Another(’s) Rome:

Difference and Belonging in a Twenty-first Century City

By Olivia Hamilton, BA MA

PhD candidate in the Department of Sociology, Macquarie University

Submitted for examination on _____

This thesis is presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Table of Contents

Abstract 4

Statement of originality 5

Acknowledgements 6

1. Introduction: the self and the city 7

The Self and the City 9

Between ethics and method 18

Outline of the current work 21

PART I: REPRESENTATIONS OF ROME 26

Plate 1 27

Plate 2 28

Plate 3 29

Plate 4 30

2. The City of Memory 31

Introduction 31

A brief history of Rome as capital city of modern Italy, or, 'symbolic projection' as political intervention 34

Three films, many Romes:

1. Inside and Outside in Rome, Open City 42

2. Una specie di giungla: Rome as urban jungle in La Dolce Vita 48

3. Slums and slaves: the abject in Pier Paolo Pasolini's Accattone 55

Conclusion 61

3. Narrating another Rome 64

Introduction *64*

Who, or what, is a Roman? 66

The subject as exile: longing, belonging, and intimate spaces in Clash of Civilizations over an Elevator in Piazza Vittorio 72

Blacks Out: abjecting Rome's others 80

Scego's home is where she is: mapping multiplicity in Rome 89

Conclusion 96

PART II: RACIALISED SPACES 99

Plate 5 100

Plate 6 101

Plate 7 102

Plate 8 103

4. Belonging and Being at Home 104
Introduction 104
Rules, regulations, and racism 106
A Home that Breathes 117
Be/longing 124
Conclusion 136
5. 'Empty' Spaces and 'Strangers' 138
Introduction 138
Invisible lives, empty spaces 140
In(di)visible: Roma profiled, contained, abjected 147
Afghani refugees: slipping through the cracks 158
Conclusion 169
PART III: EMBODIED AND VIRTUAL MULTIPLICITY 172
Plate 9 173
Plate 10 174
Plate 11 175
Plate 12 176
6. 'A Culture of Food': Sensory Experience and Ethnic Identity 177
Introduction 177
Food: a really strong thing 179
'Menu etnici' vs 'menu regionali': food as education in Rome, 2007-2010 193
Eating out in the Esquilino 198
Cucimondo: cooking with the world 202
Conclusion 209
7. Reaching Beyond Rome: Grass-Roots Routes Between Here and There 211
Introduction 211
Multiplicity for the 'children of migration' 214
El Vagon Libre: fiesta! 220
Rete G2 – Seconde Generazioni: material change through a virtual medium 226
The Colour of Passports 236
Conclusion 239
8. Conclusion: The Changing City, The Changing Self 241
Bibliography 246
Appendix 1: List of Interviews 259
Appendix 2: Conversation as Research 260

Abstract

This study is concerned with the experiences of migrants and minorities in contemporary Rome. Through an analysis of the socio-spatial identification of first and second generation migrants, and other marginalised minorities, the study explores the ways that these subjects negotiate difference and belonging in the spaces of the city of Rome both in terms of physical and social presence. Given the current climate of conflict in Italy over issues of immigration and citizenship, race and cultural identity, this investigation points to the need to pay attention to the spatial in experiences of exclusion and belonging. The theoretical frame is informed by urban studies, specifically approaches that develop a dynamic sense of place, and literature on migration and identity, through contemporary discussions of citizenship, subjectivity, (in)visibility and abjection.

The thesis presents findings based on ethnographic fieldwork in Rome, which included qualitative, semi-structured interviews and participant observation with community-based, small-scale NGOs active around issues of migration and minority rights. To provide a historical and critical frame for the fieldwork, I examine literary and cinematic representations of the city of Rome and its populations, as well as analysis of relevant policies and public discourses around immigration. Policies developed at the nation-state level are concretised through experiences at the local level; representations of the city affect perceptions of who belongs and who does not. This synthesis of different sources develops an analysis that takes into account the competing claims over urban space and migrant and minority identifications, as they occur at a specific historical moment in a particular site.

The thesis argues that an understanding of place is essential to an understanding of identity, since it is through *both* social *and* spatial structures that we carve out a place for ourselves in the world – and in doing so, change the places in which we live.

Statement of originality

I, Olivia Hamilton, declare that this work is original, and that all sources have been acknowledged. The references to interviews and observations come from research undertaken by me in Rome, Italy, between June and December 2009, and in May 2010. Ethics approval for this research was given by the Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee on 21 January 2009, reference number HE28NOV2008-D06254.

Signed:

Olivia Hamilton
18/5/12

Acknowledgements

This thesis would not have been written without the help and support of a wonderful group of academics, friends, and family, all of whom have listened to me talk through the ideas and endless changes over the past few years. Thanks especially to my supervisors, Justine Lloyd and Alison Leitch, without whose guidance I would not have kept going, and to Harry Blatterer who read some sections and Lorraine Gibson who helped make the ethics application process less painful. An extra-special thank you goes to Christine Frisina for her amazing editing work; to Enza Doran for listening, and for saving my photos; to mum for being a sounding board for the ideas; to my large, noisy family for their love and support; and to my friends who made sure I made it this far. And thanks, above all, to the people I met in Rome, whose stories fill these pages and my memories, and whose struggles to make a home, somewhere in this world, continue.

1. Introduction: the self and the city

The idea for this research project began with a walk through an outer suburb in the city of Rome. In 2005, an Australian of Italian background living in Rome, I was unsettled. The city attracted me: ruins appear unexpectedly as you turn a corner, and suddenly the monotony of urban life is transformed, made richer by this hint of an ancient past. On summer evenings, the twilight glow fades into a soft darkness as people fill the piazzas, drinks and cigarettes in hand; smoke and conversations swirl into the night sky to be forgotten again in the morning. But something about the city left me feeling constantly uncomfortable, on guard. Rome, at times, felt like an urban shadowland, as though it had long ago exhaled its last living breath and now the noise and traffic and chaos of people were fighting for space with the ghosts that wander its streets.

On an evening walk with my cousin, who was born in Calabria and moved to Rome to study, we stopped to look at some scarves at a street vendor's stall. The street vendor asked where we were from; on hearing that my cousin was from Calabria, his face lit up and he launched into the story of how his father had moved to Rome, part of the mass emigration from Italy's southern regions after World War II. He felt that this geographical connection, to the southern mountains in the boot-shaped peninsula's toe, connected us, two relatives born on opposite sides of the world and a stranger encountered on a Roman street. As we walked away, my cousin gave me a long-suffering look and muttered: '*Parlono troppo, questi romani.*' They speak too much, these Romans. The street vendor's Calabrian heritage was erased in a few simple words: he was Roman, and because of that he spoke too much. My cousin was not Roman, and because of that she was annoyed at this exchange, even though she lives in Rome and intends to stay there. From this simple phrase, I began to question the positioning of those around me: how did they see their relationship with this busy but slow-moving city? Was it as troubled and ambivalent as mine? How had

they arrived here, and how long would they stay? And would this city, already so full of stories, be able to find space for more?

Geographical imaginings are central to ourselves as social beings. We live, materially, in the world, creating a cohesive sense of self through interactions that are situated and embodied. At the same time, we narrate and give meaning to the world, using places as references for identity: in this way, places themselves come to be associated with particular human characteristics and ways of life. The frequency with which geographical origin is used to indicate 'who' someone is becomes especially evident in discussions of belonging and being in place, where social identification and spatial identification meet. This thesis explores aspects of the spatialisation of social identities that relate to discourses of nativism and migration, through a study of immigrants living in the city of Rome at the beginning of the 21st century. In this work, I examine the ways that people find connections to place through narratives of belonging and everyday practices, even in the politically volatile situation in which immigrants in Italy today find themselves.

The research draws from a range of sources, including interviews and participant observation over a 6-month period of fieldwork in Rome, a study of representations of Rome in films and literary works, and analysis of public discourse in media and policy. I explore the relation between identity and place: the embodied, narratable self who is both an individual and a member of various groups (ethnic, political, religious, etc.); and the city as a place endowed with constantly contested, always multiple, meanings. I show how places are essential in peoples' formation of their individual and group identities, and at the same time, how both individuals and groups exert or subvert power to control specific places. In this way, socio-spatial identification is explored through literatures on identity and subjectivity, and place and space, as I seek to locate and synthesise the common elements of these two different approaches. I emphasise the need to use both spatial and social theoretical approaches when dealing with questions of difference and belonging in a specific location. In the following discussion, I outline the theoretical approach that I take to identity, which is both narrative

and embodied, and place, which is both multiple and relational. I also discuss the ethical and methodological concerns I faced during the research, and give a brief outline of the thesis.

The Self and the City

In developing a theoretical framework for this thesis, I have drawn from urban studies and theories of identity and difference, bringing the two literatures together to show the essential role of places in constructions of identity, both social and individual. Using the study of difference and belonging in contemporary Rome as a case study, this thesis argues that the association of particular identities, both of individuals and of groups, with particular places, allows the exclusion of many others, ethnic minorities, immigrants, and their descendants, who are seen not to belong, to be *out of place*. At the same time, these others find creative ways to build up a sense of belonging, their presence in the city altering the rhythms of everyday life as they carve out a place for themselves, here, in the place of another. The city, too, is open to contrasting claims, since places are not just physical but also imagined. Following work that recognises the link between the social and the spatial (Ahmed 2000; Ahmed et al. 2003; Amin 2002, 2007; Amin & Thrift 2002; Massey 1993, 2005; Mezzadra 2005, 2006; Shields 2006), I call this interplay between the self, as an individual as well as a member of society, and the city, as both real and imagined, socio-spatial identification.

The self to whom I refer is an individual, with a specific, individual identity, which has been formed by interactions with the world around them. Alliances with others, such that the individual can be seen as a member of many different groups, are an important aspect of this identity, as explained by Amin Maalouf (2000, p. 5) when he claims, 'Every individual is a meeting ground for many different allegiances, and sometimes these loyalties conflict with one another and confront the person who harbours them with difficult choices.' An individual may belong to a nation-state, while at the same time holding political views that

bring them into conflict with that nation-state's power structure, or are marginalised because of their ethnicity, age, class, gender, sexuality, and so on. It is through these conflicts between individual allegiances, and hegemonic ideals of who or what is supposed to belong, that we can see the struggle over power to create meaning in a certain socio-spatial setting. Here already, we can indicate the importance of geography for identification, since 'belonging' is associated with a range of rights and obligations, in the contemporary period tied to citizenship and residence of a bounded region. Indeed, when we look at transnational migrations, we see the importance of territory for the potential of an individual to even have rights, since states can deny those rights to members of certain groups (see, for example, Bhabha 2009; Benhabib 2002, 2005).

The narration of this combination of alliances allows the individual to articulate an identity, one that is both individual and collective in nature, and one that speaks against identifications imposed from above. Personal narratives can be viewed as performance, as well as political practice, since '[i]n telling stories we organize events and human action into some sort of whole; we give form to the understanding of a purpose in life.... In a most profound way, our stories tell us who we are and who we can – or cannot – be' (Langallier 1989, p. 267). The simultaneity of meta- and micro-narratives, of group identity and individual identity, in our narratives about ourselves allows us to express constancy over time and forms the foundation for many of our interactions with the world around us. Self-constancy, in Paul Ricoeur's (1992, p. 165, emphasis in original) terms, is 'for each person that manner of conducting himself or herself so that others can *count on* that person. Because someone is counting on me, I am *accountable for* my actions before another.' Ricoeur (1992) develops a discussion in which 'selfhood', the individuality of the self, and 'sameness', the individual's constancy through time, are explainable through narrative identity, since it is the personal narrative that allows us to explain our position in relation to our past, present, and future, as well as to account for our actions to those around us. Hannah Arendt (1958) recognises a similar dichotomous relationship between the changing self and its constancy through time when she differentiates between the 'who' and the 'what' of the individual. Arendt (1958, p. 186) writes,

> The real story in which we are engaged as long as we live has no visible or invisible marker because it is not made. The only "somebody" it reveals is its hero, and it is the only medium in which the originally intangible manifestation of a uniquely distinct "who" can become tangible...through action and speech. *Who* somebody is or was we can know only by knowing the story of which he himself is the hero – his biography, in other words; everything else we know of him, including the work he may have produced and left behind, tells us only *what* he is or was.

Here, individual biographies help us to differentiate between personal choices, actions, desires, characteristics – the 'who' – and profession, labour, membership of a polis, etc. – the 'what'. Narrating the hero's story involves memory work, a move towards auto-narration that is involuntary but unavoidable, since 'every human being…is aware of being a *narratable self* – immersed in the spontaneous auto-narration of memory' (Cavarero 2000, p. 33, emphasis in original). Biographies work to create a sense of *who* someone is, in what social circles they move, what political allegiances they hold and why; personal narratives, or oral histories, can tell us about the inner workings of the self as well as the hidden or marginalised ways of being, in a certain place at a certain time.[1]

At the same time, the narration of the self requires an audience: the self appears in public through an intersubjective engagement with the other. Intersubjective engagement with the other in public has real political consequences. Susan Bickford (1996, p. 25) argues, 'This conception of identity – as actively created through being present in public – takes seriously the political significance of "what" and "who" we are; it obscures neither our distinctiveness nor our location in the world.' This political significance acknowledges the *materiality* and *power* of identity, which is not reducible only to narrative in the form of a text or speech, but is an element in the power structures and struggles of everyday life. Rosaura Sanchez (2006) also recognises this aspect of identity, when she differentiates between identity and identification. In Sanchez' terms, identification includes the categories or groupings to which we are assigned by the social structures in which we live (comparable to Arendt, Cavarero and

[1] For an example of the use of oral histories in Italian sociology, see the extensive work on oral histories and social movements by Luisa Passerini, especially her 1996 *Autobiography of a Generation: Italy, 1968*, and the extensive work of Franco Ferrarotti, who over decades has documented the complexities of life in the Roman periphery, for example *Roma da capitale a periferia* (1970) and *Vite di baraccati* (1973).

Bickford's 'what'), while identity is described as the individual, agential awareness of position in the world (an awareness of the construction of self that is similar to the 'who'). Sanchez (2006, p. 41) locates identity within the social processes that lead to identification, arguing that identity at an individual level 'implies an agential act of affirmation or negation and action, a coming to terms with the fact of identification processes at work.' These identification processes occur on a number of levels: citizenship and residency permits identify a person as belonging, or not, through the legal framework of the nation-state in which they live; how someone dresses or looks, the visual aspects of identification, indicate a range of expectations, learnt behaviours, and stereotypes; gender and sexuality, as well as ethnicity, affect a person's involvement in the workplace, in family relationships, their movement through or access to social spaces, etc. All these examples rest on the recognition that identification occurs at a material level *in combination with* narration of individual and group identities.

I approach the physical presence of the narrated and narratable self through a discussion of embodiment, since a living body, unable to be written down in text and transported through time and space, is always situated in the world. This meaning-making process becomes most obvious when we examine the socio-spatial categories of *difference* or *marginality*, central to the objectives of this thesis. The visual markers of difference, when accompanied by racialisation, are one of the ways that individuals are recognised as belonging or not belonging, subject to exclusions through everyday practices of racism, or in extreme cases abjected, as explored in Chapter 5 of this thesis. As defined by Alberto Memmi (2000, p. 56), racism is the illustration and symbolisation of oppression: '[r]acism is an opinion, but it is an opinion that declares an intention and signals a mode of conduct'. That is, racism is an integral element of the power structures of a given society, and as such can take different forms depending on who is oppressed and who occupies the role of oppressor. In this discussion, the very real effects of racism involve the 'erosion of personhood', since racism's 'only purpose is to torment other people through an attempt to reduce them to nothing, and to harass people to the point of destroying them' (Memmi 2000, p. 57). This approach is similar to that of Frantz Fanon, who was concerned

particularly with tracing the internalisation of the black-white divide by the colonised people of Africa, and indeed Fanon and Memmi were both actively writing against the racism of European colonialism during the 1950s. Fanon's (1967, p. 18) work recognises the importance of a psychoanalytical approach to a social reality that has been created by colonial domination of whites over blacks, and the internalisation of the language of the colonisers by the colonised, which he describes as 'an inferiority complex…created by the death and burial of its local cultural originality.' The power structures of colonialism created a situation in which the colonised internalised an imposed system of identification; the images of the colonised that the colonisers created became the images with which the colonised saw themselves.

This disjuncture between self-perception and the perception of others is further interrogated by bell hooks, in the essays collected in *Black Looks: Race and Representation* (1992), which explore representations of blackness in film and popular culture in the USA. This is a political endeavour, as hooks (1992, p. 4) looks to transgress and transform the stereotypical images of race, seeking ways of 'transforming the image, creating alternatives, asking ourselves questions about what types of images subvert, pose critical alternatives, and transform our world views and move us away from dualistic thinking about good and bad.' The embodiment of the negative stereotypes that have been attributed to African Americans in particular historical periods is further explored by George Yancy (2008, p. 844), who describes the association of blackness with danger, promiscuity, and brute force, as a *confiscation* of the black body 'by whites who have assumed the "natural authority" to seize Black bodies both discursively and non-discursively.' In this same work, Yancy goes on to describe an episode in which he enters an elevator that is already occupied by a white woman; her reactions to his black body are interpreted as reactions to *the* black man (general, unspecific), rather than to himself as an individual. The woman's performance of internalised racism – for Yancy emphasises that the woman may not be consciously engaging in a racist reaction to his presence, but rather demonstrating learnt patterns of behaviour and body movement – engenders in Yancy a counter-performance in which he seeks to resist her reading of his

intentions, while at the same time making him more conscious than usual of his own embodied presence. As he says,

> [I]t is through her gaze that I become hypervigilant of my own embodied spatiality. On previous occasions, when alone, I have moved my body within the space of the elevator in a non-calculative fashion, paying no particular attention to my bodily comportment, the movement of my hands, my eyes, or the position of my feet (Yancy 2008, p. 857).

Our bodies *are* our selves: they are both 'the transparent enabling power and "zero degree" of our agency and yet are also opaque – within our agency, yes, but certainly in excess of our volition' (Sobchack 1999, p. 48). Material existence and narrative identity work together to give a sense of constancy over time, a sense of being connected to the world around us while still being recognised as a discrete and separate self.

An understanding of identity as embodied necessarily brings up questions of spatiality. In the example above, Yancy argues that the space of the elevator is a social space; so too the city, the nation, the state are spaces in which identification plays out in specific, situated ways. Space and place are inscribed on the body, evidenced by the assumption that someone's national, regional or ethnic identity can tell us something important about who that person is. Migrant domestic workers, for example, are associated with certain skills or trustworthiness depending on their place of origin, as argued by Rhacel Salazar Parreñas (2001) in a transnational study of Filipina domestic workers, and by Wanning Sun (2009) in a study of rural Chinese domestic workers who have migrated to China's densely populated cities. As Sun (2009, p. 618) argues, 'since the migrant body refuses to be bound to the place of origin and prefers to infiltrate the habitat of the urban resident, the cultural politics of boundary keeping must (re)inscribe place onto the mobile body.' Thus, the symbolic meanings that are attached to a particular place are able to attach also to its inhabitants, and to move with them as they relocate in search of work. Recognising some bodies as different, as having specific characteristics, is to produce 'strangers':

> [T]he figure of the "stranger" is produced, not as that which we fail to recognise, but as that which we have already recognised as "a stranger". In the gesture of recognising the one that we do not know, the one that is different from "us", we flesh out the beyond, and give it a face and form' (Ahmed 2000, p. 3).

The ‘stranger’ thus embodies (for ‘us’) an elsewhere that has come to be located in the here and now, through the presence of the stranger; identification of the stranger with not-here accompanies identification of ‘us’ with here. That is, the stranger is identified as being different from the majority, and as being out of place. When taken to its extreme, the failure to recognise the stranger’s kinship to ‘us’ can lead to their abjection: Julia Kristeva (1982, p. 5) argues, ‘abjection is elaborated through a failure to recognise its kin; nothing is familiar, not even the shadow of a memory.’ Abjection is the response to the improper, to the unclean, to the uncanny; the subject is always in danger of being destroyed by that which threatens to cross the borderline, to pollute the self. In applying theories of abjection to the social processes at work in the construction of the stranger, and the stranger’s expulsion, from within the borders of the city, region, nation-state, I recognise the limitations of Kristeva’s approach, which focuses on the psychoanalytical. Such an approach does not take into consideration the specificity of social and spatial identification, and I agree with Sara Ahmed (2000, p. 52, emphasis in original) when she says,

> What is required is not simply a psychoanalytical approach to how identity *as such* gets established and contested, *but how bodies are differentiated through the metonymic association of some bodies (and not others) with the border that confounds identity*.

Thus far I have spoken of the identities of people, as individuals and as members of groups, and of the importance of embodiment in informing and framing experiences of the world. But those bodies are located *somewhere*, those individuals and groups live in the world, and as the discussion of identity above has begun to show, places too have identities that are established, challenged, and reimagined over time. Places, too, are narrated, though there is no auto-narration, except by those groups who have claimed nativity to a place and therefore claim to speak *as* that place. Geography and architecture, the ‘thing-character’ (Arendt 1958, p. 9) of places, are accompanied by narratives, folklore, and myth; as we carry out our daily lives, places are pluralised in such a way that ‘it makes sense to talk of “*social spaces*”, which gain meaning as the changing topologies mapping affinities between bodies, meanings and sites’ (Shields 2006, p. 148; see also Amin 2004). Inhabitants’ movements through, and creative uses

of, the city's spaces are an important way in which meanings are established and exchanges or encounters occur. Michel de Certeau (1988), in his seminal work *The Practice of Everyday Life*, examines the ways in which people's everyday practices expose a tactical use of urban spaces, against the strategies of urban control. Here, strategies belong to the realm of the 'proper', with 'a *place* that can be delimited as its *own* and serve as a base from which relations with an *exteriority*…can be managed' (de Certeau 1988, pp. 35-36, emphasis in original). Tactics, in contrast, are defined as 'calculated action[s] determined by the absence of a proper locus...The space of a tactic is the space of the other. Thus it must play on and with a terrain imposed on it and organized by the law of a foreign power' (de Certeau 1988, p. 37). De Certeau examines the tactics used by city-dwellers to negotiate the city's streets, in which people are involved in the creation of an urban text, creating paths that cannot be mapped, but that nevertheless make the city inhabitable. The relationality of bodies, meanings and sites in the city is revealed in this power struggle over the everyday uses of the city's spaces, and the contested claims to belong, to be in place.

One of the most significant discussions of space as socially produced is found in Henri Lefebvre's (1991) *The Production of Space*. Lefebvre argues for an understanding of space as a social product, and defines social space as distinct from both mental and physical space. He further distinguishes between representational spaces, which are symbolic, imaginary, and living, and representations of space, which are abstract, perspectival, and subject to revision and practice. The production of space, according to Lefebvre (1991, p. 110), is particular to the society that produces it: 'every social space has a history, one invariably grounded in nature, in natural conditions that are at once primordial and unique in the sense that they are always and everywhere endowed with specific characteristics.' In this way, Lefebvre's work moves away from essentialised notions of space and instead emphasises the specificity of space as socially produced. While he does not attempt to define 'place' himself, Lefebvre's work thus opens up the potential for a redefinition of *place* as an analytical concept that works with, but is not identical to, *space*. In this approach,

places are not seen as primordial, unchanging locations but themselves as produced through social understandings and uses of space.

Following Lefebvre, a number of researchers emphasise a relational understanding of places (Amin 2002, 2004; Amin & Thrift 2002; Massey 1993, 2005; Paasi 2001). These approaches argue that the study of a specific place must examine the social, political, and economic relations that come together in that place, since places are heterogeneous, relational, and in process: 'a simultaneity of stories-so-far' (Massey 2005, p. 9). Doreen Massey uses the term 'throwntogetherness' to indicate the event of place, its constitution through the chance co-presence of people, things, and stories. In this approach to place, Massey (2005, p. 14) argues:

> There can be no assumption of pre-given coherence, or of community or collective identity. Rather the throwntogetherness of place demands negotiation. In sharp contrast to the view of place as settled and pre-given, with a coherence only to be disturbed by "external" forces, places as presented here in a sense necessitate invention; they pose a challenge. They implicate us, perforce, in the lives of human others, and in our relations with nonhumans they ask us how we shall respond to our temporary meeting-up with these particular rocks and stones and trees. They require that, in one way or another, we confront the challenge of the negotiation of multiplicity.

Negotiating multiplicity in place leads us back, once again, to questions of belonging and identity: since community and collective identity cannot be assumed, any more than we can assume a hegemonic view of place, places and identities must be examined *together*, in the negotiations and relationships of socio-spatial identification. Questions of power and resistance are at once evident. Domination of territory and domination of people go hand in hand: governments require territory in order to exert control, which is maintained not only through juridical or legal domination but also through a range of other mechanisms. As Michel Foucault consistently argues, power reaches into people's daily lives, and constitutes discourses, knowledges, bodies; power is not separate from other aspects of life but entwined within them. That is, 'the manifold relationships of force that take shape and come into play in the

machinery of production...are the basis for wide-ranging effects of cleavage that run through the social body as a whole' (Foucault 1978, p. 94).[2]

Power takes on different forms at different times and in different places. As the above discussion of the development of a sense of self and a sense of place has shown, power runs through questions of socio-spatial identification. When an individual is described as a 'stranger', a double move is made which identifies that individual with both a social and a spatial order. When that socio-spatial order is challenged, for example when migration leads to the presence of many 'strangers' in a city like Rome, attempts to re-establish order may lead to abjection, to the expulsion of those 'strangers' from the spaces of the city. It is therefore possible to speak of *abject spaces*, defined as spaces in which the rule of law that governs (a nation-state's) subjects is suspended, and allows for the rendering of abject spaces' inhabitants as less-than-human, stripped of rights, denied the potential to become political beings (see Isin & Rygiel 2007). In this way, the self and the city are mutually constitutive: belonging, and not belonging, in a particular place can affect an individual's potential to be recognised as a subject, even as personal narratives speak against, resist, and subvert such domination. At the same time, the 'throwntogetherness' of places reveals them to be constantly changing, as negotiations occur that make one view of a place dominant for a while, only for it to be challenged and superseded by another. The self and the city are both, then, revealed as dynamic, multiple, and relational – in constant conversation with each other.

Between ethics and method

In approaching this research, I was very much aware of my position in the field, as a researcher but also as someone whose work is informed by my own family history of migration. Holding Italian citizenship, because of my family background, I often found myself in a position of privilege compared to the

[2] For further discussion of Foucault's approaches to power, see Honneth (1991).

people whose stories inform the ethnographic sections of this thesis. While living in Rome in 2009, I recorded seventeen substantive qualitative interviews, and took notes in a further three interviews, bringing the total number of interviewees to twenty (see appendix 1 for a full list). Throughout the thesis, these interviewees are given false names unless otherwise indicated. I also engaged in numerous conversations with those I encountered along the way, since the nature of ethnography in an urban setting entails numerous transitory encounters, a method I have described elsewhere as 'Conversation as Research' (Hamilton 2010; see also Appendix 2). Conversation, in this sense, involves a dialogic exchange between the researcher and the research participants, since the located nature of ethnography requires listening to the social context as well as to the individuals interviewed. In addition to the fieldwork, I draw on newspaper articles, policy, film, and literature to analyse public discourses about belonging and exclusion in the city of Rome. This combination of sources is important, I argue, because socio-spatial identification needs to be understood as a combination of the everyday, the political, and the representational. For a city such as Rome, representations in film and literature abound, and must be unpacked to show how they affect the meaning-making that is possible in the city. Contemporary urban life is so saturated in imagery, news media, and other sources of representation, so much affected by the power structures that shape the modern nation-state, that engaging only in interviews or observations would not have allowed the breadth of analysis required to explore the intersection, or 'friction' (Tsing 2005), of the many and varied interests that impact on the construction of difference and belonging in Rome in the contemporary historical moment.

The ethical dilemmas I faced were numerous: interviewing people whose very presence in Rome was precarious, who were awaiting the results of long-drawn-out applications for humanitarian or other visas or who had faced the deportation of family members, meant that interviewees were not always open about certain aspects of their lives in the city. I had to demonstrate an awareness of, and empathy for, their concerns, often acting as a confidante for people who wanted someone to listen to their story. In some cases, I was able to draw on my

own family history to demonstrate sensitivity to the emotional work involved in international migrations, while in other cases I had to justify why I held Italian citizenship when participants found it so difficult even to attain a residency permit. One of the ways in which I attempted to address these concerns was to become involved in grass-roots volunteer groups, as a way of assisting and giving something back to my research participants. Thus, the interviews are further informed by participant observation and ongoing interactions with groups whose marginalisation meant that they were unwilling to sit down for a recorded interview. In fact, in Chapter 5 of this thesis, I draw on very minimal interview data, since this chapter focuses on two populations whose presence in Rome is barely tolerated by officials: Roma and Afghani refugees. Indeed, none of the inhabitants of the one Roma camp I gained access to was willing to have an interview recorded, though many were happy to engage in 'unofficial' conversations, inviting me into their homes and showing me family photos and videos of special events. Speaking with the Afghani refugees I encountered was further hindered by language barriers, as many spoke neither Italian nor English, and had little time off from poorly-paid, often illegal, work. In the Esquilino, the area of Rome in which I lived, I faced a different problem of over-researched populations who were unwilling to speak to yet another researcher. Here, instead, I undertook ongoing observations in the area, speaking to a few people who were willing to participate as well as engaging in the social life of the area, going to restaurants and chatting to those residents who gathered every evening in Piazza Vittorio, the area's main park.

I have given this brief description of the difficulties that I faced during the fieldwork because it illuminates the reasons for the development of the ethical approach I took to my research. Before beginning the fieldwork, I had already considered how I might meet my commitment to engaging with the communities and individuals I encountered, but it was only after arrival in Rome that the details of this engagement could be worked out. The messiness involved in researching lives and negotiating the social structures that exist in the place of research, leads the researcher to make ethical decisions on the spot, since 'it is…in and of small, banal, happenstance, random, daft, everyday happenings and

encounters…that life is lived; where ethical dilemmas unfold and take hold…where research ethics, fundamentally, has to be done' (Horton 2008, p. 378; see also Law 2004). The complexity of researching difference and belonging in Rome, with individuals whose presence there was sometimes unwelcome, often precarious, and never unproblematic, took this research in unexpected directions, on routes through the city that I would never have discovered on my own.

Outline of the current work

The discussion of the socio-spatial identification of immigrants and their descendants living in contemporary Rome, their connections and disconnections to the city, as found in narratives of belonging and everyday practies, is separated into three substantive sections. Part I focuses on representations of the city of Rome in film and literature, giving insight into the multiple spatial identifications that are at work in Rome. Chapter 2 opens the discussion by tracing visions of Rome that have been prevalent at certain moments in history, particularly in discourses of Italian nationalism, in an effort to identify what the hegemonic city might look like. The three films discussed in this chapter present three different visions of Rome from three influential Italian directors: *Rome, open city* (Roberto Rossellini, 1945), *La Dolce Vita* (Federico Fellini, 1960), and *Accattone* (Pierpaolo Pasolini, 1961).

Rome, open city (1945) depicts the Rome of World War II, concentrating on the conflicts over control of the city's spaces between German Nazis and Italian Fascists, on the one hand, and Italian Resistance fighters, on the other. Here, the city is the setting in which the self, as heroic (Resistance) or corrupt (Nazis/Fascists) is constituted; the Resistance, as a popular movement located in the 'heart' of the city's working class spaces, is unquestionably represented as belonging to the city, while the outside rulers will, we understand, ultimately be defeated and expelled because they are foreign. Italian collaborators, in this film, are represented as having been seduced by power, rather than necessarily

holding power themselves; thus, this film engages in the cultural 'forgetting' of Italy's own Fascist legacy. In contrast, *La Dolce Vita* (1960) presents a Rome dominated by consumption and the spectacle, with the city seen as a place in which (some of) the characters can lose themselves, disappearing into the anonymity of the urban jungle. Here, the city's postwar growth becomes at once grotesque and seductive: grotesque in its speed, in its simulation of older values; seductive in its opulence and opportunities. The marginalisation of large numbers of Rome's population into urban slums during this period is only hinted at in Fellini's work, but becomes the focus of Pasolini's *Accattone* (1961), in which Rome's abjected poor are represented on film with unrelenting honesty. Pasolini depicts a world of despair, in which the poor are contained within the confined spaces of the slum, unwelcome in the city centre, and unable to escape the exploitation of the working conditions brought about during Italy's postwar economic boom. The only escape is that found by the central character, Accattone, who chooses to inhabit the role of the pimp, the criminal, the thief, the abject, in all its contradictions – contradictions which are finally and only resolved through death.

Chapter 3 moves on to discuss current understandings of 'who' and 'what' a Roman is, following approaches to the self that recognise the importance of narrative as well as embodiment, and drawing out the spatial, as well as the social, elements of identification. The discussion focuses on three literary works: *Clash of Civilizations over an Elevator in Piazza Vittorio*, by Amara Lakhous (2008 [2006]); *Blacks Out: un giorno senza immigrati* ('A Day without Immigrants'), by Vladimiro Polchi (2010); and *La mia casa è dove sono* ('My House is where I am'), by Igiaba Scego (2010). In focusing on these three works, I draw out the different ways in which the self is constituted through its relationship to the city. Lakhous' (2008) novel presents an exploration of the subject-in-exile, confined to the spaces of piazza Vittorio, which, in contemporary Rome, is an area of constant negotiations and encounters between the city's diverse ethnic and cultural mix. Polchi's (2010) novel, in contrast, imagines a day in which all the immigrants in Italy disappear, though this move is, as I explain below, a little *too* successful: Polchi, in this work, succeeds in abjecting those very residents of Rome (and of

Italy) he is seeking to defend. Finally, Scego's (2010) autobiographical work engages in a conscious mapping of one place, the city of Mogadishu, onto another, the city of Rome. Scego uses this device to demonstrate her connections to both cities, since Mogadishu is the city from which her parents migrated to Italy, and Rome is the city in which Scego herself was born: her roots lie elsewhere, beyond Rome, though her family's routes have brought them to Rome, so that Scego herself is connected to both places in this personal narrative of difference and belonging.

Part II moves on to discuss my fieldwork directly, examining how individuals living in Rome negotiate their own senses of place in the face of often-exclusionary public discourses and policies. Chapter 4 begins by exploring the effects of citizenship and visa laws on claims to be at home in the city, drawing on interviews and observations, as well as discussions of ethnic identity that occurred in debates over the high presence of 'immigrant' children in one particular Roman school. I look at the role of nostalgia in home-making, in allowing people to create connections to both here and there, and examine the possibilities for extending definitions of home itself, to include acknowledgement of the relationships between different places that are constituted and maintained through migratory movements. In Chapter 5 I focus on the spatial marginalisation of two vulnerable groups, Roma and Afghani refugees, whose inhabitation of 'empty' spaces of the city goes hand-in-hand with their hypervisibility as unwanted, unnamed others and their invisibility as individual subjects. Here, my difficulties in gaining access to the places in which these people lived, and my reluctance to intrude into public spaces that were so fragilely constructed and claimed as 'private' living spaces, has meant that the discussion draws strongly on observations, analysis of media representations, and policy responses to the presence of these marginalised groups. This chapter develops most strongly the theoretical approach to abjection and invisibility that informs so much of the discussion throughout the thesis.

