourning. They have lost independence, mobility, and they miss their friends. And it is sad. It also reminds us that each generation is changing, experiencing loss in their own way.

Text Box 5: Cultural loss as felt by old Italian-Australian

Angelo: The young ones aren't interested, they don't speak Italian… They forget what we went through… They don't know the network.

CO.AS.IT Employee: They've become diluted, they've become Australianised";

Rose: I can tell you that in my family, some of the third generation have lost it a little bit. Lost it in the sense that they've lost the desire to nurture it, it's sad.

We see these sentiments playing out in the public realm and in the private. The article below was published by SBS, our multicultural broadcaster, last year.

Everything about this article tells us that there is

something wrong: To begin with the article's title, "*How can young Italian-Australians improve their connection with their heritage?*" A "crisis" that is supposedly descending on "the Italian culture in Australia". "Why are third-generation Italians so aloof about their culture?"; "Even if they are interested, why haven't they taken the effort to learn more?"

The article cites a study funded by the City of Melbourne, who, through their Cultural Precincts programme has a vested interest in the maintenance of an easily identifiable 'Italian flavour' within Melbourne. The author immediately draws the conclusion that a lacklustre interest is the cause of the loss of Italian language-speaking in the home; "It is clear that the interest of young Italian-Australians in their own culture is fading".

The author continues to ask questions laden with assumptions about the attitudes of this group: Why are third-generation Italians so aloof about their culture? "Even if they are interested, why haven't they taken the effort to learn more about it?" To investigate further, they don't ask those aloof 'pretend Italians', but instead, turn to young bilingual second generation Italian-Australians to

comment on their peer's apparent apathy. And so, exemplified in this single article, is this clash of the three third-generation archetypes the "aloof", "the authentic" and "the connected, but inauthentic and lazy". While the general benefits of speaking a second language are obvious, what *I am* questioning are the necessary links between interest and language, and Italian and Italian-Australian culture.

In the first instance, there is an assumption that speaking the Italian language would connect Italian-Australians to Italy the nation-state, and thus to their italian heritage and 'culture'. It insinuates that speaking proper Italian is traditional, part of our Italian-Australian way of life. 'Proper' Italian was never my ancestors' first language, nor is it a part of *my* Italian culture. Regardless of how beautiful it is, or how cosmopolitan it would make me, learning Italian wouldn't help me connect to those who matter (Sala & Baldassar 2019). The truth for me, at least, is that the Italian-national identity of today is not the Italy from where my culture was borne.

In addition, the transition from bi-lingualism to speaking only English is not a clean break. It happens slowly over time (Finocchiaro 1995). In my

Figure 1: SBS 9/7/2018: How can young Italian-Australians improve their connection with their heritage?

case, my family went from only speaking Sicilian dialect in the home, to a 'halfa-halfa' mixed up version of both English and Italian through the 1970s, 80s, and 90s, to only English after my grandparents passed away some 15 years ago.

With less reason to speak our Italian, comes less opportunity to practice. At no point in this process has interest played a part in the language I spoke or could speak. We change together, going back and forth between generational experience to get the best social experience from what we must start with (Williams 1989: 57-60). The shift from me calling my uncle "zio nutzo" to "uncle benny" was incremental and communal (Bettoni 1989; Buttafoco 2015:33).

Rather than discussing change as complex, intertwined with the social, this SBS article persists with an idea that culture is something you possess - something to have; a list of recognisable criteria that can be 'ticked off' and demonstrated to proficiency. While this makes culture readily measurable, it is not useful for the future museum. My research has shown that this way of looking at culture often compels us to scale one and other against nationalised caricatures (see also Hage 1998: 26). Rather than exploring the value of the culture itself, we use it to weight up our level of imagined belonging to the ideas of both 'Italy' and 'Australia': How Australian are you? Am I more Italian than you?

And finally, the article implies a one-way exchange: As a third generation Italian-Australian, I can only gain from reaffirming my connection to contemporary forms of Italy, while Italy only has things to offer, and nothing to learn from us.

The Managed Ethnic Narrative

While we are changing, the role of being ethnic in Australia is not. The history of ethnic communities in Australia is undeniably, concretely and always framed as significant to, and an indication of the success of Australia's multicultural policy. Ien Ang, an Australian cultural theorist, herself a diasporic critical thinker sums up my argument.

Text Box 5: Ien Ang & Jon Stratton on Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism valorises diversity where the classic modern Nation-State valorised homogeneity. When a government adopts an active policy of multiculturalism, it does so with the explicit assumption that cultural diversity is a good thing for the nation and needs to be

actively promoted. Migrants are encouraged –and to a certain extent, forced, by the logic of the discourse to preserve their cultural heritage and the government provides support and facilities for them to do so. As a result, their place in the new society is sanctioned by their officially recognised ethnic identities – but always within the limits set. (Stratton & Ang 2009: 128)

Managed Ethnic Narratives are 'cut and paste' histories where you can simply 'insert ethnicity' to generate different but essentially the same narratives for each ethnic category. They are devised for the benefit of the Nation's self-image. Our national identity relies on maintaining a myriad of single, easily expressible and easily identifiable cultures so that we can demonstrate that we are multicultural.

The story of migration, coming for a "better life", even the sense of negotiating between the 'old' culture and new society becomes a tool used to understand the community's position within the nation and thus, any individual identifying within that community (Pollota-Chiarolli 1990). Australia's multicultural history therefore, is as much about projecting value and worth as it is remembering events. Constantly repeated phrases imbue messages: expectations are deployed, we stop looking for quirks or inconsistencies. Those of us from Australia, will in this next statement, recognise these narratives. It has, indeed become difficult to conceive of an ethnic group outside of these terms:

Text Box 6: The contribution of Italians in Australia

CO.AS.IT Employee: Well, I think to some extent Italians have been exemplary migrants. You know, they've worked hard, they've integrated, they've contributed incredible in all sorts of ways. They've overcome adversity. Italians, I mean have become an integrated core section of the community that have offered a lot to Australia. And as I said know, there's new generations of migrants to pick on.

What I'm trying to say, is that amnesia is no simply a case of forgetting, it's also about what we are compelled to remember. It's not that these narratives are wrong, it's that they stop short of anything other than what can be useful to the Nation. They constrain the conversation by containing our experience, finishing before we get too complicated for others to digest. In our everyday lives, no question stalks those visibly ethnics as much as this one: "Where do you come from?" (Edmundson 2009)

Here are a few responses.

Text Box 7: What does "Where do you come from" mean?

Jane: Yeah, they'll say "Oh, you don't look like you're from here." But I'm like, "No, I'm from here. This is my home."

Lili: But, yeah, I don't know what it is. I mean it's not like no one else has brown hair and brown eyes. Yeah, I don't know, it's strange. Everyone's like, "Oh, where are you from?"

***

Carmelina: It's kind of like a starter to a conversation.

***

Josh: I would say its tangible racism. It's an innocent question and it wasn't intended to be racist but I think most of the time you see someone whose Asian, African, Brown, different, immediately you seem, without realizing your making that assumption, they must have an accent. Where are they from? Whereas when you see a white person, you don't bother asking them.

***

Massimo: I mean, I don't have an accent, where else can I be from?

***

Jasmina: My simply answer is a wog. For me and my friends, we take it as the fact of being ethnical and having different languages and that. But If I was talking to a Real or pure Italian, then I wouldn't call them a wog.

Jasmina's reference to the 'real' Italian as opposed to her 'woggy' self, was common amongst the group that I interviewed and indeed for all participants. This idea of 'real' Italian versus 'us wogs' has been documented by others researching identity. While some researchers reason that this has to do with authenticity, others think that its use is a kind of self-fashioning that signifies new ethnicities' (Sala 2017). I think this is a case where people simply are deploying the discourse available to them because we don't yet have the right word (Tsolidis & Pollard 2009). We are still caught in this nation-state identity formation and wog is seen as an Australian, but different.

So, in this group, we can see a desire to move on: To reclaim the idea of 'having a culture' from what has been historically a tightly managed balancing act of integrating the 'new' Australians with the 'old' Australia, to something that reflects these emerging identities. Of course, families, communities and cultures have been changing and consolidating change throughout the course of humanity's existence. What I am emphasising is this one specific example of multiculturalism in Australia, where the current, seemingly natural way of understanding culture is diverging from how many embody it.

Dealing with cultural change in Australia

In Australia, we use the definition offered by anthropologist Edward Tylor way back in 1871. We are persevering with a frame of reference designed to help western researchers document and preserve from the outside those cultures they saw as primitive, exotic, foreign, alien. I am not suggesting that culture in the anthropological sense is not useful or necessary. I am however implicating its use without critique as one possible reason as to why the movement of cultural boundaries appears to indicate a dissolution of the culture itself.

If we broaden what indicates culture to be inclusive of the beauty that exists in its movement, we can better do justice to the perspectives and knowledges that reside within our emerging generations. If we accept change as normal, the problem isn't that it is happening, but rather, that there is no template to deal with these transformations.

The most compelling argument for the existence of places like *Museo Italiano* may be in their potential to investigate the idea of culture itself: to push the boundaries of what it is, and what it can do. So how can the museum mandated to outwardly project culture so that it is accessible to outsiders also avoid the compulsion to reduce the discussion to a list of cultural traits; while at the same time, gently expanding what is means to be Australian? Well, it could deploy a third-generation perspective. To this, I will share briefly, one example.

Some of you might remember graphic novelist, Josh Santospirito and his novella, *Swallows* (2015) from Rita Wilson's keynote back in the Melbourne chapter of this conference. Rita spoke of *Swallows* in terms of how local sites could be thought of as *in-translation* (Wilson 2017). Today, I want to share a little of what I learned about Josh through my interview with him. The first thing Joshua wanted to ensure I understood was that just working with

Museo Italiano didn't mean he felt Italian, either by ethnicity or in relation to any 'Italian community'.

Because of his Italian-Anglo ethnic heritages, Joshua can go 'under the radar' and he pointed to his positioning within his family, as the youngest "by a long shot" and the fact that he had no contact at all with his grandparents as reasons why he didn't feel Italian. He does not speak Italian. Unlike other participants, Josh considers himself to be White- part of dominant Australia. It was however, through his Australian experience that his interest in story and belonging grew. Josh told me this:

Text Box 8: Josh and cultural interest

> *Josh:I had already done another book, which was set in Central Australia. I'm a psych nurse work ing in aboriginal communities. There was something about writing that book which prompted me to start thinking, "Well, maybe I need to investigate myself and why people need to investigate themselves rather than constantly be thinking about different cultures all the time….Maybe it's an egotistical thing. Maybe I wanna have this kind of broader connection to this place that I live in. You can do that quite easily through family stories. Not in a negative way, but it is ego.*
>
> *I think there's a tendency for Australians, White Australians particularly or migrant Australians, to feel like they have very little history here. But it doesn't take that many generations for you to have quite a multi-layered history of stories and to be connected to a landscape.*

Influenced by the perspectives of those he had met in Central Australia, Joshua reasoned he could find his own song line in the landscape. It was there to find.

Text Box 9: Josh finding identity in Australia

> *Josh: I was uncovering my family's story or pulling it out from the landscape. I was starting to see the landscape through the stories of my family rather than me pressing it on. It was already there. I was trying to see my ancestors. The more stories I found, the more I could walk down the street and be aware that my ancestors did something… I learned that you have a chain of being. You're not just an individual. Maybe in mod-*

ern Australia we all like to think we are individuals and we're completely autonomous, but the truth is we're not.

Swallows is one example of how narratives produced through using our senses can allow to surface embodied forms of knowledge. It demonstrates how emotional response opens possibilities for the re-integration of culture into someone's everyday experiences. And he gave me this gift:

Text Box 10: Josh on what practice feels like

> *Josh:There's a phenomenon when you're drawing where you're, as your drawing a person you almost get to know them. Because as you do the strokes and you pay attention to their forehead and their eyes and their nose and you kind of wonder about their personality. Sometimes as you're drawing, if you're drawing someone doing a gesture or a certain facial expression, there's this phenomenon where you start adopting it yourself.You find that you're embodying the drawing.You're getting to know the person from the inside. I thought that'd be nice to get to know my grandfather a bit just by drawing him. Connect to him through ink and paper, which is something I like doing. It's a bit poetic but quite literally you feel like you've got a connection to people. I thought that would be a quite interesting thing to kind of get to know by drawing.*

But Josh *is* connected to CO.AS.IT. There is an entire collection held within the Italian Historical Society dedicated to his grandmother: "She's someone the like to wheel out every now and then, Lena Santospirito this, Lena Santospirito that".

Joshua has elected to view those who assisted in the public appreciation of his project as a collective of mutually interested individuals who saw the relevance in his work to their experience. In his case, the *Museo* met Joshua on his own terms.

Text Box 11: Josh and his relationship to the CO.AS.IT's Museo Italiano

Josh: I just dipped in and then dipped out…I wasn't actively drawing on it (the community). I just got drawn in. They just got excited because someone was making sort of pop culture about their experience from their perspective. I was just making a book about my experience. It just happened to fit neatly into everyone's interest.

But what about those of us who can't offer the museum an exhibition? When Joshua spoke of embodying his grandfather through ink and paper, my mind immediately went to my own family and what those of us who aren't 'arty' do to embody experience: My mind went to passata.

Passata, nostalgia and new meanings

We all know that we can buy similar jars for 69cents at the shop and sure, these passata making days are fun, messy and involved. But this jar is much more important than that. *Why do we do it?*

Because it's fun, and culture is *supposed* to be fun.

Humans are designed to learn through our senses. We learn best when our senses evoke emotion (Falk & Dierking 2000: 18, 24). These days provide something for all our senses: talking, listening, smelling, tasting, moving and imagining through memory. For an emerging intangible culture, they are perfect. But ultimately, once they are made, they function as everyday signposts that would otherwise be absent. Jars like this have been utilised at different important moments in our history. They have made the transition from functional to cultural[2].

_____

2 When I told my dad I was coming here, I asked him what was important for 'the Italians' to know. He said: "tell them about the sauce. Tell them why it's important". Then I asked him, "Why is it important?" This is what we worked out together: In the 1940s, for my Nonno on my dad's side, sauce was an act of resistance – he was a market grower. He shared his sauce with absconders from the internment camps, who he housed in a shed at the back on the farm. By the 1960's, on my mum's side, sauce was an easy dinner for mum to make for her siblings while my Nonna and her sisters worked in the clothing factory. Today, they are used by me, once or twice a week as a much-needed quick meal, to take a little load off the pressure of single motherhood. I am grateful to have them on hand and they come with a feeling of security, homeliness and belonging. They remind me of the day we worked together to make something out of nothing and then, I feel like I have a community even when I feel alone.

Figure 2: The Meaning of Sauce

In that moment between picking it up off my shelf and cracking it open, knowledge and experience flows in and out, before I can consciously process all the information. So, rather than looking at these elements as only 'invented traditions' as inauthentic and outdated, these jars could also be regarded as attempts to gain and keep knowledge through movement: to find our ancestors on the landscape.

Nina Simon describes relevance is a key that unlocks meaning (Simon 2016: 26). But it's the community that has the key. The museum must build the right door. I think that nostalgia is one of those keys: We have it because beyond the behaviours associated to nostalgia, its meaning is relevant in the contemporary. It mobilises everyday remembrance. It reinforces connections across time and generation. It compels individuals to act on emotion (Campbell, Smith & Wetherell 2017).

Family names, recipes, annual family picnics, vegetable gardens, home shrines, religious sacraments even in the absence of faith: These could be viewed as nostalgic reminders of the past, or indicators of cultural stasis. But they are also mechanisms where, through the combination of emotion and action, memory can be performed, meaning can be made and remade. This is where the role of the expert becomes important.

Relevance is understanding what matters to your audience, not what matters to you (Simon 2016: 51). Museums aren't just about displaying seemingly complete cultures. The role of the expert is to make it feel like everything they were going to tell their audience was a discovery they were about to make, with the expert as a sort of companion (Tilden 1957: 17).

Now, I am *not* suggesting that these days happen in an institution. But I do think we need to investigate this further. *How can we link the knowledges that we will need in the future to the knowledges we have in our past?*

Text Box 12: Future conversations

Gabriella: But I want to talk about things too.

Katrina: Like what?

List of topics of interest for third generation participants

- Children in custody – current laws and their injustices
- Refugees – their experiences and how we can help
- Education – making the system fair for all types of learners
- Sustainability and the environment, resource-conscious living
- Other cultures and our similarities
- Health- how to be healthy and happy
- Changing the Australia Day date – our role in colonisation
- Marriage equality
- Gun Laws in America

Rather than seeing a man who loves his veggie patch for instance, we could see someone who can transmit knowledge of working with seasons to maximise yield, sustainable living, and environmental care. House-proud home-keepers, seamstresses and furniture makers can be associated with re-purposing and resource-conscious living. They can counter the constant messages that encourage us to over consume and teach us how to keep things longer and avoid landfill. Suddenly, we can see value in habits. What else could we learn of our past. A dialect, peppered with Arabic, Spanish, Norman and Greek words might be evidence of a long history of intercultural enmeshing, globalised economies and cosmopolitanism. Stories of internment and the civilian experience of war can become part of our collective empathy bank, helping to generate compassion for today's Others.

In concluding, I would like to refer to the observations of cultural theorist, Stuart Hall who in an interview with the BBC in 1980, reflected on the social and political changes that had led to changing notions of Britishness in 1970's London. In a discussion with the interviewer about the development of ethnic communities, from migrants to 'born and raised' British, Hall described the children and grandchildren of migrants as, "not from anywhere else" and "creatively, culturally on top of the world".

In response to this statement, the interviewer

questions the murkiness and perhaps dilution of the concept of culture itself. Hall's response can be regarded as a provocation. Hall said, "How can people live without some sense that there is an ultimate truth or some scale of ultimate values?" Measuring culture in terms of high and low, authentic and inauthentic, retained and lost, are no longer fruitful ways of thinking through the processes that are occurring with or without our well-laid out orderings.

 "Given the impossibility of living solely by rules, we must, by necessity, improvise" (Gorton 2000: 275). Here is where I see an opportunity presenting: While explicit, well-established rules define how ethnicity is presented and produced in Australia, there are currently no set ways for dealing with internal diversity, community interculturality, being 'a different kind of Australian' and for cultural emergence generally. These remain unironed, often over-looked or breezed-over quirks of the system. But knowing that there isn't yet a 'right way' of doing it provides a level of freedom.

CO.AS.IT has a long history of advocating for the improved social experience of its communities. Now that it has the *Museo Italiano,* it can utilise the natural authority of museums to explore these themes. It can lead this aspect of the discourse. By supporting and hosting such explorations the museum projects a willingness to innovate the notion of culture so that it is useful into the future. It tells it's communities that *Museo Italiano* is a place for them, not simply about them.

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Bio

Katrina Lolicato is a third generation Italian-Australian of Abruzzese, Calabrese and Sicilian descent. The product of chain migration and mother to multi-ethnic children, she is firmly placed within the PhD research (Deakin University) she is currently undertaking in partnership with CO.AS.IT. which explores the capacity for cultural organisations to maintain relevance and enact social benefit as ethnic communities become increasingly complex.

An oral historian and curator, Katrina is the co-founder of The Foundling Archive - an organisation documenting and communicating contemporary Australian perspectives and experiences through oral history and public projects.

Julian-Dalmatian Diaspora and Mental Illness

Emiliano Loria

Archivio Museo Storico di Fiume in Roma, Italy

Abstract

The aim of this talk is to illustrate some historiographical sources that have not been used so much by historians, but now might contribute to investigate one of the most dramatic aspects of the reception of Julian-Dalmatians in Italy after the Second World War. The sources are many and range from interviews with descendants and relatives, medical records retrieved from mental hospitals, to the relations of teachers of colleges delegated to the reception of Fiuman, Istrian and Dalmatian children. In this regard, it is worth highlighting the recovery of record cards relative to the female college "Casa della Bambina Giuliano-Dalmata".

Keywords:

Julian-Dalmatian Diaspora, Psychiatry Hospitals, shock convulsive therapies, Opera per l'assistenza ai profughi Giuliani e Dalmati

Summary:
1. Transfers from Pola's Psychiatric Hospital to Trieste;
1.1 «Before the war she was normal, the mental illness is caused by displeasures ….»;
 2. The children reception

At the end of the Second World War, the occupation of Venetia-Julia and Dalmatia by the Yugoslav Liberation Army involved mass killings, summary justice, searches, requisitions, indiscriminate arrests, deportations that were unleashed against the Italians and against opponents of Tito's new communist regime. This bloody and tragic state of affairs prompted the Julian and Dalmatian population to leave their homes and face the exodus routes. Three hundred thousand people abandoned their properties, the assets and everything else when they escaped in face of the establishment of the Yugoslavian regime.

Leaving a homeland, one's own country, meant separating oneself from loved people and parents, breaking with one's daily habits and finding oneself in foreign places, among other traditions, dialects, or even being immersed in another distant culture, another language (when the final destinations were Germany, France, Australia, the Americas, South Africa), and without a certain future entailed an incurable inner fracture.

In a new cultural context, a simple adaptation is not enough, rather a psychic reorganization following an inner upheaval is necessary. It means a real cut for the autobiographical Self, which defines a 'before' and an 'after', a down here and a down there (the place of origin) sometimes traumatic. The lack of recognition in the place of reception entails an entrenchment (or rather a rigid re-evaluation of one's own traditions) that hinders integration and a healthy adaptation.

It is easy to guess that the continuing lack of a social protection network increased the psychic vulnerability for the weakest subjects: people already with mental illness diagnosed, and children who were often separated from their family already at the age of 12-13, to face alone the 'adventures 'of the exodus and of the reception in colleges; or young women alone with their own toddlers forced to live in refugee camps and dilapidated barracks.

1. Transfers from Pola's Psychiatric Hospital to Trieste

Apart from the psychiatric ward of Fiume's Hospital, which had been directed by the ex-autonomist (and Jewish) Giovanni Dalma[1], in the occupied Julian-Istrian territories, there was only Pola's Psychiatric Hospital[2]. When the communist administration was established, the Red Cross carried patients admitted to the Pola Hospital with the permission of the popular citizens' committees to Trieste hospital and its branches. Following discharge from the hospital, however, the return home did not occur. Instead, temporary or permanent accommodation in Trieste followed. The cumulative effect of war and post-war traumas involved many cases of confusion and forms of maladjustment.

In the pavilions of the San Giovanni psychiatric hospital in Trieste[3], many Istrians and Dalmatians meander around the city of Trieste in a confused and depressive state. Sometimes the admissions were short and the disorders were temporary, but anyway they result debilitating for the necessary integration in the new context.

1.1 «Before the war she was normal, the mental illness is caused by displeasures ….» [4]

In the Trieste psychiatric hospital the institutionalizations of Julian-Dalmatians who came from beyond the Morgan line were 471 and reached a peak in 1948 with 86 admissions. For example, Vittoria P. from Dignano d'Istria was admitted in 1947 with the diagnosis of schizophrenia; she did not want to leave her city. She felt betrayed. She wanted to go home. She was subjected to long years of shock treatments of that time: insulin, cardiozolic, electroshock[5]. Adele B., displaced from Zara in 1944, was in the refugee camp in 1947. At the shelter she looked filthy, pale, frail. She was diagnosed with schizophrenia and was treated with all the available shock therapies.

The institutional therapies were authoritatively exercised with the promise of improvements and normalizations, but rarely of healing. In absence of an adequate pharmacotherapy, the shock therapies represented the only way to obtain, in some cases, a partial remission of symptoms. Through administering high doses of insulin or through shocking the patient's brain electrically, psychiatrists gave partial relief from a whole spectrum of symptoms and sometimes ended the episode of depression and auditory hallucinations[6]. At that time, the aim was to obtain a calm individual with a serene mind, an "empty body" "clean from bad moods". The new body's balance coincided with a total prostration. Mental illness lies within a cultural polarity, at the point of bifurcation between a behaviour identified as positive and desirable, and another intended as negative, criminal, danger[7].

2. The reception of children

There were 123 refugee shelters scattered throughout the Italian peninsula and administrated both by Americans and by Italian ministries[8]. In such a precarious reception context there were some exceptions. One of these was the Villaggio Giuliano-Dalmatia, which was officially inaugurated on 1948 November 7th. Initially, the settlement had 700-800 Julian-Dalmatian refugees. Then, there were the gradual reduction of the original barracks and of buildings, shops, workshops, schools, monuments and a proper place of worship. In 1960, the Village counted about 2,000 exiles. In the neighbourhood, important associations arose as well as the Historical Archives-Museum of Fiume administrated by the Società di Studi Fiumani. Several cultural associations produced, over time, a lot of initiatives in the historical, social and sporting field. The history of the settlement of the Julian-Dalmatian exiles represents a unique and interesting model of social integration[9].

The entire Roman quarter was managed by the "Opera profughi" association (Opera for assistance to the Julian-Dalmatian refugees, then National

1 Archivio Museo Storico di Fiume in Roma (AMSFR), Fondo Esodo-Giuliano Dalmata, b. 45, fasc. *Dalma Giovanni*.
2 Sandro Cergna, *Fluidità di discorso e fluidità di potere: Casi d'internamento nell'ospedale Psichiatrico di Pola tra il 1938 e il 1950*, in "Annales", 23, 2013, pp. 475-486.
3 *L'Ospedale psichiatrico di San Giovanni a Trieste. Storia e cambiamento (1908-2008)*, Electa, Milano 2008.
4 Gloria Nemec, *Dopo venuti a Trieste. Storie di esuli giuliano-dalmati attraverso un manicomio di confine (1945-1970)*, Alphabeta Verlag, Trieste 2015. Data and cases that I report in the paragraph *1.1* come from Nemec's book.
5 Roberta Passione, *Ugo Cerletti. Il romanzo dell'elettroshock*, Aliberti, Reggio Emilia 2007.