Part III, finally, moves to a discussion of ways of resisting exclusion, and efforts towards reimagining the city of Rome as inclusive of difference. In Chapter 6, I

turn to an examination of the importance of food as a marker of ethnicity as well as a form of sense-memory that is transportable from one place to another. Food, in this sense, is a way of practicing place: to eat 'Roman' food is to 'taste' Rome; to cook and eat food that is identified with other places, in Rome, upsets neat geographical boundaries that would have us believe that places are discreet, and instead is a means of engaging in the mixing of places, such that one can 'taste' Armenia in Rome, for example. Thus, connections between Rome and other places are ingested into the bodies of the city's residences through the cuisines that they eat, at home and in the many 'ethnic' restaurants that have been established there over the past twenty or so years. Chapter 7 explores these connections between Rome and other places through a study of two youth-oriented groups that consciously resist hegemonic socio-spatial constructs and instead engage in imagining a city that is aware of its diversity. The first group, *El Vagon Libre* ('The Free Wagon'), is a loose collection of young Italians, Latin Americans, and others, which at the time of writing is largely inactive but between its foundation in 2006 and 2010 held parties, conferences, and other events that allowed for cultural exchange amongst Rome's inhabitants. The proceeds from such events were directed to funding projects in places as diverse as Argentina and Somalia, as well as an ongoing collaboration with homeless, mainly Polish and Romanian, men who are paid by *El Vagon* to clean a park in a northern suburb of Rome. The second organisation, *Rete G2: Seconde Generazioni* (Network G2: Second Generations), is a national organisation, founded in Rome, which represents Italy's growing numbers of second generations, or the children of migration, defined as those either born in Italy to immigrant parents or who arrived in the country at a young age and therefore did not have any choice in their migration. *Rete G2* is involved in lobbying government to change Italy's citizenship laws, insisting that the country recognise as Italian those whose ancestry may be located elsewhere, describing themselves as Italian first and foremost since that is the country they have known since childhood, while still acknowledging the diversity of experiences of the second generations themselves, whose personal narratives indicate the wide range of importance (or lack of) placed on their diverse heritages. *Rete G2* is particularly interesting in its use of an online blog and discussion forum, allowing the group to maintain

connections with members spread around the country, and introducing another layer to the discussion of the social production of space – that of virtual space. Throughout the thesis, then, the focus is on those moments when hegemonic visions of the city of Rome are challenged through the undeniable presence within it of people with diverse origins and ancestries, who nonetheless claim to belong, there, in that place.

PART I:

REPRESENTATIONS OF ROME

Plate 1

Chinese restaurant and scooters, Esquilino, Rome 2009

Plate 2

Istanbul Doner & Kebab Shop and 'Roma' souvenirs, Esquilino

Rome 2009

Plate 3

'Special Italian Pizza', Esquilino

Rome 2009

Plate 4

Pizza e Kebab: the changing tastes of Rome

Rome 2009

2. The City of Memory

Introduction

In Part I of this thesis, I aim to uncover some of the different images that abound of the city of Rome, since these images inform our understandings of what the city is, and who belongs in it. Rome's denomination as 'the Eternal City' is one of the ways in which this collective memory might be seen to be working (see Pratt 1965), as invocations of Rome made by political leaders at different times show the ways in which the city comes to symbolise aspects of Italian nationalism and identity. The buildings and streets of Rome hold history in their changing forms: old structures stripped bare give material to newer buildings; roads are widened, stadiums built, and suburbs expanded; the river, its banks now walled, still runs through the city; and everywhere one turns are ruins. It is this correlation between the historical and the physical that Freud (1973) talks about when he describes Rome as a physical manifestation of the layering of memories that occurs in the psyche. Although Freud ultimately abandons this correlation, it points the way to conceiving of space as multiple, and of places as dynamic, since although many of the structures of ancient Rome are no longer standing, their former presence affects the possibilities for the city's present and future. In such an approach, 'Rome' as an idea opens up in narratives, in grand tales and everyday stories, to become haunted by the return of its many potential pasts, presents and futures. Recognising that places might be haunted by their past is to see that even after buildings are torn down and new ones built in their place, 'urban physiognomy survives, through collective memory, far longer and in far more complex ways than the physical building itself' (Pensky 2005, p. 211). The possibilities for socio-spatial identification in Rome are, I argue, linked to the hegemonic images of the city that circulate in collective memory.

At the same time, though, other memories of the city are erased: the memories that do not fit, that would make of Rome a different (and differently-inhabited) city. For example, Rome's Jewish ghetto was one of the first in Europe (second only to that in Venice), but Rome's Jewish past is overlooked in touristic images that show the Colosseum, the Roman Forum, the dome of St. Peter's and Vatican City. Rome's population of *zingari* or *nomadi*, the Italian names so often given to Roma, Sinti and Camminanti, has been present in the city for centuries, with echoes of this presence in the street name *via degli Zingari* (literally, 'Street of the Gypsies'), in Monti, in Rome's historic centre. Today, Roma are ejected from the city centre into authorised *campi nomadi* ('nomad camps', explored further in chapter 5 of this thesis). Rome's working classes, immortalised on screen particularly in the work of Pier Paolo Pasolini, appear in cinema as liminal figures; while the tourist to Rome might notice the hundreds of homeless bodies asleep in and near Termini train station at night, these figures remain invisible in the images of Rome that circulate in the popular imagination. The memories of those inhabitants of Rome who have been abjected from the city's accepted (acceptable?) narratives do not appear in those images of Rome that make of it a 'great image' (Bachelard 1969, p. 33), but instead return to haunt the corners of its streets, in both corporeal and ghostly form.

In this chapter, I explore that play between imagery and geography to show how images of Rome have come to stand for the city and nation as a whole. These synecdochical images of Rome are shown in the first section of this chapter to be drawn from historical narratives of Italian nationalism, beginning with unification, through Fascism, to the post-war period and the so-called 'Second Republic'. I do not attempt to provide a complete history of contemporary Rome since the unification of Italy, but rather to pull out the moments when images of Rome were mobilised and projected onto the nation. Ash Amin (2008) uses the idea of 'symbolic projection' in his discussion of the connections between collective culture and urban public space, which I extend here to the connection between Italian national identity and Rome as the nation's urban centre. As Amin (2008, p. 13) explains,

> It is in public space that the currents and moods of public culture are frequently formed and given symbolic expression....It is an active code, both summarizing cultural trends as well as shaping public opinion and expectation, but essentially in the background as a kind of atmospheric influence.

I examine the moments in which Rome has functioned as a symbol in discourses of Italian nationalism, looking at the ways in which the city itself has been altered by the political changes occurring within the nation, as well as the ways that those political changes have created new narratives about what an 'Italian' nation might be, and what that might mean for Rome as its capital.

From this focus on urban public space and national public culture, I move into an analysis of Rome as represented in three seminal Italian films, Roberto Rossellini's 1945 *Rome, open city*, Federico Fellini's 1960 *La Dolce Vita*, and Pier Paolo Pasolini's 1961 *Accattone*. These three films have been chosen for the following reasons. Firstly, they are all, in their own ways, examples of particular moments in Italian cinema and society, with *Rome, open city* often considered the first Italian neo-realist film, *La Dolce Vita* capturing the malaise of the capital city during the years of Italy's economic miracle and the rise of the mass-produced culture of the spectacle, and *Accattone*, Pasolini's first film as director, presenting a view of Rome's periphery and urban underclass that had not previously existed in Italian cinema. Secondly, all three films show Rome in ways that both capture a moment in the city's history, and that have been taken up in popular culture. The films act as historical evidence, capturing on film images of Rome as it was at the time: *Rome, open city* shows evidence of the destruction wrought by World War II bombing; *La Dolce Vita*, shot at the film studios of Cinecittà, recreates the street scenes typical of the post-war economic boom; and *Accattone*, shot on location, journeys through Rome's periphery in all its squalor. At the same time, certain iconic scenes or representations from these films have been added to the images through which Rome becomes immediately recognisable as that city and no other, such as the scenes on via Vittorio Veneto in *La Dolce Vita*, or Accattone's leap into the Tiber River. Finally, all three films allow for an exploration of the limits between cinema and the social world it represents, as I analyse processes of identification and abjection through the journeys the

characters undergo, alongside the multiple ways of interpreting, representing, and relating to the city's spaces represented in these three films.

A brief history of Rome as capital city of modern Italy, or, 'symbolic projection' as political intervention

The term 'symbolic projection' as used by Amin (2008) describes the way in which city spaces as inhabited and practiced by the city's consumers and advertisers, as well as by the public and the politicians, are imbued with meanings that then influence those very same inhabitants of the city. In discourses of nationalism, which is my focus in this section, the historical changes that the Italian nation has undergone since unification in 1861 can be read in the different ways that the city of Rome has been taken up and spoken about by politicians. As Henri Lefebvre (1991, p. 112) argues, the nation is produced over time, through subordination of 'local or regional markets to the national one, and thus must have a hierarchy of levels.' This hierarchy is organised spatially, with the development over time of 'a focused space embodying a hierarchy of centres...and a main centre – i.e. the national capital' (Lefebvre 1991, p. 112). Lefebvre, here, focuses on the production of the nation-state as a geographically defined economic unity, rather than the 'nation' as a group of people. Lefebvre is arguing against the kind of abstractions that analysis of the nation as an ideology or as a natural formation fall into, however I contend that an analysis of the production of identity, concurrent with the production of space, can show how these two elements of nationalism in fact work together such that we cannot identify a nation without also identifying a people, and vice versa. This socio-spatial identification plays out in specific ways in the different physical spaces of the nation, as indicated by Lefebvre in his 'hierarchy of centres.' Rome, capital city of the Italian nation-state, is taken up and used as a symbol of national unity, while also being a political and religious centre, such that hegemonic visions of Rome shape and anchor discourses of Italian nationalism, while alternative views of the city resist this hegemony and insist on recognition of the variety and multiplicity of identities, cultures, practices,

and places present in the nation, as in the city. This legibility of the city is not only evident in the way that Rome has been used as a symbol in political speeches or movements, but also in material form in projects that have altered the physical spaces of the city.

During the process that resulted in unification of the Italian peninsula in the mid-1800s, there was continued determination to secure Rome as the capital of a united Italy, despite strong resistance from the Vatican that meant that the central areas of the peninsula were not incorporated into a unified Italy until 1870, nine years after the unification of the rest of the country. Two famous and influential figures of Italian unification, Giuseppe Mazzini and Giuseppe Garibaldi, used the city of Rome as a symbol around which the nationalist movement could unite. Mazzini, a republican from Genoa, held a vision of Italy as a liberal state, governed by the rule of the people; Giuseppe Garibaldi, a native of Nice, had fought with South American guerrillas in their struggles for independence, and brought that military skill to bear in the fight to unify Italy. Mazzini believed that, under the rule of Rome, Italy would once again take up its role of uniting the world as it had done during the time of the ancient Roman Empire and again during the reign of the Popes. In Mazzini's own words,

> Rome, by the design of Providence, and as the People have divined, is the Eternal City to which is entrusted the mission of disseminating the word that will unite the world…Just as to the Rome of the Caesars, which through action united a great part of Europe, there succeeded the Rome of the Popes, which united Europe and America in the realm of the spirit, so the Rome of the People will succeed them both, to unite Europe, America and every part of the terrestrial globe in a faith that will make thought and action one…The destiny of Rome and Italy is that of the world. (Mazzini, quoted in Hibbert 1985, p. 254)

Garibaldi, too, believed that Rome was the undisputed capital of Italy, and his battle cry of *'Roma o morte!'* ('Rome or death!') was taken up by the nationalists until, in 1870, control of Rome and the surrounding region was finally taken from the Church, almost ten years after the rest of the Italian peninsula had been united. However, turning Rome into the Italian capital was no easy task. The Church opposed the new Italian state, the Pope secluding himself in Vatican City and refusing all attempts at reconciliation with Italy. But with Rome as its capital, the fledgling Italian state had an image to which the people of Italy could look for a sense of commonality, despite the distinct regional histories, dialects, and

traditions that made imagining the nation so difficult. As indicated in the quote above from Mazzini, Rome worked as a unifying image because of its history as a great centre of culture, politics, and religion. The city of Rome retained many monuments, buildings, and ruins from its days as centre of the ancient Roman Empire, while the presence of the Vatican, while politically troublesome for the newly-united nation-state, nonetheless worked as another piece of evidence that Rome's role in the world had been significant. The historical significance of the city works as a device for Mazzini to justify his grand claims for Rome's future, in which the Eternal City would once again take up the role of developing and disseminating grand ideas across the world.

In the search for a national identity, Rome was a significant symbol of common heritage for all Italians, whose local languages were incomprehensible from one end of the peninsula to the other, and whose local customs, histories and traditions were so different that Italian unification, as it happened, was by no means an obvious organisation for a nation-state. Indeed, divisions between the different Italian regions were so marked that some analysts spoke of southern Italians as a different 'race' of people.[3] Rome, then, held an important symbolic function in Italian unification and afterwards. As the new government sought to consolidate its position, numerous public works were begun in Rome, with the aim of rejuvenating the city and turning it into one that looked like the capital of a modern nation state. Discussions about how to deal with the Tiber River abounded; a flood in 1870 brought not only embarrassment to the newly-formed Italian state, but also caused havoc in the capital, and the river, along with the marshes surrounding the city, was thought to be the cause of the devastating malaria that plagued the region. Eventually, embankments were built to alleviate the danger from floods, containing this natural element of the topography of Rome and changing the character of those suburbs that lined its banks. Controlling the river was spoken of as a way of cleaning up those areas of the

[3] The most well known example of this way of thinking is from infamous Cesare Lombroso, a criminologist who believed that people were 'born' criminals and that this could be proven through careful study of their physical traits. In 1878 he published the first edition of *L'uomo delinquente*, later translated as *Criminal Man*, in which he presented studies of the criminal 'type', a model infused with Social Darwinist categorisations of 'inferior' races.

city, with the water and disease seen as potential sources of contamination.[4] 'Cleaning up' or 'curing' the city of Rome, 're-ordering [the] environment' (Douglas 1966, p. 3) and thus making the Italian nation whole, was not limited only to natural phenomena such as the Tiber River. Rome's minorities and working classes were also the focus of efforts to rejuvenate the city. One of the areas singled out for attention was Rome's Jewish Ghetto, the oldest in Europe, especially as Italy sought to stamp its mark on the city which had for so long been ruled by the Catholic Church. When Rome became Italy's capital city, Jews were emancipated from the papal restrictions placed on their residence, trade, and labour in the city; the Jewish Ghetto borders the Tiber River, and its physical reconstruction, coupled with the liberation of its population from papal control, was seen as a way for the Italian government to differentiate itself from the problems and corruption of Papal rule. The association of this one, small area of Rome with reconstruction and liberation therefore 'offered a symbolic as well as a practical *cure* not only for the Jewish quarter but also for the city and the nation' (Lerner 2002, p. 3, emphasis added).[5]

By the beginning of the twentieth century, Italian politics was characterised by wide-spread corruption, and by what came to be known as 'transformism', the gradual amalgamation of parties of the Right and Left and the 'surrender of principles to short-term expediency' (Duggan 2002, p. 191). Rhetoric about the connections between modern Italy and the ancient Roman Empire grew, as Italian nationalists encouraged a militaristic patriotism in the population, and a new political ideology, fascism, came to prominence. Also during this period, the Italian government began an imperial campaign in northern Africa, using Roman mythology as justification: the colonisation of northern Africa by the modern Italian state was presented as the continuation of the civilising mission of the ancient Roman Empire, of which modern Italy was the heir.[6] Fascism presented

[4] For further discussion of the psychological import of Garibaldi's obsession with the diversion of the Tiber, see Pick 2004.
[5] For discussion of the resonance of the *Risorgimento* in Italian nationalism and politics since 1861, see Accame (1997) and Ascoli & Henneberg (2001); for a discussion of nationalism in Italy during the 20th century, see Agnelli (1994).
[6] Bondanella (1987) provides an insightful discussion of the use of Roman mythology in Italian politics at this time.

itself as an alternative to the ineffective status quo, with a strong and charismatic leader who advocated a kind of hyper-nationalism based on the ideals of war and promising to meet violence with violence. The patriotism advanced by the Fascist regime located Italian national identity in a few key symbols that could be easily manipulated to demonstrate the potency of thought and action that were, in the regime's rhetoric, inherited by modern Italians. In this nationalist discourse, the city of Rome featured prominently: the ancient Roman Empire's influence and might was to be mirrored and even superseded by modern Italy.

Throughout his political life, from the founding of the Fascist movement in 1919 to his death in 1945, Benito Mussolini used the mythology of ancient Rome to great advantage. The very name of his movement, *fascism*, has a double meaning, since the modern Italian word *fascio* that describes peasant groups or workers' associations derives from the Latin word *fasces*, an ancient Roman bundle of rods with an axe attached to it and a symbol of authority. In 1922, the same year in which the Fascists would march on Rome and take control of the government, Mussolini declared:

> Rome is our point of departure and reference. It is our symbol or, if you wish, our myth. We dream of a Roman Italy, that is to say wise, strong, disciplined, and imperial. Much of that which was the immortal spirit of Rome rises again in Fascism: the Fasces are Roman; our organization of combat is Roman, our pride and our courage is Roman: *Civis romanus sum*. It is necessary, now, that the history of tomorrow, the history we fervently wish to create, not be a contrast or a parody of the history of yesterday. The Romans were not only warriors, but formidable builders who could challenge, as they did challenge, their time.
>
> Italy has been Roman for the first time in fifteen centuries, in war and in victory. Now it must be Roman in peacetime: and this renewed and revived *romanità* bears these names: discipline and work. (Mussolini, quoted in Painter 2005, p. 3)

Here, we can see the importance of Rome as capital city for Mussolini's project of creating a Fascist Italy. A movement that utilised symbolism in every aspect of its political agenda necessarily gave extreme importance to the capital city as the centre of power. Mussolini's visions of imperial conquest for modern Italy required a revived imperial centre that would live up to its (invented) past. He oversaw numerous building projects in Rome, each of which served the dual purpose of exalting Fascist Italy and emphasising its continuity with the glorious

imperial past. He was responsible for the creation of *Via Imperiale*, which connects Piazza Venezia with the Colosseum, thus bringing together the ancient and the modern; the construction of the *Foro Mussolini*, a modern sporting complex dedicated to the training and development of the new generations; and the development of the area known as EUR, the *Esposizione Universale di Roma*, which includes the famous *Palazzo della Civiltà Italiana*, a modern building which features arches in the Roman style and which is sometimes known as the *Colosseo quadrato* (the square Colosseum). *Via Imperiale* is now known as *Via dei Fori Imperiali*, and the *Foro Mussolini* is today called the *Foro Italico*, the new names making it easier to forget their origins in the particular form of nationalism propagated by Fascism: *Fori Imperiali* refers to the ancient Roman structures that the street partially buried, diluting the double meaning of the Fascist name that referred to Italy's imperial ambitions in northern Africa, while *Foro Italico* covers over the name of Italy's pre-WWII dictator and turns the structure into a symbol for Italy itself.[7]

In the Fascist period, Mazzini's vision of Rome as the centre of an Italian republic was nowhere to be found; the city was instead constantly referred to as the centre of the new Fascist Empire, which was built upon the foundations of the ancient Roman one. Alongside the rhetoric around imperial glory and military might, Fascism continued the project of (re)creating an Italian identity, using words such as *italianità* ('Italian-ness') and *patria* ('fatherland'), in such a way that 'Fascist rhetoric defined the Italian population as a biologically, culturally, and historically privileged group, giving legitimacy to increasingly aggressive and discriminatory policies…such as the 1935 invasion of Ethiopia and the passage of the 1938 race laws' (Knudsen 2010, pp. 2-3). In the Fascist rhetoric, increasing Italy's colonial presence in the Horn of Africa served a dual purpose: a new colony (Ethiopia) would provide a destination for the destitute populace, who had been emigrating in large numbers; and it would also firmly establish modern Italy as the worthy inheritor of the Roman imperial tradition. Italian

[7] Further discussion of the uses of history and master narratives in the Fascist era may be found in Falasca (2003), while Ventresca (2006) provides a thought-provoking discussion of the memory of Mussolini in contemporary Italy.

identity, or *italianità*, was tied to territory in such a way that colonial conquest of other people would reinforce the superiority and unity of Italians – at least in official discourse. During this period, Rome as the Italian nation's imperial centre was constantly referred to in terms of the legacies of the glorious ancient Empire, which was described as imperial, military and influential, all qualities which Mussolini intended to reinstate in modern Italy. As World War II appeared ever more imminent, the military achievements of modern Italy were equated more and more often with those of the ancient Romans. Under Mussolini, Rome came to symbolise not the possibility and hope for a united Italian nation, but the grandeur and might of a Fascist one.

World War II brought destruction to many parts of Italy, and especially to the city of Rome. After the Fascist government was overturned, in 1943, and Allied troops began to invade Italy from the south, the Nazi presence in the centre and north of the country was increased. In 1943 and 1944, central and northern Italy saw bloody conflict between Nazi troops and members of the Italian Resistance, a grass-roots movement which came to symbolise the new, republican, nationalism of post-war Italy. The anti-fascist movement was made up of a coalition of disparate groups, including Communists, Socialists, Anarchists, and Christian Democrats, who for the time being put aside ideological differences in order to overthrow the monarchy and inaugurate the first Italian republic. The Resistance became one of the founding myths of the 'First Republic', emphasising the liberal republican tradition and the need to realise, finally, the republican Italy envisaged by Mazzini during the *Risorgimento*. Although the bloodiest fighting occurred in the north of the country, Rome remained an important location in stories of the Resistance, with this period captured on film in Rossellini's 1945 film, *Rome, open city*. The fight to liberate Rome was sometimes compared to the battles of the 1849 Republic, as ordinary, working-class Romans once again took up arms against a dictatorial regime. Finally, when the legacy of ancient Rome was discussed, its military and colonial achievements were ignored in favour of its achievements in law, art, and literature. Thus, earlier symbolic meanings of Rome in Italian national history were reinterpreted in light

of recent events. Gradually, as Europe recovered from the war, Italy sought to distance itself from its Fascist legacy.

At the same time, Italy's economy began to take off, leading to what is known as the 'economic miracle' of 1958-1963. The post-war period also saw the internationalisation, in a sense, of the city: the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation's headquarters was established in Rome in 1950; the Treaty of Rome established the European Economic Community in 1957; and the continued importance of the Vatican for world Catholicism furthered Rome's international standing. At the same time, the expansion of the film industry, with both Italian and American films being made at Cinecittà, led to an influx of artists, actors, writers and musicians, and of course their attendant *paparazzi*. An influx of immigrants from southern Italy also added to the increasing population. At the time of unification, in 1870, the population of Rome was approximately 220,000; by 1960 it had grown to over 2 million inhabitants. Many previously rural areas became built up in a very short amount of time, with little effort at urban planning. While in the historic centre, evidence abounded of *la dolce vita* (the sweet life), the Roman periphery – that is, the suburbs surrounding the city's historic centre, often built in a hurry with poor building materials and little in the way of infrastructure – became home to a growing underclass of the impoverished masses. These slum areas were captured on film by Pier Paolo Pasolini in *Accattone*, as well as inspiring the work of Italian sociologist Franco Ferrarotti, who has spent decades photographing the Roman periphery in particular, and who writes that the peripheral world 'appears like a world outside of the world. It is not part of the organising world: it indicates a humanity, so to speak, in reserve, put aside, marginalised – socially, politically and economically left to itself' (2009, p. 17, my translation). Ferrarotti here is speaking in general terms, of the underworld of cities in the modern period, where poverty has been pushed to the edges, out of sight of the central business district or cultural centre. Slums inhabited by the impoverished and excluded, the people and the spaces of the city's periphery are the abjected evidence of capitalism's inequalities. Pushed to the edges, they nonetheless return as a living, breathing, and haunting presence in the city, since 'abjection is above all

ambiguity. Because, while releasing a hold, it does not radically cut off the subject from what threatens it – on the contrary, abjection acknowledges it to be in perpetual danger' (Kristeva 1982, p. 9). In this sense, different versions of Rome rise to prominence and fall into obscurity with the changing political landscape, but as each new hegemony comes into existence, other images of the city remain, and vie for visibility, as Rome's inhabitants continue to create (often conflicting) meanings for this site.

Three films, many Romes:

1. Inside and Outside in *Rome, Open City*

Roberto Rossellini's film of 1945, *Rome, Open City*, is often regarded as the film that marks the beginning of Italian neorealism, although the style's beginnings can be traced even earlier, particularly Luciano Visconti's *Ossessione* (1943). Neorealism did not set out to record things as they were, in a purely documentary fashion; rather, it uses narrative and visual techniques to create a reality, drawing on newspaper reports and popular local stories for inspiration, using local actors and filming on location. Italian films of the post-war period were central to the reconstruction of the nation after a time of upheaval and conflict, for 'the Italian experience of the immediate postwar was that of history that remained to be written, of meanings that remained to be fixed' (Restivo 2002, p. 10). It has been argued that '[n]eorealism is above all a cinema of reconstruction, and its aesthetic in this respect follows its politics' (Nowell-Smith 2001, p. 105), with the representation of local scenes and actors, of everyday struggles and hardships, essential in the post-war period to re-present and re-construct the nation of Italy, in the search for a new national identity following the overthrow of Fascism. The 'history' that Rossellini is engaged in writing with this film is that of the period between August 1943 and June 1944, when Rome was declared an 'open city,' a term indicating that the city should not be viewed as a military target, according to international rules of war. Of course, with fierce fighting between Fascists (both Italian and German) and the home-grown

Resistance movement, Rome was anything but 'open.' Under the German occupation, owning a radio or going out after curfew could land you in a great deal of trouble with the police. Here, I want to follow an analysis of the film inspired by that phrase, 'open city.' For a city to be open, questions of inside and outside arise. In this film, the city opens itself up to outsiders: occupying forces and allies, Austrian deserters and Italian Resistance fighters all inhabit the city's spaces. Because German troops are controlling Rome, it is in a sense opened up by outsiders who are already inside, while Romans themselves make use of the city's hidden routes and corners known only to those who know of their existence – who are truly insiders – to carry out their resistance.

The opening scene shows German troops marching through the historic centre of Rome. Immediately, because of the buildings we see in the frame, we know which city this is, and if we know our Italian history, we can guess as to the period in which the film is set. The monuments to Rome's past, appearing as they do at the very beginning of the film, could also be read as an 'embodiment of ideas in things' (Crang and Travlou 2001, p. 171). That is, the juxtaposition of the German troops and the cityscape of Rome that symbolises a particular kind of Italianness, already indicates that the film will be fiercely nationalistic – so much so that, as the narrative progresses, the role of Italian Fascism in WWII is largely ignored. The camera then cuts to a shot of a car pulling up outside an apartment block: as soldiers emerge, in the apartments we hear a flurry of activity and a radio being switched off, while a man (Manfredi) escapes across the rooftops. Architectural structures are utilised in their entirety by the Romans in the film, from Manfredi's initial rooftop escape, to Romoletto's rooftop haven, to the basement where Francesco has his printing press, with German access to this inner life of the Roman population limited through interactions with those Romans who align themselves with the Fascists and Nazis. In a later scene, as troops walk down a street we see some graffiti, the words 'W Lenin' ('Viva Lenin') scrawled across the wall behind them. In the uses made of them by the city's inhabitants, the insides of these buildings extend out beyond their walls, up into the heights of the roofs, down into the depths of the underground, and out into the streets.

In the scene immediately following Manfredi's escape across the rooftops, we are shown into the headquarters of the German occupiers, to Major Bergmann's office. He is looking at a map of Rome, one that would divide the city into fourteen zones, making it easier to carry out surveillance and control the activities of the city's resistance. Bergmann is talking with an Italian collaborator, pulling photographs out of his desk and explaining that he explores the city through studying these documents. As he puts it, '*Tutte le sere io faccio una lunga paseggiata per tutta Roma senza uscire dal mio ufficio. Amo molto questo genere di fotografia che coglie la gente quasi di sorpresa.*' ('Every evening I take a long walk through Rome without leaving my office. I love this genre of photography that captures people almost by surprise.')[8] Here, Bergmann reveals that the occupier's power is spatially limited, in that he is unable to walk the streets himself without being recognised, since his uniform, stature and bearing would give him away. His power is nonetheless extensive: he obviously has informers amongst the Italians, people who are able to take these photos secretly and pass them on to him. So, while his movements through the city are bodily restricted, he is able to travel its streets through its representations. Of course, movement through Rome's apartments and buildings is not limited to citizens and resistance fighters. The Germans and Fascists also have an influence on the insides of these apartment buildings: their power extends into them, travelling from the headquarters through the streets, for they are able to enter the apartments and forcibly remove residents, instilling a sense of fear and urgency in those involved in the resistance.

Interiors also work to demonstrate characters' allegiances. Francesco, a printer, lives in a simply-furnished apartment in the same building as that of his pregnant fiance, Pina. With Francesco hiding Manfredi in his apartment, and Pina's loud and extended family occupying hers, the couple steals a moment of privacy in the stairwell, reminiscing over their initial meetings as Francesco comforts her after a fight with her sister Lauretta. Don Pietro, the priest who

[8] Note that I have provided the Italian words, since the subtitles in English do not provide a complete translation of this comment.

works with the resistance, lives in the church residence where books take up more space than worldly possessions, and his colleague cooks dinner on the heater. By contrast, Marina's apartment that she has rented in a middle-class area of Rome is filled with lush furnishings, including a telephone in the bedroom: she is often shown lying in her dressing gown on her bed, talking on the phone to the German Ingrid who supplies her with drugs. In fact, Ingrid exploits Marina's dependence to her own ends, in what is implied but never explicitly shown to be a lesbian relationship that eventually leads Marina to betray her boyfriend Manfredi.

Outside, in the city streets, the characters make use of space in a number of ways, such that the city becomes 'an experience...broken into countless tiny deportations (displacements and walks), compensated for by the relationships and intersections of these exoduses that intertwine and create an urban fabric, and placed under the sign of what ought to be, ultimately, the place but is only a name, the City' (de Certeau 1984, p. 103). These 'tiny deportations' include, at the beginning of the film, a scene in which Pina and the other women of the suburb are rioting in a bakery: they had been told that there was no flour, but enter and steal the bread that was being denied them. A policeman admonishes Pina for engaging in such activity while pregnant, but she offers him two loaves of bread, which he takes willingly. A few scenes later, we see the neighbourhood boys playing football in the church courtyard, Don Pietro alternating between referee and participant. In a sequence that demonstrates the zigzagging routes taken by the resistance, Marcello, Pina's son, arrives to take Don Pietro back to the apartment where Manfredi is waiting. Don Pietro then leaves again, to meet Francesco at the printing press; there he is given some books containing money. He returns briefly to the church before leaving again to rendezvous with the intended recipient of the money, on a street corner overlooking the train tracks. Francesco, returning home from the press, is stopped and questioned by three soldiers: upon presentation of his permission to be out after curfew, he is allowed to continue his journey home. At this point in the film, the inside and outside collide: the boys of the apartment building, who have formed a gang with Romoletto at its head, descend from their haven on the rooftop into the streets,

setting off an explosion that, the very next day, draws the German troops into the apartments to search for the culprits. As they begin their search, the audience is shown people inside rushing to hide evidence of any illicit activities, while the men find any escape routes they can. Apartment after apartment is emptied, the women gathered in the central courtyard and any men found arrested and taken to the vans waiting on the street outside. The boys have raced to the church to ask Don Pietro's help in hiding their bombs. In one of the comic scenes of the movie, he assists them by pretending to give last rites to Marcello's grandfather, bombs and gun now in the bed with him, knocked out cold by the priest so as not to alert the soldiers to the subterfuge. As Francesco is dragged into one of the vans, Pina escapes the grip of the soldiers and rushes after the departing truck, waving a white handkerchief. Francesco yells at her to go back, the soldiers react, and as the van pulls away we hear a shot and see Pina collapse in the street, dead. Immediately following her death, the camera cuts to a hillside where resistance fighters are lying in wait: as the trucks approach, they fire at the drivers, allowing the men to escape. Manfredi and Francesco escape inside, to Marina's apartment, the scene of their betrayal. The next day, they leave the church with Don Pietro and the Austrian deserter, but as they walk down the street they are arrested and bundled into a car. Francesco, slightly behind the others, manages to escape – but we do not know where to, for this is the last we see of him.

From this moment on, the action returns to the inside, to the rooms of the German headquarters. Here, the interior spatial logic is difficult to work out. Rooms with extremely different functions appear in close proximity. From Bergmann's office, we can see through the open door to the torture chamber where Manfredi is being interrogated; Don Pietro, seated at Bergmann's desk, witnesses the event and his facial expressions communicate the horror to the audience. Across the corridor, there is an ornately furnished salon where soldiers relax, drinking, playing piano or cards. Marina is here, lying in Ingrid's lap. Occasionally the conversation is punctuated by Manfredi's screams. Bergmann walks across the corridor and into the salon, where he explains how important it is that Manfredi talks, for if he doesn't, 'Then it would mean an

Italian is worth as much as a German...!' Another soldier, Hartmann, answers, 'Twenty-five years ago, I commanded firing squads in France. I was a young officer. I believed then, too, in a German "master race". But the French patriots also died without talking. We Germans simply refuse to realize people want to be free.' Hartmann's drunkenness, and Bergmann's angry reaction, combine with the lavish furnishings in the salon, the bare room used as a prison, and the instruments of torture casting their shadows on the walls in the interrogation room, to mark this as a space of excess: there is too much of everything, too much drink and food, too much luxury; or not enough, a room stripped bare to imprison lives that are about to be lost. The contrast between the space of excess in the German headquarters and the comforting scenes inside the apartments earlier in the film combines with the contrast between the characterisation of the German occupiers and the Resistance fighters. This contrast enables Rossellini to frame the Germans as weak, eventually to be vanquished, and the Italians as strong, eventual victors: the weaknesses of the occupiers, their perverse sexuality, propensity for drinking, enjoyment of torture, are exposed and countered by the serenity of Don Pietro and Francesco, who do not talk but face death with courage. As Manfredi is tortured, we see his face, arms above his head in a pose reminiscent of Christ on the cross. Upon Manfredi's death, Don Pietro curses the Germans, who back away through the doorway when faced by his old-testament rage. Marina, led into the room on the arm of a soldier, screams and faints at the sight of Manfredi; she is left lying there, abandoned, as Don Pietro is led away.

For the final shots of the film, the action again moves outside. In a field, Don Pietro is tied to a chair, and the Italian firing squad ordered to kill him. From the other side of the fence, Marcello, Romoletto, and the other boys of the apartment watch, whistling their support. The Italians fire into the ground, and the German officer kills Don Pietro by firing a bullet at point-blank range into his head. This scene is closely modelled on a real event, and is filmed on the site where an actual priest, Don Morosini, was shot. Pina's death, though significantly altered, was also modelled on the shooting of a woman who was attempting to communicate with her imprisoned husband. In this way, *Rome, Open City* does

not do the initial work of translating real events into their representation on film, but rather engages in 'textual elaborations of already represented events, of stories already told orally or written down in clandestine publications, letters and diaries' (Forgacs 2000, p. 19). The film engages in a re-writing of the history of wartime Rome, so that the city can come to symbolise a unifying image around which Italians in post-war Italy might unite. The film also, however, represents a particular vision of Rome that sets up clear spatial differences between the city's insiders – 'true' Romans – and outsiders, in this case German occupying forces. Rome is reclaimed as an *Italian* city that is neither Fascist nor subject to foreign control, a city that, though evidence of the destruction of war is everywhere, is still capable of serving as Italy's cultural and political centre in the post-war future. This is further emphasised by the closing shot, which shows the boys wandering along a ridge, central Rome – specifically, the Colosseum – in the background, in a deliberate echo of the opening shot of marching German soldiers. The boys, having experienced war, walk back towards the city that they claim as their own, as Rossellini, with this film, 'answers what R. B. Bosworth calls "the Fascist claim to ownership of the 'myth of Rome'" and what Marcus calls "Fascist mythomania" by constructing, at least cinematically, a countermyth' (Gottlieb 2004, p. 20). The boys are walking into the city and into an unknown future, one that holds the promise of hope after the struggles of war.

2. *Una specie di giungla*: Rome as urban jungle in *La Dolce Vita*

In Federico Fellini's 1960 film, *La Dolce Vita*, represents a Rome of decadence and ennui, in which life in post-war Italy seems to have settled into an acceptance of spectacle over substance, of wealth (or the appearance of it) over community. The film's action takes place amongst journalists who report on the glitz and glamour of Rome's artists, actors, musicians and socialites, showing only glimpses of the squalor and poverty that accompanied the post-war growth. However, the film refuses an easy moralistic position, for although the main character, Marcello, is certainly lost in the 'urban jungle' of the decadent and

debauched Rome of Italy's 'economic miracle' of the 1950s and 60s, he seems to enjoy that fact, and to have sought it out for himself.

The film begins with a statue being flown by helicopter over the historic centre of the city, on its way to the Pope, while Marcello and his photographer, Walter Paparazzo, follow in a second helicopter. When the pilot and two journalists notice three women sunbathing on the roof, they hover over them waving, asking for their phone numbers; the women refuse and the men take off to catch up with the statue. In this opening sequence, as throughout the film, the culture of spectacle of post-war Italy is juxtaposed over the monuments and ruins of Rome, creating, according to Angelo Restivo (2002, p. 39), 'an entirely new relationship between space and time....the temporal is short-circuited: the unfolding of archeological space that characterizes walking in the Italian city is replaced by the shock of the chiasma, a feedback loop created by sudden juxtaposition.' Unlike the closing sequence of *Rome, open city*, where the boys *walk* towards the city's historic centre, here the flight of the statue over the city displaces and confuses the gaze. We see the city from a bird's-eye view, as a jumble of old monuments and new building work, as the helicopters fly first over ruins then over workmen constructing a new block of apartments. This construction work is evidence of the hurried building that was taking place in Rome at that time, as the population boomed and the Roman periphery expanded accordingly. In his analysis of the cinema of this period, Restivo (2000, p. 41) describes this juxtaposition of centre and periphery as follows:

> The Via Veneto glitters with international money and glamour; but as soon as Marcello drives his Fiat outside the city walls, it's as if we've dropped off the face of the earth (so validating Deleuze's idea that Fellini's cinema is one of entrances and exits). Like moonscapes, the space becomes dominated by vast tracts of mud upon which occasionally rises up some monstrously ugly concrete-block building.

I want to propose a different reading. There were already historical moments, for example in the 'cleaning up' of the Jewish ghetto, or the creation of Via dei Fori Imperiali, when people had been forcibly moved from the old centre of Rome to the periphery, living in what were dubbed *baracche rapidissime*, essentially rapidly-built slums. This is the world that Pasolini will explore in films such as *Accattone* (1961) and *Mamma Roma* (1962), only a few years later. Here, in

Fellini's 1960 *La Dolce Vita*, this world appears alien because it is the world that Marcello is rejecting, the one into which he could so easily fall.

Two characters, in particular, enable the film's movement between the different worlds of Rome: a prostitute whom Marcello meets by chance, and Marcello's girlfriend Emma. Following the opening sequence of the film, Marcello is shown leaving a nightclub on the via Veneto with Maddalena, a rich heiress whose ennui is apparent from the moment she arrives. She drives off, with Marcello in the car, followed by the 'paparazzi'. They drive to a piazza and Maddalena says, 'I'd like to live in a new city, never meeting anyone.' Marcello responds, 'I adore Rome; it's a sort of jungle. Warm, quiet, where you can hide yourself.' Maddalena, though, does not share Marcello's positive take on the city: 'I'd like to hide, too, but I never manage it.' In this simple exchange, Rome reveals itself as multifaceted, as a transitory and contested collection of different trajectories, opinions, and experiences. Maddalena's ennui and inability to hide is in part due to her economic status and presence in the 'right' circles: Marcello and his colleagues do not allow her to hide. Marcello, on the other hand, sees Rome as an escape from the small town where he spent his childhood, which is never fully described but only hinted at throughout the film. And with the appearance of a prostitute to whom Maddalena offers a lift, the scene expands to take in another level of Roman society.

From the bright, busy via Veneto, to the tranquil piazza in the historic centre, Maddalena and Marcello then travel with the prostitute to her home on the outskirts of Rome, in an area known as *Città dei Spiriti* (City of Souls). Here, the countryside is still visible and the rapidly-built apartment blocks shoddily constructed, as we find out when the trio enters the basement where the girl lives to find it flooded – a common occurrence, it would seem from the planks of wood laid out above floor level creating a raised path from the stairway to the bedroom. As in later scenes, where Marcello drives (and argues) with his girlfriend Emma, there are no markers to tell us that this is Rome: the Colosseum and St Peter's Dome shown from on high in the first scene, and the glittering Via

Veneto, are far from the reality of these apartment blocks being constructed in the new suburbs of the periphery. Marcello's apartment, which he shares with Emma, is in one of these new suburbs. In a later scene, Emma is berating Marcello for (again) failing to return home, and the camera moves back to show her illuminated on the bed, framed by the bare walls of the corridor where a paint can and some newspaper lie abandoned: the apartment is unfinished except for the bedroom that is Emma's haven, and we know already that Marcello will not return home, distancing himself in the same way that the camera has distanced itself from Emma's figure on the bed. He is trying to escape from what he sees as the cloying grip of Emma's maternal, middle-class mentality, and from what might be read as the 'old' moral code transposed into a new spatial order of middle-class suburbs devoid of life – but he does not know where he is escaping to.

In fact he escapes into the jungle of central Rome with the visiting Sylvia, an American actress played by Anita Ekberg, who herself featured prominently in the real-life versions of the newspapers for whom Marcello works in this film. At one point, Sylvia wanders off through the small, winding streets of central Rome and comes upon the Trevi Fountain by chance: here Marcello finds her wading through the water; he follows, mesmerised, whispering, 'Who are you?' as she drops water on his head in an imitation baptism. Religious imagery plays a large part in the narrative of this film, from the statue of Christ in the opening sequence, to Marcello's false baptism, to the scene in a small town near Rome where two children have purportedly seen a vision of the Madonna. It is a Catholicism corrupted, however, by the burgeoning culture of spectacle, of which Marcello and Paparazzo are the perfect symbols. In the scene where journalists gather to document the siting of the Madonna, a priest denies that it could possibly be a true miracle because of the way in which it is being exploited, a story to be sold to the press. As night falls and it begins to rain, the crowd of onlookers reaches fever pitch: in a moment of mass hysteria, they jostle to get a piece of the tree that grows at the site where the children have seen the Madonna, Emma amongst them. Marcello pulls her out of the screaming crowd, seemingly embarrassed by this display of emotion and faith. Fellini's use of

religious references throughout the film is, according to Peter Bondanella (2002, p. 73), a means of highlighting the way that the Rome of *La Dolce Vita* 'has been cut adrift from traditional values and symbols, especially those of Christianity...[it] is a world of public relations, press conferences, paparazzi, empty religious rites, meaningless intellectual debates, and unrewarding love affairs.' While Rome is still the place from which the Vatican once extended its power across the Christian world, that reach has retracted behind the walls of Vatican City, while outside, in the city of Rome, the new order is one of spectacle and individualism, where the city streets are places to see and be seen, to take photographs or to pose for them, and the city is reduced to its reproduction.

The two characters Marcello seems to admire most, his father, and his friend Steiner, both in their own ways reject this new, simulated Rome – or are rejected by it. Marcello's father at first enjoys his visit to a nightclub with his son; he orders champagne, and flirts with Fanny, a French dancer. As Fanny and his father dance, Marcello recounts to Paparazzo that as a boy, his father would be away for weeks at a time, while his mother despaired: a description that reminds us of the relationship Marcello is developing with Emma. Fanny takes Marcello's father back to her apartment, while Marcello follows with Paparazzo and two other dancers. Upon their arrival, Fanny runs up to Marcello, telling him that his father has fallen ill. Marcello races up and finds his father sitting in a chair placed in the open doorway, looking out across the balcony to a part of Rome that he does not recognise. They speak quietly for a moment, his father insisting that he must return home while Marcello implores him to stay an extra day. Finally, his father leaves in a taxi, refusing even Marcello's offer of a lift, leaving the city that has changed beyond recognition, the father's memories built over by new suburbs and new ways of life.

Steiner, Marcello's intellectual friend, also rejects Rome, though in a much more violent fashion. Prior to the sequence with his father, Marcello visits Steiner's house for a dinner party. Surrounded by intellectuals holding ridiculous conversations, Marcello and Steiner retreat from the crowd for a moment to bid goodnight to Steiner's children: standing in the doorway of their room, his face

reflected in a mirror behind him but partially obscured by a shadow, Steiner says, 'Peace makes me afraid, perhaps I distrust it most of all. I feel it's only a facade concealing the abyss...We must get beyond passions...We should love each other outside of time...detached.' He turns his face towards the camera and he repeats, 'Detached.' The lighting, the billowing curtains, the mirror all create a sense of unease in this moment, an unease that is confirmed when later in the film we discover that Steiner has shot his two children in their beds and then killed himself. This murder-suicide shocks Marcello, for whom Steiner had been a kind of idol, someone he looked up to and (thought he) desired to emulate. But this, too, is revealed to be a false hope: the violence of Steiner's death stains the intellectual middle-class world he represents with the same desperation as that of the figures of via Veneto with whom Marcello spends his time. Indeed, at one point Marcello, seeking to explain Steiner's actions to himself as much as to the policeman with whom he is talking, says, 'Maybe he was afraid of himself, of all of us.' Steiner's death demonstrates the ultimate fall into the abyss that he had seen; the hypervisibility demanded by the culture of spectacle means that Paparazzo and the other photographers have followed Marcello to the scene in hopes of getting a scoop; the dead are no longer allowed to return as ghosts but are exposed to the light of a thousand camera flashes. The culture of spectacle is almost complete.

Once again, however, Fellini's film refuses an easy moralistic stance that would damn the world he is recreating on film. Immediately following both the scenes of the gathering at Steiner's house, and that of his suicide, an angelic figure appears out of the dark and desperation. In her first appearance, Marcello is attempting to write at a trattoria by the sea, but is distracted by the music being played by the girl who is setting the tables for lunch. She is from Perugia, and Marcello tells her she looks like an Umbrian angel. She appears again in the final scene of the film. After Steiner's suicide, Marcello is shown amongst a group of actors and filmmakers, breaking into a seaside villa to have a party. They are trying to entertain themselves with a kind of desperation, looking for something new: one of the revellers performs a strip tease, two beautiful boys perform a drag show, and Marcello, in a drunken rage, throws things around the room,

declaring that he has given up writing to become a publicist, his final descent into the world of decadence and spectacle, the emptiness of this 'new' Rome. The sun rises and the villa's owner asks the guests to leave; they wander through the trees down to the beach, where a huge fish has been pulled out of the sea. Its mouth full of jellyfish, the partygoers look on in fascinated disgust, one of the boys asking, 'Where does it come from? Australia?' At this point, Marcello sits on the sand apart from the crowd, and a voice calls to him from across an inlet. It is Paola, the Umbrian angel. Though Marcello cannot hear what she is saying, he looks longingly at her innocent face, until being dragged back to the ragtag group wandering off towards their cars.

The film ends, not with a shot of Marcello, but with a close-up of Paola's face as she watches Marcello leave, smiling. For the most part, Marcello enjoys his life: the constantly changing new faces, the glamour of Via Veneto, and the opportunity to mix with people from around the world. However, in the trattoria we see him attempting to write a serious piece and failing, and at the party in the final sequence he reveals that he has given up his ambitions to become a serious writer. The Umbrian angel thus appears to Marcello at the two moments in the film where he seems at his most hopeless, unable to either change his life by writing seriously or to enjoy the freedom offered by 'the sweet life' of the spectacle. For Marcello is part of the image-making machine so essential to contemporary cities: through Marcello and his colleagues, Rome is reproduced and put in endless circulation as a commodity, thus shutting down any potential for escape that the urban jungle might otherwise afford. And yet, perhaps the crux of the contradiction posed by this film, its refusal to engage in moral judgement, is to be found in its dreamlike sequences and fantastical characters, both monstrous and angelic. Dreams and fantasies offer an escape from the visibility of being in the actual city, which on close examination reveals itself to be a site of multiplicity, since 'the city dreams itself through its inhabitants'; 'carried on images like postcards and holiday programmes and photographs...[the city] is pressed into texts...these images and texts are themselves actors performing different species of spaces which, though they may use the same city name, are radically different imaginaries' (Amin & Thrift 2002,

p. 122). Thus, it is perhaps not the characters of the film that are the main actors but the city itself, produced and reproduced in images (those created by Fellini on camera, as well as those produced by the photographers in the film) and texts (the narrative of the film as well as the many interpretations of it). The city of Rome, thus, is made visible but escapes easy definition, revealing the differences and multitudes that are just out of sight.

3. Slums and slaves: the abject in Pier Paolo Pasolini's *Accattone*

Accattone, Pasolini's first feature film made in 1961, represents the Rome of the *borgate*, the slums, that Fellini only hinted at in *La Dolce Vita*. Here, the narrative dives into this 'forgotten' world of the Roman poor with an unflinching honesty, with characters speaking romanesco dialect and the action taking place largely outside the *centro storico*, in the hovels and open spaces that cluster under the shadows of newly-built high-rises in Rome's new suburbs. Pasolini's treatment of this Rome of the underclass has been described as 'an aesthetics of contamination' (Restivo 2002, p. 56), a refusal to add to 'the typical fantasies inspired by Rome's cultural and architectural patrimony' (Rhodes 2007, p. 42). This refusal, that is, contaminates the 'perfect' vision of Rome presented in other works by aiming attention directly at the poverty and despair that is the unplanned, unintended, unexpected result of efforts to turn the city into a modern European capital.

The story follows a central character, Accattone, whose name translates roughly as 'beggar,' though the Italian implies a sense of cunning and readiness to exploit any situation, as well as desperation. The opening sequence establishes the lifestyle of Accattone and his friends, none of whom work for a living, preferring to cheat and swindle their way through life. The setting is an abject one: single story hovels and shacks line the street, while the men sit at simple, unadorned tables outside a bar, an abject space because it is a setting whose inhabitants, who are constituted through their inhabitation of this space, 'are rendered as

neither subjects nor objects but inexistent insofar as they become inaudible and invisible (Isin & Rygiel 2007, pp. 182-183; see also chapter 5 of this thesis). The *borgata* that features in this film is one of those spaces of Rome that most Italians avoid and that tourists never visit, and that never make it into those images of Rome that travel the world in cinema. This is, in a sense, the Rome enabled – in fact, brought into existence – by the Italy depicted in *La Dolce Vita*: as in other world cities, 'the conjunction of trajectories of the economy...is one element in the constellation of forces *producing* that poverty' (Massey 2005, p. 157). Even when the action travels into the historic centre, the characters are shown sitting underneath a bridge, on a barge on the Tiber River. We know that this is the centre of Rome from the battlements of the Castel Sant'Angelo and the Bernini statues on the bridge behind Accattone, who has bet his friends that he can eat a full plate of food and then swim across the Tiber and back – more than anything else, a ploy to get a free meal. In the next shot, Accattone is standing on the edge of the bridge, ready to jump into the water, with one of Bernini's angel statues appearing in the background from the waist up. While a metaphorical reading is certainly valid, I follow John David Rhodes (2007) in reading this scene as significant because of the specific site in which it occurs. Rhodes (2007, p. 44) argues that the bridge represents a 'grandiose form of urban planning....the fascist regime...razed the buildings along the Borgo Pio....[t]his project displaced thousands of working-class Romans...whose families were re-housed in the borgate.' In addition to the significance of this bridge, and its vicinity to the Borgo, the Tiber River itself resonates with the film's concentration on the abjected spaces and people of Rome. The river was long considered a pollutant, and those 'grandiose' building projects that Rome was subjected to following unification included taming the river by building embankments along it, to avoid flooding, and demolishing or significantly altering some of the buildings along its banks, especially in the areas of the Jewish ghetto and Trastevere.[9] This view of the river as a contaminant that had to be contained echoes the treatment of Pasolini's protagonists, who are excluded from Rome's centre, from hope, from participation in Italy's 'economic

[9] See, for example, L. Scott Lerner's (2002) discussion of the narratives about the Jewish ghetto leading up to Italian unification.

miracle' that is allowing so many other Italians to move into the middle-class. There is resistance, too: in the slow ambling walks that the characters take through the streets of this new Rome, they resist the fast pace of modern life; through a refusal to work, they resist the capitalist imperative to be productive (Konstantarakos 2000, pp. 114-116). In these futile resistances to the city that has excluded them from view, Pasolini's characters are 'immoral, sinister, scheming and shady: a terror that dissembles, a hatred that smiles, a passion that uses the body for barter instead of inflaming it, a debtor who sells you up, a friend who stabs you....' (Kristeva 1982, p. 4); they are, that is, abject.

Following the scene by the river, Accattone returns home to Maddalena, his whore, who is lying in bed with a bandaged leg in the room that they share with Nannina, a woman from southern Italy, and her brood of children. Maddalena had been working for a Neapolitan who had ended up in prison, and his friends arrive looking for revenge. Accattone, drinking with the Neapolitans, lays all the blame on Maddalena; upon his return home, he insists that she go out to work despite her broken leg. Later we see Maddalena and Amore, another whore, on a dark corner near a bridge. Maddalena is taken by the Neapolitans to an abandoned field, with rocky, uneven ground; they have their fun, steal the change she has in her bag, and then beat her as she stands in the beams from the car's headlights. Throughout this scene, the camera twice pans up to show the lights of the city in the distance, establishing the remoteness of the place where the beating occurs. In this way, Rhodes (2007, p. 48) argues, '[t]he shots...weld Maddalena's victimization to the peripheral landscape.' What Maddalena experiences is nothing extraordinary; in fact it is a part of life in the borgate. Accattone's denial of involvement, and Maddalena's subsequent beating in return for betraying the Neapolitans' friend, are part and parcel of Rome's underground economy.

When Maddalena is imprisoned for falsely identifying a few of Accattone's friends as her attackers, Accattone is left without an income. He is shown walking down a street lined with low-lying houses, washing hung outside and children playing in the dirt. On one of the houses we can see some graffiti,

proclaiming, 'Vogliamo una casa civile' ('We want a decent house'). Accattone greets his son, who is playing outside one of the decrepit structures of the borgata, only to be told to leave by his wife's father. As he walks away he mumbles, 'La famiglia della rinascita...' ('The family of the rebirth...') in an ironic reference to the post-war 'rebirth', the 'economic miracle' that has only served to further exclude the characters in Pasolini's film. Accattone waits for his wife Ascensa to finish work, passing the time by chatting to Stella, a young blonde woman who is washing glass bottles for a pittance of an income. Stella seems so innocent that Accattone doubts she is from Rome; as she continues her humble work, Accattone exclaims, '*Eppure Lincoln l'ha libberati li schiavi. E invece in Italia ce l'hanno messi!*' ('Lincoln liberated the slaves. And instead in Italy they've introduced them!')[10] Finally, the other women finish work and Accattone leaves Stella to follow Ascensa, walking slightly behind her back towards her house. Here the streetscape shows the way in which the periphery of Rome bleeds into the countryside, especially in this period of rapid expansion and continuing expulsion of the lower classes from the city centre. The *borgate*, and the people that live in them, exist on the edges of the city, never quite separated from it – never quite completely expelled – and yet not quite a part of it. They sit in that 'precariously wavering border between being and not being a valid, culturally sanctioned subject' (Marciniak 2006, p. 27), or indeed a culturally sanctioned space; when characters move into the centre of the city it is a form of transgression, as in Accattone's leap from the bridge or eventual death. Although these are Italian citizens, the graffiti scrawled across the walls and captured on film throughout reveals the lack of state intervention to improve their living conditions. Nonetheless there are differences within this society of the underclasses: Ascensa and her family, and Stella until she becomes involved with Accattone, work for a living, albeit for a pittance. Here, the community rallies around Ascensa and her father, chasing off a defeated Accattone whose attempt to extort more money from Ascensa is foiled by her family and friends rather than by police intervention.

[10] As above, I provide the comment in Italian because the English subtitles do not translate the phrase in its entirety.

The next scene shows the thief, Barilla, walking through a bare patch of ground where trucks are parked, with new constructions in the distance. As he approaches the trucks, we see Accattone sprawled out on the back of one, exhausted, and hungry – he hasn't eaten for two days. In the next scene, Accattone is walking with some friends through a street lined by box-like high-rises. One of the friends asks, 'Don't the hungry have a patron saint? If you exist, lend us 2000 lire.' He looks up and the camera follows his gaze up the blank wall of the building, stopping at the roof, showing just a corner of the sky from which no answer is forthcoming. Rome's periphery is crowded on all sides by people and buildings, the camera angle in this scene reflecting the uselessness of prayer that barely has a chance to reach towards the sky. The men convince one of the friends to buy food on credit, and walk off to the flower-seller's house to use his stove. Though this house looks just as poor from the outside as any other in the film, inside there is a simple kitchen shelf filled with tins of soap and soda, there are photos on the wall, and the bedroom is separated from the kitchen. It is obvious that while the flower-seller is not rich, he does not live day-to-day in quite the same way as Accattone and his friends, and is able to spend money on items that will last further than his next meal. Accattone and the flower-seller hatch a plan to stage an argument, so that Accattone can lead the other men away and then return later to share the food between two instead of many. But while the first part of the plan goes smoothly, as he is returning to the house, Accattone spots Stella walking through the rubble. He makes his move, with the help of a friend who has a car: they offer Stella a lift, and offer to buy her new clothes and shoes.

To get the money for the purchase, Accattone returns to his wife's house and waits until her father and brother leave before approaching his son and stealing his baptismal necklace, while asking for forgiveness. We see Accattone and his friend walking with Stella down a busy street, surrounded by multi-storied apartment blocks – but even this obvious urbanism is short-lived, for Accattone and Stella wander off over another patch of uneven, rubble-strewn terrain. As they walk, Stella admits that her mother was a whore, and Accattone looks away from her for a moment: it seems she is a Roman girl, after all, and not as innocent

as she seemed. Accattone tells her not to be ashamed, that her mother was only doing that work to provide for her, and this is as close as Pasolini gets to making an overt political statement: the economic boom feeding the growth of Rome at the same created an underclass that had no choice but to engage in illegal, immoral activities to provide for their families. This, along with the earlier statement on the new slavery of Italy's poor, and the abject poverty everywhere apparent, 'is a way of teaching us to see, even those aspects of the new order that the old Left of Pasolini's day refused to acknowledge – not the metaphor, so easily turned into a cliche, that the borgate are a prison, but "how and in what sense" the new urban geography has created a prison' (Restivo 2002, p. 56).

Stella's entrance into Accattone's world is confirmed when, following a dinner with friends on a barge on the Tiber, Accattone offers her to a man who has asked to dance with her, because she 'doesn't look like a whore.' Accattone, drunk, races off towards the river, threatening to jump in, mirroring the early scene by Castel Sant'Angelo. In the end he only succeeds in burying his face in the sandy bank, smiling at his friends through the dirt. Such antics might lead us to think that Accattone has more invested emotionally in Stella than it appears – but in the end, this doesn't matter, for he needs her to live off. Stella goes to work with the other women, poaching a regular customer of Amore's who again is attracted to her because she doesn't look like a whore; Amore, in a rage, doesn't escape the police who have come on their rounds and is taken to prison. There, in a sparsely furnished room she finds Maddalena using a saucepan for a mirror, and tells her all about Accattone's new woman. Maddalena takes her revenge by denouncing Accattone to the police, and from that moment on, an undercover policeman shadows Accattone's every move.

In a dream sequence, Accattone walks along a wall. He is called over to an abandoned building where the Neapolitans from the beginning of the film sit on the ground; when he arrives, they are sprawled out, naked, covered in rubble. A friend arrives holding flowers and tells Accattone that everyone is waiting; they walk off, passing Barilla whose lips are moving even though no sound is coming out. He asks his friend what has happened, and the reply comes: 'Accattone è

morto' ('Accattone is dead'). Accattone is refused entry to the cemetery, so instead scales the wall and sees a man digging his grave, in the wall's shadow. Accattone asks him to move the grave into the sun, so that he won't have to lie for eternity in shadow. This dream sequence echoes, before it happens, Accattone's actual death at the end of the film. The very next day Accattone, still followed by the undercover policeman, goes looking for Barilla, who agrees to take him on a job. Accattone, Barilla, and another accomplice pull a cart filled with flowers that will hide their stolen goods, looking for a van to steal from. The scene drags on, the three men wandering the streets of Trastevere looking for a van, seemingly delirious with heat and hunger. When finally they find the van they are looking for, they steal some salami and hide it under the flowers, only to be arrested by the policemen, alerted by Accattone's follower, who emerge from a car that has just pulled up. Accattone manages to escape, stealing a motorcycle, and racing off across a bridge. Off-screen, we hear a screech and then see people rushing across the bridge to find Accattone sprawled on the ground. He mutters, '*Mo sto bene*' ('Now I'm ok'), and dies, his face half in shadow. There is some spatial confusion in this scene, as it is difficult to tell firstly how Accattone managed to travel across the bridge so quickly, and secondly how the other characters would have been able to hear the crash from so far away. But these inconsistencies occur throughout the film, in which Pasolini slows down time to enter fully into the spatial and historical reality of his characters' lives, and then speeds the action up with a series of quick cuts to further the narrative. In this way, the film disturbs the spatial order of the city, tying the characters' existence to its spaces and revealing a 'critical attitude toward the spatial, geographic, and architectural abjection of the postwar Roman periphery' (Rhodes 2007, p. 72).

Conclusion

Throughout its history as capital of the modern Italian nation-state, Rome reveals the conflicts and debates inherent in nationalism and in the modern urban order. The city as an actual space serves as an image around which the nation, whose space is virtual rather than actual, can crystallize. As argued by

Engin F. Isin (2007, p. 222), 'the state and its sovereignty are enacted through the city...no state, nation or empire can come into being without forming itself through the city via various symbolic and material practices.' That is to say, the state, nation, or empire *requires* a centre of power to hold it together as borders change and political forms come and go. As I have shown in the discussion of Rome as a symbol of Italian nationalism, and in the analysis of three cinematic representations of the city, Rome is a nexus through which Italian identity is variously created, described, and challenged. Standing in for the nation-state when a more tangible symbol is required, the city of Rome, as capital of modern Italy, becomes the hegemonic space that dominates other spaces. Resistance to foreign rule, as depicted in *Rome, open city* (1945), allowed Italy to regroup and reimagine a common national identity that ignored the legacy of Fascism. Dreams and fantasies in the urban jungle of *La Dolce Vita* (1960) show the escape routes still afforded by the city despite increasing visibility in the culture of spectacle. The abject spaces that produce abject citizens depicted in *Accattone* (1961) reveal that the city contains within its physical spaces the differences that hegemonic images seek to erase.

In this way, the city reveals itself as the space in which a particular body politic is crystallized. As Isin (2007, pp. 222-223) argues,

> [T]he city should not be imagined as merely a material or physical place but as a force field that functions as a difference machine that enables the assemblage of other spaces. The city is a difference machine because groups are not formed outside the machine and encounter each within the city, but the city assembles, generates, distributes and differentiates these differences, incorporates them within strategies and technologies, and elicits, interpellates, adjures and incites them. We need to recognize that the city is not a container where already formed differences (e.g. slave, craftsman, merchant, woman, warrior, bourgeois, queer) arrive in the city and encounter each other. Such differences are generated and assembled in and through the city.

The city, thus, is not merely a synecdochical space, a part that represents the whole (the nation, state, empire). It is the space that allows the whole to come into being. The assemblages of differences, their interpellation, occur in the city's public spaces, where 'the currents and moods of public culture are…formed and given symbolic expression' (Amin 2008, p. 13). The power struggles that play out in the city streets, the struggles for recognition, for place, for legitimacy, as also for dreaming and escape, enable the socio-spatial identification that is necessary

for recognition of the self as part of a group, as well as for the city as part of a larger (imagined) space. The city is where the powerful are faced with those they seek to subdue; the city is where the abject haunts the subject, where alternative imaginings, histories, identities emerge from the shadows and threaten the stable order. Rome, with its ruins visible above the surface and its contradictions always present, may never have succeeded in becoming Italy's economic centre but it plays perfectly the role of capital city, reflecting and refracting the Italian nation-state in a way that no other Italian city could.

3. Narrating another Rome

Introduction

In the preceding chapter, I analysed three films that presented different images of Rome. The films, exploring different historical moments and social worlds in the city, have all in their own ways created images of Rome that mobilise imaginings of the Italian nation-state, as well as of the city itself. Placing the analysis of the three films together, along with a discussion of how Rome has been treated at various times by Italy's political leaders, a picture begins to emerge of a fragmented, multiple city in which different space-times, different classes, genders, interests, alliances, share the same name – Rome, and the same identity – Romans. That is, the city of Rome 'needs to be considered as a set of spaces where diverse ranges of relational webs coalesce, interconnect and fragment,' since Rome, like other cities, 'is a variegated and multiplex entity – a juxtaposition of contradictions and diversities, the theatre of life itself' (Amin & Graham 1997, p. 418). If the city is a variegated and multiplex entity that generates, elicits, and interpellates these contradictions, then the appellation, 'Roman', must be understood as variegated as well. Here, questions of identity become paramount: as we begin to examine who is included in this category and who is excluded, we can see a picture emerge of who belongs in the city, and who are its outsiders, its resident 'strangers' (Simmel 1971).

In this chapter, then, I begin by examining this notion of 'Romanness', tracing moves of socio-spatial identification, such that the bounded space known as 'Rome' might house people known as 'Romans', as well as people whose relationship to that adjective is not as easily delineated. I do this through the frame of narrative identity, where the discursive life narrative becomes the means by which people maintain a sense of self over time, and explain their relations to the place in which they live, as difficult and contested as they may be.

In this discussion, I argue that narratives are not formed in isolation but in contact (and sometimes in conflict) with others, and that this narrative identity is always, also, an embodied one. It is this idea of narrative identity as always contextualised by place, embodiment, and interactions with others that informs my analysis of three novels, each of which presents a different vision of the city of Rome and of the people who inhabit it. The first, *Clash of Civilizations over an Elevator in Piazza Vittorio*, was published in Italian in 2006 and in English translation in 2010. The author, Amara Lakhous, was born in Algiers in 1970 and migrated to Rome in 1995. His first book was written in Arabic when he was 23, and a bilingual (Arabic/Italian) version published four years later. As we will see in the discussion of *Clash of Civilizations*, questions of translation and exile are central themes to Lakhous' work. This novel is set in piazza Vittorio, and recounts the city's present of cultural clashes and racial prejudices, with the multiple points of view revealing how stereotypical views about the 'other' in Rome can have very strong effects in the characters' personal lives. Perhaps most importantly, each of Lakhous' characters is in some way an exile, either coming to Rome from elsewhere, or exiled from a sense of Rome as 'home' resulting from watching the city change around them. The second author whose work I discuss is Vladimiro Polchi, born in Rome in 1973. His novel, *Blacks Out: un giorno senza immigrati* was published in 2010 and imagines a day in which all the 'immigrants' in Italy disappear. Polchi writes on immigration and security for the daily Rome-based newspaper, *La Repubblica*, as well as working in television and theatre. *Blacks Out* presents a troubling case: while Polchi exposes the hypocrisies of Italian public opinions regarding the presence of immigrant others within the borders of the nation-state, his novel also silences and abjects them, reproducing, rather than resisting, a hegemonic Italianness that refuses any contamination from outside. The third work I discuss is *La mia casa è dove sono* (2010), written by Igiaba Scego, an author and journalist for *Il Manifesto*, born in Rome in 1974 to Somalian parents. This autobiographical work traces the connections that Scego and her family have maintained, and created, between Rome and Mogadishu, the two cities she claims as her homes. The importance of location, language, skin colour, and gender are drawn out through the intertwining, throughout this work, of historical times and locations. That is, the

story is not recounted in either chronological or spatial 'order' but rather jumps between places and times in a way that creates an understanding of Scego's life as linked to, and dependent on, the life stories of others, and the twin cities of her heritage. In all three texts, questions of subjectivity and spatiality are brought together in order to explore the question of 'who' and 'what' a Roman is, in Rome, today.

Who, or what, is a Roman?

This question of defining a 'Roman' in contemporary Rome, immediately opens up questions of identity: in order to say 'who' belongs and 'who' does not, we first need a 'who', a *self* that is both embodied and imagined, an individual with group allegiances and attachment to place/s. This 'who' is recognisably the same over time and in changing contexts, through the formation of a narrative that connects the adult, through time, to the infant, child, and adolescent. Here I am following distinctions made between the 'whoness' and 'whatness' of a person (see for example Arendt 1958; Cavarero 2000), or 'selfhood' and 'sameness' (Ricoeur 1992), in which the subject both changes, moves through time and space, and maintains constancy of characteristics, habits, and allegiances. Such an understanding of the subject rests on its biography, on its narratability. That is, '[t]he identity of the self is constituted by a narrative unity, which integrates what "I" can do, have done and will accomplish with what you expect of "me," interpret my acts and intentions to mean, wish for me in the future' (Benhabib 1992, p. 5). We tell stories about ourselves at the same time that stories are told about us: the self is thus not constituted in isolation of the one from the many, but in interaction; not as a disembodied and abstract 'man', but as an embodied and social self-among-selves. This intersubjectivity extends beyond the narrative formation of a life, to include also recognition of inter-embodiment: as Ricoeur (1992, p. 160) explains, 'my birth and, with greater reason, the act through which I was conceived belong more to the history of others – in this case, my parents – than to me. As for my death, it will finally be recounted only in the stories of those who survive me.' Individuals are also, as we learn through our stories,

members of groups – though these allegiances change over time, along with changes to the way that a group's identity is defined. Indeed, identity has been described as a 'tribal concept' (Maalouf 2000, p. 25), where some allegiances become more important than others, or are in conflict with each other. Being a part of the world, interacting with other people, identity refers 'to how I, as a finite, concrete, embodied individual, shape and fashion the circumstances of my birth and family, linguistic, cultural and gender identity into a coherent narrative that stands as my life's story' (Benhabib 1992, pp. 161-162). Such interactions are always contextualised by the *places* in which they occur, such that identity is also always *spatialised*.

When we turn to an examination of the *migrant* self, the self in motion, we begin to see the ways in which affiliations of individuals and groups are linked to territories, locations, and regions. As argued by Sara Ahmed (2000, p. 3), '[i]n the gesture of recognising the one that we do not know, the one that is different from "us", we flesh out the beyond, and give it a face and form.' This gesture of recognising the 'beyond' is at the same time essential for giving 'face and form' to *here*. In recognising one person as belonging to and in a particular place and another as not belonging, as being out of place, we are engaged in narrating the identities of both people *and* places. While it is certainly important to ask questions such as 'how a political community is related to and should relate to its strangers' (Friese & Mezzadra 2010, p. 304), it is also important to recognise that no-one is *born* a stranger. That is, 'one does not inherently and organically occupy the position of alienhood; rather, one becomes an alien when one crosses the border of a nation that then readily identifies the crosser as the non-native' (Marciniak 2006, p. 9). Following such a border crossing, migrants can be faced with an unanswerable question: '[i]f only one affiliation matters, if a choice absolutely has to be made, a migrant finds himself split and torn, condemned to betray either his country of origin or his country of adoption' (Maalouf 2000, p. 32). Here, we can begin to talk not only of intersubjectivity but also of interspatiality, the meeting of places through the movements of individuals.

Given the importance of place, location, and experience in the world, I want to emphasise the *embodied* nature of identity. Every body is a raced and gendered body, and while those categories of race and gender themselves change over time and in different contexts, nonetheless the materiality of the body informs the kinds of stories that can be told about a life. Thus George Yancy (2005), in an essay exploring the relationship between whiteness and the black body, explores how the construction of the body as 'this' or 'that' – its signification – occurs, and also how these meanings are felt even in moments when they are not expressed in language. Here, Yancy (2005, p. 216) explores 'the Black body's subjectivity, its *lived* reality,' through moments where his body is captured by the white imagination and returned to him as something other than what he, himself, knows. He writes,

> While walking across the street, I have endured the sounds of car doors locking as whites secure themselves from the "outside world," a trope rendering my Black body ostracized, different, unbelonging....The cumulative impact of the sounds is deafening, maddening in their distorted repetition. The clicks begin to function as coded sounds, reminding me that I am dangerous; the sounds create boundaries, separating the white civilized from the dark savage, even as I comport myself to the contrary....I have endured white women clutching their purses or walking across the street as they catch a glimpse of my approaching Black body. It's during such moments that my body is given back to me in a ludicrous light, where I *live* the meaning of my body as confiscated. (Yancy 2005, p. 218)

Already, in such a description, we can see a return of the interplay between an embodied experience of identity and a sense of place. The episodes described occurred on the street, also occupied by 'white women', who have the power to tell Yancy that he does not belong there, not through words but through their actions. When bodies are out-of-place, our life narratives change to incorporate the experience of living the meaning of our bodies as seen by others, as taken up and subsumed by other narratives (the Black body as savage, the white body as civilized; this street as belonging to the white car owners, etc.). Hence, it is not only stories about individuals, but also stories about groups defined by their visual characteristics, which tell us who 'belongs' or who is 'out-of-place'. Even being born in a place does not guarantee an easy sense of belonging, since 'those who look like stereotypical aliens – citizens who are people of color, the poor, those who speak… with accents – are already vulnerable to the charges of alienhood' (Marciniak 2006, p. 11). In Rome, this can be seen through the

inclusion, in the category 'immigrant', of children of immigrants, who were born in Italy but look different; their difficulties in attaining Italian citizenship only add to the already visual markers of difference.