6 Peter Kramer, *Listening to Prozac*, Viking, New York, 1993.
7 Vinzia Fiorino, *Le officine della follia. Il frenocomio di Volterra (1888-1978)*, ETS, Pisa 2011.
8 For more details about the refugee reception in Italy see Guido Crainz, Raoul Pupo, Silvia Salvatici, *Naufraghi della pace. I profughi e le memorie divise d'Europa*, Donzelli, Roma 2008.
9 Marino Micich, *I giuliano-dalmati a Roma e nel Lazio. L'esodo tra cronaca e storia (1945-2004)*, Associazione per la Cultura Fiumana Istriana e Dalmata nel Lazio, Roma 2008; cfr. video-documentary by Emiliano Loria, *Vivere in esilio. Memorie del villaggio giuliano-dalmata di Roma*, Roma 2008.

Agency for African Repatriated Workers and Refugees) which for the whole Italian territory provided assistance to the Julians, Fiumans and Dalmatians through the construction of lodgings, hospices for elders and, in particular for children and young, antitubercular centres and institutes from nursery to elementary school. In this way, the Opera guaranteed schooling and facilitated higher education in high schools and universities.

The Opera, administered by Aldo Clemente until its end in the Seventies, provided assistance to 700 children per year. Fourteen institutes for reception devoted to children and adolescents, like for example the several Case del fanciullo (Child's Homes) in Duino, Trieste, Opicina, Busto Arsizio, in Catania, Fossoli di Carpi. La Casa della Bambina "Oscar e Marcella Sinigaglia" in Rome (Female House-College of the Julian-Dalmatian Child). Most of the documentation relating to this important activity has been lost, or it is difficult to consult. Fortunately, the Historical Archive-Museum of Fiume in Rome collected and ordered what remained of the Female House-College archive: the remaining letters, records and student files now constitute a wide-ranging compendium to explore. From this collection, we know of the case of Dario C., a refugee from Pola (1948). His father returns from Dachau. The mother lives in poverty in Sardinia.

If the main alarm concerned food and sanitary conditions, the moral alarm for the risk of deviance was very much felt. Tullia B. accuses a strong lack of affection, her mother is far away, lives in Trieste and never comes to see her. She becomes aggressive when her companions receive visits from parents and relatives. Gianna C. is "surly and turbulent. She lacks that natural affection that every child needs. If we manifest attention and care to her, she shows satisfaction and contentment"[10]. The mother never answers her letters. Giuseppina O. and Fabiola B. are kept under close observation due to their odd behaviours. The psychiatrist Prof. Catena came to do regular checks. Eleonora C. (a refugee from Ethiopia) was admitted to the college of Rome in 1973 at the age of 11 to attend the first middle school. She had attended elementary school in Addis Abeba in English-Aramaic. She refused to learn Italian even though her father was Italian and her 3 brothers spoke Italian without problems. Her brothers were hosted in the Educational Institutes of Sappada. She showed initial complete mutism, impatience with the rules, and was unable

to concentrate. She was far from her family, from her hometown, from her beloved language, the Aramaic, from her habits, catapulted into a new environment, completely foreign to her. Easy to cry, Eleonora wondered with grief why her mother didn't come to meet her. After a short period of acquiescence in the environment, she rebelled against it, probably because she was obsessed with her many questions that she couldn't answer. Removed from the College, Eleonora was readmitted only after the total assumption of responsibility by her father for any damage caused by Eleonora against herself and against others[11].

Such a brief case-list reveals the great discomfort that is usually present in all cases of violent diasporas and forced emigrations as the Julian-Dalmatian exodus actually was. A few historiographical works have appeared to illuminate this aspect: the neglected and abandoned people, often children and women, who initially could not face alone the weight of loss and the challenge of integration in a new country. Someone like Gloria Nemec has already started along this research path. Some collections, like Casa della Bambina Fund and Oral History Fund, are available at the Historical Archive-Museum of Fiume in Rome… so let's go to work on it!

Bio

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10 AMSFR, Fondo Casa della Bambina Giuliano-Dalmata.

11 AMSFR, Fondo Casa della Bambina Giuliano-Dalmata, fasc. 3.37, doc. *Relazione Consulto Medico Psico-Pedagogico.*

Italians from Istria, Fiume and Dalmatia. An Adriatic Diaspore in the XX century. For a didactic approach to the Day of Remembrance - 10th February 1947

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Abstract

Italy had its Adriatic diaspore in XX century too, part of Eastern Border Question. The leading characters are Italians from Istria, Fiume (Rijeka) and Dalmatia and the main events are: the Treaty of Rapallo (1920) and the Exodus of Italian people from these lands with particular reference to the Peace Treaty of Paris (1947). The History of Italian communities of Eastern Adriatic Sea was a period of our culture, during the centuries of Venetian power until the end of XVIII century and through the Austrian Empire in XIX century and through whole the XX century with the new Slavic states born after the world wars. Today inside the EU it is necessary to preserve this historical identity for the improvement of the relationships between people by means of mutual respect.

Keywords:

Adriatic Sea, Venice, borders, Exodus, Istria, Dalmatia

The solemn civil commemoration of 10th February 1947, The *Remembrance Day*, implies a reflection on the troubled and long history of the populations of Julian Venetia, Istria, Quarnero, Rijeka and Dalmatia not belonging to the Slavic language family (Slovenian, Croatian or Serb). They have a Latin origin and their presence in the above-mentioned territories has been testified since the Roman Age and throughout the Middle Ages. Since the foundation of Aquileia (181 BC), Tergeste (Trieste) Pola and numerous Latin *municipia* and colonies in Istria and along the Dalmatian coast, Latin language and culture widely spread all over the Eastern Adriatic area, the province of the Illyrian (just think about the Amphitheatre and Temple of Augustus in Pola, the Roman Arch in Rijeka, the archaeological site of Salona, the Palace of Diocletian in Split). Until 1400, the massive presence of a true language belonging to the neo-Latin family, *Dalmatic*, is also documented. It directly derived from the Latin spoken in the Illyrian - Adriatic areas, in particular in Quarnero, and became extinct only at the end of the nineteenth century on the island of Krk.

In the Middle Ages, at least until the tenth century, the Istrian and Dalmatian coasts were subject to the Byzantine domination that, however, respected the Latin cultural element and the lively coastal cities had to manage with the colonial expansionism of Venice and the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia uniting all the Slavic inland into a single power. From the VI-VII century, in fact, Slavs, from whom Serbs and Croatians would later descend, had now stably settled between the Balkans and the Adriatic, whose coasts were scattered with Latin settlements, as testified by the treatise *De Administrando Imperio* by Byzantine Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (948-952), which referred to the inhabitants of the Istrian-Dalmatian coast using the ethnonym *Romanoi*, thus distinguishing them from the other subjects of the Empire generically defined with the term *Romaioi*, that is *Romei*. Between 1409 and 1432, Venetians definitely acquired the coasts and the islands of Istria and Dalmatia, with the exception of the territory of Dubrovnik that remained independent as a Maritime Republic until 1808. The Venetian rule of Easter Adriatic lasted at least four hundred years until 1797, that is until the fall of *La Serenissima* and the Treaty of Campoformio, and consolidated, over time,

the original Latin matrix of towns and countries with the Venetian and obviously Italian culture, as can be well seen through the architecture and town planning of the settlements along the coasts and the islands, from the Istrian peninsula to the Mouths of Kotor in Montenegro.

Due to the above-mentioned Treaty of Campoformio signed by Napoleon, from 1797 to 1918 Istria and Dalmatia came under the rule of the Austrian Empire, except for the period from 1806 to 1813 when they were under the direct rule of Napoleon. Austria rigidly and efficiently administered the Adriatic districts and, at first, and seemed to keep a balance between the various ethnic-linguistic components of a cosmopolitan Empire, that is Italians, Croatians and Slovenians, shifting the directive axis of Adriatic regions from Venice to the already Austrian Trieste, assigning to the Italian population of urban centres an important cultural and civil role. Precisely in the period of the 1848-49 uprisings, the first prefiguration of the political fronts that would characterise mainly Dalmatia in the second half of the nineteenth century starts to be outlined. The prevailing trend in Dalmatia remained, however, that of a liberal position that could ensure the Venetian-Italian cultural identity, though within the Austrian state body and with no ambition of a union and a future Italian national state. This was at least until 1866, as, after this date (Austrian defeat in the III Independence War and battle of Lissa) and with the progressive pro-Slavic Habsburg politics, the Adriatic Italian Nationality became increasingly marginalized in favour of the Slavic ethnic element (mainly the Croatian one) through the phenomenon of urbanisation of coastal Italian cities by the Slavic rural communities of the inland. If, on the one hand, the Italian-Austrian war of 1866 led to a territorial expansion of the Kingdom of Italy with the conquest of Veneto and part of Friuli, it started, however, a period of tensions and national fights with the progressive reassessment of the role of the Italian language and culture and the change in the political balances in Istria and Dalmatia.

In fact, in the early twentieth century, the ratio Italians-Croatians and Slovenians started to outline an increasingly evident reality also on the demographic point of view and due to this phenomenon driven by Austrian authorities. However, when the First World War broke out a deep and irremediable crisis started. The spread of Italian irredentism with a clear anti-Austrian secessionist connotation had already increased the hostility of the Government of Vienna that continued to consider, instead, the Slavic element as more reliable than the Italian one. Despite the Triple Alliance, the relationship between Italy and Austria did not improve the conditions of the Adriatic fellow countrymen and the Italian decision of entering the war against Austria (1915) implied the worsening of an already precarious situation.

With the Pact of London (26 April 1915) the powers of the Entente promised to Italy that if it had entered the conflict at their side it would have been granted, at the end of the war, the annexation of Trentino, Alto Adige, Trieste, the County of Gorizia and Gradisca, the whole Istria, the islands of Cres and Losinj, the province of Dalmatia with Zara and Sibenik. When the war ended in 1918, Italian expectations were, however, disappointed and Italy was forced into direct negotiations with a new political and institutional subject: The Kingdom of Serbs, Croatians and Slovenians that then became the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Such kingdom had arisen from the dissolution of the Habsburg Empire, at least for what concerned its western territories, that is Slovenia and Croatia with Dalmatia that had been an integral part of the double Austro-Hungarian monarchy (more precisely Croatia under Hungarian administration and Dalmatia under the Austrian one). The war ended with the Armistice of 3rd November 1918 and the subsequent negotiations on the eastern border were held in Versailles starting from January 1919. In 1918, Trieste came under the rule of the Italian monarchy. However, the Eastern Question proved to be not easy to solve: Italy asked for the respect of the Pact of London and also for the annexation of Rijeka, prising on the principle of self-determination of peoples as a survey carried out in 1919 evidenced a clear Italian majority in the city.
The same city that, since September 1919, Gabriele D'Annunzio had, though, occupied with his army to later create the *Regency of Carnaro*. The Italian government opted for the military intervention against D'Annunzio and his legionaries at the end of 1920 (*Bloody Christmas*).

The dispute was solved only through direct negotiations between the Kingdom of Italy and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croatians and Slovenians. On 12th November 1920 the two states signed in Rapallo a treaty consensually setting the borders:

Julian Venetia (then the whole Istria), except for Rijeka, was assigned to Italy that agreed to renounce to almost the entire Dalmatia, except for Zara and the island of Lagosta. This led to the decision of thousands of Dalmatian Italians moving to Italy. The city of Rijeka was recognised as a free state and in 1924, a new treaty led to its division: the city was annexed to Italy, while the inland and Port Baros became a Yugoslavian territory. The twenties and the thirties of the twentieth century where characterised by Fascism which imposed a strong forced Italianisation to all Italian citizens belonging to Croatian and Slovenian ethnic groups present in the province of Trieste and Gorizia that was then extended also to the Slavic element of Istria and Quarnero that, as a result, saw the strong segregation of Italian and Italian speaking communities present in Dalmatia through violent persecutions. The climate progressively worsened with War World II as Italy, allied with Nazi Germany, invaded Slovenia and occupied Ljubljana (Italian Protectorate of Ljubljana) and supported the creation of the Croatian Fascist State of Ante Pavelić's Ustaša in 1941 obtaining, in exchange, the Governorate of Dalmatia.

The fascist military occupation of Slovenia and Dalmatia led to numerous war crimes against Croatian and Slovenian civilians. Meanwhile the Germans occupied Belgrade and obliged the Yugoslavian king Karagjorgjević to flee. The armed resistance of Serb nationalists and communists started. These latter were led by Josip Broz, called Tito. With the armistice signed on 8th September 1943 the power vacuum left by Italy in Istria and Dalmatia and the strong counter offensive by the communist partisans that, in the meantime, had established the National Committee for the Liberation of Yugoslavia from German and fascist Italian troops, caused the breaking out of the first indiscriminate violence in Julian Venetia and Dalmatia against Italians, regardless of their belonging to militant Fascism. From autumn 1943 until the end of the war (1945) the tragedy of *foibe* occurred, that is the indiscriminate killing of Italians by Tito's communist partisans: Italians were rounded-up, sometimes killed after being tortured, or left alive, though agonising, and finally tied and thrown, in the karstic holes called *dolines*, that is cavities or holes in the Istrian inland.

The systematic terrorism against the Italian communities, above all in Julian Venetia and Quarnero also found a tragic confirmation in the continuous Anglo-American air bombings against the city of Zara (Italian enclave in Yugoslavia) forcing the Italian population of the city to flee to Italy (2000 deaths out of 21000 inhabitants). Such a tragedy did not end on 25th April 1945, as, even after the Nazi-fascist defeat, the units of the Yugoslavian army arrived in Trieste on 1st May 1945 and established the occupation of the whole Julian Venetia until Rijeka. There were numerous slaughters and deportations of Italians to concentration camps during the occupation and widespread episodes of civilian and military prisoners thrown into sinkholes (the *foibe* of Basovizza Monrupino and Abisso Plutone). The Yugoslavian troops were obliged to leave Trieste in June 1945 by the Anglo-Americans, but the borders were not set yet and the persecutions and mass killings continued until 1947 when the Peace Treaty was signed in Paris. In fact, on 10th February 1947, a defeated Italy was obliged to cede almost the whole Julian Venetia (that is Istria), Quarnero, Rijeka and Zara to Tito's Yugoslavia (now Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia). The so –called Free Territory of Trieste (FTT) was created and divided into two areas: zone A in the proximity of Trieste under Anglo-American military administration and Zone B, under Yugoslavian military administration.

Zone A consisted in the territory of Trieste and a small portion of inland, while Zone B comprised a part of western Istria. The whole territory included between the majority of Istria, Rijeka, Quarnero and Dalmatia was now Yugoslavia. The period between 1947 and 1948 until the end of the fifties was characterised by the escape (exodus) of Julian, Istrian, Rijekan and Dalmatian Italians leaving their cities or countries of multi-century origin and residence under the violent pressure and armed threat by the Yugoslavian army and the local police. They estimate that the big motorships Pola, Toscana and Grado moved about 350 thousand Italians from eastern Adriatic to the camps organised in many Italian cities (The C.R.P. Refugee Camps, at least 140 throughout Italy). On 5th October 1954, the Memorandum of Understanding of London was signed between Italy, Yugoslavia, Great Britain and United States that stated the definitive passage of Zone A and Trieste to Italy ruling the end of the FTT and the annexation of Zone B to Yugoslavia.

Italy acknowledged the new political situation and, officially following secret negotiations with Yugoslavia, on 10th November 1975 signing the *Treaty of Osimo* gave up any claim of sovereignty

over Zone B. After the dissolution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (1991) and the creation of two independent state entities, Slovenia and Croatia, the territories of Julian Venetia, Istria and Dalmatia were and are currently divided into between two states (a small part in Slovenia and the majority in Croatia). Slovenia has been a member of the EU since 2004, while Croatia joined the Union in 2013. Italians still living in Croatia and Slovenia after the tragic events of the history of the Eastern Borders are, according to the latest national surveys dating back to some years ago, respectively 0.1% of the population in Slovenia and 0.4% in Croatia, mainly concentrated in the regions of Western Istria with the recognition of language protection.

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The project Cantando in Talian. Valorisation of the intangible linguistic heritage of the Northern-Italian emigration to Brazil through music and playful language teaching

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Abstract

The project *Cantando in Talian* proposes an international academic research on historical memories and the intangible linguistic heritage of Venetian emigration in Brazil, which aims to promote the protection of the Venetian culture and language worldwide through music and playful language teaching. This work proposes a didactic method to promote Talian, which is applied in the field in thousands of Italian-Brazilian communities in order to protect anthropological crystallization and restore dignity to their identity. It also wants to create an ideal bridge to the Americas to make young and adult people aware of their forgotten history and their ancestral roots.

Keywords:

Venetian, crystallization, Talian, identity

Brazil is the country with globally the most Italians outside Italy, with 30 million Italians, followed by Argentina and the United States. In Brazil, 40% of the Italians have Venetian origin, which means that most of them came from the Region of Veneto, but also from Friuli Venezia Giulia, Lombardia and Trentino Alto Adige.

Of the 45% of the emigrants who went to the Americas, 90% went to Brazil, in particular to the States of São Paulo, Espírito Santo, Paraná, Santa Catarina, Rio Grande do Sul and Minas Gerais, but also Goiás and Mato Grosso du Sul.

A newly unified and fragile Italy didn't offer the possibility to large peasant families to survive and Brazil welcomed qualified and independent labourers in order to replace the recently abolished African slavery and in order to populate virgin lands capable of implanting an enviable professional model, a whitening racial process and a social improvement.

This process took place around the 1870s with flattering promises of life towards the land of wealth - called *cucagna* - made of jobs, houses, schools, shops and hospitals in order to convince them to leave for a new life. Unfortunately, all these promises turned out to be untrue. Departures were with sailing vessels or merchant ships, in inhuman conditions with journeys which in the beginning lasted one year and later months. There were many people who died for lack of hygiene, harsh conditions and shortage of food.

On their arrival, they were destined to non-authorized areas inside the forests, where emigrants were forced to remain isolated for tens of years, where they faced tropical diseases and wild animals. They deforested two-meter-diameter trees, opened up mountains, finding protection in the generous roots of trees named *umbu*. They survived by eating huge pine nuts from the araucarias trees and sheltered in wooden hovels, that for some are still their homes today. Religious orders accompanied these migrants and played an important part in helping them look forward and believe in success. Both governments were just interested in having heads and bodies to give them money and wealth.

The pillars for their psychological and sentimental

survival were few: the values of the family, faith, work, singing and above all speaking their language. In order to thrive, immigrants banded together to share the problems of their daily lives and this in turn gave rise to a native culture that embraced imported customs. Similar to the Chipilo of the Venetian communities in Mexico, the fusion of the Venetian, Bergamo and Friuli dialects gave birth to a new language, which Italian immigrants called *Talian*. Its diffusion and importance was such that even other settlers, like the Germans and Polish, were forced to learn it because in the southern states of Brazil, such as Rio Grande doSul, Santa Catarina, and Paranà, the *Talians* made up almost 90% of the population. The long and suffered geographical isolation led to the crystallization of the language and the sedimentation of customs and traditions. For almost 150 years in Brazil they are still speaking the Italian-Venetian-Brazilian language or *Talian*. They are scared of losing their language and their traditions, because it would mean leaving their identity and their roots. *Talian* is the unique existing *koiné* among all northern Italian dialects worldwide, a linguistic jewel unique in the world. *Talian* is even recognized as a co-official status in some areas of the southern region of Brazil, and considered the second most spoken language in the country. *Talian*, together with five other minority languages, is officially recognized by the Historical Heritage of Intangible Cultural Affairs of Brazil, within the National Inventory of Linguistic Diversity, by Decree Law no. 7,387, signed in December 2010 by the President of Brazil Ignácio Lula da Silva.

The relationship to the mother language and the homeland is also found in toponymy, in fact, wherever you travel around the Southern-Brazilian territories, there are neighbourhoods and villages with names like Nova Veneza, Treviso, Nova Vicença, Nova Pádua, São João do Polesine, Nova Trento, Nova Brescia, Nova Roma do Sul, Nova Milano, Nova Sardenha or Garibaldi, among many others. In this state of isolation, social relationships and interpersonal bonds became the only defences in an adverse land and the language became an antidote to the pain and memory of their identity for the new generations.

Speaking their language is a source of pride, but together with a feeling of shame, as a symbol of a class of people considered ignorant because illiterate, peasant, simple and cully. It must be noted that Jetúlio Vargas dictatorship banned the use of immigrant mother-tongues of the people who joined

the Axis, including Italian - *Talian* - increasing the sense of discomfort and anxiety of speaking their native language.

Finally, the Italian schools taught Italian, which is different from their oral language, further increasing the sense of inadequacy and misunderstanding. Moreover, when they watch television or listen to Italian radios, they realize that it didn't coincide with the language of their ancestors and therefore think they speak a wrong language.

However, remaining in these communities is a journey through time, dating back 100 hundred years. When I arrive in these communities I am struck by the deep love for the motherland, the terror of losing their ancestors, the nostalgia for a homeland they have never known, in which the heart of these people stopped at the time of departure from Italy. Although a long time has passed and we are now at the seventh generation of the emigration, for them everything has remained unchanged.

For them, since 2007, I have carried out an international academic project called *Cantando in Talian (Singing in Talian)*, in order to valorise the historical memory and the intangible linguistic heritage of Italian emigration in Brazil. Its main objective is to give dignity to their mother tongue, which has been humiliated, and to restore pride to their roots. I work with the 4 generations of elderly, adults, young people and children, as each of them has different characteristics and difficulties related to their own migration history and to their perception with culture and language.

It has involved many universities such as the Italian University Ca 'Foscari in Venice and University of the Studies of Padua, the Brazilian Universities UFSC (Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina) in Florianópolis, UERJ (Universidade Estadual de Rio de Janeiro in Rio de Janeiro, UEL (Universidade Estadual de Londrina) in Paraná, UniOeste in Cascavel, UFPR (Universidade Federal Paraná) in Curitiba (PR), UCS (Universidade Caxias do Sul) in Caxias do Sul, IFRS (Instituto Federal do Rio Grande do Sul) and FSG (Faculdade Serra Gaucha) in Bento Gonçalves.

It has also obtained many awards, such as: the International Tricolor Globe Award, conferred by the Presidency of the Italian Republic, the Best Humanistic Disciplines Award, conferred by the Council of the Veneto Region, Save your Local Language, awarded by Campidoglio in Rome, the Award Mother-Tongue Languages, conferred by the Reli-

gious Order of Scalabrini, the Human Capital and Culture Area Award, conferred by Veneto Region.

Other recognitions have been awarded by The Senate of the Republic in Rome, Rai Television and the Brazilian Television Globo.

However, the most important point is that this project is carried out on site in hundreds of Italian communities in Brazil and in the Americas. I live with them, day to day, house to house, town after town, dedicating years to them, having covered 500 thousand kilometres so far, interviewing people and extrapolating a scientific work to create a teaching method. I have collected and recorded 1000 paper interviews, audios and videos and 500 Italian-Venetian-Brazilian songs. Until now my project has involved 300 communities, 20,000 students, 1,000 others between courses and conferences. Through the interviews, I have realized that singing is the most spontaneous way to practice the language as it is the manifestation of oral tradition and the link with their own communitarian history. Furthermore, music is an effective teaching tool as it is an alternative teaching to the traditional one, gives an emotional and a sense of identity that make use of playful aspects, has linguistic-cultural contents, extrapolates universal themes in the synchronic and diachronic axis, stimulates the memorization process through reiteration and works on pronunciation.

I elaborated the manual *Cantando in Talian (Singing in Talian)*, in which I chose ten songs among a great selection, opted for musicality, variety of lexical and cultural contents (proverbs, focus and readings), pronunciation and competence (covering the Common European Framework of Reference from A1 to B2). For each song there is a teaching unit, in which activities such as pre-listening, listening and post-listening are presented, besides a specific lexicon for the various semantic fields. It is a teaching tool of wide intergenerational use from adults to children. I spread this teaching method in an annual tour, having reached now the seventh edition, where I stop for two months a year among the Italian-Brazilian communities, from the most isolated to those located in large metropolises, in order to give courses and conferences on language, history, geography, architecture, culinary and so on. The results are effective and often touching. The descendants, through this experience, make that return journey their grandparents and great-grandparents have never been able to do, in order to find their identity and pride for their origins. It may

happen that some trainees become emotional and cry when they perceive that I speak and still value the language of their ancestors. Together with this didactic book, I have created other significant publications to work with inside these communities, through letters, historical documents, pictures, testimonies, and so forth.

On the other hand, I work in Italy to spread a forgotten or unknown history due to the great historical amnesia of emigration, in particular with conferences in schools and administrations, through unpublished photographs, videos, songs and letters. My project has also created a documentary collecting 10 years of interviews in Brazil, called "Tales of Two Worlds – One-Way Journey to the Americas". It is spoken in *Talian* with subtitles in Italian, English, Spanish and Portuguese. In this work I wanted to stress the conception of the past - The dream of the Mèrica, the present - the settlement, the family, tradition and music, the tongue, etc., and the future. Furthermore, the projects presents a photographic exhibition called Stories of Two Worlds –The Mèrica is not the *Cuccagna*, aimed to be a tool for enhancing the history of the Great Migrations that affected the Italian and Venetian territory between 1870 and 1970 through the presentation of the culture, art, language and music of the descendant communities that took place and found in North and South America, Canada, Australia, Africa and Europe.

I'll leave you with a thought of mine:

> It is strange to find myself in the forest and see people with fair skin, who eat polenta and speak my dialect... their grandparents fought a titanic struggle. They faced tropical diseases and wild animals, destroyed two- meter-diameter trees, opened mountains, found refuge in the generous roots of the local trees, survived eating the fruits of those pines and dwelled in wooden slums, which nowadays for some are still their houses. Almost 150 years have elapsed since the arrival of these first anonymous heroes. Soon the forest will restore its lands. Jaguars and Indigenous will go back. And then only historians, anthropologists and linguists will tell this story. A mythical, but real and true story. The incredible story of the great Venetian colonization in Brazil.