Episodes of violence towards immigrants also demonstrate this uneasy inhabitation of the city by those who are marked as different. In 2008 and 2009, a number of violent acts were carried out against immigrants living in Rome and the surrounding towns. For example, in October 2008, a Chinese man was beaten by a group of youngsters in Rome's outer suburb, Tor Bella Monaca, with the attackers yelling insults including 'shitty Chinaman'. In February 2009 a 21-year-old Bangladeshi man suffered burns to his arm and hand after he was attacked with a small homemade firethrower in the Esquilino (Piazza Vittorio). Both of these suburbs are areas in which Rome's immigrant population is highly visible.[11] These attacks reflect a refusal to accept the presence of strangers in the city, on the part of some (though by no means all) autochthonous Italians. Much as some sections of Rome's lower classes have at various times been abjected, expelled from the centre of the city, as depicted in Pasolini's *Attaccone*, in Rome today, immigrants and Roma bear the brunt of this impulse towards expulsion. These tensions between hegemonic understandings of 'who' and 'what' a Roman is, and the reality of the diversity of the city's population, generate moments of creativity as well as of reactionary insularity. At times, the city expands to embrace these changes, as in the introduction in 2004 of Adjunct Councillors from amongst Rome's multiethnic communities to the Municipality of Rome (further examples are explored in chapters 4, 6 and 7 of this thesis). At other times, the city contracts, reacting against change, for example in the *Piano Nomadi* ('Nomad Plan') of 2009 which saw the expulsion of large numbers of the city's Roma population (explored in detail in chapter 5 of this thesis).

The language of belonging, the words we use to describe ourselves as connected to place/s, and the language of unbelonging, the words that show that we do not

[11] For a detailed report on incidents of racist violence in Italy in recent years, see the Human Rights Watch report, *Everyday Intolerance: Racist and Xenophobic Violence in Italy*, March 2011, available at http://www.hrw.org/reports/2011/03/21/everyday-intolerance-0; for reports on the incident in Piazza Vittorio, see *La Repubblica* 10/2/09 and *Roma Today* 11/2/09.

belong in a place, appears in everyday discussions, often without our paying much attention. The continued representation as 'immigrants', in Italian media, of those who have arrived from elsewhere – regardless of how long they may have been in the country – extends only to those who are problematic strangers. In fact, the term does not often include the many immigrants from English-speaking countries, or from other European countries; it has become a short-hand way of describing those others who are visibly and culturally different. A common saying in Rome is that, if you can trace your family back seven generations in the city, you are a true Roman: a Roman descended from the ancients, since it is assumed that migration was not a common occurrence before that. This ignores the long history of cultural mixing in the capital of an Empire whose reach extended beyond the continent of Europe. This also speaks against a national identity, which in Italy is a troubled one, with strong regional and local attachments. Indeed, the national language was imposed only after unification in 1861, before which 'Italy' was 'little more than a "geographical expression"....the residents of Italy lacked any common government, language, or culture' (Gabaccia 2000, p. 1). Italy's many dialects and minority languages reveal the ties to local municipalities that have, in some but not all areas of the peninsula, persisted, despite the impact of what Paolo Coluzzi (2007, p. 66) describes as the centralising force of '[m]acronationalism...the nationalistic policy adopted by large multi-ethnic or multinational states...with the aim of unifying the country culturally and linguistically.' Even without travelling, then, without undertaking any migration, many Italians found themselves required to speak a hegemonic language imposed by the centralised government, much as migrants who move from one place to another must learn the language of their new home.

This experience of change-without-movement combines with an experience of change through migration to create the difficult diversity found in Rome today. Viewing these two experiences together allows for a discussion of the 'uprootings and regroundings' of socio-spatial identification in the city:

> Rather than thinking of home and migration as constituted through processes that neatly map onto "migrating" and "homing", uprootings/regroundings makes it possible to consider home and migration in terms of a plurality of experiences, histories and constituencies, and of the workings of institutional structures' (Ahmed et al. 2003, pp. 1-2).

Uprooted from their native language, migrants reground themselves as they learn to speak not only Italian but also Roman dialect; uprooted from the use of their dialect in institutional bodies, Romans, without undertaking any migration, have had to reground themselves in the national language of homogenised Italian. Language, essential in creating the narrative unity of a life, is thus problematic for those who speak the majority language badly or not at all, leading to the question, how can we be a subject in a language that is not our own?

Many responses to this and similar questions have been provided, but there are two I wish to emphasise here. Firstly, a new language can be learnt, and spoken or written in new and unexpected ways, for 'when we speak the language of another, when a minority adopts the language of a majority or one class that of another, the words become bivocal' (Maclean 1987, p. 38).[12] This, to an extent, is what occurs in the work of Lakhous, discussed below: writing in Arabic, French, and Italian, as well as being involved in English translations of his work, Lakhous demonstrates the ability to switch between languages that is necessary for the subject-in-exile. In contrast, the work of Scego demonstrates a different relationship to language: her use of Italian is that of a mother-tongue speaker, since she was born and grew up in Rome, while her invocations of Somali languages are made at a remove, so to speak, since these she learnt through her parents and on visits 'home'. Secondly, language does not need to be verbalised. Stories about places can come from walking, from creating routes through a city that take on meaning beyond that which can be found on maps of the city's streets, where space is defined as 'a practiced place' (de Certeau 1988, p. 117). The importance of the everyday in understanding places is perhaps best described by de Certeau (1988, p. 115) when he says, '[s]tories...traverse and

[12] Maclean is drawing here from Bakhtin's description of the adoption of another's words into our speech, in which 'the other person's words become double-voiced' (Bakhtin quoted in Maclean 1987: 38). She is, however, extending Bakhtin's analysis to include gender, in an analysis of gendered telling and gendered listening that draws on de Certeau's 1980 essay, 'On the Oppositional Practices of Everyday Life', to argue that '[t]he performance of this tale will obviously vary tremendously according to the gender of teller and hearers....Women have a different reading of texts, a different audience reaction' (39), and '[b]oth gendered telling and gendered reading are possible oppositional practices' (40).

organize places; they select and link them together; they make sentences and itineraries out of them.' These everyday practices, and their importance for an understanding of identity and diversity in the city of Rome, will be explored in Parts II and III of this thesis. Here, I am interested in exploring the ways in which narratives are always about both people *and* places, revealing *both* the intersubjectivity and interspatiality of identity, and the intertextuality of our life narratives. In the discussion that follows, three novels are analysed for what they can tell us about processes of socio-spatial identification in contemporary Rome, when hegemonic notions of 'who' belongs in Rome are challenged by the identification of ethnically diverse subjects with the nation of Italy, and with the urban spaces of the city. Most importantly, we see the different views of the city of Rome that are opened up by these narratives, when the city's 'others' tell stories about *their* Rome, their sense of the city; when, that is, an/other Rome is narrated.

The subject as exile: longing, belonging, and intimate spaces in *Clash of Civilizations over an Elevator in Piazza Vittorio*

In Lakhous' novel, the importance of home is immediately apparent. *Clash of Civilizations over an Elevator in Piazza Vittorio* (hereafter *CC*, 2008) is told from eleven different perspectives – the inhabitants of the apartment block in which the story is set, and the policeman who is investigating the murder of one character, the Gladiator, and the disappearance of another, Amadeo/Ahmed. These narratives of the novel's events reveal the ways in which each character constructs their own reality, often without paying much attention to the input or opinions of those around them. Though narrated in the first person, as though each character were being interviewed – perhaps by the policeman investigating the crime – these short insights into the characters' internal lives are portraits, of the person as well as of the spaces, both actual and remembered, that they inhabit and move through every day. These stories are interspersed with extracts from Amadeo's diary entries. In this way, Amadeo's opinion clarifies,

colours, and constrains the opinions of the other characters. The novel, in its plurality of voices, experiences, opinions, and in its close attention to the intimate spaces of everyday life, allows us to consider home and migration together, 'in terms of a plurality of experiences, histories and constituencies...[and] to ask how uprootings and regroundings are enacted – affectively, materially and symbolically – in relation to one another' (Ahmed et al. 2003, p. 2). In *CC* the connections between home and away are problematised by the characters' different legal statuses, their different imaginings of and relationships to the everyday spaces of the city, and indeed their own memories. Amadeo, in describing one of the other characters, says,

> I've tried many times to persuade Parviz to learn the secrets of Italian cooking, but he always refuses. This subject raises many questions beyond the culinary. I think Parviz is afraid he'll forget Iranian cooking if he learns Italian....For him Iranian cooking, with its spices and its smells, is all that's left of his memory. Rather, it's memory and nostalgia and the smell of his family rolled into one. This cooking is the thread that ties him to Shiraz, which he has never left. Parviz is strange, he lives in Shiraz, not in Rome! So why do we force him to learn Italian and cook Italian style? (*CC* pp. 28-29)

Parviz, an Iranian refugee, finds Rome unbearable: he drinks to deal with the split between memories of the place from which he is exiled and the place in which he lives that exile. Parviz himself, describing the act of cooking a meal for Amadeo and his partner Stefania, says, '[t]he odors that fill the kitchen make me forget reality and I imagine that I've returned to my kitchen in Shiraz' (*CC* p. 19). Here, the intimate space of the kitchen and the intimate act of cooking combine, allowing Parviz to move between Rome and Shiraz through sensory experience, without undertaking any bodily journey through space or time. The distance between Rome and Shiraz collapses, as Parviz recreates his kitchen in Shiraz through movement, memory, and the smells of Iranian cooking, within the confines of the space of Amadeo's kitchen in Rome. Memory, the visceral, bodily memory of the senses, is in this instant 'alterity within the action and life of the city,' such that 'space and time, the visible and invisible' (Crang & Travlou 2001, p. 173) are linked in this moment; the kitchen in Rome fades into the background, and is replaced by the kitchen in Shiraz. Parviz' memories, or dreams, of his lost kitchen invade his friend's kitchen, so that we come to understand that 'the house is not experienced from day to day only, on the thread of a narrative, or in the telling of our own story. Through dreams, the

various dwelling-places in our lives co-penetrate and retain the treasures of former days' (Bachelard 1969, p. 5). Through this, and other moments in the text in which places collapse into each other through the memories or conflicts of the characters, conceptions of space emerge as one of the most important driving forces for these subjects-in-exile.

The choice to centre the conflicts in the novel around the small space of an elevator, highlights the importance of intimate spaces for Rome's inhabitants. The elevator becomes a symbol for the conflict between characters who cannot understand each other's attitudes to this space that is neither entirely public nor entirely private, but that holds a different meaning for each. The elevator thus acts as a city in miniature, a space accessed only by those entering or leaving the apartment building, but one that nevertheless opens itself up to the entirety of possibilities inherent in city life, where each individual interacts with the city and its spaces in an endless variety of ways. Parviz says, 'I adore the elevator...I meditate in it...It's exactly like life, full of breakdowns. Now you're up, now you're down...The elevator is a tool for meditation. As I told you, it's a practice I'm used to: going up and coming down is a mental exercise like yoga' (*CC* pp. 16-17). However, the building's concierge, Benedetta, is suspicious of Parviz' fascination with travelling up and down in the elevator for what appears to be no reason. Benedetta calls Parviz 'the Albanian', and does not understand why he refuses to acknowledge his supposed country: 'He's tried over and over again to convince me that he comes from a country that isn't Albania. He's not the only one who refuses to acknowledge his original country in order to avoid getting expelled, eh!' (*CC* p. 36) Benedetta, in this statement, reveals her inability to conceive of Italy as a place to which people migrate from all parts of the globe, and instead makes Amadeo fit into her experience of the migration of large numbers of Albanians to Italy in the 1990s.

Along with accusing him of denying his own country so as to avoid being expelled from Italy, she suspects Amadeo of sabotage:

> I've caught him red-handed many times trying to break the elevator. I've seen him go up and down for no reason, he goes to the top floor and down to the

> ground floor. I observed him very carefully until I became sure that he was guilty...The Albanian is the real murderer, I'm ready to swear to it. (*CC* p. 39)

So, from accusations of attempts to break the elevator, Benedetta moves to accusations of murder. Her suspicion of Parviz is racially motivated, for in the next sentence she says, '[i]s it right that Signor Amadeo should pay in the place of some immigrant? Is it right to accuse a good Italian citizen of a crime he didn't commit?' (*CC* p. 39). In an essay exploring the ways in which the small, confined space of an elevator concentrates a history of racism in the USA, Yancy (2008, p. 844) writes:

> [It is] such a fecund space for exploring racism not only because many Blacks have had the experience of whites reacting to their Black bodies as suspicious within such tight spaces, but also the elevator itself functions as an "actant". In short, the elevator is part and parcel of the fabric that constitutes the events that take place within the elevator.

In *CC*, the elevator focuses and concentrates the characters' prejudices through its small space, opening its doors onto their conflicting ways of inhabiting the city of Rome and enclosing their dreams and fears in its small space.

Another character, Antonio Marini, is from Milan and describes the city of Rome as uncivilised, an 'inferno of chaos' (*CC* p. 75), a city of the South like Naples or Palermo. In contrast, the elevator represents Antonio's idea of civilisation, and when it breaks down it is 'a catastrophe that forces us to use the stairs, and is thus an offence to modernity, to development, and to enlightenment!....I categorically refuse to walk, to waste time by going up and down the stairs' (*CC* p. 78). In contrast, Amadeo himself prefers walking: he describes the elevator as a tomb, saying, 'I hate confined spaces, except this bathroom. It's my nest' (*CC* p. 42). The only small space that opens itself up to dreaming, for Amadeo, is the bathroom to which he retreats every evening, and which he describes as his nest. Amadeo, in making a nest for himself, has created a space in which he can consider the world, calmly, since '[w]hen a philosopher considers a nest, he calms himself by meditating on the subject of his own being in the calm world being' (Bachelard 1969, p. 104). This nest is, however, haunted: in his diary, Amadeo writes often of the she-wolf who suckled Romulus and Remus in the founding myth of Rome; he writes of howling, with the wolf, and of his desire to move ever closer to her. He says, 'I know Rome as if I had been born here and

never left. I have the right to wonder: am I a bastard like the twins Romulus and Remus or an adopted son? The basic question is: how to be suckled by the wolf without being bitten' (*CC* p. 101). As we learn later, Amadeo's nightmares are memories of the violence he fled in Algiers, memories that refuse to let him escape the past no matter how much he attempts to live only in Rome, with his new wife Stefania, who he describes as his future. Time, space, and memory converge in Amadeo's nightly howls in the intimate nest of the bathroom, revealing his trauma and his attempt to live in exile from himself.

In a way, all the characters in this novel live in exile, even those who have undertaken no migration. They are exiled from the reality of Rome as a multicultural city, preferring to criticise rather than accept the changes occurring around them. They are exiled from an awareness of their own prejudices, failing to notice the connections between their assumptions about Italy's new immigrants and the portrayal of Italian emigrants in the past, in countries like the USA and Australia. Those born and brought up in Rome have uprooted through witnessing the city change around them, while those who arrived from elsewhere, like Milan, Naples, Bangladesh, Peru, Iran, and Algeria have experienced the uprooting of the self through migration, since '[p]laces mix times into the present, mixing orders of virtual and actual...we have moments irrupting through places to bring the past into contact with the present...[these moments] are a point of fracturing where difference enters the urban order' (Crang & Travlou 2001, p. 175). At the same time, those born in Rome and those who have arrived from elsewhere are engaged in a regrounding, in home-making as 'a continuous act of production and reproduction that is never fully complete' (Gedalof 2001, p. 106), through the stories they tell about the city and the movements they make through its streets. The kinds of uprootings and regroundings occurring in *CC*, however, do not necessarily include an 'opening up' to difference in the way proposed by Ahmed et. al. (2003), but rather demonstrate individual characters' abilities to close themselves off from the changes that the city is currently undergoing. The characters instead continue to experience the city in ways that never lead to a transformative encounter with

others, as exemplified through their representations of the small space of the elevator.

Johan van Marten, a Dutch film student who shared an apartment with the murder victim, says that the elevator is 'the source of the problem. There is no agreement among the tenants about it...this elevator is like a ship with more than one captain' (*CC* pp. 87-88). Johan's comment highlights that the elevator is active in the novel's conflicts as the catalyst for the characters' regroundings, although these regroundings are for the most part shown to be limited and limiting. Characters in this novel succeed in excluding other inhabitants of Rome, other subjects, from their sense of home. The elevator becomes the focal point through which their prejudices play out in their everyday lives. The novel's structure, moving from one point of view to another, juxtaposes these prejudices and assumptions – such as Benedetta's inability to understand that Parviz is not Albanian, and the inability of most to believe that Amadeo is not actually Italian-born – so that as the novel progresses the different voices layer one over the other into an ironic expose of the farcical belief in superior singularity that lies at the heart of racism and xenophobia. As Lakhous himself has said in an interview, such humorous treatment of a very serious subject is 'a response to sadness. Humour is an instrument of combat' (Ruta 2008, p. 17). The novel's many voices make it an intertextual work in and of itself, with the characters' different viewpoints driving the action and painting a picture of contemporary Rome for the reader. As the tale is woven through the interaction of each characters' individual narrative, other spaces in the city are described as well, so that the interspatiality of the novel exists not only in the memory-driven eruption of one space into another, but also in the many faces of Rome presented through its bars, streets, public transport system, and piazzas.

Other characters interpret Amadeo's extensive and intimate knowledge of Rome, which rivals that of the taxi drivers and cafe owner who engage him in a game of naming the streets and routes through the city, as a sign that he is a true Roman. Sandro Dandini, the cafe owner, says that Amadeo 'knows the history of Rome and its streets better than I do, in fact better than Riccardo Nardi, who's so proud

of his origins, which go back to the ancient Romans. Riccardo, who drives a taxi and has been going up and down the streets of Rome every day for twenty years' (*CC* p. 95). In showing up the knowledge of the taxi drivers, the 'folk geographers' (Bunge 1977, p. 31) of urban space, Amadeo is marked as belonging to Rome, as being inhabited, in a sense, by the city itself: his knowledge makes him 'Roman' in the eyes of others. However, the moment he becomes a suspect in the murder of the Gladiator, his 'foreignness' is immediately reinstated. Although no-one liked the Gladiator, it is not until the final story, told from the point of view of Mauro Bettarini, the policeman conducting the investigation, that we find out who carried out the murder and why, and what happened to Amadeo. This final narrative itself has two faces, with 'The Truth: The First Face' questioning Amadeo's identity, claiming that '[t]here's a connection between the murder, the sudden disappearance of Amadeo, and the finding of the boy's body in the elevator' (*CC* p. 126). Amadeo is marked, here, not as belonging to Rome but as suspicious because of his foreign origins, and because he had hidden that fact from most of the other characters in the novel, including the policeman. Circumstancial evidence, in Mauro's eyes, confirms Amadeo's guilt: 'there are eyewitnesses who saw him quarrel with the victim the day before the murder. No one knows why. They heard him yell at the vitcim, "I'll kill you if you do it again!"' (*CC* p. 126)

However, Mauro's narrative of events then moves on to reveal 'The Truth: The Second Face' (*CC* p. 127), where we discover that Amadeo has disappeared because he has been in a serious condition in hospital, following an accident that may have been an attempted suicide. As a result of this accident, we learn, Amadeo will live but he may lose his memory, from which he had been trying so desperately to escape. The reason for his quarrel with the Gladiator, which we may have suspected from earlier inferences in other characters' narratives, was that he was defending the Peruvian domestic worker, Maria Cristina Gonzales, from the Gladiator's repeated sexual assaults. The novel contains a secondary mystery, the disappearance of one of the character's dogs, which as a result of the unfortunately all-too-commonly held view that Chinese restaurants in Rome cook and serve cats and dogs, had been blamed by some characters on Piazza

Vittorio's large Chinese population. Instead, we learn, the dog had been stolen by the Gladiator for use in a dog-fight, and his murder carried out by the elderly, lonely Elisabetta Fabiani, the dog's owner. According to Mauro, she planned the murder by drawing on her fascination with television police and murder-mystery shows, and 'chose the elevator, because it's at the centre of the conflicts among the building's residents' (*CC* p. 128). The elevator, likened to a tomb by Amadeo, became a tomb in fact for the Gladiator, killed at the hands of an elderly woman and not, as suspected, by a feared and dangerous 'immigrant'.

In much the same way that the image of immigrants as criminals is challenged through this twist, the image of Piazza Vittorio itself as a dangerous suburb is challenged by one of the characters, who says,

> I don't trust the TV reporters, because they're always looking for scandals, and they exaggerate every problem. When I hear the bad things that are said about Piazza Vittorio it makes me suspicious: I wonder if they're actually talking about the place where I've lived for ten years or the Bronx we see in cop movies. (*CC* pp. 48-49)

Here, Lakhous highlights the different opinions of Piazza Vittorio depending on whether one sees it through walking the streets or through the representations of TV journalists, whether one is located inside or outside the suburb. Abdallah Ben Kadour, one of the other characters, is from the same neighbourhood of Algiers as Amadeo. When Amadeo first disappeared from Algiers, Abdu was told that he was 'outside'. He explains, '[t]he word "outside" has a thousand meanings: outside of reason, outside of Algiers, outside the law, outside the charity of his parents, outside the grace of God' (*CC* p. 115). In contrast, Rome could be seen as a city that keeps its inhabitants in, inside the belly of the wolf. This notion of Rome is described by Abdu in an image of the city's central train station, when he says, '[i]n Rome there is the Termini station. "Termini" means terminal, the journey is over. There's something strange about this city. It's very difficult to leave. Maybe the water in the fountains is mixed with a special substance that has magical origins' (*CC* p. 117). The city, in this image, is enchanted, a space that captures new arrivals and puts a stop to further travel. Rome enchants, holds its inhabitants in thrall; and yet it is also a city that defies explanation, that refuses to be reduced to a single image. Lakhous' novel, with its plurality of voices and the irruption of other spaces into the spaces of Rome,

portrays Rome as the perfect city in which to live in exile: in this version of Rome, it is a city that adopts its newcomers while also maintaining them at a distance. It is a city in which socio-spatial identification is always in flux and belonging is never a sure and secure thing, even for those who were born there.

Blacks Out: abjecting Rome's others

Blacks Out (hereafter *BO*, 2010) is Vladimiro Polchi's response to Italy's problematic construction of, and relationship with, its internal others, whose full membership is delayed and denied through the country's difficult system of residency permits and *jus sanguinis* citizenship laws (see also Parts II and III of this thesis). In this novel, Polchi draws on his experience as a journalist for *La Repubblica* writing on immigration, presenting data on the percentages of immigrants in the Italian workforce in industries from fishing to factory work, from domestic help to truck driving. The data is woven into the narrative of the novel, in which Polchi imagines what the effects would be of a nation-wide strike of immigrants – that is, what would happen if, as so many Italians seem to call for daily, they all went back to their own countries, at once. The novel sets up a strategic binary between autochthonous Italians and immigrants that whitewashes Italy's own history of internal orientalism, ignoring the conflicts that continue between Italy's own internally diverse populations, and the fact that the immigration debate has in many ways been mapped on to these earlier expressions of xenophobia in Italy. The whitewashing of autochthonous Italians requires a complementary move, the blackening of Italy's immigrants and their descendants into an amorphous, unidentifiable, singular 'other', as indicated by the title itself.

'Blacks Out' is the name of the imagined strike, in which Italy's foreign workers band together and fail to show up to work, to school, in the public spaces in the city – that is, for the day over which the narrative of the novel takes place, Italy's immigrants disappear, or are abjected, from the national space. The title of this novel speaks to the homogenising racism of discourses on immigration in Italy,

lumping all immigrants together into the one category regardless of skin colour, ethnicity, place of birth, or current citizenship. In fact, as we begin to turn the pages of the book and Polchi reveals who, in his imagined strike, has disappeared, we realise that the 'immigrants' referred to are in fact not necessarily 'immigrants', in the case of the second generations, nor necessarily black-skinned. Nor are they all *extracommunitari*, the Italian word used to indicate citizens of countries not part of the EU, as revealed in the case of the Romanians that Polchi refers to, since Romania joined the EU in 2007.[13] It is also worth noting that Polchi makes no reference whatsoever to English-speaking non-EU citizens like those from the USA, Canada and Australia, who although making up a very small percentage of Italy's total immigrant population nonetheless are part of its guest worker system through access to working holiday visas, and are particularly noticeable in Rome due to the presence of the American University in Trastevere.

Polchi's 'immigrants' in this work thus are constructed in the same way as Italian sociologist Alessandro Dal Lago's (2009, p. 12) 'non-persons', when he says that 'immigrants still do not have the civil rights (not to mention the social and political rights) enjoyed by Italians and other foreigners, European or Western, present in Italy.' In both Dal Lago's (2009) and Polchi's (2010) discussions, the word 'immigrant' refers to a particular *type* of stranger, differentiated from 'other foreigners, European or Western' who presumably are recognisable as sharing similarities with Italians and therefore recognisable as subjects in their own right. The construction of Italians, and those similar to them, as full subjects at the same time that *other* strangers are abjected, becoming 'non-persons' (Dal Lago) or abjected (Polchi) is a demonstration of the power to determine 'the formation of home – the space one inhabits as liveable,' since 'abject bodies are precisely the bodies that are not inhabited, are not liveable as such, or indeed, are not at home' (Ahmed 2000, p. 52). This is not all that the title achieves, however. It also brings to mind the English phrase 'black out', provoking

[13] It should be noted that Romania's entry into the EU has been fraught with controversy, as has Italy's treatment of Romanians since 2007. Further details on this case are provided in Part II of this thesis, especially in chapter 5.

reactions from reviewers such as the following: 'such a strike would leave us in the dark' (Ainis 24/1/2010). The imagined strike reveals the fear that the country would in fact stop functioning if its guest workers were all to strike at once. Thus, the novel's title works to mark out the boundaries of who is accepted within the nation-state and who is not, framing those whom Polchi has abjected in his text as useful but unwelcome bodies whose lack of voice throughout manages to deny them subjectivity while at the same time imagining for them an agency that goes far beyond that which they actually wield in Italian politics and daily life.

Throughout the analysis of the novel, it is important to keep in mind this becoming-black of all those undesirable immigrants living within the borders of the Italian nation-state, as it is one of the ways through which Polchi refuses to allow individual subjects to speak. It also indicates where the racial boundaries are being drawn in Italy today. Where once Southern Italians were cast as the subaltern, dark, criminal other to the white, industrious, Northern Italians, in this work it is Italy's newer immigrants and their descendants who are racialised as potentially criminal, unwanted, powerless and abjected. [14] This change in focus reflects what Joseph Pugliese (2008, pp. 20-21) describes as 'a recalibration of racial hierarchies that effectively functions to reposition targeted racialised subjects on the vertical scale governed by whiteness as the normative standard', such that Southern Italians 'no longer constitute northern Italy's absolute other; rather, this position has been assigned to those non-European subjects geopolitically extraneous to the body of the nation.' In this way, Southern Italians have become 'whiter' in comparison to the nation-state's 'new' others, who themselves are 'blackened' in public discourse such that all, Romanian, Ukranian, Albanian, Algerian, Bangladeshi, Ethiopian and Somali alike, are grouped

[14] For a discussion of internal orientalism in Italy, see Schneider (1998). It is also worth noting that this history of internal orientalism has not disappeared: it is especially evident in the rhetoric of the Northern League, which still on occasion talks of the desire to secede from the Italian nation-state, labelling Rome as a 'thief' and Southerners as almost as undesirable as newer immigrants. Paul Ginsborg (2001, p. 67) says, 'As for Rome, it had never succeeded in becoming the driving force of the country. During the 1980s its image as a centre of consumption and of bureaucracy had become more marked…Its identity as the '*capitale corrotta*' of the Republic was one it had difficulty in shedding.'

together and 'marked' as undesirable.[15] Rendering all those who are not autochthonous Italians, (Western) Europeans, or other Westerners as 'the other', as unwanted, demonstrates collective identity's 'capacity to exclude, to leave out, to render "outside", abjected' (Hall 1996, p. 5). This racialised exclusion of Italy's 'new' others also has effects for second-generation Italians, as demonstrated in examples from Polchi's novel discussed below. The silencing of those others' voices has obvious consequences for the political import of Polchi's novel and may explain why attempts to generate actual social movements and strikes from this fictional, imagined strike were unsuccessful.

Moving on from the racialisation of 'immigrants' evident in the novel's title, its opening pages also present the reader with a conundrum. What is purportedly a work written from a political stance sympathetic to immigrants' plight in today's Italy nonetheless engages in silencing them. Valentino, the novel's central character, is a reporter at a large newspaper based in Rome. His Filipina domestic servant, Mary, has not arrived that morning and has not woken him up in time to leave for work. As he gets out of bed and moves into the rest of the apartment, the description of the space paints a scene of disorder: there are dirty plates left in the sink, shirts waiting to be ironed, and no fresh milk. Mary's non-appearance (for at this stage we are not aware that it is part of the wide-scale disappearance of Italy's immigrants) leads Valentino to reflect on the trustworthiness, or lack of, of domestic servants. Through Valentino's internal monologue, Polchi is strategically able to highlight a common approach to thinking about domestic workers in Italy, writing,

> The very word "Filipina" for many Italians means "domestic servant". In the same way "Moroccan" has for a long time meant "immigrant". Mary doesn't like this prejudice: "Not all Filipinos are simple domestics. I have a university degree!" One thing though is certain: their nationality has become a mark of trustworthiness, which has monopolised the market of domestic work. And today they're still the most requested: just read the hundreds of ads for domestic work found on the biggest internet sites, like Kijiji and Bakeca. (*BO* p. 5)

[15] For an analysis of this process of 'othering' in Italian media, see Sciortino & Colombo (2004). Sciortino & Colombo write: 'we...focus on the dimensions of public discourse that connect "who they are" with "what they do"...deal[ing] with operations that are logically priorities compared with other important selections that a journalist performs, and which are relatively more independent of the "facts" that the articles present, interpret or communicate' (96).

This brief mention of Mary's university degree is the only mention in the whole novel of her life outside the home of her employers. Her comment is barely even acknowledged by the central character, Valentino, who uses it as an aside in an internal monologue exploring the equation of certain nationalities with certain occupations in today's Italy. Thus, Polchi as author engages in a double silencing: not only is Mary (along with all but one of the other immigrants mentioned) absent, speaking only through the memory and interpellation of the narrator, Valentino, but she is also objectified, her claims to another history and identity passed over with barely a glance. Mary becomes merely a figure that stands for all domestic servants, contrasted to the 'Moroccan' who stands for all immigrants at once. The two figures, Moroccan immigrant and Filipina domestic worker, demonstrate the author's involvement in 'stranger fetishism' in Ahmed's sense, in which 'it is the very acts and gestures whereby subjects differentiate *between* others (for example, between familiar and strange others) that constitute the permeability of both social and bodily space' (Ahmed 2000, p. 15). The difference between Filipinas and Moroccans, who are both abjected by Polchi since they both fall into his category of 'immigrants', is not only that one is a figure for domestic help and one for immigrants in general. The difference lies also in the fact that one figure moves through the intimate spaces of the family home, while the other, marked as untrustworthy, is (we are left to assume) excluded from that intimate space and is instead visible outside, in public spaces where they become recognisable as 'the immigrant'.

The novel thus first objectifies, and then abjects, the unwanted, undesirable 'immigrants' who threaten ideas of a hegemonic Italian identity through their presence inside the borders of the nation-state. Polchi imagines their disappearance in a representation that fictionalises the wider discourse in Italy of nativism, in which diversity has been made invisible, such that these absent characters of the novel are 'ejected beyond the scope of the possible, the tolerable, the thinkable' (Kristeva 1982, p. 1). As the narrator, Valentino, attempts to uncover what exactly has caused the disappearance of Italy's immigrants, he makes phone calls to numerous community leaders and organisations, including *Vocea Românilor* and *Assocazione Romeni in Italia* (*BO* p.

42), two Italo-Romanian groups. This is significant in that Romanians *do* have right of residence in Italy (see further discussions in Part II of this thesis). Thus, although Romania is well on the way to being integrated into European Union space, the abjection of Romanians in this novel identifies them as being 'of-a-kind' with immigrants from outside the European Union, those *extracommunitari* from China, Morocco, the Philippines, and so on, rather than potential Europeans.

There is little evidence that Polchi has considered whether or not those he has imagined as having disappeared hold Italian or European citizenship. However, it is in Polchi's representation of the second generations – those born in Italy to immigrant parents, or those who arrived as children and attend school in Italy – that this inability to conceive of a different kind of Italian becomes particularly apparent. In the section titled 'Third Interval: Alice' (*BO* pp. 49-50), Polchi imagines what might happen at one of Rome's primary schools, were all the immigrants to disappear at once. However, his construction as 'immigrant' of even those second generation children reveals his inability to imagine an Italian identity that could include someone who is both black *and* Italian, both of Chinese background *and* growing up knowing no other home than the city of Rome. In this section, we hear from Alice, a student at the primary school Carlo Pisacane, in Torpignattara, Rome. This school has one of the highest percentages of second generation Italian students, many of whom are not eligible for Italian citizenship because of the country's *jus sanguinis* citizenship laws (see chapters 4 and 7 of this thesis for a further discussion of citizenship and the second generations). Alice speaks of two of her companions at school, Li, who is 'Chinese and speaks strange...[and whose] parents are strange and always silent', and Marcos, a South American boy who 'speaks *romanaccio*[16]...has many siblings and a mother who cooks well' (*BO* p. 49). The comparison between Alice's friends Li and Marcos reveals that despite Polchi's construction of a pan-immigrant identity through the imagined strike and its slogan, 'Blacks Out', there are nonetheless some who are more familiar, who, through their familiar difference, tell 'the difference between this other, and other others' (Ahmed 2000, p. 8).

[16] One of the Roman dialects of Italian.

Marcos' mother cooks, presumably, foods that Alice finds palatable, and has little trouble communicating; Li's parents, on the other hand, are described as strange and silent, perhaps because of language barriers, perhaps because of different social expectations for interaction with their daughter's friends.

None of this, however, is elaborated upon: Polchi's act of abjection is complete, and the immigrants in this story appear only as incomplete characters glimpsed through the eyes of others. Alice's cousin, who often picks her up from school, says that 'there are too many black children, that [she doesn't] learn a thing, that [her] mother is a fool to send [her] there' (*BO* p. 50). This exchange draws on conflicts within the community that have been documented in the local media, where parents expressed concern over the impact of large numbers of 'foreign' students at Roman schools, as well as the opportunities for cultural exchange offered through the educational program (for a discussion of the *Commune*'s policies on 'ethnic menus', one example of the potential for cultural exchange through education, see chapter 6 of this thesis). At the same time, Alice's cousin is shown to be involved in daily exchanges with those very 'immigrants' whose presence he finds so upsetting: one day, his comments were so hurtful that Alice cried, and to comfort her, he bought her a gelato from the bar owned by Marcos' father. On the day of the mass disappearance, the day of 'Blacks Out', Alice's school is empty:

> There is no-one in the grand entrance hall. The corridors are silent and enormous. I'm a little scared. In my class there are only two of us. The teacher is worried. So are the caretakers. They called the children's houses, but no-one replied. The school is horrible when it's empty. (*BO* p. 50)

The 'Fourth Interval', in contrast, reproduces a letter that was sent by parents of the students at Carlo Pisacane School to the Roman weekly paper, *Metropoli*, on 22 February 2009. In this letter, the parents responded to criticisms made about the quality of the school's education, the fears expressed by some parents and media sources that Italian children would be disadvantaged because of the high numbers of foreign students, focusing instead on the positive opportunities that such a cultural mix allows for their children's development and education.