Bio

Giorgia Miazzo is a Researcher, Academic Lecturer, Interpreter, Translator, Writer, Journalist, Tour Leader. Regional consultant for the National Association *ANEA* and representative of the Italian emigration heritage for the Association *Da KUCHIPUDI a...*
She is Coordinator of Scientific Research Committee VSA-M of the University of Padua (Italy).

Interacts with various realities in the Americas, in particular Brazil, Mexico, Cuba, Honduras, Venezuela, Peru, Chile, Paraguay, Uruguay and Argentina, in Africa, such as Angola and Senegal, and in Asia, such as India, Thailand and Burma. Involved with the Italian-Venetian communities of South America, conducts courses and conferences in universities, schools and administrations.

She writes for specific Italian and foreign specialized magazines and is the creator of the project *Cantando in Talian* for the enhancement of the intangible heritage of Italians in the world, including publications, photographic exhibitions, a theatre performance and a documentary. Giorgia has written the following books: *Cantando in talian. Imparar el talian co la mùsica (2014 and 2015)*; *Scoprendo in talian. Viaggio di sola andata per la Mèrica (2014 and 2015)*; *Descobrindo o talian*, 2015; *Le grandi migrazioni. Dal nord Italia al Brasile*, 2016; *I miei occhi hanno visto. 45 viaggi alla scoperta del mondo. Storie vissute tra popoli e migranti. Americhe, Asia, Africa,* 2018; *Veneti al de là del Mar. Fotografie e Racconti d'Oltreoceano*, 2019.

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The Céramique Nationale in Welkenraedt: A Forgotten Immigration? Life Stories in Service of Family and Collective Memory

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Abstract

Belgium has always been a current destination for Italian immigrants. Some of them are now symbols of a perfect integration in political, sport or artistic fields, while studies about working-class memories mainly focus on the coalmines, forever affected by the Marcinelle disaster. In Welkenraedt, the ceramic factory that engaged post-war workers from Veneto, doesn't exist anymore. We decided to collect life stories to preserve the "human" memory of those post-war years. Initially, we planned to make a documentary, but more recently we have been exploring other possibilities for sharing those life experiences.

Keywords:

Belgium, Ceramic, Life-stories , Veneto

. The birth of the project

At the beginning, contact was made between a filmmaker, born in Belgium from Italian parents, and a sociologist (author of this presentation), half French, half Italian, who has been living in Belgium for 20 years. The filmmaker had the intention of shooting a documentary about the Italian immigration in Belgium. The author suggested that he focus on immigration linked to the former *Céramique Nationale* factory in Welkenraedt for several reasons.

- First, the issue of Italian immigration in the eastern part of Belgium has been less studied, in comparison to other parts of the country.

- Secondly, to our knowledge, no studies have been done yet about this factory.

- Finally, because the local context seemed to be favorable. Several projects within the municipality and the local cultural center presented us with the possibility of creating new links. The presence of a Facebook group, *Nostalgie Ceramic Welkenraedt*, and the twinning between Welkenraedt and the Italian city of Nove Vicentino, helped us to make this choice.

2. Characteristics of the territory

Belgium is a small country with three national languages: Dutch, French and German. Since 1973, Welkenraedt has included the village of Henri-Chapelle. These two communities combined are now home to 10,000 inhabitants, situated in the Francophone area, close to the German border. A dialect mixture of German and Dutch is still spoken by the eldest population. Welkenraedt is mostly industrial, while Henri-Chapelle is more rural.

In 2018, the foreign population in Belgium represented almost 12 percent of residents, mostly European citizens. The Italians, who were the majority in 2008, have been overtaken in the last 10 years by the French. In 2018 there were 156,000 Italians, representing 11.5 percent of the whole foreign population, with most of them living in Wallonia. In the outskirts of Liège, the Italians represent almost half of the entire foreign population.

3. From Italy to Belgium

There are generally considered to have been three stages of Italian immigration to Belgium:

1. In the 1920s and 1930s, there was an "industrial" immigration, which was in part political for those fleeing fascism and Mussolini's ideals.

2. In 1946, the famous "Italian-Belgian Protocol" was signed. It established the sending of 50,000 Italian workers into Belgium in exchange of an annual supply of tons of coal. For each Italian worker operating in the Belgian mines, Italy would receive 200 kilos of coal per day. *Venduti per un sacco di carbone*, as they used to say. The miners reached Belgium by train, and once in Liège, they were not left in the main station, but rather into the freight stations on the outskirts of town. This marked the beginning of the greatest Italian migration flow. However, the protocol was interrupted after the Marcinelle tragedy, where 232 people died, including 136 Italians.

3. From the 1980s onwards, the migration flow has primarily involved people moving to Belgium to work for the European Commission. Today, Belgium is like other countries: a destination for young Italians who have studied in Italy or abroad, who are looking for a better professional future.

4. *Céramique Nationale*, a famous factory

This factory that employed Italian manpower in the post-war period was created in 1904 to produce ceramic pavers. In 1940, there were 400 employees. During the war, it was converted into a war plant by the Germans. After the liberation, the Americans built a prison camp there for German soldiers. Those same shacks were later used as accommodation for the Italian workers. The factory produced very strong, resistant pavers. Such factory work was unattractive to local people, so management decided to hire foreign workers. How and why they turned to Vicenza, is not yet clear. The pavers were sold all over the world. For several reasons, the *Céramique Nationale* factory closed in 2000: it was destroyed a few years later, after which the site was entirely redeveloped.

5. An ongoing project: objectives and obstacles

Our goal is to collect the life stories, before the emigration linked to this factory has been completely forgotten. Our work is an attempt to establish links between generations, between story and history, Belgium and Italy, past and present. We have noticed that some of the surnames of these Venetian families, now pronounced in the French way, do not sound Italian anymore.

Another objective is to understand who the Italians that came to Welkenraedt were (Why did they come? How did they live?). We want to show the difficulties they encountered, despite a current, common belief that "There were no problems with the Italians."

We are also trying to determine how memory is being built within these families, exploring the shadow areas.

We would like to eventually have the opportunity to present our work in Italy, in the region of origin of these immigrants.

Finally, our intention is to help everyone reflect upon the immigration experience and to help extinguish some related stereotypes.

What have we done so far? What kind of approach has been used? In addition to bibliographical and online research, we have met with Professor Anna Morelli, an Italian immigration specialist at the *Université Libre de Bruxelles* who has encouraged us in this initiative. Fourteen interviews with 17 people, including three first-generation immigrants, have already been conducted in French.

The initial phases of this project have developed quite empirically. Manuela, who created the *Nostalgie Ceramic Welkenraedt* Facebook group, helped us by providing many of the contacts. Our first witness showed us a list of surnames, names and nicknames (with some transcription errors) of Italian workers who were employed in the factory between 1946 and 1948. Fifty-one workers were on that list, both men and women. Although it does not appear to be an "official" document, it proved to be very useful for our work. The living memory of Malvina, age 87, has also been a very precious aid in tracking these immigrants.

The methodology we have used for recording the life stories could modestly be defined as "scientific," as described here:

1. Conducting an unstructured in-depth interview

2. Developing empathy with the speaker with the understanding that what is important is not what literally occurred (the truth), but rather, in what ways these immigrants have appropriated the stories of their families

3. Applying a rigorous method of analysis to the stories

4. Combining both individual and social dimensions

5. Identifying ways in which we can deconstruct harmful stereotypes

This research started without any financial support. Although we have speculated about different ways of financing it (sponsors, crowd-funding, public contributions), the only funding we have received thus far has been a contribution from the Province of Liège and a sponsorship from a local *pizzeria*.

Another obstacle has been access to the archives. Company staff registers are no longer available. We had to make a request to consult the population registers of Welkenraedt, which was fortunately quickly accepted.

We should also acknowledge that the interviews with some very old people have been more or less confused; in some cases, the presence of a son or a daughter has been helpful.

6. First observations

According to a sort of "legend," *Céramique Nationale* brought *qualified* ceramic workers from Italy. However, some of these workers were very young and had never worked before; others had practiced another profession prior to their migration to Belgium. They just came from a ceramic makers region. As explained by Professor Anna Morelli during our meeting, there is a kind of magical belief according to which the place of birth would be the bearer of knowledge and skills.

Céramique Nationale was an industrial factory with hard working conditions: "It was like in the mines," an interviewee told us, "dust, so much dust, heat. The difference was just that there was no risk of remaining at the bottom." An older one added: "The nose hairs got burned in front of the oven.

Every ten minutes you had to go out, in the cold during winter, all sweaty." Some ceramic workers contracted silicosis. Moreover, like the miners, workers of the *Céramique Nationale* were housed for the first years in the shacks, without any showers or toilets.

In 1947-48, Welkenraedt had 5,000 inhabitants, of Vicenza, Henri-Chapelle, only 1,500. This was certainly a shock for people from the center of Vicenza, who arrived "among the cows," as was once reported. Bruno, age 92, told us that back in Vicenza for a visit, he had bought a pair of shoes. To the guy who wanted to sell him a very nice pair for Belgium, he replied: "Not these ones. There are no sidewalks over there."

It seems there were also landowners or middle-class men as ceramics workers. "The Italians of Welkenraedt belonged to two social classes," explained an interviewee.

In these stories we can find many aspects of everyday life: the different ways of reacting to the insult *sale macaroni*, the relationships, the particular roles of everyone in the community, the influence of the church, etc.

The second-generation natives often think they have nothing to tell; but they reveal quite a lot. Some of them are trying to understand the reasons behind their parents' silence. Life-story narration becomes a time for reflection and introspection.

7. How to materialize and value the memory

Beyond financing, we must consider what would be the most appealing way of keeping this memory alive. What might be the possibilities?

1. Documentary: Film is a way of preserving the memory with the direct participation of the protagonists. The advantage of this method would be its ability to preserve the sounds and images using multimedia support, which can then be shared through public presentations and also using DVD recordings.

2. Theater: In Belgium, or at least in Wallonia, there have been several shows inspired by Italian immigration, such as Hervé Guerrisi's performances and the great work done by the *Théâtre de la Renaissance* in Liège. A narrative

walk could also be adapted to the subject matter, encouraging spectators to involve themselves more directly in the memories of these immigrants.

3. Book: Our intention in authoring a permanent manuscript is two-fold: first, to give new life to the characters we have met among the stories while trying to avoid nostalgia, and second, to help overcome biases and stereotypes by integrating actual data and analysis.

8. Teachings for today and tomorrow: a further conclusion

However, the ultimate challenge is to help communities reflect upon how we can live together, side-by-side, without forgetting our roots. So why not begin at the local level?

Welkenraedt, nowadays, is a little town of 10,000 people representing 65 nationalities. Now imagine everyone from Belgium or abroad sharing something of their own story, and what can happen when we begin listening to the stories of more recent arrivals? It seems to us especially important that these stories be shared and heard in these politically troubling times, when "the other" is often presented as a scapegoat for several societal problems.

Bio

Nathalie Mignano was born in France in 1961, the daughter of an Italian father and a French mother. As a social worker and sociologist, and because of her family's experiences, she is interested in the way people feel about moving and the effect of migration on identity. Deeply in love with Italy, she taught herself to speak and read Italian. She has lived in Belgium since 1999, and just recently began the freelance activity known as *Italique*.

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Italian immigration to Norway in the 1960s:
A brief history of a conflict

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Abstract

Little is known about stereotypes and conflicts concerning Italian immigrants in Norway.
The Italians never constituted a really large group, even though it was the largest group of Southern Europeans residing in Norway. The Norwegians, for their part, were not used to these new foreigners, and mistrust between the two groups arose quite soon. In the 1960s, anti-Italian prejudices were quite diffused. The article will briefly reconstruct some events in which Italians were targeted in the 1960s in Norway.

Keywords:

Immigration, Italy, Norway, Stereotypes, Conflicts

Little is known about stereotypes and conflicts concerning Italian immigrants in Norway. The reason for this is that there is no literature on migration as is available for other nations, particularly for the United States, France, or Switzerland, where the Italians were often subject to significant prejudice and often attacks.[1] The present article will therefore try to briefly reconstruct some events in which Italians were targeted in the 1960s in Norway.

To analyze the phenomenon, a large number of articles published in Norwegian newspapers from the 1950s to the 1970s have been used, in addition to interviews with Italians who lived in Norway during this period.

The immigrants who arrived in Oslo in the 1950s and 1960s were mostly young male workers, single or single heads of families with low levels of education. Strong masculinity denotes the temporary nature of this phenomenon.[2] We do not know for how many Norway was only a temporary stage of their life or a permanent choice.

For many, it was meeting and subsequently marrying a Norwegian woman that made their stay permanent.

In the 1960s, when moving to Norway was still relatively easy, immigrants from southern Europe were a homogeneous group without specific professional skills in most cases, with less attractive jobs than Norwegians and who often earned very low salaries. In the 1950s and 1960s, the Italian immigrants living in Norway were predominantly men. Out of 750 names registered in the passport register of the Oslo Consulate, 598 belong to men and only 151 are women. The sex ratio between the number of women and men was significantly disproportionate to the male advantage.[3]

Emigrating to another country that was diverse and distant like Norway often meant difficulties with respect to a culture recognized as different, a language perceived as incomprehensible, a different religion, and a climate often seen as hostile.

1 Morelli, 2009, 161; GA Stella- E. Franzina, 2009; Sanfilippo, 2011
2 De Clementi, 2014.
3 Oslo´s Consulate, passport registers, years 1950-1970.

Therefore, for many, immigration has meant loneliness, uprooting, and difficulty, especially in the first years. For others, despite some obvious initial difficulties, the move meant a new beginning to a country immediately perceived as different, well organized, and with so many new opportunities. If the experience of emigration could therefore become for some a traumatizing experience, for others it was edifying. The stories are many, and it is often difficult to distill to a single unique experience.

Discrimination was another problem that Italians had to face at that time in Norway.

The welcome given to the Italians who settled in Norway in the 1950s and 1960s was undoubtedly less warm than they experienced in other countries. However, no attacks on the Italians caused serious episodes of injury or death like those that occurred in Switzerland or France, not to mention the United States of America.[4] Nevertheless, the level of diffusion of the word "degos", which the Italians were called in some cities in Norway, means that anti-Italian prejudice was widespread in the North. From the articles found in the newspapers of the period that devoted ample space to the problem and from interviews with Italians living in Norway, it emerges that Italian immigrants to Norway were often insulted with disparaging appellations like "degos", "spaghetti", or "makaroni". This discrimination took trivial forms that did not take root in society; rather, it was apparently a transitory phenomenon.

The Italians never constituted a really large group, even though it was the largest group of Southern Europeans residing in Norway. The Norwegians, for their part, were not used to these new foreigners, and mistrust between the two groups arose quite soon. In the 1960s, anti-Italian prejudices were quite diffused. According to some Norwegian newspapers, there was real "racial discrimination" against Italian immigrants. Discrimination was not limited to insults; often simply walking in the street could be dangerous for an Italian. "Continuously," says the Italian interviewed by *Dagsavisen Arbeiderbladet* in 1963, "they were reminded of belonging to another nation and could not feel at home in Norway."[5]

The newspapers often debated the reasons for these attitudes towards Southern Europeans.[6]

According to an article in the newspaper *Du Verden* and its editor Arne Disch, the reasons were attributable to the isolation of Norway and its peripheral position. That meant that the country had not really had much contact with many other nations, thus developing racist tendencies towards foreigners.[7]

The article ended with a sarcastic observation from an Italian interviewed for the occasion, who noted that the treatment given to blacks in South Africa would have appeared idyllic to him compared to the discrimination suffered in Norway.[8] The *Dagsavisen Arbeiderbladet* newspaper of March 9, 1963 dedicated an entire page to Italian immigrants and the problem of discrimination, trying to investigate its causes in detail.[9] The journalistic investigation was intended above all to discern the reasons that had led a restaurant in the capital to hang the following sign outside the door: "Italians are not allowed". What made Italians so unwelcome? "Italians are bad customers," was the answer, "but not because of their behavior", as the restaurant owner specified in the article, but "for the habit they have of 'occupying' the places without drinking and spending money".[10] The Italians gathered in the pubs and café bars, looking for a warm place to stay in the freezing temperatures of Oslo, and continued to talk and stay there all day long until they were thrown out. According to the owners, these Italians did not consume or drink much, therefore giving little benefit to the owners of the premises.[11]

Jealousy was another factor that made Italians unwelcome in Norway, especially due to the "charm" they had with women. Also, the *Dagsavisen Arbeiderbladet* described Italians as "gentleman in comparison to Norwegian boys, who therefore became jealous". The protraction of the discrimination also led the Italian Consul General, Nino Bussoli, to intervene publicly in favour of his fellow countrymen. The problem was so great that the Consul wrote: "No Italian is so desperate as to have to come to Norway to work."

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4 Salvetti 2009; Sanfilippo 2011.
5 A.A.B., Dagsavisen Arbeiderbladet, 9.3.1963.

6 A.A.B., Arbeiderbevegelsens arkiv og bibliotek, (from now A.A.B), Dagsavisen Arbeiderbladet, 07/15/1964.
7 A.A.B., Dagsavisen Arbeiderbladet 02.24.1971.
8 A.A.B., Dagsavisen Arbeiderbladet, 9.3.1963.
9 A.A.B., Dagsavisen Arbeiderbladet newspaper of March 9, 1963.
10 A.A.B., Dagsavisen Arbeiderbladet, 9.3.1963.
11 A.A.B., Dagsavisen Arbeiderbladet, 9.3.1963.

The consul warned the Norwegians: "Be careful with insults. Italian workers are not 'degos'".[12] Discrimination against Italians continued throughout the 1960s and was not limited to Oslo.

Episodes of intolerance of a certain gravity were also recorded in Stavanger to the extent that some newspapers spoke of real "apartheid" towards the Italians, who were told not to leave their "reserve" during their work stay in *Risavika*.[13] In 1967, the newspaper *Dagbladet* wrote that in Stavanger there was a real war that involved 160 between Italians and Norwegians, turning the city into a battlefield to the point that the police had to intervene with sticks. The battle began at 8.30 pm in front of Alexander Coffee and continued all day.[14] The police, for their part, had to use all their available men, but since they were incapable of stopping the fighting, they had to ask the army for help. Only before midnight, when all the Italians were forced into a bus, was the battle ended.

The cause of the fight was the harassment by Norwegians of some Italians at the entrance of the restaurant. Police inspector JS Landmark told the Stavanger newspaper *Aftenbladet* that there was real provocation from young Norwegians, and that there had never before been problems with the colony of 500-600 Italians who had been working for a couple of years in Snam Pogetti. The newspapers wrote that the Norwegian boys were afraid that the Italians would steal their women. Jealousy and rivalry were the basis of the fight between the Italian and Norwegian gangs, not xenophobia.

Conflicts with Italians in the 1960s highlighted for Norwegians the problem of immigration of foreigners into their country. For the first time, the Norwegians had to prove themselves to be in practice what they were trying to be in the eyes of the world, a liberal and democratic country. An article published in 1967 entitled "Foreigners in Norway" argued that the Norwegians, in terms of intolerance towards foreigners, were not in practice better than other countries. Norway, continued the article, could not maintain its isolation and should expect an increase in foreigners in the country, and the population must stop being prejudiced against

them.[15] "Can we hate a people and discriminate against them only for the invasion of a hundred Degos ?"[16]

To understand what was behind the intolerance of Italians and other foreigners in general, in 1964 the Gallup company carried out a survey on racial problems among the Norwegians. The question they had to answer was: "If you had a daughter, would you be happy if she married a: black, Italian, Swedish, American, or a Russian?" There were four possible answers: "I would oppose it; I would accept it against my will; I would be satisfied; I don't know". 29 percent of respondents (out of a sample of 2100 people) answered "I would oppose" marriage with an Italian; 20 percent answered that they would have accepted but unwillingly; a remaining 20 percent would have been satisfied, and 31 percent had replied with I don't know. The survey also specified the reasons why they did not want their daughter to marry an Italian. One-fifth of the respondents justified the refusal due to the alleged "different temperament" of the Italians. 19 percent considered Italians "a different race" or "a different people". Another 19 percent explicitly declared, "I don't like Italians", and another 9 percent said they preferred Norwegians. Among other reasons are different religions, different lifestyles, etc.[17]

Italians generally felt excluded, said an Italian chef who came to Norway in the 1950s in an interview with the newspaper *Dagsavisen Arbeiderbladet*. He said that Italians create groups among themselves, and this means that they take even more time to learn the language and have very few contacts with locals apart from those with women.[18] A certain mistrust and tendency to isolate themselves, to reject a culture perceived as different, must also exist on the part of the Italians vis-à-vis the Norwegians. According to an article in the *Dagsavisen Arbeiderbladet* newspaper, mixed marriages were also opposed. In 1969 the newspaper published in a letter from a certain Tove to her parents. The letter began with the following words: "Dear parents, I am forced to write you a letter despite your living only three bus stops from our house." The fault of Tove was having married an Italian, and for this the parents had cut off all relations with their daughter.

12 A.A.B., Dagsavisen Arbeiderbladet, 9.3.1963.
13 A.A.B, Dagsavisen Arbeiderbladet, 07/31/1967.
14 A.A.B., Dagbladet 24, 25.7.67 - Stavanger Aftenbladet 25.7.67.
15 A.A.B., Dagsavisen Arbeiderbladet, 4.08. 1967.
16 A.A.B., Dagsavisen Arbeiderbladet, 9.10 69.
17 A.A.B, Dagsavisen Arbeiderbladet, 11. 07. 1964.
18 A.A.B, Dagsavisen Arbeiderbladet, 9.3.1963.

The newspapers seem to addressed the issue with seriousness and concern. The press seemed unanimous in opposing any kind of discrimination against Italians.

Conclusion

The oil crisis in most European countries coincided with the end of the liberal migration model experienced in Europe in the 1950s and 1960s. New immigration policies were imposed by most European countries, and moving around was not as simple as before. Those who had already moved therefore decided to stay; others decided to return in Italy, leaving Norway forever. The development of mass tourism towards Italy has seen the advancement of the positive image of that country and has become a real catalyst for the recognition of Italy by many emigrants and their descendants. Tourism has revealed an Italy different from stereotypes, thus favoring the recovery of an Italian spirit that for many Italians abroad was above all a negative attribute to be forgotten, along with past humiliations inflicted by the native populations and other immigrants.

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Bio

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She completed her PhD in history at the European University Institute in Florence in 2001 and she was a postdoctoral researcher in economic history at the University of Genève.

Monica Miscali has conducted research in the fields of social history, labour history, gender history and migration history.

Language, a tool of amnesia; family, a pathway to memory

Jerome Luc Muniglia de' Giustiniani

Genova

Abstract

Through the persistence of surnames that are present in the archives[1] , and with the addition of its DNA footprint[2] , one family's previous migration routes can be reconstructed. With the complement of this DNA chain, its history is not limited to a few centuries, but extends the family's narrative to millennia.

This permanency of a family's memory overcomes the linguistic interruptions of significant migrations, that result in historical amnesia through newly adopted languages: the linguistic past is repressed to open new pages of history. In this discussion, the author presents his family's historical journey[3] and the construction of a narrative[4] over centuries, to which few families have access[5].

The 1st migration: Altaic populations 14,400 AC – from Siberia to the Caspian Sea

As DNA maintains the Y chromosome, it permits analysis through the male lineage.

For our study, the focus is on the haplogroup C[1]: that is placed outside the Mediterranean haplogroups making it as a singular hereditary cluster with roots in the Far East Orient! In approximately 48,400 AC, haplogroup C reveals this paternal lineage in northern Asia spanning from the Caspian Sea to North America. Progressing to 33,800 AC, the haplogroup C-M216 is found in Mongolian and Turkish populations of the Altaia that became Jalairs, Tartars, Kazaks, Crimeans Tartars, Merkits, Jochids and Uzbeks. By 14,400 AC, haplogroup C-M48 is confirmed amongst the Siberians in central Asia. Their legendary nomadism facilitated through horsemanship that followed migratory herds, easily allowed this movement of populations far from their usual localities of settlement.

Essentially, the lost language of this period only leaves DNA as a record of the family's origins.

The 2nd migration: from the Huns to the Ligures
AD 125 - from the Hun's Empire to the Roman's

The most accurate evidence of the paternal lineage in haplogroup C-F6379 surfaces in 125 AD. The living representative of this haplogroup in the present is Liu[2], who has the same surname as the Tanjous Xiongnu. The Tanjous were the sovereigns of the Xiongnu tribe, the royal lineage of the Huns,

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1 DNA tests were performed by American company ftdna.com

2 . Liu provided the Chinese database of to the Russian company Yfull.com, kit YF14275. Our common ancestor would be in AD 50 and 75.

from which Attila descended. Even if Liu's oral tradition does not offer us the royal lineage, the DNA of numerous Lius have the same reference: C-F6379. Descendants who remained in the same geographical location, are now in China and Mongolia, ruled by Hans dynasties, even if Altaica-speaking.

Atilla was born in about 395, on the Danube plains, 300 years after our haplogroup. He was sovereign of an empire, composed of Huns, Ostrogoths, Lombards, and Alans, that extended from central Europe to the Orient, which was similar to the dimensions of the Roman Empire, but positioned northwards. If we refer to what we know of our Italian story presented in this article, we remember that his army traversed the Alps to conquer Padua, Verona, Milan and Pavia in 452, expelling Valentiniano the Emperor of Ravenna, before dying the following year.

Whatever the transition from Asia to northern Europe, by way of a barbarian invasion, evidence of a hereditary DNA testimony of this Asiatic origin is virtually absent in recorded memory.

The 3rd migration: de Mari family
AD 1051 – from Mezzema to Moneglia

The appearance of a family name allows a first historical tracing of the family. The Moneglia family is reported to originate from Mezzema[3], the oldest hamlet of the Moneglia territory. The most ancient document from this location comes from the Abbey of Bobbio, that in 774[4] established the Priory of Mezzema, dedicated to Saint Michael. The name Michael is maintained in the traditions of the Mari de Moneglia Giustiniani family throughout its historical record. Furthermore, the surname "Mari", as recorded in 1051[5], was given to the parish of Mezzema and remained evident in this lineage.

We note the coat of arms of this branch of the family is similar to that of Count Aldemaro de Mari's lineage. The first crusade (1099) launches the Commune of Genoa onto the international scene with its extraordinary capture of Jerusalem. By 1173, the city of Moneglia was absorbed into the

Commune of Genoa.[6]
However, by the fourth crusade (1204) Genoa is forced to submit to the supremacy of the Venetians. In 1213[7], on the beach of Moneglia, Michael de Mari presents himself as the Podesta of Sestri, Moneglia, Framura and Castiglione. De Mari was the surname of the family before it left Moneglia.

This migration from the hills to the sea facilitated a pendular movement of the family and of the Ligurian language via the Mediterranean Sea. The emergence of a family name allows a first historical tracing of the ancestors.

The 4th migration: the origin of the Moneglia
AD 1261 - from Moneglia to Genoa

Genoa may have called on the Ligurian population to support its return to power in 1261, after the Treaty of Ninfea decided on its alliance with the Byzantine aristocracy to reconquer the Eastern Roman Empire.
This same year the first Moneglia appears in Genoa.[8]

Opizzo is recognised as the original ancestor of the Moneglia family.[9] In 1300, his four children[10] Dominic, William, Lanfranc and Frederic received decorated tombs in the church of San Domenico[11] with their coat of arms. The family was already wealthy displaying on its arms, the Castle of Monleone (Moneglia) or the waves of the Mari family.[12]

The notorary Lanfranc Opizonis lived in 1311 between Genoa[13] and Moneglia where he officiated.[14]

3. Archivio Storico del Comune, Genoa: O. Ganduccio, *Origine delle nobili famiglie di Genova*, ms 107-C-19 BS, c 271 r.
4. A. & M. Remondini, *Parocchie dell'Arcidiocesi di Genova*, III, Genoa, Tipografia delle Lettere cattoliche, 1888, pp. 65-66, 78-79
5. G. Bollo, Deiva in Alpe Pennino, La Spezia, Tipografia moderna, 1980, p. 193
6I *Moneglia*, op. cit., p. 18
7. P. Tomaini, *Moneglia. Notizie storiche,* Centro editoriale Idea, Roma, 1980, p. 35
8. *I Moneglia*, op. cit., p. 21
9. Archivio di Stato, Genoa: O. Ganduccio, ms Biblioteca, 170, c. 613 r
10. *I Moneglia*, op. cit., p. 22
11. D. Piaggio, *Epitaphia* II, 1720, m.r.V.4. 2, p. 157
12. *I Moneglia*, op. cit., Alleanze e stirpi, pp. 26-27
13. Archivio di Stato, Genoa: Notai antichi, 149/II, Notaio Damiano *de Camulio,* c. 30 r, 20-02-1311
14. A. Centi, *Cenni storici di Moneglia*, Genova, Tipografia della gioventù, 1899 (ristampato anastatica Atesa Editrice, Bologna, 2000) p. 151

Branches of the family retained the landholdings of Crova[15] Piazza[16] and Mezzanego[17] for centuries. In 1369[18], the esteem for the family was such that Emperor Carlo IV decided that Corrado Moneglia would become a Palatine Count.

Henceforth, the family name remains linked to this Ligurian territory for centuries and definitively marks its memory through archival records.

The 5th migration: the descendants of Opicis of Moneglia
1306 – from Genoa to Galata

Participants in the battle of Meloria in 1284, the victors of Moneglia celebrated their supremacy over Pisa with a commemorative inscription set into the wall of the church of the Santa Croce of Moneglia.[19]

From 1310[20] to 1335[21], Antonio de Moneglia was alderman of Pera's Podestà, in the heart of the oriental capital of Constantinople. He received trading concessions reserved for the Genoese at Galata and in Smyrne from the Emperor Andronico II Paleologo. Ampegno and Armani de Monelia[22], Andalò de Mari de Monelia[23] are all residents in Peira in 1361. Similarly, Captain Nicolò de Moneglia became Podestà in 1408[24]. Remarkably, he also combatted against the Prince of Wales' ships in the North Sea and on the Dutch coastline, whilst involved in skirmishes with the Venetians everywhere else.

The Black Sea, with the Crimea as its epicentre,

offered another Genoese trading monopoly. In 1410[25], Leonard owned a shop in Caffa, close to the Genoese Consul's palace.

It is noteworthy that the written memory of the Genoese notaries represents half of all medieval notary records in the world and are the basis of medieval history of all places in Mediterranean Sea!

The 6th migration: the Giustiniani
1346 - around Chios

In 1346, the Moneglia departed with 29 Galleys to conquer the Island of Chios, which gave them a principle role on the international scene. In 1348, Antonio de Opicio de Moneglia[26] intervened as mediator at the Podestà's palace in Chios. In 1361, Antibus, Michael's son,[27] pursues trading activities between Chios and the mouth of the Danube. In 1362, the Genoese shipowners rebel against the old Mahone instituted by four traders who had diverted the island's profits to their advantage. Thus, as a result, circa twelve shipowner families demanded shipping costs reimbursements for the expedition of 1346. Consequently, they founded the New Mahone of Chios, one of the first financial share companies, in order to manage the island's trade, in which monopolies of the local mastic gum and the Phocea alum were excellent opportunities.

In 1366, this clan assumed the name Giustiniani for each of the 15 main shipowner families replacing their surnames with the VIth century Emperor's name pretending to be his descendants. The Moneglia family would join the Mahone of Chios before the end of the XIVth century after the Mahone of Cyprus was founded by Isnardo in 1374.[28] Leonardo participated in the Union of Churches in 1452 and wrote the history of the Constantinople's fall.[29]

The Genoese Reformation of 1528 instituted 28 political factions called Alberghi. The Giustiniani Albergo was the most numerous with 52 families, which included a second branch: the Mari de Moneglia Giustiniani, that followed the Giustiniani

15. *I Moneglia*, op. cit., p. 28, stirpe dei Moneglia di Piazza
16. A grave in Moneglia of a Moneglia was disentombed in 2000. In 1822 the central altar of San Nicola in Carbonara was translocated to the church of Saint George of Moneglia (comunal archives of Moneglia, courtesy of Frà Andrea Lercari) after lengthy legal procedures between the Convent of the Augustinians and the descendant Agostino Salvago from 1728 and 1730. (P. P. Pastorino, OAD, *Due conventi. Santuario della Madonnetta. Convento di San Nicola, Santuario della Madonnetta*, Genova, 2008, pp. 98-107 and 122) Saint Nicolas (*I Moneglia*, op. cit., p. 123) had been financed by the di Piazza Moneglia (*I Moneglia*, op. cit., pp. 119-124)
17. *I Moneglia*, op. cit., p. 139
18 A. Centi, op. cit., pp. 152-153
19 G. Firpo, *Epigrafi a Moneglia* in *I Moneglia*, op. cit., p. 6-10
20 *I Libri Iurum della Repubblica di Genova*, 1/8 a cura di Eleonora Pallavicino, Fonti per la Storia della Liguria, XVII, Genova, 2002, p. 69
21 Archivio di Stato, Genoa: O. Ganduccio, ms Biblioteca, 170, c. 613 r
22 G. Pistarino, *Notai genovesi in Oltremare*, not. Chilia A.di Ponzò, Collana Storica di Fonti di Studi, Genoa, 1971, pp 149-151, doc. 84
23 G. Pistarino, op. cit., Atti rogati a Chilia da Antonio di Ponzò (1360-1361), pp 155-168, doc. 87 (11-05-1361)
24 A. Roccatagliata, *Notai genovesi in Oltremare*, Atti rogati a Pera e Mitilene, I, Pera, in G. Pistarino, op. cit., 34/1, 1982, pp 44-46
25 Archivio di Stato, Genoa: *Notai antichi*, 548, Notaio Giovanni Labaino, 29-09-1410
26 P. Argenti, *The occupation of Chios by the Genoese*, Cambridge University Press, 1958, p. 511
27 G. Pistarino, op. cit., Atti rogati a Chilia da A. di Ponzò, doc. 23, 39, 40, 46, 49, 61, 78, 84
28 C. Otten Froux, *I Maonesi e la Maona Vecchia di Cipro*, in La storia dei Genovesi, XII/I, Genova, 1994, p. 111
29 *I Moneglia*, op. cit., p. 46

Cabani Moneglia branch. Paolo, Doge in 1569[30] was the most distinguished of this branch. With the end of the Reformation in 1576, the new branch no longer maintained the Albergo name.

Therefore, the Giustiniani surname became a vehicle to trace the Moneglia family memory together with all the other families of the clan! The same model was employed by the new nobility of Chios from 1566 to 1822.[31]

As a result of the close alliance between the Genoese and the Byzantines, a new language appears: the Chiotico-Levantine. Memory is maintained through the families and the many monuments they built in the Mediterranean.

The 7th migration: from Moneglia to Muniglia
1453 - from Byzantium to the Sicilian-Maltese communities

The Moneglia settle early in Sicily. We know Trapani as Genoese via its Saint Laurence church from 1102, but the family only appears from 1420[32]. This church becomes a cathedral after the loss of Chios to the Ottomans in 1566.

Syracuse was a Genoese settlement from 1194 to 1232. In 1454 in Syracuse, Tomeo[33] is Consul of the Sea of Syracuse, while his descendant Pino[34] becomes even Consul of the Sea in 1522. After the fall of Chios, the Moneglias and Giustinianis and invested in the finances of Messina.[35] In 1567, Vincent[36] creates the lodge of the Genoese under Saint-George-of-Genoese ruling the economy of Palermo and dealing with its financial management between two other Moneglia branches at Syracuse and Palazzolo Acreide[37]. The surnames changed, becoming formulated with a more Sicilian pronunciation, modified to Moniglia[38],

Monilia[39] Μονοίλια[40], Muneglia[41], Munegia, Munegla, Muniglia[42]... Thus, as a consequence of migration through their maritime vocation, the Moneglia were not confined to their Ligurian mother tongue, even if they were recognized as Genoese.

In 1522, Jerome from Chios is a Dragoman[43] for the Ottomans during the surrender of Rhodes of the Knights of St. John. Welcoming the Knights in Malta from the Harbour of Syracuse, in 1530[44], the Moneglias began living between Malta and Syracuse until a sub-branch settled in Malta in 1594[45]. In 1623, Giuseppe[46] was appointed Consul of the Greek and Epidauric Nations by the Order of Malta. The war of Savoy against Genoa, in 1625, cost a great deal to the Genoese families who paid for the State's expenses. In 1798, Annetto was Napoleon's interpreter during his removal of the Order of Malta.[47] Detachment from the motherland was felt by now.

From Spain[48] to Asia Minor, in an international Malta facing towards the Barbary Coast, non-Ligurian languages erase the memory and traumas of history, but the family remains the keeper of memories of a "paradise lost".

The 8th migration: The Muniglia
1960: from Tunisia to France

Already in the XVIth century, the Moneglia had some privileges in trade with Tunisia[49], where the Genoese had established the Capuchins in 1661 in Sousse. By repressing piracy in the Mediterranean, in 1815, the Congress of Vienna opened trade

30 *I Moneglia*, op. cit., pp. 87-89

31 M. Balard, *L'origine des Levantins:* I. Koukounis, *The nobility of Chios* in the symposium « Who are the Levantines », Smyrna, 2014

32 Archivio di Stato, Trapani: *Notai antich*i, Notaio de Nuris, vol. 8567-8571, 1420-1443

33 G.M. Capodieci, *Tavole cronologiche Sacro-profane di Siracusa...*, Archivio episcoplae di Siracusa, XVIIIth c., vol. II, p. 605

34 Consigli del Senato, Syracuse, vol. 1, 1528, Nobilis Pinus Monegla, Consul Maris

35 M.C. Calabrese, *« Figli della città ». Consoli genovesi in Sicilia in età moderna*, ed. Franco Angeli, Milano, 2018

36 R. Patricolo, San Giorgio dei Genovesi, ed. Centro S. Mamiliano, Palermo, 2006, not. pp. 143-151

37 *I Moneglia*, op. cit., pp. 148-149. We excluded relatives from Corsica or Tuscany as the focus is only our ancestry

38 *Moneglia*, op. cit., pp. 134-138

39 This branch of Porto Empedocle comes from a natural child whose descendants now live in Rome

40 Δ. Μελαχρινοθδης, Καλιμασια Χιου, 2015. Even Δ. Μιοτερης is owner of two properties Μονόλια in Κηνη. Παναγια Σικιλια is in centre.

41 *I Moneglia*, op. cit., pp. 149. Muneglia remains in Vittoria, even if very frequent it is spelt differently in Sicily as Munegla, Munegia...

42 *I Moneglia*, op. cit., pp. 140-147. The spelling of our branch changed so many times!

43 *I Moneglia*, op. cit., p. 140 & Mgr U. Foglietta, Dell'Istorie di Genova, ed. Heredi di Girolamo Bartoli, Genova, 1597, p. 648

44 Wedding of Catherine daughter of Matthew, Parish Archive of Birgu, Malta, 03-05-1530

45 Wedding of Nicolo, son of Catherine and Matthew, with Desiata Pisano, Parish Archive of Senglea, Malta, 1594

46 National Library, funds Order of Malta, Bull done by the Grand Master Antony de Paula, 13-11-1623, f. 286

47 *I Moneglia*, op. cit., p. 143

48 Enrique Otte, *Sevilla y sus mercaderes a fines de la Edad Media*, Universidad de Sevilla, 1996, the Moneglia are in numerous Genoese

49 In 1599, Matthew purchases 53 Christian slaves, in G. Bonaffini, *Sicilia e il mercato degli schiavi alla fine del 1500*, ed. Palma, pp. 69-74

routes in North Africa to Annetto Muniglia's new base from 1829-1830[50]. There, the Muniglia family supported and protected the Catholic Church established within a majority Islamic population and continued its role as community leaders until the arrival of the French in 1881. However, in 1869 the family's ships sank during a storm in the Gulf of Sousse[51] and in the face of industrialization the maritime vocation of the family could not recover. The surname stabilizes by the end of the XIXth century to the spelling 'Muniglia' which has precedence over orality, isolated from the cultures of the *Mare Nostrum* when the family was forced[52] to flee to France in 1960.[53] The French pronunciation singles out this surname as a linguistic intruder within the "One and Indivisible Republic".

Despite the silencing of the family's historical memory through language and cultural assimilation, the written word has preserved memory over centuries. In the face of language amnesia, memory is written in DNA, monuments, inscriptions and archives as an inexhaustible source of knowledge of this diasporic family.

Bio

Jerome was destined to pursue a career as a municipal archaeologist in Melun but instead decided to raise a family of four children and to become a teacher. This gave him the freedom to involve himself in various research projects. He graduated with a Master in Archaeology in 1994 at the Panthéon Sorbonne on the medieval urbanism of Melun. He has authored a range of articles on the Bray-sur-Seine's barony, monuments and economy (1997-2003). Jerome is author of the book: *I Moneglia*, ed. Moneglia, 2005. He is founder of a number of family associations : Monilia, 1991; Justinian families, 2006; New Justiniani's Mahone, 2015.

Jerome created the medieval festival of Chios, 2018 (historic theater staged with music, singing and dancing).
He is a Member of the Società di Storia Patria, Genoa; the International Institute of Ligurian Studies; Honorific President of the Greek Levantines, 2015; Delegate for Greece of the Overseas Genovese Company, 2019. Jerome has participated in symposia in Athens (Levantines, 2018); Monaco (Ligurian language, 2019) …
He created the symposia: "Who are the Levantines ?", Izmir, 2014; "The Justiniani between Genoa and Chios", Voltri, 2018. Jerome also instigated the Center for Historical Studies of the Genovese Overseas, 2016.

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50 *I Moneglia*, op. cit., p. 144
51 *I Moneglia*, op. cit., p. 145
52 Annetto refused French and British citizenship until 1955. Hesitating to flee to Canada, from amnesiac language, the cold dissuaded him.
53 After the independence of Tunisia, half of the Maltese diaspora is Francophones: Denis is their international Maltese Representative

(New) Italians leaving Italy: an emerging phenomenon

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Abstract

Italy is faced with a phenomenon thought relegated to the past when the Italians exited the borders of the nation with a miserable cardboard suitcase, and almost simultaneously is discussing one of the inevitable consequences of having been to many years a country of immigration: the request to obtain a precise territorial identity by the second generations of children and young people born to foreign parents. There are two issues apparently unrelated to each other, but which actually show many points in common that this contribution intends to analyze starting from the data linked by the Rapporto Italiani del Mondo 2019.

Keywords:

Among the different topics that crowd Italian political and media debate in recent years, we periodically hear about the complex issue of reform of citizenship laws and Italian mobility abroad. Italy finds itself having to deal with a phenomenon that it thought was now relegated to the past when compatriots traversed national borders with a miserable cardboard suitcase, and almost simultaneously found themselves discussing one of the inevitable consequences of having been for many years in a country of immigration: the request to obtain a precise territorial identity from the second generations of children and youngsters born to foreign parents. There are two phenomena apparently unrelated to each other, but which in reality show many points in common. If the acquisition of citizenship can be considered an indicator of integration, it does not necessarily represent an indication of the desire to settle definitively on a territory, in particular for those who acquire it at a very young age. The mobility of the "new" Italians raises questions about the differences that can be found in the migration journey of an Italian emigrant: what are the nationalities of origin, the reasons for the acquisition, the propensity to emigrate according to the citizenship of origin and the trajectories? The present contribution proposal will try to answer these questions starting from the analysis of the recent statistical framework offered by the Rapporto Italiani nel Mondo 2019.

The growing number of "new" Italians is unquestionably impacting the social and demographic dynamics of our country.

The acquisition of citizenship is considered an indicator of stabilization and integration in the country of acquisition (Migration policy group in coordinamento con iniziative e studi sulla multietnicità, 2013).

The number of citizenships granted, in fact, can be taken as a sign of a process of establishing the foreigner in the host community. The initial possession of a citizenship different from the Italian one and the subsequent naturalization also gives the indication of a more substantial contribution of the "new" Italians to the increase of expatriates (Sanfilippo, Vignali, 2017).

In 2017, after more than a decade of increase, the acquisitions of Italian citizenship decreased

by 26.4% compared to the previous year when they had reached the figure of 185,000, falling to 135.814. The decrease involved acquisition by residence and transmission by parents, while acquisition by marriage and by *ius sanguinis* by descent from Italian ancestors increased[1] - Brazil - (Graph 1). In fact, the literature underlines that those who have made a first migratory movement have greater ease in moving around the territory. For example, 3,268 naturalized persons who were cancelled abroad and acquired Italian citizenship in 2017. In the years between 2012 and 2017, of the more than 744,000 foreigners who became Italian, almost 43,000 people moved their residency abroad - 54.1% over 13,000 of these only in 2016. Therefore, the mobility of "new "Italians begins to assume the entity of a phenomenon that cannot be ignored; although still small, it is an emerging dynamic in the international migration scene.

The analysis of national origin shows that some communities have a greater propensity to migrate after having acquired citizenship. There is a high proportion of Italians of Brazilian origin with over 28 emigrants, with a gender imbalance in favor of men: over 36 purchases for every 100 acquisitions for men and just over 22 for women. In particular, there are the mobile communities of the Indian subcontinent: Bangladesh, with more than 21 emigrations for every 100 citizenship acquisitions, Pakistan with almost 11% and India with 8.9% rank among the top 10 countries, which is greater than new Italians emigrated abroad. The countries of the Indian subcontinent are also distinguished by a greater propensity of women emigrating following the whole acquisition of citizenship.

It should be emphasized that the Albanian and Mo-

roccan communities, in absolute value the most affected by the acquisition of citizenship, tend to emigrate much less frequently after becoming Italian: about 7% in the case of Moroccans and about 1% in that of Albanians. More than 72% of the flows of emigrants who acquired Italian citizenship between 2012 and 2017 are destined to move to another EU country (Licari, Rottino, 2019, p. 39).

Still considering the nationality of origin, there are quite evident differences in behavior with respect to the reason for acquisition. For the community of the Indian subcontinent, a greater propensity to migrate between those who acquired citizenship by marriage stands out, while for those of Brazilian origin, the proportion is higher. High number of emigrations is among those who obtained citizenship by residence. It is important to underline, however, that for Brazil the acquisition of citizenship by residence has different methods of completion. Being a country that, like Argentina, has welcomed hundreds of thousands of Italian emigrants during the phase of the great transoceanic emigrations, for these citizens the recognition of Italian citizenship often takes place by descent (jure sanguinis): if an Italian ancestor has existed, citizenship is recognized upon registration in a municipality in Italy, but without the obligation of the routine residence requirement of ten years provided by law.

On average, EU citizens who have become Italians tend to move abroad in a brief period compared to non-EU citizens. 37% moved one year after the acquisition, while among non-EU foreign citizens the share is 21%. There are also differences between the various communities: about half of Ghanaians, Indians, Moroccans, Tunisians and Albanians leave the country after three years from obtaining Italian citizenship. 57% of Brazilians expatriate after one year from obtaining citizenship (Licata, 2019).

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[1]   http://dati.istat.it/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=DCIS_AC-QCITIZ# (last Access 08/11/2019)
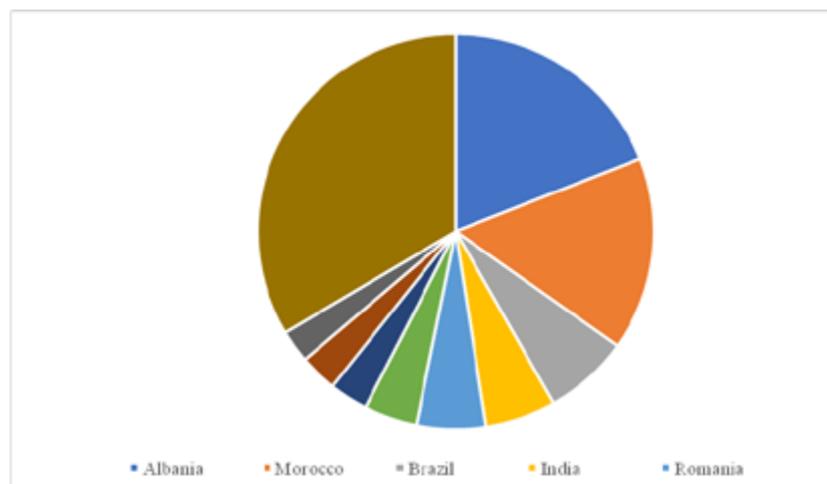
Graph 1. Acquisition of Italian citizenship by country of origin

ISTAT, http://dati.istat.it/

Territorially, the area that receives the majority of foreigners residing in Italy is the Center-North and it is from there that the flows towards the naturalized foreigners depart more frequently. Leading the way are Brescia and Vicenza with over 3,000 foreigners who became Italian between 2012 and 2017 and emigrated in the same period. However, it is the provinces of Reggio Calabria and Syracuse that register the greatest incidence of those who cancel their work abroad for the total of the new Italians with over 18% (Licari, Rottino, 2019, p. 41).

Considering all the immigrants of foreign origin, the main destinations change not only according to the citizenship of origin, but also to the presence or not of naturalization. For many non-EU foreigners, the recognition of Italian citizenship is seen as the pass to be able to move freely between the countries of the European Union. The free movement of people and workers is a fundamental principle, enshrined in Article 45 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the Union, according to which EU citizens have the right to seek work in another EU country, work in that country without the need for a work permit, live and stay in the country even when the professional activity has come to an end and, finally, enjoy equal treatment with respect to national citizens as regards to access to work, working conditions , as well as any other social and fiscal benefits.

The countries of the European Union are therefore the destination of about 31,000 (72%) naturalized people between 2012 and 2017. Not only. For 96% of Bangladeshi and Ghanaian citizens, 93% of Pakistan's 92% of Morocco's citizens, the EU is the only option. For the originals of Brazil and Macedonia we can speak, instead, of a return migration.

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Bio

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Forgetting where they started: The Italians of San Francisco

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Abstract

Today's Italians of San Francisco are among the most affluent members of the global Italian Diaspora, having created institutions such as the Bank of America (1904) and the Ghirardelli chocolate business (1851). Indeed, this community is often singled out as epitomising the opportunity for social mobility afforded by fledgling American capitalism. A study of the credit checks carried out on its members during the 1870s, however, reveals that they faced undue discrimination at the hands of financial institutions. A comparative analysis of these individuals routinely denied financial support with their leadership roles in the young Italian-American community of San Francisco reveals the wide discrepancy between their reputation in this Little Italy with their repute outside it, and the variety of economic strategies adopted by them.

> *… You have seen them*
>
> *every day in Washington Square San Francisco*
>
> *the slow bell*
>
> *tolls in the morning*
>
> *in the Church of Saint Peter & Paul*
>
> *in the marzipan church on the plaza …*

(Lawrence Ferlinghetti, 'The Old Italians Dying')

Ferlinghetti's 1979 poem deals with the role of memory in the construction of a narrative that would explain the success and durability of the Italians in San Francisco. In the 1970s this success was explained by historians as a product of the preponderance of Northern Italians from Liguria and Tuscany in the city's immigrant mix.[1] A decade later it was seen by historian Dino Cinel as part of a lock-step process that saw regional immigrant loyalties giving way to broader groupings and then the adoption of an assimilated American outlook.[2]

More recently this apparent success has been re-assessed in far more relativist terms, placing San Francisco's Italians in the broader Pacific labour market, and suggesting that the high level of success was somewhat mythical.[3] What a fresh look at new primary sources will now show is that the historical amnesia around the early decades of San Francisco's Little Italy has also meant that their business solutions for the problems they faced have also been forgotten.