Polchi, through Valentino, describes the second generation as 'an incredible resource of energy for our tired country' (*BO* p. 47), saying that 'in 7 years (from 2001 to 2007) foreign children have grown from 284 to 761 thousand. Today they number over 900 thousand' (*BO* p. 47). Again, what could be read as a positive statement regarding the potential of the second generation to contribute to the country of Italy remains, at heart, a means of framing them as always-other, as foreign regardless of where they were born and spent their formative years. The children of the second generation, disappeared in the novel along with their parents, are never once described as Italians, not even Italians-with-a-difference.

The city of Rome appears throughout the novel as the backdrop for the large collection of data and other information that Polchi has gathered on immigration in Italy, and which he narrates through the character of Valentino. Its streets, on the day in which the action of the novel takes place, are less populated than usual, with many of the shops closed, even those run by Chinese families, a great surprise to Valentino: 'On the Circonvalazione Ostiense today not even the Chinese businesses have opened, those who have colonised the area with bars, hairdressers and clothes shops. It seems impossible to me: the Chinese on strike!' (*BO* p. 60) Valentino's shock that the Chinese might have participated in the strike is less interesting, here, than his association of their business activities with a kind of colonisation. The street he describes runs through Garbatella and Ostiense, working class suburbs to the south of the city centre. The encroachment into the area of the Chinese, who had in earlier migrations tended to populate Piazza Vittorio, is evidence of the changing distribution through the city of its immigrant populations.

The association of these changing spatial dynamics with colonisation brings to mind the negative impacts that colonisation has had on autochthonous populations around the world: here, it is the 'native Romans' who, it is implied, are being pushed out and replaced by an aggressive foreign population taking advantage of the global financial crisis to buy up businesses at low cost: 'they buy when everyone is selling' (*BO* p. 60). This sensation that the city is being invaded

has not led to good relations with its new populations. In a later passage, Valentino cites recent episodes of racist attacks in the Italian capital, which is changing 'from "Open City" to a racist metropolis...in the first two and a half months of 2009 the Bangladeshi community alone in the Italian capital suffered 33 racially-motivated attacks' (*BO* p. 71). The feeling of being invaded, expressed by many of Polchi's characters, does not always lead to racist, violent attacks. Valentino's colleague, Zaccharia, later reveals that the apartment above his was bought by 'Indians or Pakistanis. I don't really know...they have those odours...cumin, coriander, tandoori...we realised that they seeped into our clothes hung outside the window. Today we dry everything inside' (*BO* p. 106). The smell of the city is changing, and its inhabitants, like it or not, find themselves having to get used to living above, below, next door to people whose cooking, music, and rhythms of daily life are different.

While investigating the strike for his paper, Valentino is granted an interview with Aly Baba Faye, the only immigrant we actually hear speak in this novel. Aly is not an imagined immigrant who is allowed to reappear to generate the climax of the novel, but is in fact a Senegalese sociologist living and working in Italy, involved in workers' unions and efforts to protect immigrants' rights. At the beginning of the novel Polchi explains that some people agreed to be quoted or represented directly, while the rest of the novel remains an imagined fiction that closely mirrors the real lives and attitudes of Romans today. As Valentino rushes to meet Aly at Termini Station, his internal monologue reveals a somewhat romanticised notion of what travel might mean for Italy's immigrants:

> I have always wondered why the immigrants make appointments to meet in front of and inside the train stations. Termini, Santa Maria Novella, Milan Central, in the evenings and on the weekends are filled with the voices of the African, Asian, and South American communities. Maybe, it's simply because they are the easiest parts of the city to reach. They have shops and bars open until late, and benches where you can sit. I believe, though, that it's something more. Meeting in a place of transit, between the announcements of departures and arrivals, the coming and going of tourists, the whistles of the trains, is a sign of hope. It's the idea, more or less conscious, that it's always possible to leave, to return home, or to hug once again children and parents. In short, that the migrant's condition is not definitive. But it's also the symptom of a life that is always precarious, in waiting, closed in a parenthesis. (*BO* p. 124)

While there is something beautiful and hopeful in Polchi's description of Termini station as a place where the journeys of others might give hope to the migrants who gather there, he misses the other significance of this spatial segregation, in which migrants in Rome are limited to 'pockets of gathering' (Parreñas 2001, p. 202), where they gather for short periods in public spaces before moving back into the private and geographically-dispersed realm of work. The description of gathering at Termini station in *BO* is in direct contrast to that found in Lakhous' novel, where Termini station became a symbol of Rome's ability to trap and hold onto its new arrivals, taking away any hope they might have retained of returning home. Valentino's, and Polchi's, image of the journey is one that is not bound by considerations of visas, border controls, or the possibility that after a time the place called 'home' might change, so that Rome itself could become home for those whose routes have carried them there even though their roots lie elsewhere.

Scego's home is where she is: mapping multiplicity in Rome

Igiaba Scego's autobiography, *La mia casa è dove sono* (*My home is where I am*, hereafter *MCDS* 2010), begins with a scene in her brother's house in Manchester, UK. Her family members, all part of the Somali diaspora, have gathered from Finland, England, and Italy to spend time together talking, eating, and reconnecting with each other. Scego, the Italian of the story, was in fact born in Rome, though she also spent time as a child in Mogadishu. She describes her two cities as 'siamese twins separated at birth. One includes the other and vice versa' (*MCDS*, p. 11). Thus, on that afternoon in Manchester when her brother and cousin begin drawing a map of Mogadishu from memory, at the request of her nephew, Scego realises that it is not entirely her city. This scene is one of the beginnings of Scego's story, which takes us from the nomadic origins of her mother in 'the scrubland of eastern Somalia where men and women moved constantly in search of wells of water' (*MCDS*, p. 9), through the political life of her father, to her own youth in Rome and the eventual completion of the map of

Mogadishu. But at this early stage in the autobiography, the map remains incomplete, as pointed out by Scego's mother when she says, 'You have to complete the map. You are missing in there' (*MCDS*, p. 30). Scego's response to her mother is contained in the pages of her book: following this anecdote, she asks herself,

> What am I? Who am I?
>
> I am black and Italian.
>
> But I am also Somali and black.
>
> So am I Afro-Italian? Italo-African? Second generation? Uncertain generation?
>
> ...
>
> I am a crossroads, I think. A bridge... In the end I am only my story. I am myself and my feet.
>
> Yes, my feet... (*MCDS*, p. 31)

She is her story, formed and informed by the stories of others. Scego's life in this narrative is intertwined with the narratives of her family, who find themselves living far from the places of their birth, and of her two home countries, Italy and Somalia, whose histories have shaped her own.

In this autobiography, we see evidence of the intertextuality of narrative identity, in which 'the life of each of us is caught up in the histories of others. Whole sections of my life are part of the life history of others – of my parents, my friends, my companions in work and in leisure' (Ricoeur 1992, p. 161). In writing herself – her Italo-African, Afro-Italian, uncertain generation self – into the streets of a Rome that is shadowed by her family's past in Mogadishu, Scego presents a narrative that mediates between her two cities and her own subjectivity. It is her feet, which have walked the streets of Mogadishu and Rome, which have created the routes through the two cities she feels to be her own, that enable her to return to the map of Mogadishu and insert herself into it. Of the Mogadishu drawn by her brother and cousin, she says,

> I wasn't born in those streets. I didn't grow up there. They didn't give me my first kiss.... And yet I felt them to be mine, those streets. I, too, had walked them and I claimed them. I claimed the lanes, the statues, the few street lights. I, too, had something in common with my cousin O and with Abdul [her brother]. Sure, their experience and mine were not comparable. But I claimed that map with strength.... It was mine, mine, mine. (*MCDS*, pp. 33-34)

In order to include herself in the map of Mogadishu, Scego writes the names of different suburbs, monuments, and piazzas of Rome on post-it notes and attaches them to the paper, so that Rome's streets, and her stories within them, begin to surround her 'Mogadishu of paper' (*MCDS*, p. 34).

The autobiography is separated into eight chapters: the opening chapter, describing the scene in her brother's house, and closing chapter, titled '*Essere italiano per me*' ('Being Italian for me'), frame the other six chapters that take their narrative inspiration from the streets and sites of Rome. The map represented in this autobiography is not the map of surveyors, but that of an everyday practitioner of the city, one of those walkers whose 'intertwined paths give their shape to spaces' (de Certeau 1988, p. 97). Through the narrative technique of mapping one place onto another, Scego spatialises her experiences, showing how '[p]laces of memory stand inserted simultaneously in a past order and the present....[such that] the reciprocal influence of time on space, and vice versa, creates complex temporality and spatiality' (Crang & Travlou 2001, p. 175), demonstrating how one place can bleed into another through its inhabitants' memories, and claiming a space for herself within both cities' streets.

Each of the central chapters begins with a description of one of those streets, monuments, or piazzas that Scego has attached to her map. Her vision, though written in narrative form, is not that of a cartographer but rather that of an 'ordinary practitioner' of the city, one of those 'walkers...whose bodies follow the thicks and thins of an urban "text" they write without being able to read it' (de Certau 1984, p. 93). Scego, by writing herself into a personal map of Rome, is claiming a place for herself in the Italian capital city, since 'the spatiality of memory links the social and the personal' (Crang & Travlou 2001, p. 161). The social, in this case, includes the entwined histories of Italy and Somalia; the entwined histories of Italians and Somalis. Scego's map is made up of descriptions of the actual places of Mogadishu and Rome, depicted on the design that is described to us in her writing in a triple translation from drawing to memory to text. At the same time, the map symbolises the author's family

trajectories from Somalia to Rome to London, their shared and individual stories. Her act of mapping, thus, mirrors Henri Lefebvre's (1991, p. 41) categories of representations of space and representational spaces, which are distinguished as follows:

> Representations of space are certainly abstract, but they also play a part in social and political practice: established relations between objects and people in represented space are subordinate to a logic which will sooner or later break them up because of their lack of consistency. Representational spaces, on the other hand, need obey no rules of consistency or cohesiveness. Redolent with imaginary and symbolic elements, they have their sources in history – in the history of a people as well as in the history of each individual belonging to that people.

Scego's representations of Mogadishu and Rome contain recognisable signs that appear on maps; her family, visibly black, is recognisably 'different' in Rome. The relation between the city of Rome and Scego and her family is broken up because of this visible difference, which makes them 'strangers' in the established social relations of belonging in the city. At the same time, Scego's writing speaks against this breaking up, creating a representational space in which she and her family can claim Rome for themselves However, in writing her family's and her individual stories into the spaces of Rome, which are layered over Mogadishu on the communal map drawn by her brother and cousin and claimed by Scego, she goes beyond Lefebvre's description of a space 'redolent with imaginary and symbolic elements', whose sources lie 'in the history of a people'. That is, her narrative demonstrates the construction of a multiple socio-spatial identification that does not ignore but brings to the fore the connections between different spaces, and different peoples, produced in different times and places. Mogadishu as represented by Scego's family no longer exists except in their memories: it is the city pre-civil war, the city of the Somali diaspora. Rome as represented by Scego exists only for her: it is the city as lived, as experienced, by an Italo-African, or Afro-Italian, or one who embodies the crossroads, the bridge, the story.

Scego's story also troubles easy and conventional understandings of Italian history, pointing out the connections between Somalia and Italy, its former coloniser. Chapter 2 recounts how her father arrived in Rome. Active in the political life of Somalia in the 1950s, when Italy ruled the country in a trusteeship that was supposed to 'teach' Somalia how to become independent, he

travelled to Rome to receive a political education. This period is described by Scego as 'an extension of a dependent relationship, the de facto para-colonial rule of the European powers. A perpetuation of the so-called civilizing mission' (*MCDS*, p. 41). Scego recounts that while her father was visiting Rome as a Somali government representative, he attended a concert by Nat King Cole, who at a certain point noticed her father and his colleagues in the crowd. In a show of 'secret solidarity between those who have the same skin colour' (*MCDS*, p. 51), Nat King Cole invited her father and his friends to sit in the front row for the remainder of the concert. As a result, Scego's father decided, 'If ever he found himself in trouble he would seek refuge in Rome: the magic that he had seen had convinced him that in Rome you could begin again in one way or another; that Rome was truly a magical city' (*MCDS*, p. 51). In this anecdote, Scego is establishing her right to call Rome her own. She was born in Rome because of the trajectory of her family: partly a result of personal musical taste; partly a result of a particular moment in history in which black skin created a momentary connection between two worlds; partly a result of Italy's former control of Somalia as a territory in its colonial empire.

But of course, it is not only her father's trajectory that led to her Roman upbringing. Her mother's story is the focus of the following chapter, which opens with the story of an organ deprived of sound and an elephant out-of-place. We are in Piazza Santa Maria Sopra Minerva: the church's silent organ in this anecdote stands for the silencing of women's voices throughout history, and of her mother's voice through migrations and new languages unfamiliar in her mouth. The elephant, designed by Bernini, stands in the centre of the piazza. As a child, Scego was confused by its presence, asking her mother if the elephant indicated that they were in Somalia: 'She said no, that it was still Rome. My confusion lasted for days. Then, is Rome in Somalia? Or is Somalia to be found in Rome? That African elephant in the city confused all of my certainties' (*MCDS*, p. 55). Scego likens the anguished, exilic gaze of the elephant to that of her mother, who first moved from a nomadic life in rural Somalia to the sedentary life of Mogadishu, and then to Rome, where 'for the third time mum had to remap her life' (*MCDS*, p. 58). This description of the exile's or migrant's need to remap their

life with every move brings to the fore the importance of socio-spatial identification, demonstrating through this simple image the need to learn the routes and rhythms of the place in which one lives, before being able to claim it as the place in which one's personal stories have occurred. In the story of Scego's mother, this remapping is intimately tied to her gender: the first remapping occurred after her circumcision, a painful tradition that at eight years old transformed her into an incomplete woman. Her decision to prevent the same from happening to her daughter leads Scego to write, 'In a certain sense I feel myself to be a map of my mother' (*MCDS*, p. 65), showing the way in which lives are never only an individual occurrence but are communal, with our own experiences affecting the decisions we make for and with those we love and echoing through the generations.

In Scego's story, which focuses on the lived experiences of Mogadishu and Rome, embodiment is central to the construction of self, and to a sense of home. Scego embodies that situation described by Sara Ahmed (2000, p. 90), in which migrations are recognised as causing 'a splitting of home as place of origin and home as the sensory world of everyday experience. What migration involves…is spatial reconfiguration of an embodied self: a transformation in the very skin through which the body is embodied.' Scego makes constant reference to the colour of her skin, which in Rome marks her as different, troubles her otherwise unquestionable Italian citizenship and led to awkward moments as a schoolgirl, when she dreamed of herself as transparent: 'something that the others could perceive as neutral. But I was black, with curly hair, and the only neutral thing I had were maybe my toenails' (*MCDS*, p. 139). Scego describes her bulimia, as a young girl, as caused by her mother's absence (due to the war in Somalia) and this sense of being always visible, different, in a sea of white. She recounts an episode with a teacher, who for three years continued to make the same joke:

> Every time he asked me, "How do you manage to be so tanned, Igiaba?" Once, the joke could have been acceptable. He repeated it to me for three years in a row. One of the last days of school, tired and exasperated...I took the professor a brown shoe-shine. "Prof., finally I've brought the product. I use this every morning. I rub it in well for a couple of hours. It sticks, it's amazing." I looked at the teacher's face, it was full of embarrassment. He felt very stupid. I, on the other hand, said to myself, "Wow, Igià, you should've done it sooner." My

> life at that time was full of episodes like that. People who made stupid jokes about my colour or my religion.
>
> It was continuous. I didn't always have the head to respond. I didn't want problems. I only wanted to stay calm. I vomited for this, too. I closed myself in the bathroom and it was just like in one of those Vasco Rossi songs, me alone in the bathroom and all the world outside. There I felt protected. Secure. Of course, it was an illusion. There in truth I harmed myself. (*MCDS*, pp. 146-147)

Scego, in this episode, reveals the desire to abject herself, to vomit out those signs that make her an object in the eyes of white Italians and deny her subjectivity in this, the city of her birth. Italian identity, as seen in the discussion of *BO* above, refuses (at least sometimes) the different, the other; Scego, objectified, sees *in herself* this other that is refused, and tries to expel it, experiencing '[t]he repugnance, the retching that thrusts me to the side and turns me away from defilement, sewage, and muck' (Kristeva 1982, p. 2). This adolescent trauma, in which the self turned on itself and tried to make itself neutral, invisible to ridicule for the colour of her skin or her religion, resonates throughout the work. As a crossroads, an Afro-Italian or Italo-African, Scego both embodies the border and crosses it.

Scego, in writing this autobiography, in committing these words to paper, is refusing this invisibility that she previously sought; she is, instead, reclaiming both her home cities as her own. In this way, she creates a map in which both Mogadishu and Rome are layered onto each other, to create a palimpsest in which representations of the two cities are intertwined. Scego, in bringing the two cities together in her narrative, is aware of the potential for hostility between these two worlds, having lived it as a tension through her own skin: her own adolescent body vomited out the nourishment provided by one city (Rome) when the other (Mogadishu) had seemingly swallowed up her mother, stuck in Somalia at the outbreak of civil war. However, her narrative also demonstrates an awareness of the potential for reconciliation, taking on this project of turning Rome and Mogadishu into twinned cities, because they are both hers, and her story takes place – claims its place, claims these places – in both cities.

One of the spaces of Rome that Scego attaches to her map of Mogadishu is Termini station. Here, Termini is neither the symbol of the self captured by the

city, as in Lakhous' *CC*, nor the place that holds the promise of onward journeys, as in Polchi's *BO*; rather, Termini is the place where journeys *both begin and end*. Scego writes, 'Termini, with time, became something else: a microcosm of life and death; a galaxy of affects; a dear friend who you can't do without; a bitter and evil enemy. Termini wished you well and scorned you' (*MCDS*, p. 100). For the Somali diaspora, Termini was the point of arrival and the potential point of departure; when that country became unreachable, closed to those who remained outside its borders at the outbreak of civil war, Termini was the symbol that kept them apart from their homeland. For Scego, Roman by birth, Termini also symbolises the city's own troubles during the 1970s and 80s, when it was the place where 'everything happened, where life embraced you or spit in your face. Rome didn't matter to many people then either. The only true star was that broken-down station' (*MCDS*, p. 101). Termini, then, in Scego's narrative, takes on the multiple significations of her own attachment to multiple places, becoming both a gateway and an end point, both possibility and closure. When drawing the station on her map, Scego depicts the trains with angels' wings, since 'even if in Termini everything seems difficult, even if there's someone who suffers tremendously (I'm thinking of the homeless), you have the illusion that a train will take you away from all the pain...the important thing is to have dreams' (*MCDS*, p. 94).

Conclusion

My purpose in discussing three very different novels was not, in the end, to describe a finished or complete picture of contemporary Rome from a migrant's perspective. Instead, I have drawn out the moments in these novels where the city and the self interact, so that the question of 'who' and 'what' Romans are is shown to have a multiplicity of answers. The identification with place, explored through each of these literary works, changes over time, with the category 'Roman' taking on new meanings as new stories are introduced and recounted in the city's streets, buildings, and piazzas. These narratives are important in that they speak against the bureaucratisation of identity: in Lakhous' work, the

subject-in-exile encompasses both the migrant and the Italian characters, as the city of Rome is captured in a moment of change and the murder mystery that forms the plot of the novel is enacted through an exploration of the tensions over claiming a space for oneself in the city, and reconciling this with the loss of one's place of origin. In Polchi's novel, in contrast, Italy's immigrants are disappeared in a move that shows the inability of a nativist version of Italian identity to accept an expanded sense of who might be contained within it. Here, the citizenship, residency, or otherwise of the immigrants who fail to appear on the city's streets on the day of the imagined strike are not important: what matters is, rather, the fact that they are different, and therefore unable to be accepted as belonging if the borders of Italianness are to remain intact. The city of Rome acts as a backdrop for this narrative, which involves the whole of Italy in a socio-spatial identification that rejects the other from within its borders and reimagines a 'pure' identity in which cultural and ethnic mixing is refused. In Scego's autobiography, this cultural mixing is instead celebrated, as the narrative represents a map in which two cities are layered onto each other so that both come to inhabit the same space through the memories and lives of this transnational family.

In placing these works together, I have resisted the label of 'migrant literature' (Parati 2005), preferring instead to view these works as growing out of the city in which they were conceived and written. Indeed, the only author examined who did migrate to Italy as an adult is Amara Lakhous, and his novel is so firmly embedded in the spaces and stories of contemporary Rome that labelling this 'migrant literature' would be to ignore the current social structure of that city. In Polchi's work we see the effects of such a whitewashing of Italian identity taken to its most extreme, in the abjection of (certain) immigrants from within the nation's borders. As Graziella Parati (2005, p. 12) writes, this is only achievable through the 'deliberate efforts to whiten Italian culture and create a European (Northern and white) identity for a culture that lies at a cultural and geographical crossroads in the middle of the Mediterranean'. In fact, the hegemonic ideal of a monocultural Italian identity is a recent construction, one which is challenged by the presence not only of immigrants themselves but of

their children, as demonstrated by Scego's narrative in which an Italo-African, Afro-Italian born in Rome claims the heritage of *both* Rome and Mogadishu. Scego refuses to be limited to identifying with only one place: neither the city from which her parents left Somalia, nor the city in which they began a new life in Italy, are enough on their own to explain her self and her sense of home. The three novels contrast in their representations of Rome with the three films discussed in Chapter 2, but what all these works have in common is an engagement with the city itself, and an interest in representing life within it. Throughout this first section of the thesis, then, I have presented a discussion of socio-spatial identification in Rome in which the self and the city are shown to be intricately entwined.

PART II: RACIALISED SPACES

Plate 5

Protest against racism

Rome 2009

Plate 6

Protest against racism, with a poster of Jerry Masslo

Rome 2009

Plate 7

Food packs for Aghani refugees, Evangelical Church in Trastevere

Rome 2009

Plate 8

Dancer at a festival for refugees, Garbatella

Rome 2009

4. Belonging and Being at Home

Introduction

I have argued throughout this thesis that Rome is subject to multiple claims and interpretations, both by those who live there and by those for whom it fulfils another role, such as capital city, *urbs urbis*, or tourist destination. In this section, I focus on belonging in the city of Rome, the ways that people lay claim to its spaces and make themselves at home in the city in sometimes unexpected ways. The claims to the city are claims for meaning as well as for space, since to 'belong' in the city involves both social and spatial identification with it. One of the ways that a claim for belonging is made is via the 'imagined community' (Anderson 2006) of Italians, in which the city becomes the synecdochical symbol for the nation of Italy itself, at least in some versions of Italian nationalism. At the same time, the project of European unification has layered other meanings onto the city, building on senses of Rome and Athens as the birthplaces of European civilization to create an expanded sense of Europe-as-nation, with common cultural practices and shared histories. In this sense, 'Europe' is a label that refers to an idea as much as to a recognisable land mass. If we speak of the European continent, one of the immediate problems lies in where to place its borders, and in any case borders move and bleed into each other, shifting with skirmishes, migrations, and negotiations between states; in the border zones between different nation-states, populations speak dialects that mix elements of the dominant languages that surround them, and customs and everyday practices reveal the arbitrary nature of a line, drawn on a map, and called 'border'. In much the same way, continents are examples of territoriality writ large, whereby cultural, linguistic and historical associations are grouped together in an idea that is then roughly thrown across the land.

This is not to argue that such bordering practices have no political reality; on the contrary, the violence which so often accompanies the drawing of borders should be enough to demonstrate their very real political and social effects. The drawing of borders is accompanied by an ethnicisation and, in many cases, a racialisation of 'local' populations, who are identified with particular places (Europe, Italy, Rome) and who, as 'natives', often then resist the introduction of new or different populations. This does not occur without conflict. As an idea, Europe's history is constantly contested, as smaller regions within it vie for recognition, and all the things within Europe that don't quite fit, like the historical Arabic and Moorish influence in parts of southern Europe, or Italy, Spain and Greece's close ties with the Mediterranean and northern Africa, or the ex-colonial subjects who are migrating in increasing numbers to the old metropolises, are ignored, becoming mere echoes that haunt the present-day image of Europe.

This chapter, then, begins with an examination of the ways in which a homogenous Italian identity is constructed, and immigrants and their descendants excluded. In the first section I focus on the rules, regulations and racism of immigration in the Italian context, since this informs the experiences of immigrants in the city of Rome. This discussion centres on hegemonic ideas of Italianness, which then become embedded in the citizenship regime, with reference to the European context. I draw examples of the racialization of Italian identity from different parts of the Italian peninsula, thus establishing the terms of the debate in Italy generally, in order to contextualise the local experience of living with difference and diversity in Rome. I move then to an examination of migrants' own experiences of making home, proposing an expansive sense of home in which nostalgia and encounters in public space combine to allow the home-place – in this case, the city of Rome – to be more than it appears. Finally, I examine the links between longing and belonging, in which the creative potentialities of nostalgia change and expand our ideas of place. That is, the home-place expands to encompass the world through a creative turn that recognises a multitude of possibilities within its spaces.

Rules, regulations, and racism

In this examination of the rules and regulations of immigration to Italy, it is important, firstly, to establish the frameworks for legal recognition of subjectivity at different levels of political organisation. Political organisation in this sense includes the town, city, or region (the location in which one lives), the nation-state (which maintains borders and legal residency/citizenship), or supra-state structures such as the EU, all of which potentially provide the right to remain within the borders or local area, to participate in political life, to work and find accommodation, and to be legally recognised as a citizen or resident. In the contemporary period, accelerated migratory movements no longer follow the old migration routes, and borders are crossed, challenged and hybridised in a perpetual state of flux (see, for example, Anzaldúa 1991; Mezzadra 2006; Papastergiadis 2000). In today's Europe, Sandro Mezzadra (2006, p. 178, my translation) argues, borders proliferate as a result of:

> [T]he crisis of that connection between State and territory that we have seen construct the conceptual conditions for the "classical" definition of the border. The border no longer separates univocally the space of the "city" from its outside, but breaks down prismatically, on the one hand reproducing itself inside the city and on the other projecting itself outwards.

That is, borders do not mark a fixed point in space in which 'we' (as subjects within a sovereign territory) belong and 'they' (as foreigners) are outside, but rather indicate the limits of the hegemonic ideal of the 'national' or 'local' identity. This is especially evident in cities, where the constant flow and movement of people makes any kind of static or unchanging identification with place impossible to maintain. As migration within Europe and immigration from outside Europe occurs, the presence of outsiders (and outsides?) within European cities necessitates a bordering move that allows for the differentiation between the 'local' population and those who come from 'outside', so that even though they live *in* the city, they are not (or at least, not unquestionably) considered to be *of* the city.

The Schengen Agreement of 1985 has made movement of people across the national borders of European Union member nation-states relatively free – but only within certain, agreed and enforceable, constraints. Even though internally, Europe's borders are ostensibly open, border controls still exist and people who are not members of signatory nation-states still face limits to their movements within, and in some cases expulsion from, European Union space. In effect, the EU acts as an extra level of legitimation to authority over European space, while individual member states still retain a great deal of power to control the movement of 'foreign' bodies within and across their borders. Citizenship of the European Union is linked to citizenship of its member states, and 'third country nationals' who live in European Union countries are in a sense placed in a separate category, governed by individual nation-states' immigration laws and denied access to membership of the EU.[17] In southern European countries like Italy, Spain, and Greece, this extra level of control has also included an impulse towards surveillance, as the EU, throughout the 1990s and 2000s, put pressure on these southern states to tighten their border controls and immigration legislation, in moves towards what has been dubbed 'Fortress Europe' (Geddes 2000; Hadjimichalis & Sadler 1995; King, Lazaridis & Tsardanidis 2000).

As freedom of movement within Schengen space was promised (though not always guaranteed, as explored in chapter 5 of this thesis) to members of signatory nation-states, internal security was concurrently sought through a tightening of control over Europe's borders, so that '[t]he frontiers between European states that disappeared in travel for European citizens have been replaced by highly guarded external frontiers between EU and non-EU countries in the movement of foreigners, especially immigrants and refugees' (Verstraete 2010, p. 94). Such a process has been accompanied by moves to consolidate an understanding of a 'European' identity, in order to justify the formation of a

[17] For a comprehensive analysis of the influence of the European Union on immigration policy in the fifteen 'older' European member states, see Howard (2009); for a comparison of immigration and political participation as experienced in six EU countries (though not Italy), see Odmalm (2005); for a discussion of European integration and immigration policies, particularly related to border controls, the right to movement and to work, citizenship laws and illiberal practices, see Guild, Groenendijk, & Carrera (2009); for analysis of immigration law and nationalism in Italy specifically, see Pastore (2004).

European space. There is nothing about 'Europe' that guarantees its continuing existence as a unified entity, if it does not have a socio-spatial identity attached to it. Thus debates over Turkey's entry to the EU focus on the differences between the old, Christian Europe and this eastern, Islamic nation-state. This re-imagining of a European identity is accompanied by a kind of neo-racism, which, according to Etienne Balibar (in Balibar & Wallerstein 1991, p. 21), has a 'dominant theme' that 'is not biological heredity but the insurmountability of cultural differences, a racism which, at first sight, does not postulate the superiority of certain groups or peoples in relation to others but "only" the harmfulness of abolishing frontiers.' In European Union space, these frontiers are expanded, and fortified rather than abolished.

Of course, this does not mean that all those identified as 'other' are kept out of European space. Sandro Mezzadra (in Mezzadra & Nielson 2003, p. 7) argues that the border reproduces itself inside while also projecting outwards, for after all, 'the Europe of migratory flows is a global political space...Migratory movements throw into question the possibility of identifying an inside and outside to Europe.' One response, nationalist in nature, seeks to establish a European 'ethnicity', emphasising the 'Europeanness' of EU members and the 'foreignness' of immigrants. This Europeanness is not a new phenomenon, and the sense of (a limited, northern, industrialised) European superiority that was at play throughout that continent's colonisation of other regions across the globe has been explored in depth, particularly in Edward Said's (1978) work, *Orientalism*. Internal differences in Europe also impact on constructions of a European identity, such that racism towards other members of the European Union and the European continent can and does flourish, and is evident in Italy in relation, especially, to Romanian immigrants and Roma and Sinti populations (to be explored further in chapter 5 of this thesis). Here, it is important to note that the marking of immigrants as 'undesirables' – as criminals, as outsiders, as people unable (or unwilling) to 'integrate' – continues to play an important role in access to citizenship, employment and housing. Racialisation is an essential component of this process, as demonstrated through the discussion of Vladimiro Polchi's (2010) novel *Blacks Out* in the previous chapter, in which all those

conceived of as undesirable, in everyday attitudes to immigration, were effectively 'blackened' by the voice of Polchi's narrator.[18]

At the same time, borders extend into external territories; for example, negotiations between Italy and Libya saw a country located in northern Africa cooperate to prevent immigration across the Mediterranean into Europe (see, for example, Andrijasevic 2006, 2010; Finotelli & Sciortino 2009; Klepp 2010). Such changes have obvious implications for place-based identities: when a national (or local, or regional) identity is tied to place, it is usually through an appeal to long-standing historical connections, such that a group can be said to be 'native' to that place. 'New' arrivals, then, find other ways to establish belonging, outside of those appeals to nativity, emphasising instead involvement in the everyday life of a place, the 'right' to remain there, and the establishment of ongoing connections to an adopted home-place over time.

In recent years, political parties that campaign on an anti-immigrant platform have been an essential part of the ruling coalition. They have, therefore, been able to push an anti-immigrant agenda that has taken over the debate on national identity. The *Lega Nord* and *Alleanza Nazionale* have both, in different ways, influenced government immigration policy for over a decade. *Alleanza Nazionale*, with its roots in the remnants of the Fascist Party, promoted a strongly integrationist and centralist approach. The anti-immigrant sentiment of *Alleanza Nazionale* was maintained through an appeal to the nation, with Rome placed firmly at its centre. In contrast, the *Lega Nord* often expressed views that were equally xenophobic against southern Italians as against immigrants from outside the country. The *Lega*'s anti-immigrant platform was closely tied to its sometimes-separatist, sometimes-federalist position in which its imagined

[18] Historically, European understandings of racial hierarchies have been utilised in discussions of criminal behaviour, especially in the work of 19th century criminologist Cesare Lombroso. In a telling passage, Lombroso says of his study of the craniums of criminals: 'If we compare criminals with the insane, we find the former exhibit a similar or perhaps greater number of cranial abnormalities. This is not surprising, given that most of the insane are not born so, but become mad, while criminals are born with evil inclinations. At the moment I will not go into all the reasons for these cranial abnormalities in criminals, but I cannot avoid pointing out how closely they correspond to characteristics observed in normal skulls of the colored and inferior races' (Lombroso, trans. Gibson & Hahn Rafer, 2006, p. 48).

homeland, Padania, in northern Italy, is home to a distinct culture and people who seek independence from Rome. Writing in the mid-1990s, as Italian political landscape underwent significant upheavals following a series of corruption scandals known as *'Tangentopoli'* ('Bribesville') and the '*Mani Pulite*' ('Clean Hands') investigations[19], John Agnew (1997) explores the different constructions of the geography of Italy by the parties coming to power at that time, including *Alleanza Nazionale*, the *Lega Nord*, and Silvio Berlusconi's first political party, *Forza Italia*.[20] Agnew (1997, p. 111, emphasis in original) argues that each of these parties 'structured "Italy" geographically in very different ways...*each actively worked with a different logic that offered a distinctive conception of the geographical scales at which Italian politics is best conceptualized and should take place.'*

In addition to these strongly nationalist and often overtly racist political platforms, former Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi's media empire has overwhelmingly controlled public debate in Italy in the late 20th and early 21st centuries. Perhaps for this reason, the attitude to immigration in Italy is characterised by a kind of 'forgetfulness', such that 'the political and media discourse – characterised amongst other things by the rhetoric of the new and of the immediate – always tends to cancel the antecedents and the development, or repetitiveness, of themes, events, "emergencies"' (Rivera 2009: 12, my translation). That is, the 'immigrant question' in Italy seems to remain always new, always a recent phenomenon, regardless of the fact that Italy became a receiving rather than a sending country for international migration over thirty years ago, long enough for the first large numbers of immigrants to have formed families, raised children, and welcomed the arrival of grandchildren.

---

[19] *Tangentopoli* is the name given to the scandal of widespread involvement of the Mafia in bribing politicians for favourable decisions, which went all the way to the top of Italian politics, and brought about the collapse of the Italian government in 1992, and the destruction of major political parties, particularly the Christian Democrats. *Mani Pulite* is a term that refers to the far-reaching investigations that revealed the extent of Mafia infiltration of the Italian government, and of Mafia presence in Milan, despite common perceptions that this criminal organisation was geographically limited to the Italian South. For further discussion of the widespread political corruption of this era, see for example Ginsborg (2001, especially pp. 179-212).

[20] For a focused discussion of regionalism and nationalism in the rhetoric of the *Lega Nord*, see also Giordano (2000).