Walking south through North Beach from Washington Square along Columbus Avenue, past Ferlinghetti's City Lights Bookstore, one's eye is caught by a very tall pyramidal skyscraper built in 1972. Before the bank moved to Baltimore, this was the headquarters of Transamerica, a powerful symbol of the Little Italy area out of which the bank grew. To understand why this city's Italians needed to build their own bank, a useful starting place are the R.G. Dun & Co Papers, housed at the Harvard Business School. This is a key primary source, well used by

1 Deanna Paoli Gumina, *The Italians of San Francisco, 1850-1930: Gli italiani di San Francisco, 1850-1930*, Center for Migration Studies, New York, 1978, pp. 11, 13

2 Dino Cinel, *From Italy to San Francisco: The Immigrant Experience*, Stanford University Press, Stanford CA, 1982

3 Sebastian Fichera, *Italy on the Pacific: San Francisco's Italian Americans*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2011

US business historians.[4]

Later known as Dun & Bradstreet, this company's records can be used to understand how Italians in San Francisco applying for financial credit were assessed in post-bellum America. Access to credit was a sore point for many groups in this era.[5]

There was clearly a wide cultural gap between the Italian-American entrepreneurs and the Anglo-American banking establishment based in New York City. This was as true of other little Italys across America as it was in San Francisco's North Beach. Examples of assessments will give the flavour. Of Salvatore Assalino, it is said that he 'has a large family to support'. For an outsider this might be perceived as negative; for an Italian-American it would suggest the possibility of a pool of family labour from which to draw support in setting up the new business. The Tuscan Domenico Biagi and his business partner A. Galli were admitted to be 'temperate and industrious', but at the same time 'disagreeable'. Biagi was allegedly 'fast after women' (he was 28 when this assessment was made) and Galli was 'fond of card playing'. Another Italian, Campodonico, we are told, 'is of sober and industrious habits and a good workman, but very close and mean and reputedly tricky in his dealings.' There was a marked contrast between the implicit Calvinism of these reports and the local North Beach perceptions. Domenico Biagi, for example, might have appeared 'fast with women' in the Dun & Co reports, but he never married (unlike most of his contemporaries), and at the time of his death in 1909 was the vice-president of the local Italian Chamber of Commerce, as well as the head of a prosperous business. His story is not unique. When we read, alongside the credit assessments, other primary sources, such as local newspapers and Italian consular reports, a more complex picture emerges. Each of the entrepreneurs who unsuccessfully sought credit was – at the same time – almost always praised by their contemporaries for their involvement in the Italian Hospital, in the newspapers, in local industries, and in other activities. This is a damning indictment of the nativist assumptions within the credit reports.

And of course, there were Italian-Americans who did not seek loans from the American banks, such as the chocolatiers Ghirardelli, Achille Paladini ('the fish king') and G. B. Levaggi ('the olive oil king'). What we see in the business and community history of North Beach were alliances within and across the regional groupings of this Little Italy, with immigrants from Genoa, Lucca, Sestri Levante, Lorsica, Porcari in the North; Verbicaro in Cosenza; and Palermo, Trabia and Santa Flavia in Sicily. Into this heady mix came the glamorous A. P. Giannini and his family – their exact origin in Italy is still unknown, and that suited their business plan. Giannini wanted to create a bank that was acceptable and welcoming of all groups in San Francisco's Little Italy, so his own family's regional origins were never broadcast. Subsequent historians have shown, contrary to historian Cinel's schema, there was no simple progression from regional to national loyalties. Whatever might be true of other Little Italys across North America, San Francisco's Italians worked both inside and across regional ethnic boundaries.

Instead there was a coming together, an 'institutional completeness',[6] particularly after the 1906 earthquake, whose damage included a fire that ravaged the North Beach area. Contributing to this sense of 'institutional completeness' were A.P. Giannini's Bank of Italy, Rev. Piperni's Saint Peter and Paul Cathedral, John Fugazi's Casa Fugazi, and the Italian Community Welfare Association (established in 1858).[7] The family businesses seemed to succeed less because they embraced the tenets of American capitalism, and rather more because they held on to traditional Italian family values which gave them a sense of purpose and of continuity. The Musto Brothers, for instance, worked as a team, with one brother sourcing marble in their home town of Chiavari and the other importing it for sale in San Francisco. More case studies would no doubt support this hypothesis. A similar methodology in a study of long-running Italian family businesses in Melbourne, Australia, demonstrates this bonding across generations in business partnerships (with both horizontal and vertical connections in the family tree).[8]

Alongside family-centred businesses, San Francisco's Italians also adopted collectivist economic strategies, especially after the 1920s, the heyday of

4 James H. Madison, 'The credit reports of R. G. Dun & Co as historical sources', *Historical Methods Newsletter*, 1 September 1975, pp. 128-31
5 Josh Lauer, *Creditworthy: A History of Credit Surveillance and Financial Identity in America*, Columbia University Press, New York, 2017

6 Raymond Breton, 'Institutional completeness of ethnic communities and the personal relations of immigrants', *American Journal of Sociology*, 70, 1964, pp. 193-205
7 Fichera, *Italy on the Pacific*
8 Laura Hougaz, *Entrepreneurs in Family Business Dynasties: Stories of Italian-Australian Family Businesses over 100 Years*, Springer, 2015

Italian-American anarchism. One prominent worker-owned enterprise was the garbage collecting Sunset Scavenger Company, established in 1920 with 92 partners, growing to 320 by 1966.[9] (It was later re-branded as Recology.) On a much smaller scale, Ferlinghetti's City Lights bookstore began in 1953 as a partnership with Carlo Tresca's son Peter Dean Martin.

Conclusions

To the extent that Italians were advantaged in the San Francisco economy was not because they were Northern Italians, but because they were not Asians in a Pacific coast context where Asian labour and capital were subject to local discrimination. However, America's West was not a safety-valve for all Italians.[10] Events such as the Ludlow Massacre were etched in the memory of many Italian-Americans in the West.[11] Italians were as likely to be refused credit as the Jews and the Blacks. The Southerners arriving in San Francisco after 1880, and particularly after 1906, became customers and clients of the older Northerner group, and cemented their place in the local economy when they took over the fishing industry. San Francisco's Italians developed business strategies that were ultimately successful. There is a note of triumphalism in the closing stanzas of Ferlinghetti's poem:

… The other old men
        still alive on the benches
watch it all with their hats on
You have seen them sitting there
waiting for the bocce ball to stop rolling
waiting for the bell
for the slow bell
        to be finished tolling
telling the unfinished Paradiso story
as seen in an unfinished phrase
      on the face of a church
in a black boat without sails
making his final haul

(Ferlinghetti, 'The Old Italians Dying')

9 Stewart E. Perry, *San Francisco Scavengers: Dirty Work and the Pride of Ownership*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1978
10 Fichera, *Italy on the Pacific*
11 Paul Radin, *The Italians of San Francisco: Their Adjustment and Acculturation*, R and E Research Associates, San Francisco, 1970 [1935]

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Bio

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Out of This World: The Dream/Nightmare of Being Rid of Migrants

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Abstract

Polish sociologist Zygmunt Bauman discusses the necessity for "first world" countries to extend boundaries to host part of the "third world" so that the normal functioning of privileged countries can continue. An American film and a freely adapted Italian remake, offer scenarios in which anti-immigrant rhetoric comes face to face with its wishes. In *A Day Without a Mexican* (Sergio Arau, 2004) and *Cose dell'altro mondo* (Francesco Patierno, 2011) the hated immigrants disappear, leaving the country in total chaos. All assumptions about criminality associated with migrants and the danger that "foreigners" pose are dispelled in these two dystopic fables.

Keywords:

Other, Dystopia, Prejudice, Human rights

There is an old off-color joke that is sadly not going out of style: a Texan, a Mexican, and a black man find a lamp in the desert in Texas. They rub it and a genie comes out: "masters, you have three wishes, one each." The black man goes first and asks that he and his people be returned to Africa, to the cultures of their ancestors, to be allowed to develop without the trauma of slavery. Granted. Pouf! He disappears. The Mexican is visibly moved by this and wants to go next. "I wish that I and all of my people be returned to the glorious civilization of the Mayans and the Aztec to rebuild a better México!" Pouf, he disappears. The Texan says: "Let me get this straight: the blacks are gone, the Mexicans are gone? I'll have a Diet Coke…" The joke illustrates what Slavoj Žižek says about the impenetrability of cultures thrown together by forced migrations. In *Refugees, Terror and Other Troubles with the Neighbors* (2016) he argues that "the privileged way to reach a Neighbour is not that of empathy, of trying to understand them, but a disrespectful laughter which makes fun both of them and us in our mutual lack of (self-)understanding (inclusive of 'racist' jokes)."[1]

The issue of migrations and co-habitation cannot be looked at in terms of "invasion" and "need" alone, i.e., using just right- or left-wing rhetoric: all sides of the issue should be considered: the migrants', that of the people left behind and how departures affect their socio/economical life, and host countries' indigenous people's, as Paul Collier argues in *Exodus. How Migration is Changing Our World* (2013).

Zizek invites us to consider how resistance to understanding comes from both camps and what is at stake is not "humanitarian empathy" *per se* but rather an "ethical duty" to help in order "to remain decent people."[2] That duty does not preclude dislike. Interpreting Lacan's theory of *jouissance* vis-à-vis immigration, Zizek sees it as the psychoanalytic reason for the impossibility of co-habitation with the foreigner, the "other": "what 'bothers' us in the 'other' (Jew, Japanese, African, Turc…) is that he appears to have a privileged relationship to the object – the other either possesses the object-treasure, having snatched it away from us (which is why we don't have it), or poses a threat to our possessions

1 Slavoj Žižek, *Refugees, Terror and Other Troubles with the Neighbors. Against the Double Blackmail*, 87.

2 Ibid. 90

of the object."[3] Or, in other words, the other's *jouissance* causes our jealousy and feeling of exclusion: we believe we want what they have. This explains the success of politicians who foment a "guerra tra i poveri" (paupers' war): migrants steal our jobs, rape our women, and disrespect our laws/religion. Two recent films wittily illustrate what would happen if the pesky problem of migrants suddenly vanished. In *A Day Without a Mexican* (Sergio Arau, 2004) and *Cose dell'altro mondo* (Francesco Patierno, 2011) immigrants disappear, leaving the privileged and unprivileged in total chaos. Both films show the anachronism of a wished-for utopian mono-cultural reality, which can only turn into a dystopia once people realize how deeply woven into the fabric of society immigrants really are. These two dystopic fables dispel myths and assumptions about criminality associated with legal or illegal migrants and confirm Zygmunt Bauman's words that "a good deal [of the] estimated threat [of global terrorism 'is a fantasy that has been exaggerated and distorted by politicians.'"[4]

The premise of *A Day Without a Mexican* is that one day all Hispanics disappear from a fog-enveloped California and the normal functioning of the state gets to a standstill. In the general bewilderment and discomfort, the film offers interesting data: a third of Californians are Latinos (13 million people); 20% of k-12 teachers are Hispanic, as are 60% of construction workers and half of border patrol officers. With over a third of consumers gone, bankruptcy is a reality for many businesses; Hispanics buy 25% of all Toyota and Ford cars and consume 48% of all hamburgers; California's number one industry is agriculture and a mixture of documented and undocumented workers is responsible for sowing and harvesting 90% of crops. If it is true that Latinos "took" 3 billion dollars in social services, they also contribute 100 billion to the economy of the state. A 97 billion profit seems like a fair trade-off. The film plays on the pervasiveness of stereotypes that make people identify as "Mexican" any Hispanic they encounter, while there are 40 countries south of the border. Lyla Rod, a Mexican-raised TV reporter (whose real name is Lila Rodriguez) is told to "go native" and not hide her roots and her accent since they want the "Latino sabor." She is asked to read copy about "Cinco de mayo, a Latino holiday." When she objects that it is really just a Mexican holiday, her ability to "habla

español" is questioned. Senator Abercrombie objects to using "illegal Mexicans from Guatemala and Honduras," as he eats the huevos rancheros his maid has prepared for him, and the black cop dispensing parking tickets says: "They call them Hispanics: Cubans, Colombians, Bolivians, Argentins [sic]… they're all Mexicans, right?" Of course, the 13 million Hispanics in California are not just low-income workers: 8 of the L.A. Dodgers are Latinos, and so are several celebrities, actors, scientists, and people from all walks of life.

The film shows that people belong to the land they inhabit and that there are limitations to "multiculturalism," that easy blanket word that prompts people to advocate for "cultural diversity" without fixing the social inequality that generates it. While it is true that there are successful Latinos and esteemed professionals and that Americans love a modified, fattier version of Mexican cuisine, it is also true that the vast majority of Hispanics employed in California (or in the US at large) constitute a proletarian labor force, often underpaid and underappreciated. No country today is exclusively a place of immigration or emigration. If, as Bauman holds, "it is difficult to ascertain who legally belongs and who is a stranger, who is at home, and who is an intruder,"[5] mutual tolerance can become the foundation for human solidarity to protect "the inherent dignity and . . . the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family [which] is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world ," as the 1948 United Nations "Universal Declaration of Human Rights" states.

The freely inspired Italian "remake" of Arau's film is a bit less convincing than its Mexican-American model because it tries to push comedy for comedy's sake rather than highlighting the seriousness of the problems that losing 8.3% of taxpayers would generate. The film relies on actor Diego Abatantuono's ability to portray Mariso Golfetto, an obtuse equal-opportunity racist whose deepest regret is having lost his Nigerian call girl (ciccia[6]), as the world around him crumbles: his factory is deserted, old people wander the streets of Bassano del Grappa with no caretakers (because about 2 million non-EU women immigrants are caretakers), nobody collects garbage, hospitals barely function, fruit is left unpicked, bars and restaurants close, as well as gas stations and supermarkets, fishing boats do not leave ports, trucks transporting goods and food are abandoned on the road, soccer champion-

3 Slavoj Žižek, *The Metastases of Enjoyment*, 71.
4 Zygmunt Bauman, *Liquid Times. Living in an Age of Uncertainty*, 15 –quoting Adam Curtis' documentary series *The Power of Nightmares: The Rise of the Politics of Fear*, a BBC2 production.

5 Zygmunt Bauman, *Culture in a Liquid Modern World*, 36.
6 A common term of endearment.

ships are suspended (since over 300 soccer players in Italy are foreigners), and even churches need to close down (given that 50% of priests, especially in Central Italy, come from countries outside the EU). The film feels like a missed opportunity to make a real impact, using the mass appeal of the talented actors involved[7] to, perhaps, get some unenlightened person to thinking what would actually happen if over 5 million people actively contributing to the country's economy disappeared without a trace. Instead, the film is uneven, with some moments of genius and some ideas not brought to fruition. For instance, chanting "meno male che ciccia c'è" (thank god, *ciccia* is here) on the notes of Berlusconi's "hymn" "Meno male che Silvio c'è" after receiving fellatio in his car underscores the crassness of the film's protagonist and the meretricious nature of Italy's former Prime Minister; same with Golfetto's reaction to his workers' need to celebrate Ramadan ("vi faccio prendere un po' di sole così vi abbronzate"), which recalls Berlusconi's words when Barak Obama was elected (he famously commented on his "being tanned"). Or yet, Golfetto's choice not to have his TV station broadcast the news about factories struggling without employees in favour of a program selling a slimming machine with a half-naked fat woman and an attractive skinny one (an example of trash TV objectifying women's bodies, which had been part of Berlusconi's broadcasting strategy for over 20 years).

What is truly disturbing, though, is the eerie similarities between Golfetto's ignorant rhetoric and Matteo Salvini's, the secretary of the *Lega* party, who both insist on the slogan "Italians first" –not too dissimilar from Trump's "making America great again," which in turn plagiarizes Hitler's project to make Germany great (again)" in his *Mein Kampf*. All nationalisms have in common a boundless love for one's country –in theory. In practice, they are breeding grounds for protectionist, parochial feelings, fanned by hatred of the "other" who wants a piece of the pie apparently without having any rights to it. Who has the rights, then, in nationalist discourses? Those born in a country? Italy does not recognize the *ius soli*. Those who pay taxes in a country and contribute to its economy? By that criterion immigrants should be welcomed. Those who speak the same language? Languages are easily learnt. Those who worship the same god? Many Eastern Europeans, all South Americans, and several Africans are Christians or Catholic. Those who eat the same food? Italian cuisine's most famous dishes are made with ingredients not indigenous to the country (or to the continent), imported and assimilated over time. What then? Poverty, for sure, is a crime... and there is no better weapon of mass distraction than pitting paupers against paupers to ensure that the rich will get richer and the poor will fight over a few crumbs. Limiting immigrants' access, their rights to seek asylum or shelter, or creating what Bauman calls "hyperghettoes"[8] is hardly the way to stop migratory fluxes. Walls of any kind bring attacks rather than security and breed desperation, along with the mirage of a better life on the other side of them. Bauman explores the idea in *Liquid Times*, discussing the oxymoronic concept of "permanence of transitoriness"[9]: migrants are here to stay –not the same people, but they'll keep on coming and denying them shelter and humanitarian aid can only destroy our humanity. If nothing else, cynically, hyperghettoes are not self-sustaining communities and "first world" countries need to extend boundaries to host part of the "third world" so that the normal functioning of their privileged lives can continue. The politics of fear and the hatred disseminated by unscrupulous politicians are oddly blind to the fact that in the past forty years "new Italians" have enriched the Italian social fabric as much as "new Americans" from Italy did over a century ago. Bauman also quotes Naomi Klein who says that "if a continent is serious about being a fortress, it also has to invite one or two poor countries within its walls, because somebody has to do the dirty work and heavy lifting."[10] That is surely the message of both films, but –more importantly—if we do not understand the value of solidarity we, as a society, are lost.

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7 Diego Abatantuono, Valerio Mastrandrea, Valentina Lodovini.

8 Zygmunt Bauman, *Liquid Times. Living in an Age of Uncertainty*, 46.

9 Ibid. 47.

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Bio

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Political emigration in Genoa during the Risorgimento in the Mazzinian Institute – Museum of Risorgimento's collections. Notes for a story

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Abstract

The Museum of Risorgimento in Genoa, based in the house where Giuseppe Mazzini was born, has always been an exception among other Italian museums due to its history and to its collections. Indeed, it was originally envisioned as a small "memorial museum" as early as 1875, few years after Giuseppe Mazzini's death. It was the first and only museum devoted to representing the Risorgimento from a Republican and Mazzinian point of view.

Since then, its history has gradually developed, and 1934 saw the creation of the Mazzinian Institute, a research centre complete with an exhibition space, an archive and a specialised library. At the same time, thanks to donations and acquisitions, its collections have continued to grow until today, and they now constitute a rich historical heritage consisting of paintings, prints, photos, antiques, documents, journals, and monographs, dating until the first half of the 20th century.

Especially relevant is the section concerning political emigration. After the uprisings of 1821 and 1848, thousands of exiles reached Genoa; some stayed, some only passing, most illegally and seeking shelter. This is testified by Bianca Montale's superb research on political emigration in Genoa and Liguria during the decade between 1849 and 1859, which examines records preserved in the State Archives of Genoa and Turin, in the Mazziniano Institute and in the Historical Archives of Genoa.

Keywords:

Revolutions, Exiles, Migrations, Differences

After the fall of Napoleon, the Congress of Vienna (1814 - 1815) wanted to give Europe a new and stable geo-political structure, but it did not take into consideration the aspirations of peoples seeking national unity and independence. Throughout Europe, Secret societies inspired by liberal ideals were founded in order to counter the repressive policies of autocratic governments. This event also happened in Italy, where the *Carboneria* was affirmed and led to the first revolutionary attempts against the absolutist regimes between 1820 and 1831, all repressed by the governments, often with the intervention of Austrian troops.

In Genoa the revolutionary movements had a different characteristic than those carried out elsewhere, including in Turin. In Genoa, in fact, it was not a revolt planned by progressive nobles and military, but a spontaneous demonstration of popular protest against the Piedmontese government. Even in the Ligurian capital revolutionary attempt failed, but those who took part in the Ligurian-Piedmontese movement were allowed to escape, going into voluntary exile, embarking on ships provided by the same authorities.

What happened during the year 1848 was more far-reaching, so much so that the expression "do forty-eight" then became a synonym of revolution. In fact, '48 was the year of revolutions: Europe was upset by a wave of revolutionary uprisings caused by the severe economic crisis of 1846-47, that had exacerbated the gap between social classes, particularly affecting the most humble part of the

population; the difference with the past consisted in the fact that, in addition to freedom and independence, there was also a struggle for social equality, with a greater participation of workers.

The revolutionary fire that broke out in Paris in February as a result of the action of working class and the petty bourgeoisie spread rapidly in Germany and in the Hapsburg Empire, with insurrections in Vienna, Berlin, Prague and Budapest.

In Italy, the patriotic movement had as its main objectives the national unification and independence from foreign domination, but the ideas about their achievement were different. On the one hand, the democrats with Giuseppe Mazzini advocated the republican ideal, on the other the moderates of Cesare Balbo, supporter of a constitutional monarchy under the Savoy, and of Vincenzo Gioberti, who proposed a confederation of States presided by the Pope.

Before Paris, the revolt had broken out in January 1848 in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, in Palermo, against the oppressive government of Ferdinand II of Bourbon, initiating the popular unrest that soon spread throughout the Peninsula - Grand Duchy of Tuscany, Kingdom of Sardinia, Papal State -, forcing the sovereigns to follow the Sicilian example, so promulgating Constitutions based on the French model.

The riot of March 13 in Vienna had immediate repercussions in the Veneto and Lombardy regions: in Venice on March 17th the insurgent people expelled the Austrians, rebuilding the ancient Republic of San Marco; the famous "Five Days" (18-23 March) took place almost simultaneously in Milan.

Under the pressure of the Milanese insurrection, the King of Sardinia Carlo Alberto on March 23, 1848 declared war on Austria, but the defeat of the Piedmontese army in Novara, occurred the following year, caused the return of Austrian hegemony on the Peninsula.

All sovereigns regained control of the situation through a ruthless repression, especially the Austrians in Lombardy-Veneto region. The constitutional freedoms granted in '48 were abolished, except in the Kingdom of Sardinia where the Constitution – the Albertine Statute - was maintained, becoming a destination for political emigrates coming from different Italian states.

To understand the political migratory phenomenon that interested Genoa, it is essential to start from the masterful study led by Bianca Montale[1], through the careful examination of the conspicuous documentation present in the Genoese and Turin Archives[2].

Despite the difficulties deriving from the heterogeneity and the lack of sources, researches have shown the extent and the weight of the migration phenomenon in Genoa, which was considerable in terms of number and characteristics, causing a consistent graft of "foresti", a term commonly used even today, to indicate who is not really Genoese, regardless of regional origins or nationalities.

After the great revolutionary season of 1848-1849 Genoa and Turin became the safest landing places for those fleeing because persecuted for political reasons, above all because after the revolutions, the Kingdom of Sardinia was the only one with a legal system - albeit with limits -, able to guarantee a greater freedom of thought, protection from the revenge of the absolutist governments, and greater possibilities of socio-economic inclusion.

The migratory phenomenon in Genoa had peculiar characteristics, accentuated by the fact that Genoa was a port city; in fact Genoa was not only a place of landing, but also a place of transit and departure to other destinations, both voluntarily or caused by the decisions of the police. This characteristic must be considered when evaluating the fluctuations of numbers of exiles in the official documentation, as well as the fact that a significant part of exiles present in the city lived in hiding - for political reasons or more often for lack of sources of livelihood and housing – thus escaping from police investigations.

In 1848, an increasingly large influx of exiles arrived in the Kingdom of Sardinia, which highlighted the fact that the authorities were unprepared to face that phenomenon, with quick repercussions on the public order, especially in Genoa

The Democratic deputy of the first Chamber of the Kingdom of Sardinia Domenico Buffa, sent to Genoa as extraordinary commissioner in December 1848 with executive powers, came up with a proposal for an "exceptional law" in order to impose the obligation on all foreigners to disclose their means of subsistence within twenty-four hours, on pain of expulsion; in any case, the residence permit was granted "with reserve" and sub-

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1 B.Montale, *L'Emigrazione politica in Genova ed in Liguria (1849-1859*, Sabatelli, Savona, 1982.
2 Archivio di Stato di Genova, Istituto Mazziniano – Museo del Risorgimento, Archivio Storico del Comune di Genova; Archivio di Stato di Torino.

jected to checks also for those entitled to get it.

The first law voted by the subalpine parliament in November 1848 also included an economic allocation of 200,000 liras to face those problems connected to the "very large number" of refugees, largely composed by the so-called "fusi" (coming from the Lombardo-Veneto and the Ducati), establishing in Turin a "Central Committee for emigration", which included both representatives of the Municipality and emigrants, while no similar institutions were established in Genoa until 1850.

The exiles who most were a source of concern for the authorities were those coming from Romagne, from Emilia, but, above all those from Rome, especially after the tragic end of the republican experience; among the latter also Mazzini, Bixio and Garibaldi, guilty of having performed military service or public functions abroad", and therefore deprived of the enjoyment of the civil rights inherent to the quality of subjects, pursuant to Article 34 of the Civil Code," so they must be rejected like any other foreigner"[3].

The ministerial circulars of August 1849 had reiterated the two fundamental conditions for receiving the temporary residence permit: having their own means of subsistence or in any case finding them, exercising a profession, art or trade in a stable manner; not having raised complaints or suspects about the held conduct.

The unemployed, the idle, those who had often changed residence without a justified reason, those who had been guilty of crimes (already tried or even only reported) were not entitled to obtain the permit

The Mayors had to disseminate information about the obligation for immigrants to register with their families within eight days; the unemployed had fifteen days to find a work. This data, including connotations, were transmitted to the public security authorities, which were those competent to release the authorizations to stay. Few people registered in Genoa; in some suburban municipalities no one showed up, despite their existence being well known.

The view held by the Genoese authorities was uncertain and discontinuous. If on the one hand the Government issued provisions and directives aimed at restricting entry, favoring repatriation or expulsion, and asking diplomatic representatives to limit

the issue of passports, on the other hand, all these behaviors were largely disregarded, with the motivation - explicit or not - to protect the political exiles from their governments; and in any case many arrived in Genoa without documents.

With some ministerial notes, the so-called "hot heads", which were not allowed to enter in the Kingdom of Sardinia were signaled to the authorities. More often they were elements of alternative thinks, many of which were the so-called "romagnoli" - subjects of the Pope - and those who came from the Roman Republic; fewer problems for those coming from the Veneto region and for former officers, who very often received subsidies.

On the basis of the numbers found in the official documentation, the declarations of domicile referred to the ministerial prescriptions previously cited in the province of Genoa were 645, of which 542 were located in Genoa city. Moreover, there were about 300 poor people housed in the Lanterna barracks; they were those who did not want to identify themselves as emigrants, but who were devoid of any means, about which in the documents stated that "one has the enticement of being able to direct them to a distant region abroad".

In the same police papers, it is stated that about 100 other people were present in Genoa but not registered by the public security authority. In the following years, data was more or less in line with the previous count; in 1852 with 713 people were in possession of the certificate of stay according to a report by the Quaestor in January, and 1043 according to the data provided by the Intendant at the end of March; this compared to an estimated population of around 90,000 individuals.

More certain are the numbers regarding the expulsions (for example, 179 expelled in March 1850), and of those subjected to surveillance (55 in the same period), recorded in police cards, data that seem to show a progressive increase over time , hand in hand with a general intensification of the controls, while nothing can be known about voluntary departures, except for some prominent personalities against the exiled.

In Genoa the situation was made even more fluid by the fact that a significant part of the exiles who arrived in the city moved elsewhere: for example, the exponents of the moderate exiled reached Turin and Piedmont, while the Democrats went abroad (mainly France, England or South America), voluntarily or expelled, depending on the relations

3 Archivio di Stato di Genova, Gabinetto di Prefettura, cart.69.

with the countries of destination.

In parliament, discussions and projects regarding the legal status of refugees were on the agenda, with the Democrats inclined to increase the chances of immigrants to enter the kingdom, while the moderates were fearful that indiscriminate naturalization could create problems of public order and difficulties to the state finances.

Even among the emigrants there were those who tried to propose solutions to promote social inclusion in the kingdom. In August 1849 Opprandino Arrivabene presented a project for the construction of a colony for political exiles in Sardinia; the proposal did not progress, even though numerous exiles arrived on the island, where, in the meantime, on the government's request, some Genoese entrepreneurs were laying the foundations for investments in mining and agricultural activities, and in navigation lines.

Regarding the public press, despite the difference of opinions, the phenomenon was perceived and debated as a problem. Concerning instead public opinion, the fears for the stolen jobs - which was echoed in the Catholic Church - were in contrast with initiatives, - mostly private, starting from the establishment of the first mutual aid companies - aimed at teaching or giving an employment to immigrants.

The press began to actively deal with the phenomenon, thus animating the discussion; the democratic news papers - the "Flag of the People" and "The Tribune" - where often the same exiles who had collaborated for economic reasons, claimed that those who had fought for the independence of Italy had the titles and merits to be accepted in the Kingdom of Sardinia.

On the Catholic side (whose representatives symbolized the "legal country", thus the one that in particular held the administrative power in the city, received thanks to the few who enjoyed the right to vote) proved mistrustful if not open hostile, in particular towards those fleeing from the Papal States .

In general, however, the entire press was more or less fairly in agreement with the need to distinguish between true and false political emigration. However, even in the newspapers, the uncertainty of data about the migratory phenomenon emerges.

Bio

Raffaella Ponte is Director of the Mazzinian Institute – Museum of the Risorgimento and Director of the Historical Archives of the City of Genoa, where she can exploit her specialized curriculum in the historical and archival/museum field. Since graduating in Modern Literature at the University of Genoa and she has added a degree in Archivist, Latin and diplomatic Palaeography and Genoese Notary Scripture, with experience as a teacher of Bachelors and Masters courses at the University of Genoa focusing on the themes of such sectors. Activities related to the management roles of the two Genoese cultural institutes are devoted to the preservation, information and development of the historical, artistic and archival patrimony, and also to the conception and realization of exhibitions, the last being *THE WAR ON DISPLAY. The First World Conflict in the collections of the Museo delle Guerre d'Italia* (catalogue by R. Ponte, C. Stiaccini, Termanini Ed. 2017).

Liliana Bertuzzi is graduated in Classic Literature at the University of Genoa. She carried out work at the Mazzinian Institute – Museum of the Risorgimento, mainly dealing with educational and didactic initiatives. Currently she is President of the Genoa Committee of the Institute for the History of the Risorgimento, and she has always been involved in historical research and in the enhancement of the cultural heritage related to the Risorgimento.

Is the memory of Italian emigration able to attenuate the xenophobic attitudes of public opinion and institutions? The opinion of historians of Italian emigration

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Abstract

On the occasion of the "National Day of Sacrifice of Italian Work in the World", the memory of Italian emigration as an antidote to xenophobia towards current immigrants is recommended. Historians of Italian emigration, however, doubt the pedagogical effectiveness of this recommendation and of their research. According to them, the comparison between Italian emigration and current immigration hides a paternalistic and Eurocentric intent that presents immigrants as passive victims in need of assistance from Italians. For example, the xenophobic political party, the Lega Nord, has not lost its memory of Italian emigration, but this in no way diminishes its prejudice against immigrants

Keywords:

The reasons for the popularity and "public use" of the past exodus of Italians have long been illustrated by authoritative scholars. Emilio Franzina believes that to spread the memory of Italian emigration is the search for a collective identity. The presence of immigrants in Italy also leads to comparisons with a past that, before their massive arrival, had been almost forgotten (Martellini, 2003). Ercole Sori claims, on the one hand, that the memory of the sacrifices of Italian emigrants is revived to spread a feeling of solidarity and acceptance towards current immigrants; in contrast, this is used to exorcise the misery of the past, underlining the social hierarchy that would exist between the Italians of today (the misery has now left behind) and the immigrants in Italy, to whom the same sacrifices now belong. It would therefore be an attitude that leaves no room for solidarity. In a suggestive way, Sori states:

"The adage: "we were a population of emigrants, so we must be understanding and welcoming towards immigrants" does not work. I do not believe that in the Vendee of the Lega this is an expendable and persuasive argument. Indeed, one may think that this benevolent association of ideas can even be re-versed. Precisely because we have been a country of emigration and emigrants (even from the South to the Triangle), today we have a higher rate of ethnophobia and discriminatory attitudes than the European average. The newly promoted in the scale of ethno-social stratification (the animosity, in the second post-war period, of the Italian-Americans towards the black population) or in the hierarchy of economic development (the recent status of Italy as a prosperous country) are perhaps not the more hostile towards whom that promotion has allowed occupying the lowest step of the scale?" (Martellini, 2003).

Enrica Capussotti also insists on this same trail, referring especially to the film *Lamerica* by Gianni Amelio. She believes that the frequent comparisons between Italians abroad of the past and today's immigrants are the product of an ethnocentric, paternalistic and neo-colonial conception which aims to exorcise the feared cultural and anthropological difference of foreigners: after all they are nothing but what we Italians were only a few decades ago. In this way, the public discourse on the emigrant past of Italians, for Capussotti also constructs a reassuring Eurocentric historical teleology according

to which all peoples travel along the same path of historical evolution as Westerners, only with a few decades of delay (Capussotti, 2007).

Roberto Sala believes that the exhumation of the Italian immigration past by the institutions is an appeal to "national solidarity", the fruit of the "accentuated nationalism" of Mirko Tremaglia and his political part. Finally, for sectors of the left, of Catholics and the media, the revival of Italians abroad would be a means to repel the growing hostility of Italians towards current immigrants (Sala, 2011).

Michele Colucci also explains why the Marcinelle incident was adopted from the official memory as a symbol of Italian emigration. In his opinion, one of the main defects of the public memory of the Italian exodus is its depoliticization: the institutions and the media are silent in that the story was the result of a very hard class struggle aimed at the expulsion of the unemployed by the ruling classes , they are also silent on the fact that the presence of the Italians has aroused many social, trade union and political conflicts even at the abroad. For Colucci, the underestimation of the conflict serves not only to build a memory that can be shared by all Italians, but also to exorcise the dreaded conflict that current immigrants are stirring up in Italy. Finally, it is necessary to deny current immigrants (compared to yesterday's Italian emigrants) an autonomous capacity of initiative and transformation of the host society. In his opinion, it is for all these reasons that the symbol of Italian emigration and current immigration is Marcinelle, a story, that is, that only recalls the condition of victim and passivity of migrants, as if they were just helpless people in need of paternalistic help, exploited without defensive capabilities and without influence on the host country (Colucci, 2012).

More recently, Alessio Marzi argued that the official memory of mass emigration has chosen an episode of death such as the Marcinelle incident because the dead bring peace among the living by avoiding partisan polemics and thus promoting a "shared past"; because the tradition of public monumentalisation of the past (which has its roots above all in the commemoration of the fallen of the two world wars) influences the mythologization of Italian emigration; because tragedies emotionally involve public opinion and therefore lend themselves to the media campaigns of memory; because the victims came from many parts of Italy and this would fa-

vour a memory shared by all Italians (Marzi, 2014).

More or less all these observers also underline the utilitarian purpose of central and local institutions (especially the Regions) in honoring and courting Italian emigrants of the past and present: votes on the occasion of the elections, transnational commercial exchanges and tourist turnout. In short, today's version of the many attempts of the past to gain political, geopolitical and economic advantages in keeping the umbilical cord intact between Italy and its expatriates.

Paolo Barcella takes up Sori's opinion on the ineffectiveness, among the "vandee leghiste", of the anti xenophobic pedagogy of the history of Italian emigration, noting, however, this ineffectiveness from the very voice of the "valley" voters of the Lega Nord. They had been temporary, seasonal (*gastarbeiter*) and cross-border emigrants and therefore suffered, especially in Switzerland, the lack of civil and political rights and the inhuman exploitation reserved for this type of emigrant. Consequently, they cannot bear to see rights, economic and social integration in favour of southern immigrants in Northern Italy, and they cannot tolerate the demand of foreign immigrants for those rights that they did not enjoy abroad. Furthermore, for Barcella, as for Sori, the memory of the sufferings of Italian emigrants reinforces the fear of falling back into that condition and, consequently, attempts to preserve the current well-being and social position by denying these benefits to new arrivals. As for the successful publication of the pedagogical line (Stella, *L'Orda. Quando gli albanesi eravamo noi*, 2002; "Da emigranti a razzisti", *L'Europeo*, 2005), Barcella says:

"those publications were substantially inadmissible for many Lega Nord voters and militants, just as proved to be loser the position of those who presumed fighting against Lega Nord reminding them that they had once been emigrants. Indeed, the Lega voters have strengthened by crystallizing, in the late eighties and early nineties, their truth about northern emigration and denying the reality of immigration in Northern Italy through that truth, in xenophobic function" (Barcella, 2018).

As a scholar of migration of the past and present, I share all the above-mentioned opinions about the uselessness of the memory of the Italian exodus as an antidote to the current xenophobia. I add a simple observation that helps to confirm

that inefficacy: after the victory in 2016 of the referendum for the reduction of Italian cross-border workers in the Canton of Ticino, the Lega Nord went with hat in hand to its namesake party across the border, the Lega dei Ticinesi, who had promoted that referendum. On that occasion, the Lega Nord tried to mitigate the consequences of that referendum, therefore it touched the fact that Italian emigrants are still the target of xenophobic prejudice, they are still the subject of electoral and legislative initiatives against them (Capaniello, 2016; Maroni, 2016). Did this awareness make the Lega more understanding and supportive of immigrants in Italy? One could say absolutely not. This is the consequence of ethnicization and racialization of a socio-economic phenomenon such as emigration: the "we" and "them" are used to split this social phenomenon into many apparently distinct pieces: "good" migration (that of Italians), "less good" migration (that of EU citizens), even less good migration (that of non-EU citizens), bad migration, the one that no one wants (asylum seekers). Thus, the existence of the socio-economic category of emigration is exorcised, according to a typical and ancient ideological process of the right: the "we", the nation, the region, the ethnic group, the gender, the respective religions used to deny socio-economic classes and, consequently, their rights. These ideological and political assumptions, as well as the attempt to deny rights, oblige those who share them not to admit parallels between yesterday's Italian emigrants and current immigrants.

The refusal of the solidarity parallelism between "us yesterday", "them today", in my opinion also has other origins: as mostly temporary, Italians abroad often did not embark on the path of integration and, therefore, in many cases they did not undertake the battles for the rights that were denied to them, did not mature and did not meditate on the conscience of the injustices suffered. As a result, many of them had and have little awareness of migrants' rights. Furthermore, they often originated from regions where the hegemonic political culture among the popular classes was interclassism, respect for the social hierarchy, a mixture of individualism, communitarianism and social awe. These are some of the cultural roots widespread in the regions where the Lega is most deeply rooted. In any case, these are cultural and political foundations that do not provide solidarity towards those who do not belong to the local community and towards subordinate classes.

As for the media and political success of the memory of Italian emigration, I recently proposed some causes that have little to do with solidarity with foreigners in Italy: the official myth of the "sacrifice of Italian work in the world" was created above all to make up for the sunset of the identity myths of the 'First Republic': the Resistance and the 'good Italian'. The first myth was ditched by the rhetoric of the 'shared past' ("passato condiviso"), functional to the electoral success of the Berlusconi governments through the rehabilitation of Alleanza Nazionale; the second was demystified by historical research and by its media echo (think of the Montanelli-Del Boca controversy over the Italian gas bombing in Ethiopia). The myth of the Italian emigrant is used by official rhetoric also as a warning against rising xenophobia, but it has not been proposed (by Tremaglia) and adopted by Parliament for this purpose; on the contrary, it is often not related to current immigrants: it is evoked to recommend the fight against accidents at work, to enhance Italy's role in the historical process of European unification and to claim alleged civil virtues of Italians (abnegation in work, sobriety and propensity to sacrifice for the family, for the progress of the nation, determination in post-war reconstruction, national and European solidarity, generosity, etc.). In short, rather than opening the country confidently to the international and migratory context, the official and media memory of the Italian emigration seems to close on itself in an uncertain groping operation of re-founding identity that looks more at the past with regret than to the future with confidence. (Rinauro, 2017; Rinauro, 2018).

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Embodying hybrid transnational identities: The case of the Italo-Palestinians diasporas of the Antipodes

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Abstract

When Italy declared war on Britain and France on the 10th June 1940, Italians in British and allied nations were classified as enemy aliens. Thousands of Italian emigrants were sent to civilian internment camps in many nations. In the Mediterranean, thousands of Levantine Italians living in the Middle East were detained indefinitely in various locations. In British Mandated Palestine [BMP] the military acted quickly to detain approximately 200 men, women and children, which was almost half of the small Italian Levantine Diaspora in Palestine. These civilians experienced confinements in high security internment camps, followed by deportation to a remote internment camp in Australia, never to return home.

Introduction

By the time the Japanese attacked northern Australia in early 1942, almost 5,000 Italian migrants, 200 Italian deported from Palestine, 80 Italians living in the Malacca Straits Settlements and 200 men from the United Kingdom had been interned as civilian prisoners of war in camps in remote locations throughout the continent. Families deported from Palestine and the Far East became stateless Italian enemy aliens, forfeiting their properties, personal possessions, life savings and livelihoods in the process. Such a dark chapter in this nation's wartime history has often been minimised or overlooked in traditional histories on Italian Diasporas.[1] In this essay, I focus on the Italo-Palestinians as a case study.

The Italo-Palestinians deportees to the Tatura Internment Camp located in Australia have

remained an unknown internee group since their confinement in Australian internment camps during World War Two. Almost 200 men, women, and children living in BMP, were initially interned in various camps in that territory at the beginning of hostilities with Italy. From eyewitness accounts and archival sources, it emerges that Italo-Palestinians were subsequently transported to Australia for an indefinite period under orders of the British Government. According to official records, thirty-one Italian Levantine families were transported to the Tatura Internment Camp No. 3 A in central Victoria in late 1941.

While a few men were released to find work in 1945 or 1946, most families were not released into the Australian community until 1947, with the final Italo-Palestinian woman, discharged from a Victorian psychiatric hospital in 1959. While Italian nationality and strong association to Italy were the defining attributes that resulted in internment and deportation, "Italianness" was a flexible identity for this Levantine Diaspora.

Levantine identity

The Levant is a complex region in human geographical terms that includes modern Turkey, Egypt,

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1 See R. E. Nicholas, 'Rethinking the Status Quo: The British and Islam in Palestine, 1917–1929' (PhD thesis, New York University, 2010); Ronald Sanders, *The High Walls of Jerusalem: A history of the Balfour Declaration and the birth of the British mandate for Palestine*, New York: Holt Rinehart & Winston, 1984. The British Mandate of Palestine was a geopolitical solution imposed by the League of Nations following the First World War for the civil administration of the lands now shared by post-1948 Israel and the Palestinian territories.

Map of official internment camps in Australia, 1940-1946, National Library of Australia

Syria, Jordan, Lebanon and Palestine, as well as other geo-political regions in the Middle East and beyond. As such, the many diverse linguistic and cultural populations that lived, worked and travelled throughout these geo-political zones were multicultural and interethnic in customs, language and religions. In this discussion, I will focus specifically on the Italian Levantines who lived in BMP during World War Two.

The Italian-speaking Italo-Palestinians detained at Tatura in Australia are here described variously as Levantine Italians, Italian Levantines, Italo-Levantines, Italo-Palestinians, or Italo-Arabs. Amongst these were intercultural families that identified as Italian-Arab Palestinians or Christian-Palestinians. This latter group generally did not speak Italian, as they principally belonged to the Christian Arab communities. However, as they held Italian nationality through the male line of the family, they were defined as 'Italians', as a tool of control by way of wartime internment.

Intercultural Levantines

A case in point is the Paoletti family, made up of brothers Francesco and Augusto, and their families. They were classified as 'Italians' by British authorities even though they had been born and raised in Palestine with an Arab mother and Italian father who had been raised as an Arab in Palestine. Moreover, their father had died prematurely, and their widowed mother subsequently married an Arab-Palestinian man, creating a exclusively Arab-speaking household. Consequently, the two Paoletti families viewed themselves as Arab-Palestinians rather than Italo-Palestinians. The brothers made this incongrui-

ty clear to Australian investigators during an interview to procure release and repatriation to Palestine in 1945, arguing that they only spoke Arabic, but also did not have Italian customs, nor identify as, or associate with Italians. Nonetheless, these Arab-speaking families were actively discouraged by Australian authorities to return to Palestine by the British government after war's end. As they were required to pay for their families' trip back home, with no income and no authorization to return, they never saw their relatives or the native homeland again. The same destiny awaited all the Italian who had been interned in Palestine.

Words and phrases embedded in archival documents suggest that many wives were not of Italian ethnicity. Some were Levantines of German Templer, Greek, Polish, Russian-Jewish, Guatemalan, Austrian-Slavic, Swiss-French or French-Egyptian backgrounds. Interviews with Marisa M and Patrizia G, Levantine Italians who were interned as children at Tatura suggests that these "Italian" wives continued their cultural practices and languages as mothers. Examples include Elpi Fortuna, who had a Greek background, Anna Datodi whose family was Austro-Croatian, and Giovanna Casati, who was born into a Russian-Jewish family.

These Levantines were part of a much larger diverse and ever-changing diasporas that spanned centuries back and forth across the Mediterranean and beyond. Yet, even though these diasporas were accustomed to moving from one location to anoth-

Figure 2 - Image 030190/09, Australian War Memorial, Tatura, Australia. 13 February 1943.
Family groups of Italian internees interned at Tatura Internment Camp 3A.
Back row left to right: A. Datodi; G. Datodi; F. Datodi; A. Datodi; O. Datodi. Front row: M. Datodi; I. Balestrieri; M. Balestrieri; R. Datodi; C. Datodi.

er over many generations, the shock of exile to an internment camp in a remote inland semi-desert in central Victoria (Australia) was to take a huge emotional toll on these vanquished Levantine communities. These few hundred individuals I visualise as the lost Levantine tribe of the Antipodes.[2]

Figure 3 - Image 030246/18, Australian War Memorial, Tatura, Australia. 10 March 1945. Group of Italian Internees at No. 3 Camp, Tatura Internment Group. Back row, left to right: Augusto Paoletti; Alice Paoletti; Badrie Paoletti; Francesco Paoletti. Front row: Cesare Paoletti; Lucia Paoletti; Remo Paoletti.

Figure 4 – Image 030190/10 Australian War Memorial, Tatura, Australia. 13 February 1943. Family groups of Italian internees from overseas now interned at Tatura Internment Camp. Back row, left to right: L. Cigliani; G. Centonze; E. Centonze; F. Grilli; F, Galanti. Front row: L. Centonze; F. Grilli; P. Grille.

2 I have coin this cohort 'the lost Levantine tribes of the Antipodes' because the vast majority never returned to the original pre-war homes, most of their families never saw them in person again, their friends did not know where they were after the war, some had died during the war with no trace of heir burials sent to families in Italy or Palestine. Furthermore, some descendants have moved to other locations outside Victoria such as Far Northern Queensland, Western Australia and New Zealand. Until my research 2010-2018, few of the Italo-Palestinians in the antipodes were known of in historical studies.

Eyewitness accounts

The Italian Levantines in Palestine were primarily located in ethnic micro-enclaves in Haifa, Jerusalem, and Bethlehem. Some families were connected with religious institutions such as schools and convents and were embedded within Italian Levantine communities that had existed for hundreds of years. The family of Vincenzo L. is an example of an Arab-Italian family with roots in the Byzantine Italian community that had settled in Palestine for hundreds of years. Vincenzo and his young family migrated to Australia after the Second World War to join other Levantine Italian migrants – both former internees and post-war migrants. His father was a Christian-Arab and his mother was a Levantine Italian. Vincenzo's memories of the Italian community in Palestine have informed this research with insights that are not available elsewhere. He knew most of the families that were detained in Jerusalem, Jaffa, and Haifa in 1940, that were later deported to Australia.

Although Vincenzo was not interned because his family was considered Arab-Palestinian through his father, he primarily interacted with his mother's Italian relatives and other Italians, both at the Italian monastery school that he attended in Haifa and in his neighbourhood. Vincenzo married an Italian woman whose family had recently migrated to the Levant. Thus, Vincenzo had connections with both the Arab and Italian communities from Palestine and throughout the Levant that are now living in Australia. His long-term association with the Italo-Palestinians has been vital to set the scene before, during and after the war in Palestine, so contributes precious knowledge about the links within and between Italo-Palestinian families and communities.

According to Vincenzo, in addition to approximately 180 - 200 Italians who were recorded as deportees to Australia, another 80 Italo-Palestinian families – about 250 individuals – were taken to the internment camp at Sarona, a citrus orchard village near Jaffa, for the duration of the war. This information is corroborated in *Sarona,* the autobiographical novel by Helmut Glenk, who was born into a German Templer family that lived in Palestine.[3] The Sarona camp was also referred to in some of the Italo-Palestine internees' case notes, as their next-of-kin had been detained there, while they were sent to Tatura. Similarly, Carlo L's internment file

3 Helmet Glenk, *Sarona*, Trafford Publishing, 180–222. 2011. Glenk was born at the Tatura Internment Camp as a German internee

records that his father was detained in the British-run Camp 9, which was a men-only detention centre in Jerusalem. Furthermore, the Datodi and Fortuna family narratives inform us that female Italians and their children were held in Camp 8 at the Jerusalem convent while their menfolk were held at Sarona.[4]

Figure 5 – Image 030247/05, Australian War Memorial, Tatura, Australia. 10 March 1945. Group of Italian internees at No. 3 Camp, Tatura Internment Group. Back row, left to right (standing): 20021 Lidia Centonze; 20019 Gaetano Centonze; 20020 Erminia Centonze; 20022 Giuseppe Centonze. Front Row (sitting): 20098A Daniele Longodorni; 20098 Giovanna Longodorni; 20099 Cristina Longodornio. Note: The number is an assigned POW number.

A unique Italian diaspora

One of most salient features of the Italo-Palestinian families at Tatura was the cultural diversity of the women. Sixteen of the wives in thirty-one Italo-Palestinian families originated from a non-Italian community. Five were from Arabic-speaking families, three had Greek heritage, and the rest had French, Russian, Polish, or Spanish-speaking ancestry. Further research is needed to understand why so many Italian families living in Palestine were of mixed cultural heritage, but it seems likely that during the Ottoman period and then under the British Mandate, Palestine was a focal point for trade and commerce, to which adventurous mercantile families from diverse cultures were irresistibly drawn.

4 Rick Datodi, 'The Internment of the Datodi Family', and M. Malavisi, 'Childhood memories of Camp 3', in Mia Spizzica, *Hidden Lives: War, internment and Australia's Italians*, Carindale, Glasshouse Books, IP Publishing, 2018.