Despite publicly framing immigration as always a 'new' phenomenon, immigration policy in Italy has changed over recent decades, although often in ways that react to, rather than take the lead on, changing circumstances. The first comprehensive law on immigration in Italy was passed in 1986, with the Martello law following in 1990. Both of these changes to immigration law focused on the provision of working visas, highlighting the perception of foreigners in Italy as participants in short-term labour migration rather than potential life-long immigrants. The Turco-Napolitano law of 1998 was an attempt to clarify and unify previous immigration legislation, introducing the *decreto flussi*, in which the government released a migration quota linking migration to employment with a particular employer. It also introduced a category of visa specifically for long-term residents, the *carta di soggiorno*, and provided for family reunification and access to health care, as well as planning for the provision of community housing for those in possession of valid residency permits. In practice, access to these services was difficult to achieve. While a family member could sponsor an immigrant to come to Italy in search of work, the *permesso di soggiorno* for work purposes was applied for by the employer, with many migrants finding themselves in situations of undocumented labour. A series of amnesties for undocumented migrants throughout the 1980s and 1990s revealed the large numbers of people who had been living and working in Italy without official documentation. Many of the material needs such as health care and housing were met not by government but by volunteer groups and NGOs – if they were provided for at all. In 2002, with the return of Berlusconi as Prime Minister, the Bossi-Fini law came into effect. This law, developed by Umberto Bossi, leader of the Lega Nord, the far-right federalist (and sometimes separatist) party of northern Italy, and Gianfranco Fini, at that time leader of Alleanza Nazionale, a centrist/statist party that had emerged from the remains of the former fascist party, revoked the family reunion and sponsorship categories and made immigration even more closely tied to employment. The government was also given extended powers to send people 'back' to their countries of origin. In 2007, a decree targeting Romanians allowed for the expulsion of European citizens suspected of criminal activity.

Further complicating the issue, after a series of high-profile episodes of violence and criminal activity involving immigrants, and a public debate centred on the perception of a threat from increasing numbers of 'illegal' arrivals, in 2009 the government introduced a *Pacchetto di Sicurezza* (Security Package). Amongst other measures, this Security Package introduced the *reato di clandestinità* ('crime of "clandestinity"'), which made it illegal to enter and remain in Italy without proper documentation, a crime punishable with a fine of between 5,000 and 10,000 Euros. Other measures introduced in the Security Package include more stringent conditions for acquisition of citizenship through marriage, an increase to the period for which immigrants can be kept in the *Centri di Identificationi ed Espulsioni* (commonly known as CIE, in English 'Identification and Expulsion Centres'), and tighter controls on occupation of public lands. Occurring at a time of increasing globalisation and integration with other European Union states, such measures demonstrate a need to '*restore* legitimacy to globalizing states in territorial terms [since] irregular migration takes on a heightened symbolic value amidst a proliferation of sovereign acts that undermine territorial norms' (McNevin 2011, p. 58, emphasis in original). *Caritas Italiana* and *Fondazione Migrantes* are two Catholic charity organisations, both active in providing assistance to migrants across the country and producing comprehensive statistical data on immigration.[21] The *Caritas-Migrantes Dossier Statistico 2009* (2009, p. 9, my translation) describes the 2009 Security Package as follows:

> [It] does not reflect a desirable balance between security and welcome and, at the same time, leads one to think that immigration is only ever an immense problem, an impression also given by the previous declaration of a 'state of emergency' across the entire nation to confront the influx on the coasts of irregular immigrants.[22]

---

[21] Their involvement with immigrants who are not of the Catholic faith is problematic, given both organisations' strong affiliations with the Catholic Church, however in the absence of lay or state-based assistance to immigrants, both *Caritas Italiana* and *Fondazione Migrantes* continue to fill an essential role in the provision of basic services including shelter and food.

[22] The full sentence in the Italian text reads: 'É doveroso entrare nel merito anche dei delicate problem della sicurezza, ma le disposizioni previste (e in particolare il nuovo reato di clandestinità) da un lato non riflettono l'equilibrio auspicabile tra sicurezza e accoglienza e, dall'altro, inducono a pensare che l'immigrazione sia solo un immense problema, impressione favorita anche dalla precedente dichiarazione dello stato di emergenza su tutto il territorio nazionale per fronteggiare l'afflusso sulle coste di immigrati non regolari.'

As 'illegal' entry to Italy became a criminal act, so did assistance of irregular migrants: although thousands die each year attempting to cross the Mediterranean by boat,[23] fishermen and others can now be prosecuted for attempting to rescue migrants at sea. Increased power to expel such arrivals led Italy to enter into an agreement with Libya, put in place by the 2008 '*Trattato di Amicizia*' ('Friendship Agreement') between the two countries and further entrenched in subsequent provisions (for discussion of the 2008 agreement, see Ronzitti 2009). This agreement was suspended following the overthrow of Muammar Gaddafi's regime in Libya in 2011, and Silvio Berlusconi's demise that same year as a result of the European debt crisis. New governments in both countries, however, are intent on maintaining good relations between the countries, and the agreement was reactivated in December 2011 (*Ministero degli Affari Esteri* 15/12/11). This agreement demonstrates the ways in which borders can expand beyond the boundaries of the nation-state, in cases of the control of migratory movements, through agreements between separate sovereign states, demonstrating that 'the spatial form of sovereign power is...central to the parameters we draw around political belonging and the identities that mark "us" in relation to "them"'(McNevin 2011, p. 21).

Migrants who decide to settle in Italy are able to apply for citizenship only after ten years of continuous legal residence. As a consequence, everyday senses of belonging and being at home are pushed into the realm of 'tactics' (de Certeau 1988), where non-citizen residents of Rome go about their daily lives, making use of the city's spaces, working and interacting with the city's citizen-residents, and avoiding or minimising the impact of official policies and public discourses of exclusion. These 'exclusions' rest on the formation of (or search for) a 'pure' Italian identity, one in which ethnicity and culture are assumed to be contained within the borders of the nation-state. These exclusions are to some extent, then, motivated by nationalism rather than racism per se (see Hage 1998, especially pp. 28-32). However, I would argue that there is scope to discuss both nationalism and racism together, especially since not all immigrants are

[23] For a year-by-year list of estimated numbers of deaths at sea, see http://fortresseurope.blogspot.com/2006/02/nel-canale-di-sicilia.html.

excluded in the same ways, or to the same extent, as racial hegemonies affect the contextual experience of migration. This becomes clear in discussions of the differences between Italians and the country's immigrant others, who, in the 'neo-racism' based on naturalised and insurmountable cultural differences, are portrayed as never quite 'integrated' (Balibar, in Balibar & Wallerstein 1991, p. 20-25). In such a construct of identity, in which 'individuals are the exclusive heirs and bearers of a single culture' (Balibar, in Balibar & Wallerstein 1991, p. 23), immigrants (and even more so their descendants) present a particular problem to the nation-state, to the region, and to the city or town in which they live.

The equation of a national identity with a racial identity complicates the rules and regulations surrounding citizenship and legal residence in Italy. In 21st century Italy, citizenship is extremely difficult to attain for many who live within the nation-state's borders but who are not ethnically Italian. Italy's citizenship laws are based on *jus sanguinis* (blood descent), the most obvious way in which race is tied to national identity through citizenship laws. In Italy, children of immigrants remain registered on their parents' residency permits until the age of 18, when they either have one year in which to apply for citizenship, if they were born in Italy, or must apply for their own residency permit, showing proof of employment or continuing enrolment in study, if they arrived as children. The growing numbers of the second generations are bringing this issue to the forefront of immigration debates in Italy. Their exclusion from full membership of the nation-state in which they were raised and, often, born, is created by the failure of Italian immigration laws to 'envision the presence of a large population of second-generation immigrants in Italy' (Bianchi 2011, p. 322), leaving them with an uncertain future and demonstrating the limits of the Italian national imaginary to open itself to change. In this sense, Italian citizenship laws once again reveal the racism inherent in the way in which Italy imagines its population: *jus sanguinis* citizenship excludes from the nation those who were born and raised within it but whose ancestry comes from elsewhere in the world. The inability to imagine an Italy made of many ethnicities is evidence of the way in which racism operates in this case, since in order for 'the nation to be

itself, it has to be racially or culturally pure. It therefore has to isolate within its bosom, before eliminating or expelling them, the "false", "exogenous", "cross-bred", "cosmopolitan" elements' (Balibar, in Balibar & Wallerstein 1991, pp. 59-60). The children of migration present evidence that is particularly difficult to contain of the nation's 'impurity' and multi-ethnic make-up (for further discussion, see chapters 6 and 7 of this thesis).

In this thesis, I am following an approach to racism put forth by Alberto Memmi (2000, p. 23, emphasis in original), who argues that racism is *banal* in the sense that it is of everyday, lived experience, since '*each time one finds oneself in contact with an individual or group that is different and only poorly understood, one can react in a way that would signify a racism*.' Racism, that is, 'only begins with an interpretation of differences, from which arise both the dreams and invented narratives of the other and, at times, the attacks' (2000: 29); racism is more than an opinion, it is 'both the ideology and the active manifestation of domination' (2000: 56). Memmi's thesis rests on an understanding of racialisation as a *practice*, one that changes depending on the social and political circumstances in which it is developed. With a similar emphasis on *context* and *practice*, Anne McNevin (2011) explores the way that irregular migrants contest citizenship regimes in the contemporary era. In her discussion of the 'Sans Papiers' movement in France, McNevin (2011, p. 153) argues that claims to citizenship by former colonial subjects 'challenge the fiction of citizenship's territorial enclosure by mobilizing other spaces that have served…to mark the boundaries of what it means to be French.' That is, former colonial subjects in France lay claim to French citizenship because of the historical legacies of the territorial colonisation of other parts of the world by European states. While not as strong as in France, such claims to the entwining of territories through colonisation are visible in Italy, as discussed in reference to Scego's (2010) autobiography in chapter 3 of this thesis. Always partially 'outside' the national (or city) space, because of cultural or physical differences, but located bodily 'inside' it, Italy's immigrant others trouble, through their very presence, images of homogenous national and local identities. Their continued presence and engagement in the daily life of the places in which they live has material

consequences, as new foods are introduced, new religious buildings constructed and new ideas, sounds, sights, smells and rhythms are exchanged with local residents. In such an environment, home-making becomes a tactical practice that, over time, pushes against hegemonic categorisations of belonging based on 'pure' ideas of local identity, and introduces new possibilities for imagining that identity, since 'being at home and the work of home-building is intimately bound up with the *idea* of home...Making home is about *creating* both pasts and futures through inhabiting the grounds of the present' (Ahmed et al. 2003: 9, emphasis in original).

The 'emergency' of immigration to Italy has played out differently in individual cities and regions. The increasing levels of violence towards immigrants should not be seen as a 'new' phenomenon: in August 1989, Jerry Essan Masslo, a refugee from South Africa, was killed near Villa Literno in Campania (the region around Naples). In nearby Castelvolturno, nineteen years later, six African immigrants were killed. Both incidents were linked to criminal gangs, with suspicion falling on the Camorra (the local Mafia) and Nigerian crime gangs. In the weeks following Masslo's death, immigrant workers went on strike against their corrupt employers, and an association was founded in Villa Literno providing local services and promoting human rights and equality for immigrants in Italy.[24] The later murders, in 2008, were viewed as 'collateral damage', so to speak, of ongoing conflict involving warring Camorra clans and Nigerian criminal organisations involved in the drug trade. Again, this event led to protests by immigrants, with representatives claiming that the men killed were innocent victims in a war that had nothing to do with them. Some in the protests spoke to the media of ongoing, widespread racism, where the 'wrong' skin colour led to exploitation and expendability at work, in gang warfare, and in the government's reaction to the events, where extra police were sent to the area to conduct document controls and searches for illegal immigrants.

[24] For an analysis of the importance of Masslo's death for the history of immigration and racism in Italy, see Di Luzio (2006) and Rivera (2009). For more information on the Associazione di Volontariato Jerry Masslo, see their website, http://www.associazionejerrymasslo.it/.

That same year, in September 2008, a young man was murdered in Milan. Abdoul Guiebre, better known as Abba, had arrived in Italy at age three when his parents migrated there from Burkina Faso. According to reports, two shopkeepers, a father and son, believed that Abba had stolen a packet of biscuits from their bar; they chased Abba and his friends down the street yelling, 'Dirty blacks, we'll kill you!' then beat Abba into a coma from which he never recovered.[25] Repercussions were felt across Italy, with many of Abba's friends from Milan's periphery taking to the streets of the city centre in vocal protest (see also further discussion of the online discussion forum of *Rete G2*, in chapter 7 of this thesis).[26] Neither father nor son admitted that the attack was motivated by racism, concentrating instead on the alleged criminality of Abba himself, accused of stealing a packet of biscuits. The two men were convicted in 2009, for intentional homicide. According to a report by Human Rights Watch (hereafter HRW, 2011, p. 33) into incidents of racially motivated violence in Italy, the judge in this case acknowledged the racist motivations, stating,

> [E]verything indicated that the father's "disproportionate reaction" was due in part to because he felt "particularly acute affliction by being robbed ... by a foreigner. An attitude with its roots in a conservative vision of one's cultural and territorial integrity, more than in a discriminatory theory of racial superiority.

A Home that Breathes

This background to the rules, regulations, and racism surrounding immigration to Italy gives some idea of the problems faced by immigrants and their descendants in Rome. Violent incidents in Rome itself were also recorded in this period. According to the European Human Rights Watch, a series of attacks against Romanians in Rome between 2007-2009, carried out by angry mobs, can be linked to anti-immigrant sentiment (HRW 2011, pp. 31-32). A number of

[25] See *La Repubblica* 14/09/08 and Hepworth & Hamilton (forthcoming).
[26] As pointed out by Katherine Hepworth in personal correspondence (23/10/10), this occupation of the centre of Milan by Abba's friends had the effect of highlighting their absence from this space at other times: their extreme visibility was notable because unusual, demonstrating the city's separation along class and race lines. Further discussion of the implications of this incident for the second generations living in Rome occurs in chapter 7 of this thesis.

individual attacks also occurred in the city during this period (HRW 2011, pp. 34-40). In many cases, racism was denied as an aggravating factor, despite strong evidence that the incidents were racially motivated. In the interviews I conducted during my fieldwork, many respondents denied having experienced direct or violent racism, but indicated that they had felt aware and hypervisible because of the visual elements that marked them as different. One interviewee, Antony, described being watched at the airport, consciously shaving his beard to minimise the association, in the minds of others, of his dark skin with international terrorism.[27] It was a specific incident that led to this change in behaviour, one that reveals the connection between the meanings attached to bodies (in this case, international terrorism to dark-skinned individuals), and inscribed onto sites (here, the airport). Antony was carrying his desktop computer from Rome to the UK, to have it fixed by relatives there who own a computer shop, and as he describes it:

> *People were really really frightened, me carrying a box full of cables, and me wearing a beard, long hair, dark colours, you know...*
>
> *...*
>
> *It was between awkward and... Ha, people really started staring, you know, [saying] 'Kids, come over here and sit down...'*
>
> *...*
>
> *I can understand up to a certain degree why this could be a bit you know, strange to see, you know from the outside. But nothing special happened, but you know, they checked me thoroughly... They said, 'Sir, please step back,' we went to a room and they checked a couple of extra details about me but that's all that happened. (Interview 12/11/09a)*

Another interviewee, Santiago, recounted similar moments of awareness of his own hypervisibility when crossing frontiers, saying, 'If you're a little dark, these things always happen' (Interview 10/10/09). He recounted an incident in which he was travelling with a friend, who raced through the gates at Roma Fiumicino leaving Santiago behind to be questioned by police. Officials identified these two

[27] Unless otherwise indicated, all names used in this thesis have been changed.

interviewees as potential threats because of their appearance, and their right to cross international borders was questioned as a result. In the space of the airport, international security threats drove their appearance to excess, demonstrating that the airport is a 'non-place' (Augé 1995) only for those whose bodies are recognised as belonging there. For all others who enter, it is a place, like any other, where their appearance marks them, makes them visible, 'marked out as tresspassers, who are, in accordance with how both spaces and bodies are imagined...circumscribed as being "out of place"' (Puwar 2004, p. 8).

This question of not only who belongs in a place but *how much* they belong, what *measure* of belonging they can claim, came through strongly also in other discussions during my fieldwork. In the city's spaces, away from the airport, questions of belonging are more intricately woven into the personal stories of migration and inhabitation. Antony, mentioned above, was born in Rome to Indian parents; since his father had taken out Italian citizenship before his birth, Antony was able to inherit it as well. Here, he speaks of his parents' connections to Rome and to Italy, interpreting them from his own position as a member of the second generation who holds Italian citizenship. He recounts,

> *My father was already Italian [at the time of his birth], because he was here in the 1970s or something, so he's been here a long time. Actually mum kept Indian citizenship, you know nothing special, just you know she's very attached to her roots. Well also dad but dad, you know, he's been here a long time. He felt like it was time to be more Italian... It's not like the citizenship means anything in particular.*
>
> *(Interviewer: It means you can vote.)*
>
> *That's pretty much what... But, no, he's very attached to his roots but also to Italy. Ah, no matter what he says or how tired he is, but he really likes it here. (Interview 12/11/09a)*

There are two expressions of belonging that lie behind Antony's statement that citizenship 'doesn't mean anything in particular'. From one perspective, this statement comes from a position of privilege. Those I spoke to who did not hold Italian citizenship felt it to be more important, because upon gaining citizenship they would no longer have to line up at the *questura* office (the branch of the

police that deals with residency permits). One friend recounted a story of lining up at the *questura* office from midnight the night before, just to be able to get inside and lodge his paperwork the next morning. He observed people being paid to hold places in line, sometimes for many people, so even though at midnight he seemed to be near the front of the line, by the time the office opened he was one of the last to enter that day.

From another perspective, however, Antony's statement shows a different side to belonging, an understanding that official categories such as citizenship do not necessarily define or limit someone's sense of connection to place/s. In comparing his father's decision to take Italian citizenship, and his mother's to keep her Indian citizenship, Antony rationalises their choices through an appeal to 'roots', and to the length of time they have each been in Italy. His father's longer residence in the country has, according to Antony, led to him feeling like 'it was time' to take Italian citizenship, which was not a denial of his roots but an acknowledgement that the migration had endured long enough to be made official. His mother's shorter time in Italy, and her (according to Antony) deeper attachment to India, in contrast shows that taking on a new citizenship does in fact matter, and would be a sign of 'giving up' her 'roots'. Antony's mother portrays this sense of belonging, this sense of 'roots', from a different point of view again. She says,

> *I thought...the problem would be greater for us, in the sense that... I really, my childhood, adolescence, everything was spent in India, no? So arriving in another culture, one has to adapt to many things. So I thought, yes, but my children who will live here, for them maybe it's easier.* (Interview 24/9/09a)

When asked to clarify, she explained that her two sons feel that they are Italian and are therefore more surprised than she or her husband when faced with episodes of exclusion, or in interactions where their 'Italianness' is called into question. She says,

> *Inside themselves they see no division with their schoolmates...It's true that externally it's like that, my son is darker, his friend is white, no? But...for my*

son, he's Italian, he has an Italian passport and he grew up here...when there is discrimination for them it's...difficult to accept. (Interview 24/9/09a)

Another interviewee, Andres, who arrived from Peru when he was 10 years old, complicates matters even further. He explains how he expresses himself differently depending on the company he is in, speaking with a strong Roman accent with Italians and in Spanish with Peruvians. This performance of identity through language is rationalised as follows:

*For the Italians I consider myself Italian and for the Peruvians I consider myself Peruvian. Because if certain Italians consider you Peruvian, I mean, maybe, you find a certain distance and not... They see you in a different light, but if you speak with a real Roman accent, if you say, '*Ao, dimme*', that is, if you act like an Italian...it's different, I mean, if you speak like an Italian, they, it has a different impact. That way they don't think that you're the kind of foreigner who doesn't know how to speak, who doesn't... Not who's stupid but maybe who doesn't know the right language, and so...*

...

Maybe for the Peruvians if you speak in Italian they think that you're a bit Italian, no? They don't discriminate against you but they say, 'Who does this guy think he is? Just because you're in Italy, it doesn't make you Italian.' I mean, some of them make that argument. Others though think more like, 'OK, he speaks Italian, who cares?' But a lot of Peruvians are like that, like I said first. You can't speak in Italian with them, because most of them say, 'Oh but who does he think he is?'

(Interviewer: So they don't make an exception since you've more or less grown up here?)

No, because in that case they say, 'Ah, so then your mother couldn't teach you Spanish? Ah, but what a mother...' (Interview 24/9/09b)

Andres reveals, in this exchange, the play that occurs in the performance of identity, a game that he learnt when adapting to a new environment at age 10. His ability to quickly learn Italian and to mimic the Roman accent allowed him to build up a better rapport with his classmates at school than that he had when he first arrived. His continued use of Spanish differentiates him from some other

children of migration, who tell him that they have almost completely forgotten how to speak it. This continued connection to his Peruvian background is maintained, for Andres, through personal connections and through the Evangelical Church in Trastevere, where he attends the Thursday evening Latin American gatherings, and volunteers on Saturday with *Kyrios*, preparing and distributing food to Afghani refugees at nearby Piramide (see chapter 5 for further discussion of this volunteer organisation). He has returned once to Peru, when he was 16, and says, 'I liked it, I wanted to stay. There's a different atmosphere there, there's more...a warmer atmosphere, there you know all the neighbours, everyone knows each other, they go out, they go to each others' houses, it's different' (Interview 24/9/09b). Andres, in his interview and in other interactions I had with him during 2009, shows awareness of the negotiations he has made, within himself, between his old and new homes. Growing up in Rome, he has adapted to its language and rhythms; but he remembers his life in Peru and misses it, a sense of loss confirmed by his return visit at age 16. His continuing attendance at the Evangelical Church is as much about maintaining connections to an extended community of Latin Americans resident in Rome, as it is about a demonstration of faith.

There is another element to a sense of 'Italianness' that I have not yet dealt with: the granting of Italian citizenship to descendants of Italians abroad. The mass emigration from Italy throughout the 19th and 20th centuries spread 'Italian air' across the world, with large numbers migrating to North and South America, Australia, and other parts of Europe, as well as to Italy's colonies in Northern Africa. The *jus sanguinis* citizenship laws mean that many of these emigrants were able to pass on their Italian citizenship to their descendants, beyond the third generation. My grandparents came to Australia in the 1940s and I hold Italian citizenship; unlike second generations in Italy, I was never asked to prove that I spoke Italian in order to receive my passport. Is the atmosphere that surrounded us, growing up here in Sydney, more 'Italian' than that found in the houses of children born and raised in Italy? Regardless of their parents' countries of origin, I cannot understand how that could be so. But an understanding of the spatialisation of identity resists such simple categorisation:

the 'Italianness' of my family may be no *more* than that of immigrants living within the borders of the Italian nation-state, but it is certainly not *less* so either. I knew the name for foods in my family's Calabrian dialect of Italian, before I knew the English words: foods like *castagne* (chestnuts), *melangiana* (in Italian, *melanzana*, or eggplant), and *zucchini*. At Christmas we had huge family gatherings where what seemed like endless numbers of people gathered together to eat hard-crust bread, cheese and olives, and drink coffee that didn't come from a tin but was made in a *macchinetta* on the stove. Is that 100% Australian, or also a little bit Italian?

Two of my research participants also had Italian heritage. Paola, from Colombia, decided to come to Italy to learn more about the place where her mother was born; she describes feeling more Italian in Colombia and more Colombian in Italy. She says,

> *When I'm in Colombia I feel more strongly the Italian identity that I have, but maybe not because of the way I am or the way I act but because a lot of people in Colombia, my friends, know that I have Italian relatives and so they've always identified me there as, 'Ah, you're Italian, you have Italian grandparents, your mother is Italian...' no? We, there we have contact with the Italian community so let's say that there I feel a bit Italian. Here I feel 100% Colombian, which is a bit strange no? That here I feel more from there... Here I feel 100% Colombian, when I go there I feel a little Italian as well. For me my roots, for my family, my surname, straight away it's not a surname from there, so everyone, from when I was little, said "Ah but where's this surname from, it's not from here..." So… (Interview 11/9/09)*

Here, Paola reveals the importance of the recognition of others in constructing an identity that is in-place, *emplaced*, in a nation, a city, a neighbourhood. Her connections with the Italian community in Colombia help her to maintain a sense of herself as having ancestry that extends back in time and through space from Colombia to the Abruzzo, a region of central Italy. Her sense of intimate socio-spatial identification alters depending on her location: in Colombia, she feels 'a little Italian as well', but in Italy she feels '100% Colombian'. She describes this connection to Colombia as something that she feels through her sensory

experiences, emphasising the importance of food in Italy and music in Colombia (see chapter 6 for an extended discussion).

Paola's description of multiple identifications differs from those of Antony and Andres described above. Unlike Antony and Andres, Paola has 'returned' to the place of origin of her parents, because she wanted to feel closer to them, not in space but in understanding of their language and their customs, which marked her as different in Colombia. She has, too, undertaken this 'return' migration as an adult, with stronger memories of her home in Colombia and a slight accent when she speaks Italian. The other interviewee with Italian heritage, Maria, is from Brazil, and expresses her family's connection to Italy through the food that they ate at home: 'You know, I'm really used to Italian food, in particular I used to eat polenta at home because I grew up with an Italian culture...My grandparents [were Italian], and mum...cooked polenta, pasta... I'm truly comfortable with Italian food' (Interview 24/11/09). In Maria's account, food stands in for culture in a way that allows a family to identify with a place on the other side of the world, a connection that is carried on through the generations. This connection between food and place will be explored further in Chapter 6 of this thesis; here, I use it to show the variety of ways in which people build and maintain connections to places through space and time, in the 'throwntogetherness' (Massey 2005) of place. These are connections that trouble an easy and pure understanding of home (in the sense of a singular, stable place) and belonging (in the sense of citizenship and group identity).

Be/longing

The city's spaces work on its inhabitants to reveal who is welcome, who is not, and who can legitimately call Rome 'home'. The housing crisis for immigrants in the city problematises senses of 'home' that are tied to the possession of a private space. This crisis was highlighted in 1990, when it came to public attention that hundreds of immigrants had been squatting in an abandoned industrial building formerly occupied by the company Pastificio Pantanella

(Alexander 2007, pp. 68-69). Other spaces in the city are also home to immigrants and marginalised groups: in 2009, when I was conducting my fieldwork, a piazza near the Ostiense train station was inhabited by Afghani refugees who had set up tents and temporary structures for shelter; in addition to the city-controlled 'official' 'nomad' camps, various piazzas, river banks, and other hidden corners of the city housed a large percentage of its Roma populations. These two case studies will be explored further in chapter 5 of this thesis. I note them in passing, here, to argue that such inhabitations of the 'empty' spaces of the city are a part of its mobile, changing landscape of power, domination and oppression, in which city officials define 'who or what is normal and who or what is abnormal, who or what is appropriate and who or what is inconceivable' (Amin & Thrift 2002, p. 105). The very temporary nature of these inhabitations in Rome demonstrates the perception of immigration as someone else's problem. Since Rome is conceived as a transit city, assistance in the form of housing services, language schools and legal representation is provided more often than not by volunteer, Church-based and non-governmental organisations rather than by the government itself. In this way, Rome's strategy for providing services for immigrants who are in fact remaining in the city and not merely passing through it 'is based on the outsourcing of nearly all integration services to the civic organizations that had developed these services since the 1980s...[and] has thus been largely a matter of delegation and coordination' (Alexander 2007, p. 55).

As the extracts from my interviews show, individuals living within the context of limited social services and precarious legal residence negotiate a sense of belonging in, and a sense of longing for, a home-place. In their personal experiences of migration, those I interviewed revealed a connection to more-than-one-place, to both home (as homeland, place of origin, and as place of current inhabitation) and away (the distant place of origin, places passed through on the way to Rome, etc.). These connections trouble bounded and hegemonic notions of the city, revealing its porous borders. Through the longings and belongings of its diverse inhabitants, Rome is connected to many other places around the world. Places, in this sense, are never cut off from each

other; they are interconnected, mixed up, 'integrations of space and time...*spatio-temporal events*' (Massey 2005, p. 130). This is to foreground narrative understandings of places that incorporate both physical and imaginative elements. After all, migrants crossing international borders are never only bodies crossing a geographical boundary, but collections of experiences and expectations, leaving one place with its own imagined identity and arriving in another, a place which has been imagined before arrival but which is never exactly as one has imagined it. To leave one place for another means adjusting one's sense of place, since 'the lived experience of being-at-home...involves the enveloping of subjects in a space which is not simply outside them: being-at-home suggests that the subject and space leak into each other, *inhabit each other*' (Ahmed 2000, p. 89).

In a similar way, Henri Lefebvre (1991) speaks against romanticised notions of the home as dwelling-place for the soul, a cocoon in which our intimate selves are contained, found in the work of Heidegger and Bachelard. Lefebvre (1991, p. 121) says, '[t]he dwelling passes everywhere for a special, still sacred, quasi-religious and in fact almost absolute space.' But when space is understood as socially produced, nothing is so absolute. In her discussion of nostalgia among Eastern Europeans in the USA, Svetlana Boym (2002, p. 336) shows how houses can contain objects that do not represent a first, fixed 'home-place', but instead speak of displacement; objects that do not tell stories of a possible return but rather of a longing for what cannot be returned to:

> There are many nostalgic objects on immigrant bookshelves, and still the narrative as a whole is not that of nostalgia. Diasporic souvenirs do not reconstruct the narrative of one's roots but rather tell the story of exile. They are not symbols but transnational objects that reflect multiple belonging. The former country of origin turns into an exotic place represented through its arts and crafts usually admired by foreign tourists. Newly collected memories of exile and acculturation shift the old cultural frameworks; even Russian or Soviet souvenirs can no longer be interpreted within their "native" context. Now they are a cipher for exile itself and for a newfound exilic domesticity.

Home, in this sense, is familiar *because* it is exilic; the private spaces of the house contain signs of a settled subjectivity that is aware of its otherness, in this new place. Nostalgia for some kind of original home-place is expressed, in the examples discussed by Boym, through reference to touristic visions of what that

place is, in much the same way that the new home-place was once only known through images or objects aimed at tourists. Nostalgia, then, works in both directions at once: on both home and away; on past, present and future. Reflective nostalgia, according to Boym (2002, p. xviii), 'dwells on the ambivalences of human longing and belonging and does not shy away from the contradictions of modernity...[it] calls [the absolute truth] into doubt.' Boym's reflective nostalgia looks back, at what is being remembered, and treasures it as an object on a bookshelf.

Ghassan Hage (1997), in discussions of Lebanese immigrants in Sydney, Australia, also recognises the creative potential of nostalgia, however his is a nostalgia that looks to the future. Hage (1997, p. 105) argues, 'nostalgia is nothing more than a memory of a past experience imagined from the standpoint of the present to be homely...nostalgic feelings guide home-building in the present because people seek to foster the kind of homely feeling they know.' It is important to remember, too, that nostalgia is felt by everyone and not only by migrants, since those that remain in one place can also long for a remembered (and idealised) past. In discussions of food and multiculturalism, Jean Duruz (1999, 2005, 2011) recognises that those who have witnessed a city change around them also feel nostalgia for the sensory experiences of home. She argues against the reduction of the privileged majority to a kind of disembodied cosmopolitanism, explaining instead how 'imagination, used creatively, allows unusual connections' (Duruz 2005, p. 65). In this example, Duruz's research subject, Alice, experiences eating multicultural cuisine on King St, Newtown, in Sydney, as an embodied reminder of the changes that have occurred in that city. Duruz (2005, p. 65) says, 'these moments – of deep breathing, embodied remembering, and sympathetic, creative thinking – indicate that Alice's King Street is not one without migrants, nor is it one without her own "Anglo" past.' Nostalgia, in this sense, allows for the meeting of both those who are 'at home', and those who are from 'elsewhere', in an imaginative re-creation of socio-spatial identification that is a longing for a sense of 'intimacy with the world' (Boym 2002, p. 251), troubled both by uprooting and regrounding (Ahmed et al. 2003). Belonging is always underpinned by a sense of *longing*. If places are

always already multiple and complex, 'spatio-temporal events' in Massey's (2005, p. 130) terms; if cities are haunted by pasts that refuse to disappear and by futures that refuse to be contained; if migrants' bodies are controlled by legal categorisations of citizenship and imaginings of internal enemies, the only way to be at home is to find intimacy in this complexity.

The following extract from the interview with Antony's mother, who arrived as an adult in Italy after first migrating from southern India to Germany, reveals the way that marked bodies are placed in particular categories in everyday interactions. She says, 'maybe I don't know, that everyone in Italy thinks that we [*extracommunitari*, non-European immigrants] are all housekeepers' (Interview 24/9/09a). Explaining the way in which she is marked as such in everyday encounters, she recounts an episode that occurred shortly after she and her family moved to a different part of Rome:

> *Something happened to me that was really... I had moved, arrived in a new place, so the first thing that you go and buy are the cleaning products, no? So there near the house, about 10 metres away, there was a shop, I entered, I asked for something in particular. The shopkeeper said, "No, we don't have that but you'll see that your* signora *[employer] will be happy if you use this [product]." (Interview 24/9/09a)*

Here, the assumption that this woman worked in the area as domestic help is based on her appearance: she does not fit the somatic norm of a professional, and is therefore assigned a particular and subordinate role in the imagination of the shopkeeper. She is out of place, and as such, is marked as not belonging. Nirmal Puwar (2006, p. 79) recognises this misrecognition of the racialised and feminised body, and its relegation to particular employment roles, when she says, 'When racialised and feminised bodies are in places where they are seen to not quite belong, they are prone to infantilisation....When for instance the racialised female body is known through a pre-fabricated lens as cleaner, a victim, downtrodden or as an exotic...beauty, she is not expected to be an MP.' Nor, it would seem, is she expected to be cleaning her own house in Rome at the beginning of the 21st century.

The importance of official recognition of one's right to be in Italy is highlighted again in another interview. Here, Alita explains how her husband was refused re-entry to Italy after a visit to their country of origin, El Salvador. The family has lived in Italy since 2003, but on this occasion, the husband was stopped in Paris and returned to El Salvador, while his wife, in possession of the correct visa, continued on to Rome, where their children were waiting with an aunt. In this first extract, presented below, Alita describes conversations with her husband and a lawyer, following his incarceration in Paris and eventual expulsion from the EU and return to El Salvador.

> *They stopped him, they put him in a, a prison there, and I continued on.*
>
> *...*
>
> *Well, my husband said to me, 'Look, do you want to stay?' I said, 'Yes, it's fine,' I was already in Italy and at that point I didn't want to leave. But I called the lawyer to see if it was true [that her husband could be detained and sent back to El Salvador]...the Italian lawyer. He called me that same day and I was in pieces, it's logical. Impotent, I felt, without power. So, he called, and he said, 'Ah, excuse me, but how will I communicate? I don't speak French.' [I replied] 'Sorry, but if my husband is speaking with them [the French officials] then obviously they understand Italian, or Spanish, I don't know.' [He replied] 'Yes, but I can't speak French.'*
>
> *...*
>
> *Anyway, he told me no, that I would have to speak to them [the French officials]. My husband called, my husband spoke to the [Italian] lawyer, who said, 'OK, call me tomorrow, tomorrow I'll see what I can do for you.' And so, there in that place in Paris, my husband – it's a prison, there are many people there who they've held for a long time. [My husband said] 'I couldn't remain, I'm a normal person...' They took his mobile phone, they took his pills, they did a whole lot of things to him, like a criminal. I couldn't communicate with my husband again, we remained like that. Then I was really concerned, but finally he called, the next day, in the evening, he was already in Venezuela. Because they had...yes, they had taken him again, they had made him sign something, a document where he said that, yes, he accepted and would return. And so he went back to El Salvador. For me it*

was shocking, especially because my children were so excited that they would finally see their papà again [in Italy]. But instead it wasn't like that, no, it was horrible. (Interview 15/11/09)

Here, although her husband's detention in Paris and expulsion from the EU is legally justified because he did not possess the correct documentation, in the personal narrative of Alita and her family this is a case of discrimination. In fact, part of the blame for the expulsion rests with his Italian employers, who did not complete the visa papers when he began working for them in 2003. The family had gone to visit relatives in El Salvador only after his employers promised that the paperwork would be fixed up, however obviously that did not occur. Alita's husband had originally migrated to Rome following relatives, who were already there and working; Alita herself, once she had settled and found employment in Italy, began arranging for her sisters to migrate as well. In this way, chain migration has meant that numerous relatives from El Salvador now live and work in Rome. When explaining how her sisters followed her to Rome, Alita says,

A year after I arrived, I asked my sister, 'Do you want to come here to Italy?' She asked me, 'Yes but what's it like there?' [I replied] 'Things here in Italy I'll describe to you once, don't get big ideas, illusions. Here it's no paradise, understand? This is the worst that the world can have, one day for certain you'll feel yourself to be a servant...or someone will make you feel like that, because they want someone there who'll work in their house 24 hours a day. Just like that. 'If you want to come, you have to learn. You have to learn before anything else, you have to learn to speak.' This is the first, for me it's important. If something isn't right, I know what to say to this person, in the right way, to respond.

...

And she said, 'Ah well, ok but you learn.' We know how to work. We've never done this work before, but we learn. OK. She was happy, she wanted to come.

...

After that, she suffered a lot you know, because this sister of mine found a person... an evil person... I don't know how to say it, but... That she's, that she's not able to say, 'Excuse me,' or put a stop to it... No, her character is

different. So her employer, this woman, finds herself with someone like that, she takes advantage of it.

...

But that's how my sister arrived, and another sister, another and another. Now there are 5 of us. Then 2 nephews arrived, they're older, they work. There's another niece, I have another... a lot of relatives. Now there are many people here, from my side and my husband's, lots of people.

...

We're all in Rome, we all work as domestics. And we live well enough, we all have documents, thank the Lord all have their documents. It's only me, my husband who was the first to arrive and who now has no documents, nothing. (Interview 15/11/09)

Domestic workers are intimate strangers: they live and work in the homes of others, in 'difficult situations' as in the case of Alita's sister, or with a respected employer as in the case of Alita herself. Their own stories and experiences of the city are framed through their experiences at work, in homes that are not their own. Their wellbeing, indeed their very presence in Italy, is dependent on the goodwill of their employers. They are intimate in the close proximity that they inhabit every day; they are strangers in that very dependence. Their interactions with employers in the domestic spaces of their work reflect this distant intimacy, as discovered by Rhacel Salazar Parreñas (2001) in her study of Filipina domestic workers in Rome and Los Angeles. Parreñas (2001, p. 165) states, 'employers control the spatial movements of domestic workers in the workplace...[t]he access of domestic workers to household space is usually far more contained than for the rest of the family.' Furthermore, this spatial segregation combines with other forms of interaction to give domestic workers the sense of being treated as inferior to their employers, since 'being treated more coldly in the intimate space of a private home contrasts with the established norms of interactions among other inhabitants of the home and by default labels them as inferior' (Parreñas 2001, p. 182).

Alita's longing for her husband, for a family reunion that, at the time of writing, has still not occurred, is palpable as she speaks. She is telling me her story at a

cafe in Trastevere, an old area of Rome on the other side of the Tiber River from the city's historic centre. Alita attends church here, along with a large group of South Americans, who gather at the Evangelical Church on Thursdays and Sundays to worship, gossip, and catch up with relatives and friends. These regular meetings are an opportunity for those working long hours in domestic and other low-skilled roles to reconnect with others who are living similar experiences, and to reminisce about the places they have left behind. The exchange of stories that occur in and around the Evangelical Church in Trastevere give the place meaning beyond that visible to the eye: this place becomes a collection of 'fragmentary and inward-turning histories, pasts that others are not allowed to read, accumulated times that can be unfolded but like stories held in reserve, remaining in an enigmatic state, symbolizations encysted in the pain or pleasure of the body' (de Certeau 1988, p. 108). The church holds the longing and memories expressed by these migrants in its walls, in a spatial practice that allows them to create a place in the city where they belong, where their pasts come to life, where their longing is no longer out-of-place or out-of-time. This sense of belonging is arrived at through the sensory experiences of being in the space of the church: the use of Spanish; the familiarity of the prayers; the smells and sounds associated with the service. Belonging, then, is *sensed*, as explored in chapter 6 of this thesis: belonging is of the senses, as much as it is of personal and group narratives or legal residency status.

Not all who attend the church take part in these gatherings in the same way. Another interviewee, from Brazil, differentiated herself from the Spanish-speaking congregation, claiming that she did not feel homesick, that she did not seek out opportunities to socialise with other Portuguese, did not long to speak her old language, did not feel the need to talk endlessly about the place she had left behind or taste the flavours of her place of origin. Before our interview, Celia said, 'I don't know why you want to interview me. I'm not a normal migrant. I'm happy here' – as though, since she was not nostalgic for the place of her birth, hers was not the 'right' kind of story for a researcher interested in migration. After more than 30 years in Rome, Celia describes feeling at home in the city, although certain things about it are not always to her liking. She says, 'I like

Rome. I like Rome a lot, in the sense that I like walking to see the different places because Rome is a beautiful city…It [Rome] has changed only in the way I told you, this frenetic pace, this too many people, too many cars, too much everything' (Interview 12/11/09b). Celia, here, is expressing nostalgia for Rome as she remembers it when she first arrived; earlier in the interview, describing the changes that she has observed in Rome since the 1970s, she said,

> *When I arrived in Italy you didn't see these tramps. There were no tramps in Italy. Now there are – not just foreigners, also Italians, you see them*
>
> *...*
>
> *They insist on cleaning the windscreen [of your car], or ... There are many from Sri Lanka, from those countries, they're more educated, they're ... The ones who scare me the most are those from the East. They scare me a little. And the Africans not much. I'm a foreigner, I shouldn't say these things, but I'm from a time when there were few [immigrants], now for a while here the society has changed, the being out on the street. (Interview 12/11/09b)*

Here, Celia speaks from a complicated position, acknowledging her own 'foreignness' in the city, and the potential for an observer to place her in the same category, as a member of Rome's masses of unindividuated others, since '[a]n altered inhabitation of space does not automatically translate into straightforward belonging' (Puwar 2006, p. 81). Celia is aware that her sense of belonging in Rome could be questioned, and is dependent on recognition of her long period of residence in the city. She thus represents herself as one whose claims to the city are more legitimate than those of the newer arrivals she is so critical of, since her own inhabitation of Rome is of longer duration. She can claim a knowledge of the city through speaking about the ways it has changed over time, a historical connection to place that informs her life narrative and helps her to construct her identity as someone who belongs in Rome.

Nonetheless, she does say that she sometimes refers to Brazil, when using the word 'home':

> *When we're talking about 'home', sometimes I'm referring to home in Brazil, no? For... no, no, 'When I go home...' often, as though I still lived there... I mean, my mother is there, and my brothers and sisters, but I don't have a*

> *Brazilian house. I have my mother's house. But I say I'm going home. There's this thing of going home. But I'm not nostalgic. I've always missed people more than I've missed places. I'm a strange beast, because I'm not attached to the earth but to the people. And this has played in my favour. Because if not... (Interview 12/11/09b)*

Celia's nostalgia has been for the people she left behind, for the family home, rather than for Brazil as home-place. As argued by Loretta Baldassar (1997, p. 90), in her study of return visits by Italian emigrants between Perth, Australia, and San Fior, Italy, for those who have migrated identification occurs with more than one place, more than one home:

> To the San Fioresi in Italy...San Fior is the central defining unit, and all other localities, including Australia, are defined in relation to it. The boundaries of an individual's spatial self-identity, however, can expand or contract along provincial, regional, or national lines depending on the context...to San Fioresi in Australia, the locality of *campanilismo* [spatial self-identity] is embodied in multiple ways. In certain contexts the migrants' *campanilismo* is signified by San Fior, in others it is signified by Perth, or more specifically, the community of San Fiorese in Perth.

A sense of 'home', or intimate socio-spatial identification, is in this way shown to be constructed and subject to change. For those who remain in the town, region, or country in which they were born (and assuming that their ancestors were from somewhere nearby), this sense of an intimate socio-spatial identification tends to be bound to a smaller geographical area, with legitimacy gained through discourses of nativism and familiarity.

For migrants (and their descendants), in contrast, intimacy is generated through a sense of 'home' that references multiple places, times, and people. Stories of migration can travel through generations, explaining to children and grandchildren how they came to be in a particular place; cultural practices change and adapt, but nonetheless remain important markers of different heritages; and attachment to people, as described by Celia in the interview above, may mean that this sense of home is limited to interactions with a small community in a particular city, for example the San Fioresi in Perth. The sensory experiences of different places can have a profound effect on an individual's connection to, or dissociation from, a place. One interviewee, from El Salvador, described his first migration to England as being psychologically and physically

difficult, saying, 'It was very cold…how to say, I already felt a bit of…muscle pain. And this, and another…the worst thing was the nostalgia of being there alone' (Interview 20/11/09). The distance from his family, for this man, combined with the physical shock of the cold weather to create a sense of unease and disjuncture from England, where he had migrated for work. His secondary migration to Italy was described, then, as a kind of homecoming, because his wife was able to join him and because the weather was less extreme. Belonging, for those who cannot claim to be 'native' to a place, is felt in the body, and in a longing for that sense of intimate socio-spatial identification, which can be found through creative ways of associating different places, sights, sounds, customs and people in the personal narratives of daily life.

Moving through a discussion of the rules, regulations, and racism of immigration in Italy, I have linked citizenship, residence, and subjectivity to territory, showing how these categorisations of the self as linked to a specific place are an important element of socio-spatial identification. Official categories of residence do not, however, tell the whole story. One interviewee I spoke to, from Afghanistan, arrived in Rome as a newly married woman joining her husband in 1995, and was in 2009 in the process of finalising her Italian citizenship. Her decision to take Italian citizenship was not an easy one, and she expressed sorrow over losing the citizenship of her country of birth, saying, 'If I could keep both, of course I would have... but since I live here I need to have [Italian citizenship]' (Interview 21/11/09). Throughout the interview, she expressed love for both Italy and Afghanistan, speaking of how she is teaching her sons 'the best from both countries', consciously imparting to them their parents' Afghani heritage at the same time as bringing them up in Italy. She says,

> *I can't bring them up 100% like in Afghanistan, I can't make them become 100% Italian....even if I take Italian citizenship, I'm not completely Italian, no? I'm Afghani, it's just that I live here, and I told you, I love both [countries]....that's why I want to teach my sons to have good relations with both countries. (Interview 21/11/09)*

In this account, the speaker is aware of the separation between citizenship, or legal belonging to a bounded territory, and emotional attachment to places. Her

own sense of home is linked to Kabul in Afghanistan and Rome in Italy, and although she also lived for some years in Pakistan, she never speaks of it with the same affection.

Conclusion

Although Bachelard's work in *The Poetics of Space* (1969) presents a romanticisation of the house as a kind of originary dwelling-place where dreams are housed, he does write about the power of the imagination in creating houses that expand and breathe. Such a house:

> [I]s both cell and world. Here, geometry is transcended....Winds radiate from its centre and gulls fly from its windows. A house that is as dynamic as this allows the poet to inhabit the universe. Or, to put it differently, the universe comes to inhabit his house. (Bachelard 1969, p. 51)

Expanding the idea of 'home' beyond the walls of the house and into the city, as I have been doing throughout this chapter, we can ask, how is the city of Rome 'both cell and world'? How has it opened itself up to being dynamic, allowing and encouraging the universe to inhabit it?

The multiple ways that people find to live together in the bounded-but-not-fixed spaces of the city, demonstrates some of what Massey refers to when she speaks of places as spatio-temporal events, the 'chance of space [which] may set us down next to the unexpected neighbour', providing thus 'that inevitable contingency which underlies the necessity for the institution of the social and which, at a moment of antagonism, is revealed in particular fractures which pose the question of the political' (Massey 2005, p. 151). In addition to legal categories of belonging, identification with particular places can be, and in present-day Italy often is, racialised. That is, people who are visibly different are discursively, if not physically or legally, refused entry into Italy and into 'Italianness'.

Sitting in Piazza Vittorio most afternoons during the 6 months I lived in Rome, I observed an ever-changing mix of encounters: old men and women gossiping on the seats around the central square; a group of young Indian men playing cricket on the grass; a constantly-changing group of boys playing soccer and basketball; mothers from China, India, Bangladesh, Rome, watching their children play together on the play equipment. I walked, and ate gelato from nearby *Fassi*, and chatted with friends and strangers alike; I took part in the daily exchanges, learning about the city's rhythms, the activities that are acceptable in that space, the activities that are not. Piazza Vittorio, as with any open and shared space, is a place of 'highly qualified interaction...where there is a clear tactic of acknowledgement or avoidance between strangers even when in close proximity, where familiarity takes time to build and comes from invention and repetition' (Amin 2008, p. 10). In these interactions, in the unreflective, everyday encounters in Piazza Vittorio as well as in the personal narratives recounted to me in the interviews, and in the political discourses of integration and exclusion, Rome's present reveals itself to be multiple and multiply engaged at the same time that Rome's future is being imagined and made possible.

5. ‘Empty’ Spaces and ‘Strangers’

Introduction

In this chapter, I turn to an examination of two marginalised ‘groups’ – constituted as such by public discourses that subsume internal differences under discriminatory labels – who inhabit the ‘empty’ spaces of Rome – living in the hidden corners of abandoned buildings or out-of-the-way piazzas, along the banks of the Tiber river, or underneath bridges. These are the spaces occupied by the bodies of the marginalised; the strangers who refuse to disappear even though they are not included in hegemonic imaginings of who belongs in Rome. The chapter focuses on Rome’s Roma populations, who live in various states of poverty and precarity in both ‘official’ and ‘unauthorised’ camps, where they are subject to systemic and systematic discrimination by officials, and on a settlement of Afghani refugees in Ostiense, an area of central Rome, where those just passing through mix with those awaiting responses to refugee applications and those who have been in Rome for years but have not found accommodation. Although the problems facing both of these marginalised groups are different, I have chosen to speak about them together to examine what happens, in the social fabric of Rome, when people actually do inhabit spaces that are supposed to be empty; when the bodies of the marginalised refuse to be invisible, and their presence, their very occupation of space, makes visible the cracks in hegemonic understandings of who should inhabit the city, and how. In order to do this, I approach the two case studies through the concepts of invisibility and emptiness, looking at why these two marginalised groups are invisible (and sometimes hyper-visible), and how the spaces in which they live are constructed as ‘empty spaces’ despite the obvious presence of human inhabitants. Through an examination of these populations’ inhabitation of the city, the chapter explores invisibility as it occurs in situations of abjection, where spatial politics work to

inscribe boundaries onto the bodies of those others whose presence is neither expected nor accepted by officials, nor by many in the majority population.

I argue that the invisibility of Roma as individuals, as well as their *indivisibility* one from the other, in the public imagination rests on a series of moves that abject Roma from both the social body and the city's spaces, with the effect that they are never allowed to belong. The Afghani refugees, upon arrival, are asked to constantly repeat the official version of their life stories to gain refugee status, while at the same time living in whatever precarious housing they can find, in homeless shelters or in temporary camps that are becoming all too permanent. In this chapter, I draw on both written sources and fieldwork undertaken in Rome in the latter half of 2009. During this time, I interviewed Nazzerano Guarnieri, a Romanì man active in Italian politics and former president of the representative organisation *Federazione Romanì*, as well as Elisabeth, organising member of *Kyrios*, a group that is part of the charity work of the Evangelical Church in Trastevere and takes food to the homeless Afghani men every Saturday. I also engaged in informal conversations with a number of inhabitants of one Roma camp on the outskirts of Rome, and with the Afghani men I met in Piramide on Saturdays. I did not conduct any formal interviews with Roma living in camps, nor with homeless Afghani refugees. There are three reasons for this: firstly, the Roma and Afghanis I met were open and inviting in an informal context, but reluctant to engage in a formal way since they were already constantly required to recount their stories to police and other officials. Secondly, there were significant language barriers to our communication, especially in the case of the Afghani refugees. Finally, and most importantly, both these groups fit the definition of vulnerability in social research provided by Düvell et al (2010, p. 230), which defines vulnerable people as follows:

> They are more at risk from various more powerful members of their peer group or other social groups, sometimes from authorities and enforcement agencies, and the scientific community, and may suffer from violations of human rights.

Therefore, I took the ethical decision to engage only in informal conversations, as a means of avoiding becoming another actor in the ongoing surveillance of these vulnerable groups, as well as avoiding revealing sensitive information which was not required for my research. In the case studies below, I will explain the ways in

which these populations are asked to construct and reconstruct their narratives in order to fulfil bureaucratic requirements, or to meet the expectations of mass media representations.

This chapter, then, examines the shifting states of embodied, spatial, and social abjection and invisibility, as experienced by these two populations. The first section of the chapter explores the theoretical implications of abjection and invisibility, especially as regards the separation between public and private space, asking what happens when people are found to be living in spaces that are supposed to be 'empty'. Following this, I explore the two case studies in detail. I begin by discussing how Roma in Rome are first identified, then contained, and finally expelled in a series of policy changes and shifts in public attitude that deny them individuality; along with this push from outside, Roma resist such abjection, tactically reinhabiting spaces from which they have been expelled, as well as engaging in direct representation on the political level. The Afghani refugees' temporary camp in Ostiense has become almost a permanent fixture over the past 5 or 6 years, their vulnerability and precarious existence bringing to public attention their institutional invisibility. Though their situations are different, both groups nonetheless suffer from lack of acknowledgement, in the wider population, that their presence in Rome is ongoing. Both groups, in different ways, mark the boundaries of excess that exist in the abjection of these minorities, unwanted, indivisible others, from within the city of Rome.

Invisible lives, empty spaces

The relational aspects of social identification are well-documented by scholars of race, ethnicity, and gender, where 'race and gender operate without a doubt as visible identities,' such that 'the experience of embodiment is in important respects a racialized and gender-differentiated experience' (Alcoff 2006, p. 103). Seeing, and being seen, are important factors in how an individual engages with the world around them, but seeing, and being seen, are contingent on specific historical, social, and geographic circumstances. When people are recognised as

'strangers' (Ahmed 2000; Bauman 1995; Scott-Bauman 2010; Simmel 1971), they are thus defined as not belonging to the group; their presence troubles the boundaries of community and social order. The presence of 'strangers' in one place has the effect of linking that place to places beyond, since the invisible border between one place and another is crossed by the presence of strange bodies (Marciniak 2006; Trinh 2011). In reaction to the presence *in place* of those who are *out of place*, spatial politics works to (re-)inscribe borders onto the bodies of those strangers whose presence is neither expected nor accepted in hegemonic imaginings of place. In extreme cases, this may involve movements towards abjection, where those recognised as strangers are not only denied group membership but expelled from the social body through spatial exclusions and denial of rights. Abjection points to a border that is always in danger of being crossed. Abjection on an individual level, according to Kristeva (1982, p. 9), 'does not radically cut off the subject from what threatens it – on the contrary, abjection acknowledges it to be in perpetual danger.' That is, the subject is aware of being in danger, and seeks to abject or erase that which threatens it, even if this erasure is never complete. In a socio-spatial sense, the constitution of the subject and its 'home' rests on marking out which bodies are at home, and which bodies are out of place. In her work examining the strange encounters which occur in the making of 'home', Ahmed (2000, p. 52, emphasis in original) argues:

> The marking out of the border which defines the subject – the constitutive outside – is the condition of possibility for the subject, the process through which it can come into being. *This* subject is precisely the subject who determines the formation of home – the space one inhabits as liveable – and whose access to subjectivity is determined through being at home – the centre from which other beings are expelled.

This expulsion of other beings is never complete; the strangers who inhabit the city of Rome may be spatially excluded from some areas of the city, but remain in others.

The continuing presence of the 'abjected other' in (certain parts of) the city of Rome leads, on occasion, to extreme reactions in policy and public discourse, evidence of an 'invasion complex' (Papastergiadis 2006). In such a complex, in which 'a multi-directional chain of associations is woven between deep vertical fears based in historical racism, and wide-open horizontal anxieties around

globalization and the nation-state's failure to control global flows' (Papastergiadis 2006, p. 429), those inhabitants of the city who are not recognised as being at home are cast as trespassers invading the city and making it unsafe for its 'true' or 'native' inhabitants. This distinction between those who are at home, and those who are invading the home(land), rests on a neo-racism 'whose dominant theme is not biological heredity but the insurmountability of cultural differences' (Balibar, in Balibar & Wallerstein 1991, p. 21). While social identity is constituted through distinctions between the self and its other, spatial identities rest on a clear definition of borders. Since bodies do not remain in place, in an age of international migrations, the troubling of borders in the contemporary period leads to a situation in which borders proliferate *within* the boundaries of the nation-state (see the discussion in chapter 4 of this thesis). This occurs in part through the proliferation of citizenship and residence categories, as described in the previous chapter of this thesis. Borders also proliferate spatially, since cities and states are engaged in the creation of 'abject spaces', spaces whose inhabitants are 'inaudible and invisible' (Isin & Rygiel 2007, p. 183): refugee camps, processing centres, 'tolerated' and 'temporary' camps, to name a few.

Using public spaces as their living spaces, the two groups discussed in this chapter exceed the borders between public and private space in the city; marked as ethnic minorities with expected ways of behaving, they are denied individuality and visible only as stereotypes. The categorisation of spaces is integral to the methods used to abject particular groups and populations: if a space can be classified as one in which a different set of laws exists, then whoever is in that space can be constructed by the law as a different kind of person, as, potentially, a non-person, reduced to 'bare life' (Arendt 1958; Agamben 1998; Dal Lago 1999). As explained by Engin F. Isin and Kim Rygiel (2007, p. 189) in a study of the spatial aspects of abjection, '[f]rontiers and zones abject…by attempting to halt this very process of citizenship making by incapacitating subjects from claims making. This is done through strategies of silencing such as geographical and social isolation.' Isin and Rygiel (2007) explain 'abject spaces' through the categories of frontiers, zones, and camps; this

last category is particularly relevant to Rome's attempts to contain the Roma in 'authorised' camps. However, I wish to extend the analysis further to discuss spaces constructed as 'empty' – that is, those spaces that are supposed to be empty of inhabitation – as abject spaces also. It must be noted that this is a construction imposed by the powerful on the marginalised; there is resistance to such abjection, since 'abject spaces are not spaces of abjection but spaces of politics' (Isin & Rygiel 2007, p. 184). This politics is, all the same, one in which resistance is limited to the tactical (de Certeau 1998), where the powerless find ways around the constant surveillance and denial of rights while remaining unable to alter the power structure. In Rome, empty spaces are not actually empty, but because they are *expected to be empty*, their inhabitants, the homeless and marginalised, can be moved on, harassed, treated as non-subjects regardless of their citizenship status. This is a process that works *both* spatially and socially, a process of abjection in which the individuals who inhabit these spaces are denied the possibility of belonging.

The city of Rome's Roma populations are subject to ongoing controls and confinement to 'official' camps, seemingly fixed in their designation as 'nomads', never allowed to settle in place because they are recognised only as passing through. Roma in Italy are subject to extreme discrimination, with the European Roma Rights Centre (hereafter ERRC, 2000, 2008; ERRC et al. 2009), the Council of Europe Commissioner for Human Rights (2008, 2009, 2010) and other human rights organisations reprimanding Italy repeatedly. Afghani refugees, in contrast, are not immediately marked as 'invaders' because it has been assumed that they are only passing through the city on their way to other destinations. The presence of Afghani refugees in Italy has grown rapidly, from 442 Afghani nationals registered in 2006, to 3372 in 2009. The large bulk of this increase has occurred in Rome, previously a city of transit but increasingly the city in which these refugees stop their journey and apply for humanitarian visas. As refugees, Afghanis in Rome are particularly vulnerable, dependent on almost non-existent public services for their basic material needs. This abjection, then, makes itself felt through the *spatial* elements of embodiment and inhabitation. As I have argued throughout this thesis, socio-spatial identification involves relationships

to place that are not easily containable in hegemonic or official discourses of belonging. Roma and Afghani refugees, as described in this chapter, inhabit the city of Rome in ways that are not 'usual': their use of public spaces, hidden corners, abandoned piazzas and buildings, to create places of inhabitation works along with the racial markers to separate them from the rest of the population, who live in houses.

The space set aside for living is often unproblematically assumed to be private, because of the private nature of what we do in it: the house as the space of eating, getting changed, sleeping, showering, and so on is separated from the houses of others and closed to them unless we invite them in. Public spaces, on the other hand, are supposed to be *empty* of such activities, since the distinction between public and private spaces is accompanied by a distinction between public and private acts, interests, and actors. In a discussion examining both topographical and procedural approaches to public space – that is, public space as an area designated on a city map, and public space as the space of appearance of a (or *the*) public – Kurt Iveson (2007, p. 17) argues:

> Topographical conceptions of public space usefully draw our attention to the power of regional distinctions between public and private which persist in the form of socio-spatial norms about conduct and action in (certain parts of) the city. That is, regimes of place often invoke norms about what behaviour is appropriate "in public" and "in private" in order to foster particular forms of conduct....Publics (as collectivities) and public action are not contained within spaces typically mapped as "public" in a topographical sense. Procedural conceptions of "public space" draw attention to the dynamic geographies of publicness as collective interests and agency, which do not conform to the conventional mappings of public and private.

Iveson sees both topographical and procedural conceptions of public space as essential to understanding the ways that power works to shape both public and private spaces, and *the* public and private citizens.

When public spaces are not, in fact, empty of those acts supposed to belong to the private realm, the reaction may be, on the part of officials, to increase surveillance and place restrictions on the kinds of acts that are permitted. Clearing public spaces of unwanted or undesirable people essentially makes sure that these 'strangers' (Simmel 1971) can never be *at home* in the city. Such moves to curtail tactical or liminal inhabitation of the city's spaces can be traced

through a study of homelessness, where regulation of public space has direct impact on individuals' lives: 'the surveillance of public space...squeez[es] the spaces in which the homeless can excercise their quotidian functions, denying them space where they have the freedom to *"be"*' (Doherty et al 2008: 308). In a study from 1978 of homelessness in a North American city, J.S. Duncan (2005 [1978], p. 168) argues, this separation of certain actions into spaces defined as public and private also denies the homeless access to full citizenship:

> Most citizens find public versus private the primary constraining classification in their use of space: one ought to be able to use any public space by virtue of his being a citizen provided he behaves in a fairly "normal" and legal fashion for the time and place. Private spaces, of course, are far more exclusive...The propertyless are generally excluded from private spaces...What is more, they are also driven out of public places, for full citizenship rights are apparently not extended to the propertyless...Public property apparently, then, belongs to the citizenry as a whole which has the right to exclude the tramp.

The state of homelessness makes visible the quotidian bodily functions that are supposed to be invisible, hidden behind the walls of the private property. At the same time, those whose homelessness or migrancy is caused not by poverty but by exclusion from a political collectivity make visible the intertwined nature of social and spatial boundaries: their exclusion from 'the public' as well as from 'public spaces' demonstrates what is undesirable or unacceptable, what is impure and what must be rejected to ensure that order is maintained.

In an essay examining stateless refugees and undocumented migrants through the lens of an Arendtian politics of visibility, Marieke Borren (2008, p. 217) argues that 'the stateless have lost membership of a political community, that is: the worldly space in which actions are performed and seen, and opinions articulated and heard.' Public invisibility, however, does not necessarily lead to invisibility *per se*: the continuing presence of homeless and undocumented populations is a visible reminder of an incomplete erasure, a visible sign of the constant power struggles at play in the urban environment. Visibility, here, is not the opposite of invisibility; rather, visibility and invisibility in this sense work together to create a situation in which members of an ethnic minority become hyper-visible as strangers, but unrecognisable as individuals. Indeed, in the Italian context invisibility and indivisibility would seem to co-exist, in what Enrica Capussotti and Liliana Ellena (2003, p. 151) describe as the 'way of

oblivion', in a discussion of the State's blindness towards refugees which is also relevant for my discussion of Roma:

> The "way of oblivion" is the specific shape assumed by exclusionary practices in the Italian context. Refugees are like ghosts in the Italian public space and discourse; their fate seems to be entrapped between their representation as an anonymous mass that threatens the Italian borders, and their oblivion as individual subjects and citizens.

Such public invisibility and individual indivisibility leads us to ask the question not only of who has become invisible, but in *what ways* they are invisible, and to whom. Invisibility is *relational*: it involves a power play in which making visible what was previously ignored may sometimes be detrimental to the individuals affected, since their presence may previously have been tolerated.

The relationality of invisibility is further explored by Tara Polzer and Laura Hammond (2008, p. 418), who argue that invisibility in some cases, an increase in visibility may in fact 'reduce the space for life-saving creativity and flexibility in remaining invisible.' Andrea Brighenti (2010) also insists that visibility is multiple, and socially constituted. Following Merleu-Ponty, Brighenti (2010, p. 19) argues that 'the invisible is what it is *here without* being an object. The invisible is intrinsic to the visible; it is what makes the visible possible.' Different levels of invisibility involve a range of processes including 'invisibilization' (Polzer & Hammond 2008, p. 424), which are specific to the time and place in which they occur. Analyses of invisibility therefore are 'not predominantly about pushing back the frontiers of knowledge, or seeing what no-one has seen before...[they are] rather about an awareness of the power relationships inherent in the act of making someone or something visible in a certain way' (Polzer & Hammond 2008, p. 429). Excluded from belonging in the city, the vulnerable populations examined in this chapter are abjected through both social and spatial practices. The spaces of the city that have been adapted to inhabitation by Afghani refugees and Roma are not, in fact, empty; when this comes to the attention of authorities, attempts are made to make those spaces empty, to expel the inhabitants, and to contain them instead in 'official' camps or reception centres.

Another process that is evident in discussions of Roma and Afghani refugees in Rome is the habitual, everyday racialisation of the city's inhabitants, and thus of the city's own identity. In the previous chapter, I discussed this racialisation in terms of citizenship and belonging; here, my focus is rather on inhabitation of space by abjected others. Racial identities are 'produced...through the shapes and shades of human morphology, the size and shape of the nose, the texture of hair, and the intensity of pigment, and these subordinate other markers such as dress, customs, and practices' (Alcoff 2006, p. 191). To this list I would add the use of space, since in Rome those who inhabit the city's spaces in unexpected, new, or unaccepted ways are also marked as different. When that appropriation of space is made by a racially-marked group, it becomes a 'problem' in a much more marked way, as evidenced by discussions over the occupation of the abandoned *Pantanella* bread factory by undocumented, mainly black African immigrants in the 1990s (Alexander 2007, pp. 68-69; Grandi & Tanzi 2007, p. 89; Vidotto 2001). Roma living in camps are visually 'other' not only because of markers of dress, ethnicity, etc. but also because of the way they use space, setting up temporary accommodation in otherwise unused corners, under freeways, in out-of-the-way piazzas and along the riverbanks. Refugees, especially Afghani refugees, are visible as precarious inhabitants because they live in extreme poverty in Rome's few reception centres, or in tent cities set up, again, in abandoned spaces of the city. In both of the case studies presented in this chapter, those marked as 'other' are confined to a particular way of inhabiting space that in and of itself sets them apart from the majority.

In(di)visible: Roma profiled, contained, abjected

At the end of the twentieth century, according to the 5th *Osservatorio Romano sulle Migrazioni* (Roman Study of Migrations, hereafter ORM, 2009), there were approximately 3000 Italian Roma (that is, Roma with Italian citizenship) living in the city of Rome, for the most part in regular or council housing, and around 6000 Eastern European Roma living mainly in camps (ORM 2009, p. 165). These numbers are estimates, and other sources place the number of Roma living in

regular housing at about 1000 in the mid-1990s (see Marinaro 2003, p. 208). It should also be noted that those living in camps often hold Italian citizenship as well, or in the case of younger residents, were born in Italy but have not yet acquired citizenship. In 2009, there were an estimated 13000 Roma, Sinti and Camminanti in the area governed by the city of Rome, of which 60% are minors. There were approximately 3000 with Italian citizenship, over 5000 from ex-Yugoslavia and somewhere between 3000 and 5000 Romanian Roma living in a mixture of private housing and both 'official' and 'unauthorised' camps (ORM 2009, p. 166). Designating the camps that are not government-controlled as 'unauthorised' indicates that one of the major problems, from the government's point of view, is a lack of control over this population; in those camps that are government-controlled, surveillance is heightened and police visit daily.[28]

Roma in Italy are subsumed under the labels '*zingari*' ('gypsies') and '*nomadi*' ('nomads'), irrespective of the differences between the many groups thus labelled. In actual fact the many groups collectively known as *zingari* in Italy, and which I call 'Roma' in this chapter, include groups of Roma, Sinti, Camminanti, and Kalè, to name only a few. These groups maintain different traditions, cultural practices, and languages (Piasere 2008), with some living sedentary lives, while others travel for shorter or longer periods throughout the year. Regardless of these differences, as Nando Sigona (2005, p. 745) points out, 'the label "nomads" is applied indifferently to the whole Roma and Sinti population, regardless of whether they are Italian citizens or foreigners, travellers or sedentary people, war refugees or economic migrants.' This inability, on the part of mass media, government officials, and even some NGOs, to conceive of Roma in Italy as heterogeneous, is part of the process by which these minority populations are profiled and objectified. Labelled as 'nomads', they are never allowed to belong, to be at home, *in place*. Labelled as 'gypsies', they are criminalised, recognisable

[28] The Italian term used for these 'unauthorised' camps is *'campi abusivi'*, a difficult term to translate since in some usages it means 'illegal', in others 'abusive', and in yet others 'tolerated' or 'unauthorised'. I have chosen to use the term 'unauthorised' here, as it allows for movement between senses of illegality and tolerance by the government, since many unauthorised camps are tolerated until they come to be seen as a problem, at which time officials will move in and dismantle the camp, leaving its inhabitants homeless. See also Hepworth (2012) for further discussion of this movement between legality and illegality of Roma camps in Milan.

only as members of a group that has long suffered from discrimination and prejudice against the gypsy other. In this way, these heterogeneous populations are made invisible as individuals, indivisible one from the other, placed together in specific categories that are unwelcome and therefore subject to government controls and extraordinary powers of expulsion.

The association of camps with nomadic lifestyles is a common misrepresentation, since many of those who end up living in camps in Italy were already sedentary in their countries of origin, especially those Roma arriving from the Balkans during the 1990s. Although the term 'nomad' continues to be used interchangeably with 'gypsies', according to a report by the Council of Europe (19/4/02), in fact their lifestyle is sedentary for 30% of the Roma population of Italy, and in the process of sedentarisation for 70%. In Rome itself, this misrecognition of changing patterns of settlement and movement was cemented into policy throughout the 1990s and early 2000s, when the local government focused on creating new 'nomad camps', and improving the conditions of existing 'official' camps, as well as dismantling unauthorised camps. Roma are assumed to *want* to live in camps, maintaining an idealised notion of Romanì culture that allows them to be only and always 'nomadic'. This 'nomadism' is proscribed and managed by the State, through legislation governing which areas can be inhabited, which camps are authorised, and what kind of access the police will have to them. At the same time, traditional trade routes and professions are curtailed by changing economic circumstances that have led to an ever-increasing need for Roma to live in or near cities for employment purposes.

Large amounts of funding are put aside for the establishment and management of the 'official' camps, money which, according to the former president of *Federazione Romaní*, Nazzerano Guarnieri, should instead be spent on other initiatives that would assist Roma in becoming autonomous and able to enter into other forms of housing (Interview 5/11/09).[29] *Federazione Romaní* is a

[29] Real name used.

federation of local, regional, and national organisations connecting Roma, Sinti and Camminanti as well as *gadjé* (non-Roma) from across Italy, with the common intention of providing opportunities for self-representation in both the political and social arenas. This intention has at times been an uphill battle: an ongoing problem, according to Guarnieri, is that government officials, organisations, and Roma themselves are unable to see a way past an ingrained conception that this is how it has always been done – that the government has provided money for camps, which is filtered through non-representative organisations, and received by the Roma with little or no input from them in policy development (Interview 5/11/09). Through the association of Roma with nomadism and inhabitation of camps, Roma are 'forced to live out the romantic and repressive projections of Italians; Italian authorities assert that their desire to live in flats or houses is inauthentic and relegate them to "camps for nomads"' (ERRC 2000, p. 11). Roma, thus, are imagined as remaining in a traditional lifestyle which is in conflict with contemporary social, economic and geographic circumstances.