The most surprising inter-ethnic derivation of any of the Italo-Palestinian wives is that of Giovanna L. She was born in Guatemala. Little is known of her except that her first name was Juana at birth, as her documents attest. This young mother signed her internment forms as 'Juana' rather than 'Giovanna', which say volumes about her ethnic self-identification. There is no information about Juana's life or how she met and married Carlo, an Italian who was born in Canton Valese (Saxon) in Switzerland to an Italian father and a French-Swiss mother. This is only one example of the ethnic and linguistic mosaic that was evident in Palestine in June 1940. The Longodorni family's blended ethnicity offers a remarkable insight into the complexity of Levantine identities *within* an Italian Levantine diaspora as an overarching ethnic identity.


Figure 6 – Image 030247/01, Australian War Memorial, Tatura, Australia. 10 March 1945. Group of Italian internees at No. 3 Camp, Tatura Internment Group. Back row, left to right: 20071 Elpi Fortuna; 20070 Domenico Fortuna; 9654 Liliana Sabatini; 20140 Enrico Sabatini. Front Row: 20071A Mario Fortuna (youngest child); 20074 Concetto Fortuna; 20073 Carmelo Fortuna; 20072 Mafalda Fortuna. Note: The number is an assigned POW number.

Conclusion

The antipodean Italo-Palestinians are an enigmatic Levantine Diaspora. In one sense, they could be described as a lost link to the pre-war Levantine communities in British Mandated Palestine. That community no longer exists, with only one known Italian-Levantine family remaining in modern Israel today. Deported to Australia by the British in 1941, their emerging wartime narratives reveal not only

the multifaceted nature of Italian migrations to Australia, but also details of the silenced memory on one tiny cohort of Levantine Italians. In many ways, these Italo-Palestinian internees were political pawns in the greater machinations of the warring powers, losing their homes, chattels, livelihoods, peaceful life course progressions, sanity, health, and much more. Anecdotally, my research points to a significant number of premature deaths of Italo-Palestinians soon after release.

To date, their cultural and linguistic identities and Levantine histories have been silenced by the much louder story of Italian civilian internment in Australia. As a distinct socio-cultural group, the Italo-Palestinians have been essentially forgotten in Australia's and in Italy's migration narratives. Even after almost 80 years of war's end, the deported Levantine Italian intercultural families still carry very deeply emotional scars of the memory of internment, deportation, exile, exclusion, racism and struggles to resettle to start new lives. Because of these deep traumatic memories, they often did not tell their children about their life experiences.

The time has come for some, such as Patrizia Grilli, the Centonze family and other Levantine Italo-Palestinians to reveal the pain they have hidden in their hearts for so many decades. Many of the Australian-born children of the Italo-Palestinian internees recount that they did not know until later in life about the closely kept secrets of their parents' experiences nor had they understood their struggle to regain the momentum of life's normal course. A few families mentioned that their mothers showed signs of emotional distress after the war, although this always remained an unspoken knowingness.

Final words

During this study, I shared a conversation with Ella, the daughter of one Italo-Palestinian internee, who explained why she took her elderly mother Maria, to live in an isolated coastal town in south east Victoria – located three hours east of Melbourne. Maria had yearned to return to Haifa's white beaches, where she had passed a magical adolescence, before her family was deported to the internment camp at Tatura in 1941. For Maria, the

beachside town was as close to Haifa as she was able to buy with her limited life savings in her life-long exile in Australia. Her previously affluent family had lost absolutely every possession because of their internment and deportation. Ella summed up her mother's life experience after that fateful day that Benito Mussolini declared war on the 10 June 1940: "For my mother, the war ended on the day she died - at 96 years of age in 2016".[5]

Figure 7 – Image 030190/13, Australian War Memorial, Tatura, Australia. 13 February 1943. Family groups of Italian internees from overseas now interned at Tatura Internment Camp. Back row, left to right: M. Costero; Dr V. Costero; A. Costero; L. Costero. Front row: G. Dellafiore; G. Dellafiore; A. Dellafiore; S. Dellafiore; R. Dellafiore; M. Dellafiore.

Figure 8 – Image 030190/12, Australian War Memorial, Tatura, Australia. 13 February 1943. Family groups of Italian internees from overseas now interned at Tatura Internment Camp. Back row, left to right: A. Lariccia; F. Lariccia; V. Dibella; G. Dibella. Front row: G. Dibella; G. Dibella; I. Dibella; F. Dibella; M. Dibella.

5 Ella and Maria are pseudonyms – interview with Ella, Melbourne, March 2015.

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Bio

Mia Spizzica is a Research Associate with the Contemporary History Research Group, Deakin University. Her PhD focused on the internment of Italian civilians in Australia during World War Two. She has conducted research and presented public events at Museum Victoria and the Italian Historical Society in Melbourne. Mia has taught English at the CLA at the University of Siena, social history in the Australian Centre at the University of Melbourne, and cross-cultural studies at RMIT University. Her anthology of Italian narratives and academic essays, *Hidden Lives: War, internment and Australia's Italians,* received high acclaim at the *Tropical Writers' Festival* in Cairns in Queensland. Mia is currently conducting research on Levantine and Far East Italians, who were interned as civilian enemy aliens in Australia during World War Two.

How to Name It: New Mobilities, New Migrations…

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Abstract

This presentation deals with the question of how the protagonists of contemporary Italian mobilities consider themselves. It will see how the serious economic and political crisis in Italy and Europe affects their sense of belonging since the beginning of the Millennium. It will then analyze how the interplay between the slow development of "cosmopolitanism" in Italy and the heritage of centuries of migrations influences their identities. It also raises the question of how to organize and keep track of all the memories of the new migrations on the web.

Keywords:

New Mobilities, New Migrations, brain drain, expats

The question on how we define a migrant is not new. In the past, in Italy, the lexicon was established by the official sources. From 1876 to 1913, the Division of General Statistics classified emigrants as those who crossed borders with a passport, with a reduced fee, or who were third-class travelers. Later emigrants were considered those who left the country in search of low-status jobs or a trade, or to join relatives.[1] Only economic reasons made a person who crossed the Italian border an emigrant. European migrations were considered temporary, overseas migrations permanent, albeit the high percentage of returnees. In the third millennium, given the wide range of motivations that bring people to leave the country for a short period or for good, the question is still open.

The global era migrants constitute a new social subject still in need of a definition. How do we refer to the people of this new mobility? The same protagonists are wondering who they are, some <u>adopt the term</u> migrant; sometimes with irony, they call themselves «luxury emigrants», because they are not driven by hunger, but by the search for a better quality of life. Often, they do not intend to be permanent migrants. Can we include them in the group of more than 214 million calculated migrants in the world today? Some new immigrants use the term expat, but it too is not free of ambiguity[2].

This conference is dedicated to memory and to how to preserve it. New Italian migrations are a challenging subject to migration historians because they are more and more called on to write the history of the present and even to speculate on the future, mission obviously impossible. But we cannot leave the analysis of contemporary mobilities to

1 Dora Marucco, "Le statistiche dell'emigrazione italiana", in Piero Bevilacqua, Andreina De Clementi ed Emilio Franzina, a cura di, *Storia dell'emigrazione italiana. Partenze*, Roma, Donzelli, 2001, pp.71-76, p. 68.

2 The presentation is based on research done by the Centro Altreitalie in the last fifteen years on new mobilities and new Italian migrations that have been published in Maddalena Tirabassi e Alvise del Pra, *La meglio Italia. Le mobilità italiane nel xxi secolo*, Torino, Accademia University Press, 2014; Maddalena Tirabassi and Alvise del Pra', "The new Italian Mobility in Europe" in Bruno Riccio (ed), *From Internal to Transnational Mobilities*, I libri di Emil, 2016, pp. 111-36; Maddalena Tirabassi, "Migranti da sempre", Bologna, Il Mulino, 2018, pp. 24-32. Valeria Bonatti, Alvise Del Pra', Brunella Rallo, Maddalena Tirabassi, *Famiglie transnazionali dell'Italia che emigra. Costi e opportunità*, Torino, Centro Altreitalie, Celid, 2019.

the media or to improvisation. Furthermore we cannot disregard our knowledge of how migratory dynamics worked in the past.

There is much more historians can do: they can set the foundation for the historical research of the future by selecting and preserving the sources. Sources that todays are much richer. In the past, we wrote the history of Italian migrations relying mainly on statistics, shipping lists, official documents and treaties and less on social observers reports and a handful of biographies, because migrants were in the vast majority illiterate. Today, thanks to the ICT, we have the possibility to know first-hand almost every "migrant" life, as well, we have the possibility to gather their testimonies on the web where thousands of blogs are constantly updated. For the first time in the history of migration, we might collect every migrant's story, just as thirty years ago we investigated migrants' lives through passengers' lists[3]. But there is a 'ma'. We still do not to have a way to collect, save and organize all these precious sources.

The new Italian mobilities

This is the reason why 10 years ago we decided to start research on the "new Italian mobilities"[4]. *La meglio Italia. Le mobilità italiane nel XXI secolo,* published in 2014, with the idea not just to write a history of the new Italian migrations, but to collect all the evidence (statistics, testimonies, newspaper

clips and blog debates…) for future historians to have a starting point to compare and analyze the development of Italian migrations in the new Millennium.

By comparing data of Italian statistical sources with those of the host countries, the study attempted to provide the dimension of the outflows while, on the other hand, a semi-structured survey based on a sample of 1110 Italians living abroad provided insights of the complex and multifaceted realities contemporary Italian migrants are confronted with. Furthermore, the analysis of 53 in depth-interviews and the examinations of the content of internet forums and social network groups allowed the voices of the new migrants to be heard.

To provide a dimension of the outflow in *La meglio Italia* we collected figures on departures, on the areas of emigrations, on the migration venues[5].

Then we examined the details of the crisis' impact: Italy was undergoing one of the highest rates of youth unemployment in the European Union despite its population decline. The official youth (age 15 to 24 years) unemployment rate stands just below 40%. In the first five years of the crisis (2007-2012) the number of unemployed, less than 35 years of age, had increased by more than 20% (Istat, 2012). It means more than 1,500,000 unemployed young people.

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3 Alvise Del Pra', "*Blog e social network: l'emigrazione raccontata a sé stessi e agli altri*", Bologna, Il Mulino, 2018, pp. 263-69.
4 Teresa Fiore, *L'immigrazione dall'Italia a partire dagli Anni Novanta* in *La storia degli italoamericani*, (William Connell, Stanislao Pugliese e Maddalena Tirabassi eds.), pp. 713-30.

5 The statistics here presented have been adjourned, when possible.
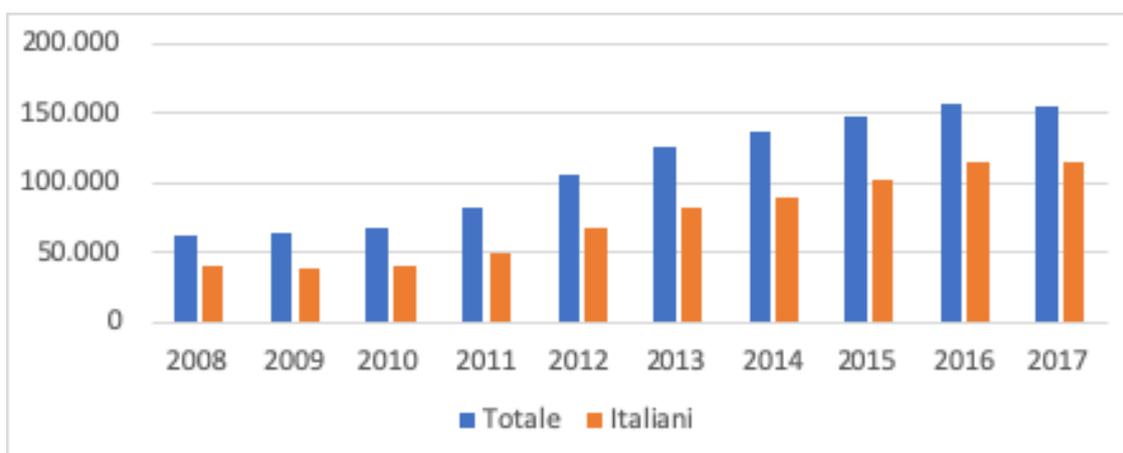
Figure 1. Number of deleted Italian residence registration (total and Italian citizens, 2008-2017)
Source: Istat, 2018.

Destinazione	Totale	fino al diploma	Laurea	% Laureati
Regno Unito	13.794	9.511	4.283	31
Germania	12.329	9.070	3.259	26,4
Svizzera	7.574	5.400	2.174	28,7
Francia	7.437	5.244	2.193	29,5
Spagna	5.848	4.180	1.668	28,5
Brasile	5.802	3.285	2.517	43,4
USA	4.222	2.771	1.451	34,4
Australia	1974	1.366	608	30,8
Irlanda	1942	1.242	700	36
Belgio	1699	1122	577	34
Altri Stati	19.477	13.341	6.136	31,5
Totale	82.098	56.532	25.566	31,1

Figure 2. Italian citizens 25 years older by country, 2017
Source: Tirabassi, The new Italian Mobility, 2016.
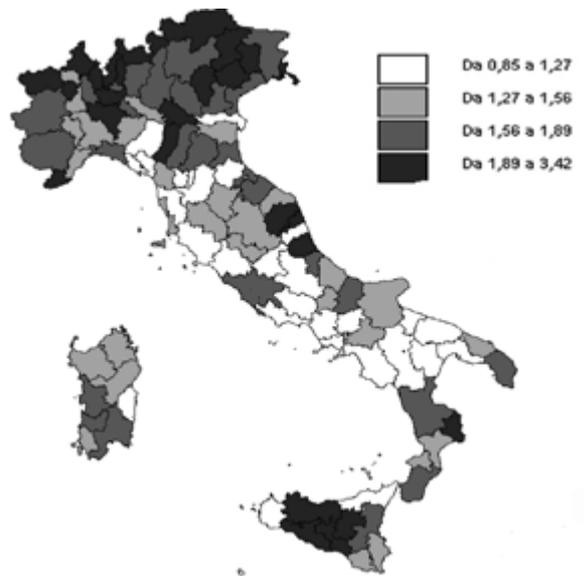
Fig:4: Migration rate by province
Source: Istat, 2018.

While the destinations are very similar to the past, interesting differences come to light while observing the Regions of origin of new Italian migrants. Emigration form Italy, particularly the post-war migration was characterized by Southern Italians leaving, whereas contemporary migration seems to be more and more a phenomenon involving also Central and Northern Italy. In 2018 according to AIRE data, most of the Italians left Lombardy (17,7%) followed by Veneto (10,4) and Sicily (9,4). In fourth position were Lazio (7,9) and the Piedmont 7,5)[6].

However, this is an emigration that is difficult to quantify as today's migrant crosses European borders without visas and residence permits and often omits to delete of personal data from the last municipality of residence in Italy. Consequently, the real dimension of the phenomenon far exceeds the official data and, according to some estimates, can more than double.

Identity

An indication on the self-perception of migrants ethnic identity came first in *La meglio Italia* survey through the answers to the question **«**To what extent do you agree with the following statements?: I identify myself as a European; as Italian; with my birthplace; with the region of birth; with the country in which I live now» (values from 1 = not at
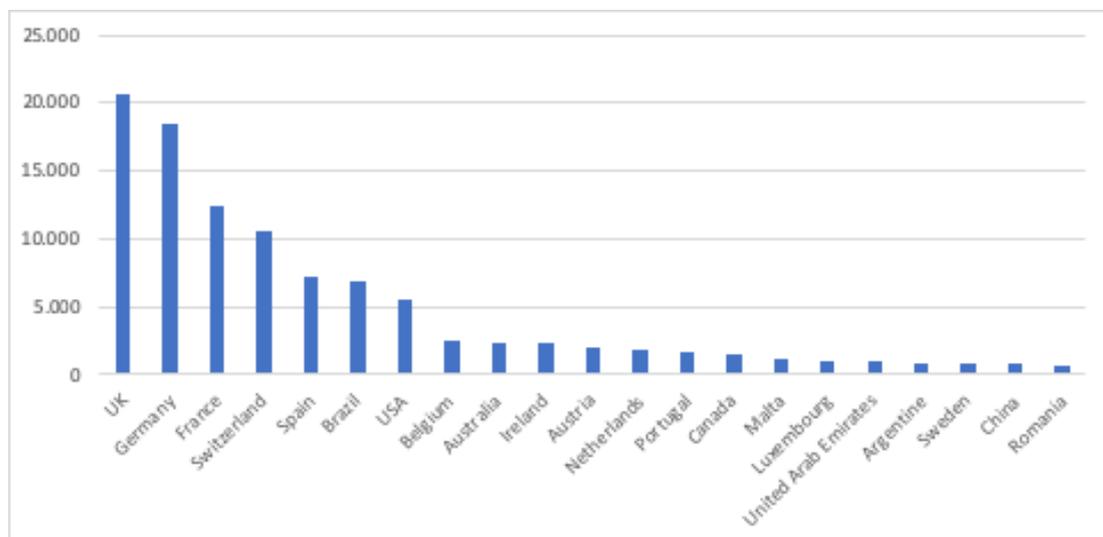
Figure 3. First 20 countries of «emigration», 2017
Source: Istat, 2018.

all to 5 = completely). The largest identity affiliation of expatriates was the European one: 54.6% felt completely European, and if we aggregate the percentages of those who felt completely or very European, we reach around 77.4%. The emergence of a strong sense of European identity can be explained by the search for an alternative geographical identity, which can be read as a manifestation of disaffection with institutional Italy.

The outcomes of our research allowed us also to make a comparison between contemporary and historical migration. Many global Italian migrants, at least prior to the crisis, were moving by choice, or at least they were almost all convinced of it. The search for a better quality of life often figures in expatriation reasons, mostly referring to a greater protection of women's rights and of minority rights in general. Saving money was not among their pri-

orities. They left Italy mostly by themselves, were almost equally divided between men and women, and had high levels of education and professionalism. They claimed identities that were a combination of old and new traits: the glocal, which manifested itself through a great attachment to the place of origin, they often felt more European than Italian,

As far as the motivations to migrate, new patterns of mobility, linked to freedom of movement, globalization and internationalization of education, coexisted with traditional and economic reasons due to the economic crisis. Concurrently the depressed Italian job market (especially in the South) has pushed lower skilled workers to migrate either within Italy or outside it. As a result, various categories of migrants of different ages, skills, motivations, gender etc. crossed borders, directed mainly in Europe.

	I consider myself European	I consider myself Italian	I identify with my hometown	I identify with my region	I identify with the place I live in now
Completely	54,6	51,3	31,3	24,1	6
Very much	22,8	19,8	17,9	16,5	12,5
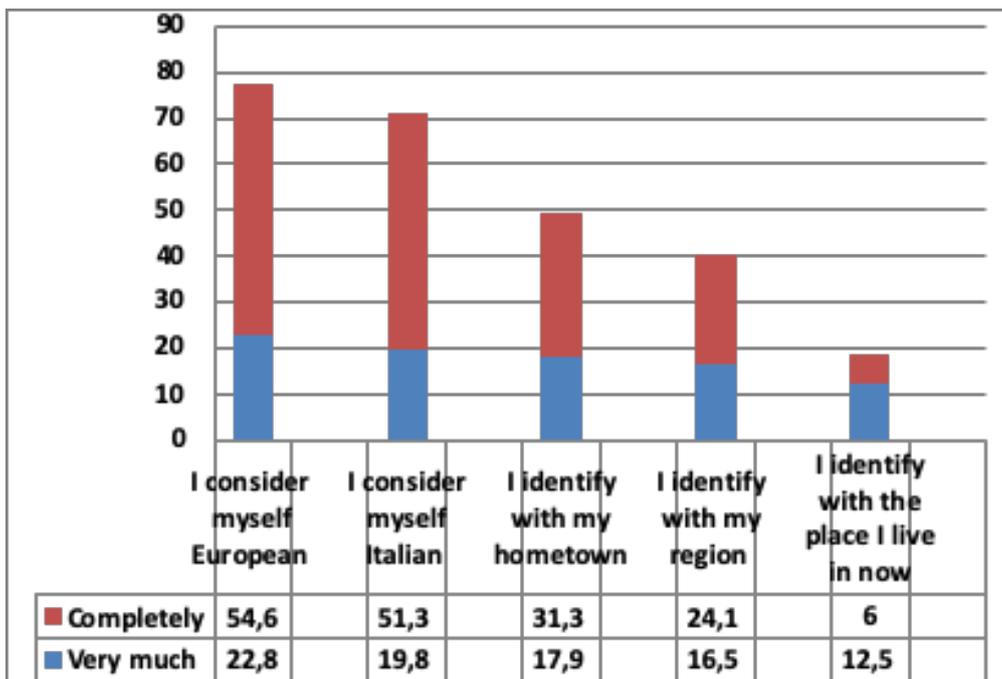
*Figure 5. Identiy
Source: Tirabassi and Del Pra', The new Italian mobility, p. 113*

More telling, in terms of self-perception, are the answers referred to as the reasons to leave Italy. 64% answered very much and enough to economic reasons.

*Figure 6. Influence of the economic crisis on the choice of transferring abroad
Source: Tirabassi e Del Pra', La meglio Italia, 2014.*

Transnational families

Continuity with the past we found when we asked in the questionnaire of *La meglio Italia* "Why you would go back". The first answer was: because of my family.

Figura 7 Why to go back
Source. Tirabassi e Del Pra', La meglio Italia, 2014.

And indeed, family ties featured strongly also through our last survey, *Famiglie transnazionali dell'Italia che emigra* conducted online on young migrants' Italian families. In the question on how often you visit home, the number of people who answered "from two to four" in a sole year was very high: 290 (Figure 8).

Visits home, 2017

	N	%
1	193	33
2 -4	290	50
> 4	75	13
0	23	4
Total	581	100%

Figure 8 Visits home
Source: Bonatti, Del Pra', Rallo e Tirabassi, Famiglie transnazionali

The research explored the economic family relationships, but we also gathered insights on the impact of emigration on Italian families overall[7]. The number of visits parents did to their offspring abroad was quite impressive (Figure 9). If this will take to a consistent wave of "grand parents'" emigration only time will tell.

Yearly visits by parents 2017

	Word-Europe	Europe	Total
Once	45	42	43
2/4	20	39	34
> 4	4	8	7
never	30	11	15

Figure 9: Yearly visits by parents
Source: Bonatti, Del Pra', Rallo e Tirabassi, Famiglie transnazionali

Also, the marriage choices well represent the new cosmopolitanism of the young migrants and the multiculturalism in the emotional relationships: they often choose partners of other nationalities (Figure 10). Choice that will probably influence the decision to leave Italy permanently.

Intermarriages

Country of origin of the spouse	Male	Female	Total
Italian	48	52	50
Country of settlement	23	29	26
Other	29	19	24

Figure 10 Intermarriages (%)
Source: Bonatti, Del Pra', Rallo e Tirabassi, Famiglie transnazionali

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7 Bonatti, Del Pra', Rallo, Tirabassi, *Famiglie transnazionali dell'Italia che emigra* cit., 2019.

Australian's globalists and US Italian Italian

More definitions comes from new research abroad: "The fourth wave, these new Italian arrivals, grew up with the World Wide Web (available for civilian use from 1993), and have used the Internet as a key element in their migration strategy. For this reason, we wish to coin the term *globalisti* («globe-trotters») as a means of describing them", as stated Robert Pascoe and Caterina Cafarella on Italians in Australia[8].

Teresa Fiore mentions "university exiles", to refer to young Italians looking for an academic career in the United States, very numerous in North America. Also the term Italian Italian, has been adopted by the last waves of Italian Millennials to distinguish themselves from the "Old Migration" descendants…[9]

Figure 11 Lexicon

Conclusion

Before 2008 mobility was very often a choice but now it is increasingly becoming a necessity for many young Italians - unemployment in Italy is 10%, the youth unemployment rate is: 32% among 16-25years old, and 15% among 25-34 - and very often the use of the term emigrant is the most proper. The changing of definition is testified by a mother:

> "My son (PhD in Architecture and Master in China, knowledge of 4 languages… in short the usual story of academic success but with no job opportunity) who likes to travel and stay abroad but who wants to live in Italy, tells me that at the end of the month, if the British company for which he carries out occasional jobs in Africa, does not give him more work, he packs and leaves for England or Netherand, confident that, within a few weeks, he will find something.
> At that point I understood: my son, like many other tens of thousands of people who leave Italy every year, is an emigrant because he is forced to leave a house he has just moved in, his friends, the family… If this is not emigration…10"

What we can conclude is that the lexicon varies according to the various point of view: those of the protagonists, of the host country and the home country. These last have not been properly explored yet but we still remember the habit of calling the returnees according to the country they had gone: gli Americani, il Tedesco … and now 'cervelli in fuga'. Thinking of it, I have never heard an Italian abroad defining him/herself 'cervello in fuga'.

Only time will tell us how to name the mobilities of the 3rd Millennium, at the moment we can rely on peoples' feeling and on the historians' sensibility.

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8 Robert Pascoe and Caterina Cafarella, "The latest wave of Italians in Australia", *Altreitalie*, 59, 2019, pp. 101-115, p. 104.
9 Teresa Fiore, "Migration Italian Style: Charting the Contemporary U.S.-Bound Exodus (1990-2013)", in Laura E. Ruberto e Joseph Sciorra, eds., *New Italian migrations to the United States*, vol. 1: *Politics and History since 1945* (vol. 2, *Art and Culture since 1945*), Urbana-Chicago-Springfield, University of Illinois Press, 2017, pp. 167- 92, pp. 179-80.

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10 Bonatti, Del Pra', Rallo, Tirabassi, *Famiglie transnazionali dell'Italia che emigra* cit., 2019.

Bio

Maddalena Tirabassi Fulbright, is the Director of the Centro Altreitalie on Italian Migration, Globus et Locus and editor of the journal Altreitalie. She is in the AEMI advisory board (Association of European Emigration Institutions), she has been on the advisory board of the MEI (National Italian Museum on Emigration, Foreign Affairs Ministry), and consultant for the exhibition "Fare gli italiani" in 2011. She taught Letteratura Angloamericana at the University of Teramo. She has just completed editing the Italian edition of the *La storia degli italo-americani*, Le Monnier Università (edited by William Connell and Stanislao Pugliese). Among her main publications: with Patrizia Audenino, *Storia e storie delle migrazioni italiana dall'Ancien régime a oggi,* Milano, Bruno Mondadori, 2008; *I motori della memoria. Le donne piemontesi in Argentina*, 2010 (winner of the Globo Tricolore award, also translated into Spanish); *Itinera. Paradigmi delle migrazioni italiane*, ed., Torino, Edizioni della Fondazione Giovanni Agnelli, 2005; Il *Faro di Beacon Street. Social Workers e immigrate negli Stati Uniti*, 1990. *Ripensare la patria grande. Amy Bernardy e le migrazioni italiane*, 2005.

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Lest we forget: Collecting, preserving and sharing the Italian Australian migration and settlement story for the future

Elizabeth Triarico

CO.AS.IT. , Australia

Abstract

As a key memory keeper in the Italian Australian immigration and settlement story, the CO.AS.IT. Italian Historical Society plays an important role in ensuring this unique story is remembered and shared as widely as possible. The Society achieves this by establishing positive collaborations and showcasing its unique collection via: well- researched publications; the CO.AS.IT. web site and through the development of engaging and relevant permanent and temporary exhibitions. Two recent and very popular exhibitions are practical examples of the way in which the Society provides opportunities for story-telling that ensure the Italian Australian immigration experience will never be forgotten.

Introduction

This paper explores the variety of ways in which the CO.AS.IT. Italian Historical Society provides opportunities for the Italian Australian community to share, contribute to, engage and reconnect with its Italian origins with special emphasis on the Society's successful temporary exhibitions program. This invaluable form of story-telling enables the Society and the community to explore a vast number of themes, share experiences, engage with the stories and people in the Italian and Australian communities and at the same time preserve and promote this important history so it is never forgotten.

Over the past 40 years the Italian Historical Society staff and volunteers have worked hard to develop, nurture and promote the unique testimony of the Italian Australian immigration story. This has been achieved by working closely with the Italian community in Australia and establishing trust by creating a safe and supportive environment in which to record, preserve and share experiences. As a result, of this work and the ongoing generosity and support of the Italian Community the Society

has a unique and important role in ensuring all aspects of the Italian Australian migration and settlement story are remembered and shared as broadly as possible. A discussion of the outcomes of two recent Italian Historical Society highly successful temporary exhibitions, provide tangible and clear examples of the way in which the Society assists in remembering and promoting significant achievements and events involving Italians in Australia to a wide audience in Australia and in Italy.

Background

The Italian Historical Society (Society) is a highly valued part of CO.AS.IT. – the Italian Assistance Association, Melbourne, Australia, which was established in 1968 as a charitable organisation to provide a range of social welfare services in response to the needs of the Italian migrant settlers in Australia. The first trained social worker was employed in 1968 along with many volunteers. Since that time CO.AS.IT. has grown considerably and now includes two major departments: Aged Care

Services and Community Care and Italian Language, Culture & Heritage. While the Society falls within the latter Department its focus allows it to work successfully across both.

To have an historical society included as an important part of a welfare agency's organisational structure is unique. It is this connection to CO.AS.IT. that has enabled the Society's strong and enduring bond with the Italian community which is the cornerstone of its success in preserving and sharing the Italian Australian migration story.

CO.AS.IT. Italian Historical Society

Established in 1980 by the then President of CO.AS.IT. Sir James Gobbo, the Italian Historical Society[1] remains the only Italian heritage based historical society of its kind in Australia. From the beginning the aim has been to place the Italian immigration story within the wider context of Australia's history by working closely with the Italian Community to collect, preserve and promote the Italian Australian immigration story. An early focus has been collecting first-hand accounts through oral histories and associated artefacts which have ensured this important history has an authentic and united voice.

The generous ongoing support of the countless donors and lenders from the Italian Community ensures the Society's Collection continues to grow and is relevant. The Collection includes: over 8,800 images; almost 400 oral histories; an extensive array of objects and documents which are showcased via its permanent exhibition the *Museo Italiano,* located in Carlton, Melbourne, through its popular changing exhibition program and through publications.

The Society also works closely with organisations in Italy to ensure that the Australian immigration experience is part of the wider Italian Diaspora story. As well as having provided a range of images from its Collection to the Museo dell'Emigrazione al Vittoriano in Rome, the Society is now also looking forward to the opportunity of working with the staff of the Galata Museo in Genoa in the development of the Museum's inaugural Australian gallery.

Story-telling through exhibitions

Images, objects and oral histories are unique and powerful storytelling tools and exhibitions are one of the most successful ways in which a wide range of stories are told by the Italian Historical Society.

Early Ground-Breaking Temporary Exhibitions

The Society's well-earned reputation for creating innovative, popular and memorable exhibitions began with two major touring exhibitions: *Victoria's Italians 1900-45*, (1985), which toured the State of Victoria and resulted in the implementation of the Society's first collecting projects and, *Australia's Italians 1788-1988*, (1988), launched in Canberra by Francesco Cossiga, (the then President of Italy) and toured Australia. The Italian version of this exhibition is still touring Italy today.

The first joint community exhibition, *Bridging Two Worlds Jews, Italians and Carlton*, held at the Melbourne Museum was created in partnership with the Society, the Jewish Museum of Australia and Museum Victoria. It explored the experiences of the Italian and Jewish communities which transformed Carlton into one of Victoria's first multicultural suburbs.

The Society's very successful temporary exhibitions program is still very active. The award winning inaugural Multicultural Museums Victoria joint Grandmother's Exhibition, *Nonne, through generations* was staged in 2018 at CO.AS.IT and two recent highly successful exhibitions provided excellent opportunities for commemorative story telling.

Museo Italiano Permanent Exhibition

One of CO.AS.IT.'s and the Italian Historical Society's greatest achievements has been the establishment of *Museo Italiano* in 2010. It remains Australia's only major permanent exhibition of its kind dedicated to the Italian Australian immigration experience. *Museo Italiano* was developed with the financial support of the Victorian Government and would not have been possible without the invaluable support of the Italian Community which is clearly visible in the many and varied stories and artefacts on display. The permanent exhibition covers a wide range of topics relating to the immigration story and is linked to a highly successful

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1 For more information on the CO.AS.IT. Italian Historical Society's Collection and its activities go to: https://www.coasit.com.au/italian-historical-society

school education program and cultural program of events. [2]

Two recent exhibitions as examples of keeping history alive

The Society's temporary exhibition program provides opportunities to explore and share a wide range of stories that are either not already covered in the permanent exhibition or that can be explored in more depth in this way. These exhibitions also help grow and promote the Collection and engage specific audiences. Two recent commemorative exhibitions provide excellent examples of the ways in which the Society explores new topics and engages with a diversity of audiences thereby ensuring the Italian Australian immigration experience is remembered and continues to be acknowledged as an important part of Australia's proud multicultural history.

Carlo Catani: Vistionary, Creator, Genius[3]

This special bilingual temporary exhibition was developed and designed by the Italian Historical Society in collaboration with co-curators Daniela Riachi and Isaac Hermann to commemorate the 100 year anniversary of Catani's passing. The exhibition (20 November 2018 - 5 April 2019) is the first of its type to showcase the life and significant achievements of Victoria's foremost Italian-born civil engineer, and key figure in the development of the State of Victoria. Carlo Catani's many important achievements were highlighted using rare images and objects from private, local, state and national collections which were brought together for the first time in one exhibition.

Catani held the important position of Victorian Public Works Department Chief Engineer from 1892 to 1917 and was widely recognised for his visionary schemes of public works. Catani created many of Victoria's and Melbourne's most iconic landmarks in particular, the majestic Alexander Gardens and Avenue, and the European resort style St Kilda Foreshore with its acclaimed palm trees and sweeping vistas. His wide ranging vision and genius in landscape and engineering design extended

into many regional Victorian towns and included the establishment of new Victorian settlements which still thrive today.

The universal appeal of Carlo Catani and the fact that the exhibition was bi-lingual ensured a broad audience from the Italian and Australian communities and helped share the story as widely as possible. Scholarly research by co-curator and renowned Carlo Catani authority Daniela Riachi ensured high quality content which also lead to the discovery of new works by Catani.

Winning the prestigious Victorian Community History Awards 2019 - Historical Interpretation Award[4] in October confirms that this story is of importance to the whole of the state of Victoria and that the exhibition was the best interpretative format for this story. The Award provides a range of continuing opportunities for promoting the Carlo Catani story and the work of the Society to a wide range of audiences.

WWI: The Knights of Vittorio Veneto in Australia[5]

In 2018, the Society received the donation of the rare and internationally significant publication, *Ordine dei Cavalieri di Vittorio Veneto – Elenco Nominativo – Australia* (Order of the Knights of Vittorio Veneto, Names List, Australia), from the Museo della Battaglia di Vittorio Veneto. The Exhibition (21 May - 3 August 2019), was developed and staged by the Society with the assistance of the Italian Embassy in Canberra, the Museo della Battaglia di Vittorio Veneto and the Municipality of Vittorio Veneto, to celebrate this significant donation and to commemorate the Knights of Vittorio Veneto in Australia.

The exhibition featured: A selection of images from the Museo della Battaglia Fondo Marzocchi *(*on loan from the Embassy of Italy in Canberra); A specially produced video from the Municipality of Vittorio Veneto and the Museo della Battaglia; A Vittorio Veneto Knighthood medal, (donated by F.

2 For more information on the *Museo Italiano* and related activities go to: https://www.coasit.com.au/museoitaliano
3 For detailed information of the exhibition and the launch visit the SBS Australia podcast by Francesca Valdinoci titled: "The Italian Engineer who changed the Face of Victoria", (20.12.2018): https://www.sbs.com.au/language/english/audio/the-italian-engineer-who-changed-the-face-of-victoria

4 The Awards recognise the contributions made by Victorians in the preservation of the state's history. Presented by Public Record Office Victoria in partnership with the Royal Historical Society of Victoria. The Society is indebted to all those involved in this ground breaking bi-lingual exhibition and in particular the co-curators Daniela Riachi and Isaac Herman and all the exhibition contributors especially the City of Port Phillip for sharing its unique Carlo Catani Collection.
5 For more information see the SBS Podcast by Magica Fossati titled: "WWI: The Knights of Vittorio Veneto in Australia: https://www.sbs.com.au/language/english/audio/wwi-the-knights-of-vittorio-veneto-in-australia-exhibition (12.6.2019)

Gobbato in Italy); A Knighthood Certificate with Vittorio Veneto medal and Commemorative medal attached (on loan from the De Angelis Family)[6] and an electronic version of the *Names List* created by the Society to enable visitors to find the names of relatives and friends who were awarded the Knighthood. Staging the exhibition also resulted in the donation to the Society by the Gandolfo Family of a Knighthood medal and a commemorative medal.

A personal connection to the book and WWI history was provided by featuring the story and personal items (courtesy of the Cavedon Family) of Cav. Remigio Cavedon, a Knight of Vittorio Veneto whose name appears in the *Names List* and whose life story is documented in the Society's Collection. This included Cav. Cavedon's Alpino hat, photographs and personal papers. Cav. Cavedon's story also served to represent the stories of all 2000 Knights of Vittorio Veneto in Australia featured in the *Names List*.

The Opening and Closing Events were memorable and very moving for all involved. They featured special guests from the Italian Embassy in Canberra, the Italian Consulate in Melbourne, the Museo della Battaglia and Municipality of Vittorio Veneto (via video) and included over 260 participants from the Italian Armed Forces and Veneto communities and special performances from the Veneto Club Melbourne Choir. The inclusion of Italian songs from the period was an important and powerful story telling component of the events.

Conclusion - Lest we forget

The *Carlo Catani: Visionary Creator, Genius* and *WWI: The Knights of Vittorio Veneto in Australia* exhibitions explored two highly significant but very different stories involving Italians in Australia. These exhibitions not only created opportunities for commemorating people and events but also successfully reached a wide Italian and Australian audience reinforcing the importance of these stories and experiences in Australia and in Italy. Important and highly valued collaborations were made with people and organisations in Australia and Italy, unique experiences were shared and new research and artefacts were added to the Society's Collection. These significant outcomes have ensured that these stories will be remembered and continue to be shared

both in Australia and in Italy. By continuing to tell these important stories through exhibitions the CO.AS.IT Italian Historical Society ensures the Italian Australian immigration experience will never be forgotten. As the world renowned story teller Rudyard Kipling once said: "If history were taught in the form of stories, it would never be forgotten."[7]

Bio

Elizabeth Triarico, BA, Graduate Diploma Museum Studies, Diploma of Management

Elizabeth was born in Melbourne, Australia to Italian migrants. As Manager of the CO.AS.IT. Italian Historical Society Elizabeth works closely with the Italian community to document, preserve and promote the Italian Australian immigration and settlement story. This includes the development of successful temporary exhibitions and associated events. She holds a Graduate Diploma in Museum Studies and is a member of the Australian Museums and Galleries Association (Victoria) Victorian Collections Advisory Committee and Oral History Victoria Committee.

Elizabeth has over 25 years experience in all aspects of museum and cultural and built heritage management and interpretation. She has worked with and managed a wide range of public and private heritage collections of local, state, national and international significance including those at: Sovereign Hill Parks Association; Carlton & United Breweries; Melbourne City Council; Glen Eira City Council; the Australian and New Zealand College of Anaesthetists; National Wool Museum in Geelong, Werribee Park Historic Mansion and Scienceworks in Melbourne. As a second generation Italian living in Australia, Elizabeth feels a strong personal connection to the Society's Collection and is passionate about ensuring its long term preservation and promotion.

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6 The certificate was discovered as a result of staging the Exhibition and was added to the display in July 2019.

7 *The Collected Works of Rudyard Kipling*, The Complete Works PergamonMedia, Published April 6th 2015 by PergamonMedia (first published 1941)

Suitcase Stories

Elise Valmorbida

Writer, UK

Abstract

In a sequence of fragments, part storytelling, part meditation, Elise Valmorbida reflects on the making of migration stories. She grew up Italian in Australia, and is now a Londoner. There are migrants—not just Italian migrants—in all of her books. Her award-winning novel *The Madonna of the Mountains* is set in rural Veneto, spanning the eras of fascism, world war, reconstruction and emigration. A work of fiction, it's also an intensively researched work of 'incidental anthropology', portraying in fine detail a way of life that is disappearing, or disappeared. The author taps into her root-stock, perhaps even her DNA.

Keywords:

Migration; stories; Veneto; Australian

I'm Italian, no?

I'm a double migrant. I'm Italian. My passport is Italian. But I've lived in London more than half my life. One of the many reasons I love London is its easy connection to Italy. Which is where I'm from. Even though I'm not. I just happen to have been born and raised in Australia.

I believe that's me in the First Communion photo—there are other images of this same girl. I think I remember the dress feeling starchy and the veil itchy. The shoes were new and stiff too. But it was exciting. Worth going to Confession for.

The friend by my side is as Irish as I'm Italian. We were born in Australia. Our unsophisticated local school was Catholic. We were taught by nuns and lay teachers. Quite a few of us had migrant parents: Polish, Yugoslav, Lebanese, Italian…

My mother made my school lunches every day: bulging 'Italian' sandwiches, and plenty of fresh fruit. She worried that I'd be tempted to swap my lunch with others. But why would I want an Australian jam sandwich? When my Australian friends invited me for a sleepover, I'd yearn for them to come to my place instead—the food would be nicer.

You can hear it: we referred to Australians as if we were not Australians ourselves. I skipped ropes on bitumen that melted in heat-waves, I swam all year in seawater or chlorine water, I could do a kookaburra's laugh with conviction, I spoke post-colonial English—but I was Italian. People told me that I "looked Italian". My family was from the Veneto. Our city was Vicenza. My father had a strong accent. My mother was bilingual. My grandmothers were forever in a foreign country, but in their migrant neighbourhoods they could merrily do Mass in Latin, shops in dialect, doctors in Italian. They competed for our affections via gnocchi. Sometimes our Sunday lunches became extended family storytelling sessions that were inevitably metaphoric: this thing stands for that thing, here and now is not like then and there. Years later, such stories would make their way into my fiction.

At the time of this photograph, "multicultural Australia" was a policy yet to be established. Being Italian was not cool. It was *foreign*. Some of the Italian kids at school had Anglicised surnames, and first names like John and Susan. Some of them denied being Italian if anyone asked. They did not learn their parents' language—that would be evidence.

"When Australians say racist things," I'd been told, "just say your ancestors invented heated swimming pools." I think this was a reference to ancient Romans, so the notion of ancestry was random at best, but it gave me a verbal force-field. Who didn't love a heated swimming pool?

Incidentally, I looked up the word Jacuzzi the other day…

Migration Stories

"If there's one common element in all my writing, it's an interest in migrants and migration. I guess it's natural given my own multicultural origins, but it's also at the heart of storytelling: the migrant brain is prone to metaphor—the perpetual balancing of here and there, different worlds in simultaneous play." —*Elise Valmorbida, The Guardian, 2009*

"Once we've left, for whatever reason, and stayed away, there's no going back…We can only make our way back in words." —*UK-based New Zealand author Kirsty Gunn, 'Adventures in Alienation', BBC Radio 4, 23 May 2015*

"All great literature is one of two stories; a man goes on a journey or a stranger comes to town." —*Leo Tolstoy*

A Soviet emigré to USA—having grown up with images of Stalin everywhere, and a horror of Soviet dictators—felt *nostalgia* when he saw footage of Brezhnev's funeral. He realised: "Intellectually you feel revulsion but your memory is immoral." —*'Adventures in Alienation', BBC Radio 4, 23 May 2015*

In Luca Vullo's documentary *Dallo Zolfo al Carbone* (2008), a Sicilian sulphur miner who emigrated to Belgium in 1946 says: "The people who love Italy the most are the ones who have left. Because they miss it."

"Australian Aborigines say that the big stories—the stories worth telling and retelling, the ones in which you may find the meaning of your life—are forever stalking the right teller, sniffing and tracking like predators hunting their prey in the bush." —*Robert Moss*

Origins, oral history, objects

The seed of *The Madonna of the Mountains* was planted long ago and far away. Growing up Italian in Australia meant growing up with migrant stories. My head was full of people and places that seemed foreign and yet were utterly familiar—part of me, like my Italian face and my Italian surname. For decades, I've been gathering notes about Italy: random personal observations on anything from language

to landscape. Sometimes I'd sit with my aunt in her kitchen, scribbling into a notebook as she recounted wartime experiences. She'd be sipping coffee, or stewing artichokes, or showing me how to make gnocchi. At a certain moment, she'd wipe her hands on her apron, and go off to find me an old photo, perhaps a memento.

There were other storytellers, not just family and extended family. Old friends. Neighbours. The strangers I'd meet at a *sagra* celebrating the local mushroom or cheese, huge crowds seated in vineyards, eating and drinking, talking late into the night. I took notes about anything and everything—courting, conscription, flouting a Fascist, when to plant in the moon's cycle—not with a specific project in mind, but because I didn't want to forget this richly fascinating, disappearing world. And people liked telling me things, knowing that someone was genuinely interested and that they would not be forgotten. It was like a haphazard oral history project.

Objects, objects. Ordinary letters, by ordinary people, gave me some insight into the language and concerns of my characters in early 20th-century rural Veneto. I pored over family hand-me-downs: religious trinkets, photographs and mementos. I don't know how many museums I visited in my quest for cultural treasure… Maritime and war museums. Art museums. Folk museums all over Italy, from the Museo degli Antichi Mestieri in Pasubio, to the Museo del Tempo Contadino in Ragusa. I sought out institutions devoted to migration: Melbourne's Immigration Museum and CoAsIt Museo Italiano, New York City's Lower East Side Tenement Museum and Ellis Island's Immigration Museum. And I travelled deep into eBay, a vast research resource, visual, verbal, unpredictable, real. Some of the militaria and other wartime artefacts that appear in my novel are ration coupons, Fascist posters, Nazi travel permits, a cloth badge made in Dachau, and a sculpture of Mussolini's head with his profile spun into 360 degrees, all-seeing.

Foraging - literal and lateral

Once my novel was underway, I became disciplined about research, reading countless books, in English and in Italian. I referred again and again to a technical-historical dictionary of Vicenza's territory and dialect, *La Sapienza dei Nostri Padri*. Cinema was inspiring too.

Literally, neorealist films such as *Paisan, Bicycle Thieves,* or *Rome, Open City.* And laterally: I love *Le Quattro Volte* for its patient, attentive, near-documentary gaze. I wanted that sort of intensity as I described my characters doing the washing or slaughtering a pig.

In Italy I explored historic sites and places that are nowhere on a map. I foraged for facts—and edible wild things. I scoured the internet there too; local searches yielded local special-interest sites I couldn't find in the UK.

"Se lavora par magnare e se magna par lavorar. One works in order to eat, and eats in order to work." Food is a recurring theme in the novel. Gathering, growing, harvesting, cooking, preserving, salvaging… Food in Autarchy, food as rationed allowances with coupons, food as torture, food as hunger, food as survival, food as love. My protagonist Maria Vittoria would tell you (as I do) that foraged stinging nettles make for a delicious pasta sauce, soup or omelette.

Lost in translation?

In 2019, *The Madonna of the Mountains* won the Victorian Premier's Literary Award for Fiction. It was also shortlisted for the UK's Edward Stanford Award, and chosen for the Walter Scott Prize 'Academy Recommends' list. Beyond its first publication by Faber & Faber, the novel has been published in several languages and editions (more than ten so far). But not in Italian.
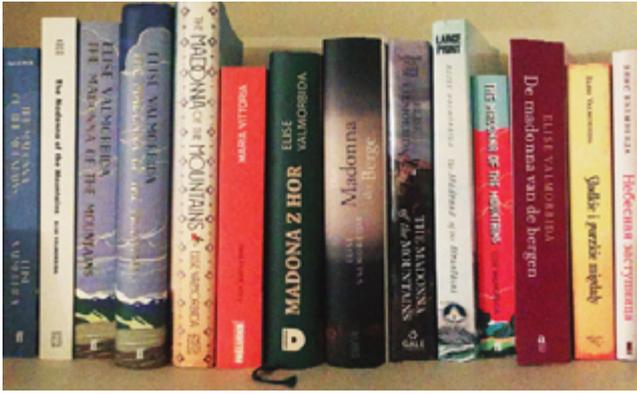
One Italian publisher rejected the novel because they already have a book on their list written by an Italian migrant author—they couldn't have too many "non-Italian" authors. Two different Italian publishers rejected the novel as being "too Italian". I thought this was a joke. But it wasn't. I realised that I am *foreign* and my novel in Italy would be a work in translation, because I wrote it in English.

The Madonna of the Mountains is intensely Italian in subject matter and sensibility. From the rhythms of the syntax to the spirit of the sayings, I was thinking in Italian (and in Veneto) all the way through. Most of my research was undertaken in Italian—online, books, cinema, oral history—and in Italy. Well-read Italians say that they have not come across another literary novel, in Italian, that explores this conceptual terrain. But there is a notion within the wider publishing industry that novels in translation need to take you *elsewhere*. I understand this. An Italian reader of a work in translation expects to be transported to America, or Turkey, or India—not to Italy, where they already are.

Even so, I have received countless emails and messages from Italy, from Italians all over the world, inspired readers, migrants, children of migrants, strangers, saying that this book speaks to them, and they want it in Italian for their parents to read, or for their grandparents to read before they die. I live in hope.

Supersstition and DNA

I'm curious to know more about the DRD4-7R gene variant known unscientifically as "the wanderlust gene". The 7R allele is associated with impulsive and exploratory behaviour, and seems to be more prevalent in migratory cultures. I'm also curious to know more about the contentious theory of transgenerational trauma. I can't help but wonder what else may be passed on from one generation to another. While researching and writing *The Madonna of the Mountains,* I sensed that I was tapping into my own root-stock, perhaps even my own DNA.

Here's an anecdote… Some years ago, I was holidaying with friends in a remote Tasmanian country cottage. The power, and the water, were cut off for the week. We lived by daylight and candlelight. For heat, we built fires. We stored precious fresh water in buckets and bowls. One night, I sat at the hearth, stirring risotto in a huge pot over the wood-fire. My friend looked at me and said: "You're right at home, aren't you? You've done all this before." I replied that I hadn't. He said: "In another life."

All photos © Elise Valmorbida

Bio

Elise Valmorbida is a graduate in English language and literature, an experienced teacher and multi-published author. In 2019, she won the prestigious Victorian Premier's Literary Award for Fiction for her fourth novel, *The Madonna of the Mountains*. Published in the UK by Faber & Faber, and internationally in several languages, *The Madonna of the Mountains* was *The Times* 'book of the month', a *New York Post* 'must-read', an Edward Stanford Awards shortlister, and one of the 2019 Walter Scott Prize 'Academy Recommends' List. Elise's popular non-fiction work, *The Book of Happy Endings*, is published in four languages and four continents. She has worked as writer/teacher with PEN International, literary festivals, universities and community-building organisations. Currently, she teaches creative writing at Central Saint Martins, the Arvon Foundation, Guardian Masterclasses and Faber Academy. Elise is the award-winning script consultant and producer of microbudget indie Britfilm *SAXON*, and author of *SAXON: The Making of a Guerrilla Film*. Elise is the founder-director of communications consultancy *word-design*, a board director of UK writers' collective 26, former External Examiner for Falmouth University's MA in Professional Writing, and a member of English PEN and The Society of Authors. Author website: www.elisevalmorbida.com

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Credits

Diaspore Italiane is an international symposium organized by:
Co.As.It, Melbourne
John D.Calandra Institute, (CUNY) New York
Mu.MA - Istituzione Musei del Mare e delle Migrazioni, Genova

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Galata Museo del Mare / Costa Edutainment