Along with this conflation of Roma, Sinti, and Camminanti under the labels 'nomads' and 'gypsies', we see ongoing confusion in the media between Romanian immigrants and ethnic Roma from Romania. The majority of Roma who have arrived in Italy in recent years are Romanian, and are European citizens (though with some restrictions: Romania is still in the process of joining the Schengen agreement), since Romania's entry into the European Union in 2007. However, their status in Romania, as well as in Italy, as an ethnic minority subject to ongoing discrimination is elided by this confusion between Romanian Roma and ethnic Romanians. In this way, Roma are not only spoken about as a 'nomadic' ethnic minority, but are also classed as unwanted immigrants who have no right to remain in Italy. This confusion in Italian public discourse sees Romanian Roma blamed by other Romanians in Italy for the poor public opinion regarding their presence. This situation leads to ongoing discrimination of Romanian Roma by other Romanians, in both Italy and Romania, including 'a degradation of the situation in Romania, as ethnic Romanians have mobilised to blame Roma for having damaged the nation's reputation' (ERRC 2008, p. 6).

The increase in numbers of Roma in Italy following conflicts in the Balkans and continuing difficulties, both in finding work and in facing racism, in countries like Romania, has meant that the historical racism against Roma in Rome is now also tied up with anti-immigrant sentiment, and as such displays elements of the 'invasion complex' in which 'a multi-directional chain of associations is woven between deep vertical fears based in historical racism, and wide-open horizontal anxieties around globalization and the nation-state's failure to control global flows' (Papastergiadis 2006, p. 429). This 'invasion complex', coupled with the spatial practice of segregating Roma into camps, creates abject spaces in the city of Rome, where the abject others, Roma, are contained. Roma, profiled and objectified as criminals and nomads, are then abjected, in the sense that they are *always* strange, and unassimilable; *always* other, and never at home. The Roma in Italy are strange bodies, denied subjectivity and unable to be at home because they inhabit spaces that are not liveable: camps. In this case, the spatial aspects of socio-spatial identification in Rome are paramount: identified as abject *because* they live in camps, Roma are treated 'neither as subject (of discipline) nor objects (of elimination) but as those without presence, as inexistent beings, not because they don't exist but because their existence is rendered invisible and inaudible through abject spaces' (Isin & Rygiel 2007, p. 184).

Reports from the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI 2006, 2012) and the ERRC (2000, 2008; ERRC et al. 2009) have criticised Italy for its treatment of Roma, in both its spatial and its social segregation and marginalisation of this population. Ongoing spatial segregation of Roma in camps is accompanied by a public discourse that casts all Roma as criminals, unwilling and unable to participate in Italian society. One example of the way in which this criminalisation occurs can be seen in events surrounding a criminal act which occurred in Rome in 2007. On 31 October 2007, in Tor di Quinto in the outer suburbs of Rome, a Romanì man from Romania was accused of brutally murdering an Italian woman, Giovanna Reggiani. He had arrived in the country about 2 months previously, and was living in a camp near the train station at Tor di Quinto. He was reportedly seen carrying the victim into a nearby ditch by a

Romanì woman from the same camp, an eyewitness who provided the police with evidence that led to the man's arrest (*Corriere della Sera* 1/11/07; *La Repubblica* 1/11/07). In the aftermath of this event, politicians and the mass media demonised Roma, and Roma themselves identified this incident as inflaming anti-Roma sentiment across the country, with one man quoted as saying, 'In the first days after the murder people started to stare at us [Roma] in a very hostile way. Since then, I try to carry a stick on me when I go out of the camp' (ERRC 2008, p. 13; note that this document incorrectly cites that the incident occurred in November 2007, which was rather the month in which the ensuing moral panic reached its peak). Following this criminal act, but before a conviction was reached in the courts, the camp in Tor di Quinto was scheduled for destruction, with all inhabitants of the camp suddenly suspect, even though the crime was committed by one man and an eyewitness from that camp came forward to testify.

Nationally, the government began speaking of the need to allow for expulsions of EU citizens suspected of criminal activity, a move targeted at Romanian immigrants (Ministero dell'Interno 1/11/07 and 29/12/07), as public opinion tended towards the criminalisation of an entire population for the act of one man (Scicluna 2009, especially pages 15-16). The local hysteria was aided and abetted by the national 2007 'Declaration of Emergency' by the Interior Ministry and ANCI (*l'Associazione Nazionale dei Comuni Italiani*, or National Association of Italian Municipalities) regarding Roma camps and settlements. This 'State of Emergency' involved the implementation of 'Security Pacts' in three cities, Rome, Milan, and Naples, and was later rolled out to other Italian cities as well, with a nation-wide 'Nomad Emergency Decree' passed on 21st May 2008. This decree built on powers established in the 2007 'Security Pacts', in which police powers were expanded to allow for greater surveillance and punishment of those seen as threats to the cities' security.[30] While these earlier security measures did not target Roma specifically, unlike the 2008 decree, one section in Rome's 2007

[30] These concerns were expressed differently in the different Italian cities and regions. For example, Roma in Milan were targeted more consistently and more brutally than in Rome, perhaps due to the influence of the Lega Nord in the Municipality of Milan. For an in-depth discussion of the situation in Milan in the early years of the 21st century, see Hepworth (2012).

'Security Pact' seems to refer to Roma specifically. The text of the *Patto per Roma Sicura* (Pact for a Secure Rome, hereafter PRS, 2007, p. 3-4, my translation) speaks of creating a Commission that will engage in:

> [I]nterventions to resolve the need to contain the populations without land, as well as their social inclusion, through, respectively: the construction of four 'solidarity villages' in areas fitted out to host approximately 1000 people – each to be realised on communal or State lands – controlled by specific management regulations; and programs of destruction of unauthorised settlements, with successive redevelopment of the areas thus freed.

At the same time, police were also given power to 'intensify activities of vigilance over existing authorised settlements' (PRS 2007, p. 4, my translation). The Municipality of Rome renewed his initial 'Security Pact' in 2008, and again in 2011. The 2008 'Nomad Emergency Decree' was used at this time to further marginalise Roma in Rome; the moral panic over the presence of Roma in Italy combined with a decades-long move towards controlling Roma, in what Isabella Clough Marinaro (2009, p. 266) describes as 'a strategy of biopolitical control and gradual stripping of Roma's rights.'

Also in 2008, the government implemented a nation-wide census in which Roma living in camps were to have their fingerprints taken. The ERRC (2008, p. 19, emphasis in original) reported at the time that '*[n]o information has yet been made public as to what will happen to files and fingerprints once the present operation is completed.*' This census was implemented with the intention to target a specific ethnic minority; indeed, the government did not try to hide this intention, but couched it in spatial terms, claiming that the census was aimed at controlling residents of Italy's 'nomad' camps, part of the security measures allowed by the declaration of a national emergency. In addition to concerns over the gathering, safekeeping, and distribution of highly personal data, the ERRC (2008, p. 19) links the fingerprinting program directly to wider policies of discrimination, stating,

> These new moves follow the adoption of so-called "Pacts of Security," in place in 14 cities across Italy since November 2006, in lending support for the widespread view that security arrangements aimed entirely or primarily at Roma, in particular at foreign Roma, are currently a central policy priority of the government.

Following this nation-wide moral panic, in 2009 the city of Rome implemented a '*Piano Nomadi*', or 'Nomad Plan', which saw the closing of numerous tolerated and illegal camps across the city through 2009 and 2010. The 'nomad plan' aimed to reduce the population of Roma in Rome to a maximum of 6,000 people, only allowed to reside in official camps, with no consideration or alternative arrangements made for those thousands of Roma who were left out of this numbers game (*Associazione 21 luglio* 2010). This plan built on earlier spatial segregation in Rome; a 'solidarity village', built in 2005 in an outlying suburb of the city, was a forerunner for the kind of control and surveillance, accompanied by a lack of basic needs such as clean water and access to public transport, which Roma could expect of the City of Rome. As Marinaro (2009, p. 279) points out, such camps impose a social and spatial order on their inhabitants that does not take into account their ongoing cultural practices:

> The camp originated as a space in which to contain the physical bodies of a socially undesirable group, exerting public power over their private lives. From the outset the grid-like structure of the camp has denied any possibility for the inhabitants to lay out their homes according to their extended family networks and to create the flexible and communal living spaces that are typical of self-designed Roma settlements.

While these discriminatory policies – a census targeting a specific ethnic group, spatial segregation and ghettoisation in 'nomad camps', imposed reductions of numbers of Roma residing in a defined area – were implemented across the country, it is important to recognise that many autochthonous Italians and other residents in Italy protested at this targeting of an already-vulnerable population. Indeed, for some it was a chilling reminder of the Fascist regime's racial laws (Marinaro 2009, p. 265). Others became involved in protests and research intent on presenting alternative views of the relationship between Roma and the wider Italian community, for example the social activist network Arci's campaign, in Rome, to collect voluntarily-submitted fingerprints from other Italians and offer these to the government, as a way of pointing out the discrimination inherent in the government's fingerprinting census (Arci 4/7/08). *Associazione 21 luglio* is an NGO founded in Rome on 6 April 2010, and is involved in documenting the effects of Rome's 'Nomad Plan' on the families, and especially the children, who are effectively internally displaced within the city as a result of the ongoing destruction of unauthorised Roma camps, and the restrictions imposed on those

living in official camps. *Associazione 21 luglio* is actively involved in producing reports and videos which other organisations can access online, as well as in denouncing the discriminatory policies implemented at both a local and national level. However, these resistances to the social and spatial abjection of Roma in Italy have little effect on government policies, nor on widespread public opinion, in which Roma continue to be profiled, contained, and abjected.

I visited one of these camps prior to its closure: the camp at Tor de Cenci, another outer suburb of Rome. I had previously met one of the families resident in this camp, at a lawyer's office in the Esquilino, as they attempted to sort out the paperwork needed to remain legally resident in Italy, and another, at the *Ufficio di Anagrafe Centrale* (Central Records Office), while one of the daughters applied for Italian citizenship upon turning 18. This young woman was one of the few amongst her friends to have remained in school until the final year; as we chatted while waiting for the officials to call us into the room, she insisted that she wanted to continue with her studies and not get married, because of the abusive situation in which one of her newly-married sisters found herself. My contact, Patrizia[31], has worked with Roma in the area for many years, and calls many of the children of Tor de Cenci her own, since she has helped them to gain citizenship. It was her introduction that gave me access to people's homes. The camp was divided into sections based on country of origin, with Macedonian Roma tending to group together in one part of the camp and Bosnian Roma in another. One woman invited us into her house; the structure, divided into a living area and bedroom, with a small bathroom, was immaculately clean, and our shoes were taken off at the door. A large TV stood in one corner: the majority population often sees the expensive televisions and cars as signs of criminality in Romanì communities, an assumption that is common across Europe (see for example Bancroft 2005, especially pp. 55-56). We looked at family photos, and spoke about the shop that the family had set up in a lean-to, added to their home. This shop was the family's main source of income, supplemented by the odd jobs, mostly in labouring, that the husband managed to find.

[31] Real name used, but surname omitted.

In another section of the camp, a Bosnian Roma family invited us in for coffee. There, the structure was larger, with many generations living under the one roof and a common area covered with rugs onto which the men ashed their cigarettes directly, throwing the butts across the room to the tiled section of the floor. There was a higher level of tension in this area of the camp; while we were drinking coffee and talking with the parents of a newborn baby a car came speeding into the open area outside followed closely by a police car. This was, it seemed, a regular occurrence, with people reacting not with surprise but with well-rehearsed lines and only minimal curiosity. At that point, we made our way back to the Macedonian side of the camp and into the home of another family, where we watched a video of a recent wedding and discussed the upcoming dismantling of the camp. Officials had still not informed the inhabitants when the camp would be destroyed, saying only, 'There's time,' which Patrizia interpreted to mean in the New Year (2010). No one knew, then, where they would move to, whether the government would provide any alternative accommodation or whether they would essentially be made homeless following the camp's closure.

One striking image has stayed with me from that particular visit. As we left the camp, a young man with whom I had been chatting stood at the entrance watching us leave. There, at the border between camp and street, a new structure could be seen: a family had moved there after being evicted from another camp. Broken toys and other scraps were strewn across the ground. Although the rest of the camp was quite clean it was this view that passers-by would see. As we left, amongst it all stood the young man, dressed from head to toe in immaculately clean white clothes, a stark contrast to the garbage around him. I mention this here because so often, in discussions about Roma camps in Italy, this is one of the main issues brought up by other residents in the area: the unsightly mess. Garbage is formed of bits and pieces of human life that have been classified as dirt. As long as these bits and pieces of garbage are still recognisable as objects, according to Mary Douglas (1966, p. 197), 'they are dangerous; their half-identity still clings to them and the clarity of the scene in which they intrude is impaired by their presence.' Garbage takes time to become unrecognisable, but

once it does so it loses its identity, and 'does not even create ambiguous perceptions since it clearly belongs in a defined place, a rubbish heap' (Douglas 1966, p. 198). But in the scene I recall, the garbage sits not in a place set aside for that purpose but at the border between camp and city, and amongst it stands a figure dressed all in white, resisting the association of the camp with dirt. In this scene, a politics of abjection and resistance (Isin & Rygiel 2007, p. 184-185) is visible: the dirt, which seems from the outside to extend into the camp and overtake all, does not in fact extend into its interiors, its homes, nor its residents.

Excluded from belonging in the city, the vulnerable population examined here is abjected through both social and spatial practices. The spaces of the city that have been adapted to inhabitation by the Roma are not, in fact, empty; when this comes to the attention of authorities, attempts are made to make those spaces empty, to expel the inhabitants, and to contain them instead in 'official' camps. Roma, relegated to living spaces that are under government control, thus lose the rights of other citizens. Camps in this sense act as abject spaces, whose contextual specificity is important to recognise, since 'different kinds of abject spaces employ different strategies to reduce people to abject inexistence, not only creating varying conditions of rightlessness but also making different logics of resistance possible' (Isin & Rygiel 2007, p. 185).

In Rome today, resistance (however limited) to the restrictive labels and spatial exclusions to which Roma are subject can be seen in the reaction against the government's fingerprinting program, while Roma themselves are organising and seeking self-representation, through organisations such as *Federazione Romanì*. However, such attempts are few and far between, and rarely mentioned in public discourse. The representation of Roma remains, then, that of an unindividuated population that is hypervisible in its negative associations with criminality and nomadism, while its *permanence* in the city remains invisible and individuals are denied full membership of 'the public'. Roma are *only visible as indivisible*, seen only when a crime has been committed or an 'empty' space has been appropriated for inhabitation. Roma, thus, are invisible because they are

abjected, subject to tighter controls, fingerprinting, confinement in 'official' camps, allowed only and forever to be the stranger who is never home.

Afghani refugees: slipping through the cracks

Afghani refugees are a relatively new group arriving in Italy; prior to the ratification of the Dublin II Regulation in 2003, in which European states agreed that refugee applications must be made in the country of arrival, Afghanis passing through Italy tended to move onto other European countries before lodging a claim for asylum; despite the restrictions of Dublin II, this movement further into European space still occurs today. Nonetheless, there are increasing numbers of Afghanis remaining in Italy, and in Rome. Given the lack of sociological studies published about this population in Italy, I begin with some statistical data that provides information on their presence in that country, before moving on to a discussion of the particular case study of Afghani men living in temporary shelter in Ostiense, in central Rome. It must also be noted that some Afghanis have lived in Italy for much longer; indeed, of the three Afghanis I met who agreed to recorded interviews, two had lived in Italy for over ten years. The third was a refugee still awaiting a response to his claim for asylum, and as will be explored in more detail below, his voice is the most fractured and traumatised of those I recorded while conducting my fieldwork.

The other information that forms the basis of this case study is taken from observations I made during my involvement with *Kyrios*, a Christian charity group run through the Evangelical Church of Trastevere in Rome, which every Saturday provides a cooked meal to the Afghani men of Ostiense in a nearby piazza. On 28th September 2009 I interviewed Elisabeth[32], the member of *Kyrios* responsible for organising the meal distribution, and throughout my involvement with *Kyrios* I spoke to some of those Afghani men who had learned Italian, but language and cultural differences, as well as the population's

[32] Real name used, but surname omitted.

transience and extreme deprivation, made communication with many of the men difficult. At the same time, I was aware that these men were being asked to recount and alter their life stories so that they reflected the kinds of stories required by the bureaucracy surrounding the processing of refugee claims, and decided early on that I would assist with their material needs in what ways I could, without asking for yet another 'official' recounting of their lives, and instead rely on observations and informal conversations for my research.

According to data from the *Caritas/Migrantes Dossier Statistico* of 2009, requests for refugee status in Italy increased by 116% from 2007 to 2008, with 14,053 requests made in 2007 and 30,324 in 2008. Given the delays between registration of a request for asylum and arrival of the official response, as well as the stringent requirements for recognition as a refugee, there is a significant difference between the number of requests made and the number of requests examined by officials in any given calendar year: in 2007, 13,509 requests were examined, while 21,447 were examined in 2008. According to the UNHCR, in 2010 Italy received only 10,000 claims for asylum, a five-year low, with the number increasing again in 2011 to 34,100 applications for asylum – placing Italy fourth amongst industrialised nations for numbers of asylum applications (UNHCR 2011, p. 9). The UNHCR attributes the drop in asylum claims in Italy between 2008 and 2010 to the then-active agreement with Libya, in which boatloads of asylum seekers located in the Mediterranean sea en route to Italy were 'returned' to Libya, where they were held in camps or sent on to third countries. Afghanistan remains the country with amongst the highest number of asylum applicants in the European Union, moving from 2nd place behind Serbia (including Kosovo) in 2010, to 1st place in 2011 (UNCHR 2011, p. 24). In Italy, 2,005 applications for asylum were lodged by Afghanis in 2008, placing it fourth in the rank of sending countries (*Caritas/Migrantes* 2009, p. 502). In 2011, that number had dropped to 880, though this number excludes approximately 16,000 asylum applications that were not categorised by country of origin (UNHCR 2011, p. 27). The UNHCR ranks Afghanistan third on countries of origin of asylum seekers in Italy in 2010, behind Nigeria and Pakistan respectively (UNHCR 2011, p. 42); the lack of data for 2011 makes the organisation's analysis

incomplete, though Afghanistan is still listed in the top seven countries of origin (UNHCR 2011, p. 44).

Despite the numbers of Afghani refugees circulating through European space, and Italy's relatively large number of refugee applications (from all 'source' countries, not just Afghanistan), refugees in general, and Afghanis in particular, remain invisible in public discourse in Italy, except perhaps once they are no longer living in precarious situations as refugees but are subsumed into the category of the 'Muslim other'. Indeed, in an analysis of 'Islamophobia' in the Italian media, Rinella Cere (2002, p. 135) argues that following the 2001 bombing of the World Trade Centre in New York by Islamic fundamentalists and the subsequent incursion of American and allied troops into Afghanistan, 'the media appears to have suddenly taken to hear the fate of the Afghani people and of the hundreds of thousands of women and children who have been living in refugee camps in Pakistan since 1996.' At the same time, there was a complementary move that demonised Muslim men, and cast all Muslims already living within European space as a problem, or rather, as more of a problem than they had already been before terrorism breached the security of the USA. Such discourses create a dichotomy in which Islam is seen as foreign to the West, with Islam defined as 'the crucial marker defining the boundaries of insider-hood/outsider-hood in Europe' (Salih 2004, p. 998).

According to Annamaria Rivera (2009, p. 12, my translation), this failure to recognise the ongoing presence of minorities is due in part to the continuing representation of immigration as 'new':

> Every time mainstream politics and media strategies…bring attention to one topic or another, this or that "emergency", regarding the relations *us/others*, they present it…as though it were unprecedented… [T]he political and media discourse – characterised…by the rhetoric of the new and by immediacy – always tend to cancel the antecedents and the development, or rather the repetition, of topics, events, "emergencies".

In part, this marginalisation in public discourse adds to their spatial marginalisation: since services to assist with housing are inadequate, and public officials engage in the ongoing dismantling of the temporary accommodations that refugees themselves create, this transient and vulnerable population is

obliged 'to search for refuge in ever more precarious and insecure places' (Cerqua & Trusiani 2011, p. 3, my translation). The area near Piazzale Ostiense has been inhabited by Afghani refugees since at least 2004, according to word of mouth; this is perhaps not a long period of time from some points of view but it is certainly not 'new' in terms of temporary shelter. The NGO *Medu* (*Medici per I Diritti Umani*, or 'Doctors for Human Rights') distributed tents to homeless Afghanis living at Ostiense in 2007, and since then continued to engage in direct action with this population.[33] *Kyrios*, the group I was involved with, has been distributing food to the group at Ostiense since 2004 (see further discussion below). Despite these ongoing initiatives, the population of this encampment at Ostiense has consistently been represented in public discourse as transient, with *La Repubblica* still reporting, in 2012, on the 'invisible refugees of the capital' (*La Repubblica* 14/5/12). Homeless Afghanis (and other refugees) have had ongoing contact with non-government aid groups, while remaining invisible to government, since in the Italian case, 'institutions have failed to develop a *public* system of reception, which is counter-balanced by a parallel development of a *private* one' (Puggioni 2005, p. 320). Spatial segregation seems almost inevitable in such a system, with refugees finding it difficult to break out of the cycle of dependence on homeless shelters and homelessness. The population at Ostiense changes constantly, not only because new arrivals join the camp while others leave for other destinations, but also because many find themselves returning there after periods living in homeless shelters. The area of Ostiense that hosts this population becomes, thus, 'a place of transit…for people who are not recognised as being part of the city, a place to cancel, removed from programs, consciousness, perceptions, populated by wanderers and "invisibles"' (Cerqua & Trusiani 2011, p. 3, my translation). It is not empty, but empty of people who can exercise their rights and demand that their needs be met by the State in which they are claiming asylum. It is in this sense an 'abject space', which 'govern[s] precisely by attempting to prevent individuals from exercising political subjectivity' (Isin & Rygiel 2007, p. 188).

---

[33] See the *MEDU* website, www.mediciperidirittiumani.org, and especially the page 'Progetto Camper per I Diritti', www.mediciperidirittiumani.org/camper.htm, for further information.

At the same time, restrictive immigration regimes in European space mean that refugees are often turned into repeat border crossers: the Dublin II Regulation of 2003 created a database of fingerprints indicating which country a person first entered European space, and to which they can be returned if found to have travelled on to another European country. Thus, for example, if someone has been registered in Greece but since travelled to France, France is not required to assess their refugee status but can return the offending individual to Greece. Individuals continue to move within European space regardless of the rules of the Dublin II Regulation, since many of the states first entered, on the edges of European space, are not seen to be desirable places of settlement after the initial flight from their home country. In a study which focuses on Afghani refugees living in Paris, Liza Schuster (2011) discusses the transformation of refugees into 'illegal migrants' that occurs as a result of this European immigration regime. Schuster (2011, pp. 1302-1393) argues,

> Throughout the sometimes very long process that leads to recognition (or refusal), someone forced to flee their country of habitual residence due to fear of or actual persecution does not cease to be a refugee, even though during and after that process one may be categorized as an asylum seeker, a failed asylum seeker or an "illegal migrant".

Individual member states also contribute to this *making illegal* of refugees. In Italy, the border police decide whether a refugee is allowed to enter the country; unsuccessful refugees are often successful border crossers, and 'those asylum seekers who are rejected at the border often succeed in entering the country "illegally", so that their presence is perceived as part of a category of "clandestine" and threatening migrant populations' (Capussotti & Ellena 2003, p. 149). These populations, while *bodily* visible in public space, are not visible as part of 'the public'. In Rome, Afghani refugees themselves reveal the '*tensions* between being *in* public and being public' (Iveson 2007, p. 213): making use of public spaces as their living spaces, these marginalised inhabitants of the city of Rome are not members of 'the public'. Focusing on individuals' relative visibility or invisibility as members of the public, Brighenti (2010, p. 51) argues that 'visibility is the element in which social sorting of people takes place, relegating some social groups into invisibility.' That is, marginalisation occurs through making some minorities invisible as members of the public. But, as Brighenti (2010, p. 51) states, it may also be 'hard-to-deal-with social problems' that are

'invisibilised.' Certainly this seems to be the case for Afghani refugees in Rome: made invisible as inhabitants of the city through a bureaucratic structure that continues to view their presence as always new, they also have problematic relationships with the social services upon which they depend.

The frustration felt by refugees, their dependence on NGOs to meet their basic material needs, as well as the constant frustrating interactions with officials, leads to periods of 'enforced idleness' and, in some cases, to 'depression and psychological damage' (Schuster 2011, pp. 1402-1403). This comes through very clearly in my interactions with one Afghani man in particular: a refugee twice over, this young man's family had fled years previously to Iran, and yet in Italy he repeatedly represented himself as a refugee from Afghanistan, essentially erasing an entire period of his youth in another country. The uncertainty of his status in Italy, and his inability to provide for himself or to find regular work, led him to stop contacting his family, since he didn't want to let them know how much he was suffering. Members of *Kyrios*, his lawyers and doctors, and staff at his refuge knew about these psychological issues, and some medical assistance was provided, but this was hindered by his mistrust of officials, including doctors. When describing his journey to Italy, this young man spoke about the fear of the open sea, the tight confines of a rickety boat, and his arrest by police upon arrival in Greece. When the police placed him and his companions into their vehicle, he said, 'Getting onto the police car, then I was afraid… And then I fell to the ground in the car, no? Fell to the ground…and then I went to hospital for ten days. That I felt sick, like that. I can't speak, like that' (Interview 16/9/09). He also spoke of wanting to leave Italy, his frustration with the bureaucratic process of applying for refugee status clear. He makes a distinction between institutional and everyday Italy, claiming,

> *The people I like in Italy, they're not racist, but the law no… It's too racist with us. We're refugees in Italy but they're too racist…act badly…all the reception centres in Rome, Caritas, they all always behave badly with us. The people no, the people are good to us, but the law…too racist. (Interview 16/9/09)*

This statement recognises the difference between the State and the 'people', as well as paying homage to those few friends he had made during his time in Italy. The 'State', in this statement, is embodied by staff at the reception centres who were carrying out the institutional or systemic racism, described here through the accusation of 'bad behaviour'. He saw those staff members not as the 'good people' he thinks Italians to be, but as officials who are not to be trusted.

In other parts of the interview, this young man spoke about his youth in Iran, where his family had lived for many years as refugees. In Iran, this man dreamed not of returning to Afghanistan, but of continuing the journey, to Italy. He says:

> *In Iran it's not a democratic country, we're not free. And I wanted one day to come to Italy, I wanted to from a young age….I saw the city [Rome] on TV and I liked it, I liked it a lot. And so I wanted to come to Italy. And so now I've arrived….*
>
> *[Interviewer: And now that you're here, is Italy like you imagined it or not?] No, it's good Italy. That is, not for me, because I don't have documents and I can't do anything, no? I can't work, I can't do anything. But yes, I like being in Italy, without documents though it's difficult. (Interview 16/9/09)*

Other Afghani refugees I spoke to echoed similar sentiments, with many remembering having seen pictures of Rome before journeying to Italy. Upon arrival, all found themselves stuck in this limbo of waiting for documentation, often for years, living in temporary accommodation in reception centres or in the shelters set up at Ostiense, finding illegal work where they could, and waiting. Some were angrier at their situation than the man I interviewed; others intent on improving it; still others spoke constantly of moving on. Schuster (2005, p. 767) recognises the links between status mobility and geographical mobility, with refugees in particular subject to a geographical mobility that results from their presence in Europe as '"refugees-in-orbit" – individuals for whom no state would take responsibility and who were forced to travel from one country to another seeking asylum.' That is, their inability to gain legal status in one country pushes them to move to other countries in the hope that they can gain legal status there. There is generally a high level of instability in residency status in Italy, with many immigrants going through periods of illegality; as Schuster (2005, p. 769)

argues, 'this mobility, both geographical and between migration statuses, means that there is a growing population in Europe whose interests are scarcely represented in public fora.'

One of the ways in which refugees are made invisible in public fora is through lack of recognition. That is, they are not (always) recognised as being present in host countries, nor are their reasons for fleeing their home countries, and their agency in decisions about whether to leave and where to go is subsumed by their labelling as victims. In order to gain refugee status, a particular kind of story is required, one which speaks of involuntary movement, a lack of choice, and a fear of persecution and return. This constant re-making of the self as a refugee in the contemporary period involves a negotiation between the personal stories of those who have fled conflict or persecution (or environmental disasters and economic hardship) to fit the label(s) assigned by the state in which the claim for recognition is made. In this process, the parts of the story that don't fit – the agency of the refugees themselves in decision-making processes, the economy of smuggling and fake documentation, the networks of information flow between those already in European space and those attempting to enter – are made invisible in interactions with the bureaucracy of the state. However, this is only ever part of the story. As Maja Korac (2009, p. 6) argues in a study of home-making amongst Yugoslavian refugees in Rome, 'refugees are very often approached and represented as victims, traumatised, passive and helpless, rather than as people who actively struggle to overcome their victimisation.' When the other elements of the refugee's story are ignored, an erasure occurs, the erasure of the active elements of refugee movements. The result is a lack of acknowledgement of the ways that refugeehood is 'a *transformative* experience and practice, a process...[which] opens up new social spaces and opportunities for refugees...because new life circumstances allow for the awareness of two "homes" and cultures' (Korac 2009, p. 7, emphasis in original). However, in contrast to Korac's approach, I would argue that this socio-spatial identification with more than one place needs to be pluralised: rather than being perceived as the contact between home and host society, migration needs to be recognised as contact between multiple places. Many Afghani refugees spend extensive periods

in Iran or Pakistan before moving on to third countries, and this experience alters their self-perception, especially for those who spend their childhood outside Afghanistan.[34]

Although invisible in the eyes of the State, refugees in Italy are certainly not invisible to the volunteer and NGO sector. The volunteer organisation I became involved with in 2009, *Kyrios*, is run by the Evangelical Church in Trastevere. While the church had engaged in charity works for many years, this organisation was officially constituted in 2004. They work with the Municipality of Rome on a number of projects; their work with the Afghani refugees in Ostiense is only one aspect of *Kyrios*' charity work. Elisabeth, the woman who managed this activity of *Kyrios* at the time I was there, explained to me in an interview that she came across the Afghani camp at Ostiense while volunteering with the Salvation Army. As she said,

> *They [the Salvation Army] basically have a little van that drives around Rome during the winter months on Wednesdays and Sundays, and visits certain areas to drop off food, and their last stop was the Ostiense station if they had something left over…and there were these little guys from Afghanistan there, at the time there were about thirty or forty, and they were always so grateful for the tea, so I thought, you know, I got really, really hopping mad… And I thought, you know, these guys have only known war for their entire lives because they were all younger than 25 so it's ah… and we're talking 2002. So after the…what are they called…the emergency of the cold…winter…ended in March or April, I said you know, our church can bring at least some tea and cookies on Sunday night. And we've continued doing that, basically I've been doing that ever since. (Interview 28/9/09)*

From there, she explained, the Afghani men were included in the existing Church charity organisation that came to be called *Kyrios*. By the time I arrived in 2009, *Kyrios* was providing over 100 packed lunches every Saturday to the Afghani

[34] See Chatty (2010) for a discussion of the situation of Afghani youth raised in Iran in recent years.

refugees at Ostiense. The volunteers involved came from a range of backgrounds: some were Italian; some, like Elisabeth, were more privileged immigrants from Europe, the USA, and Australia. Not all were members of the church: as Elisabeth said, on our first meeting at the church, if someone is willing to help they are welcomed regardless of faith. Indeed, without an open attitude the work with Afghani refugees can become difficult, as I witnessed in the interactions between the Muslim refugees and some of the more vocally Christian volunteers.

The question of religion came up also in an interview with an Afghani woman who had been living in Rome for over fifteen years. Her husband was Afghani, but had migrated to Italy thirty years previously; hers was an arranged marriage, and she had not met him until their wedding in Pakistan. Once in Italy, this woman explained, she had to get used to wearing Western clothes, because the veil made her too conspicuous, too subject to the gaze of Italians. Her decision to stop wearing the veil was made, she explained, in order to avoid the constant questioning of friends and strangers alike. By the time we met, she had even stopped wearing it during the month of Ramadan. While her experience of religious difference in Italy was overall not described as problematic, she did explain that during 2001 and the few years following, tensions were higher. As she recalled,

> *Once yes, I went to Piazza Navona [in central Rome], there was an Italian man. [I was] speaking with my friend, this man asked where I was from and I told him Afghanistan. He asked me where Bin Laden was and I told him 'I don't know', and he said 'You're all dangerous, you come with the bombs…' And I told him, 'Watch out because I'll explode!'….This made me suffer a lot, yes, but then I said ok…he must be an ignorant man… (Interview 21/11/09)*

This interviewee explains that when she saw the state of newer Afghani refugees, those who began arriving in Italy after American and allied forces entered Afghanistan, she became involved in activities to assist these new arrivals. We met through *Kyrios*, where she had started volunteering. Another man who I met through *Kyrios* had arrived in Italy as a refugee from Afghanistan over ten years ago. His involvement with newly arrived refugees was extensive, and indeed his

own flight from Afghanistan had resulted from his family's involvement in the politics and social life of the country. He explained that many Afghanis arrive in Italy by chance, and many still intend to move on to other countries throughout Europe. He explained that Rome as a city has both positive and negative elements for refugees:

> *In Rome there are 7 places where you can eat, where you can have a shower, where you can get second-hand clothes. But if you leave Rome these things in other cities are rare. And these services are offered by other people, by social entities, not by the state. So it's easy [in that respect]. It's difficult because here you're not constrained to only speak Italian. Like at Piazza Vittorio, if you're Arabic, if you're Bengali, you're fine, you don't need to speak Italian because all your countrymen are there, with the language you know. But this, in Bologna or in Crotone this doesn't happen [and you are forced to learn Italian]. (Interview 18/11/09)*

As he explained, he saw this as a difficulty because he felt that many newer arrivals were able to avoid making efforts to enter into the social fabric of Rome. He was wary that new arrivals could fall into the formation of a kind of ghetto mentality, a problem which he recognised as being caused both by individual's actions as well as by the State's lack of efforts towards recognition of the multicultural reality that exists in Italian cities today. The institutional invisibility of Afghani refugees leaves newer arrivals in a position of insecurity that is recognisable to those who are involved with them, who interact with them on a regular basis, and who advocate for them at a social and political level.

The Afghani men I met who were living in the camp at Ostiense reflected this sense of insecurity. They were wary of speaking to strangers, though once they began to see a new face as a regular amongst the *Kyrios* volunteers, they opened up – but even then, their silences shaped their stories as much as their words. In a study of narrative structures in the stories of undocumented migrants and refugees, Roberto Beneduce (2008) argues that these inconsistencies are a challenge to the social amnesia that would disregard the continuing effect of historical forces and colonial legacies in today's migrations from the poorest regions of the world to the richest. These stories, according to Beneduce (2008,

p. 508), 'attest to a bare reality of atrocities and death, of violence and abuse, to an excess of the real impossible to symbolize.' The disjointed narratives, and the wariness of recounting them to strangers, is one of the ways that the experiences leading to the flight to a safe(r) place come to be inscribed on the bodies of asylum seekers. That is, '[t]heir speech and their bodies remind us of a difference that most of us would rather forget' (Beneduce 2008, p. 508). I recall sitting at a café with a few of the young Afghani men, and a few other of the younger volunteers. At one point, one of the Afghani men mentioned that he hadn't spoken to his family in over a month; when asked why, he said that he hadn't been able to contact them since a bomb exploded in his town. We, the volunteers, offered what comfort we could while the other men silently nodded, sharing the experience of exile. We sat in silence for a while until enough space had been made for the pain to subside, until the conversation could move on to other topics. During that conversation, we, in Rome, were accompanied by the men's invisible ties to a homeland that could no longer contain them; to families that could not always be found, despite the increasing proximity of distant others brought about by the technologies of globalisation. Absence, in this sense, multiplies. Conversations are haunted by absences: the absence of their loved ones; the absence of themselves from home (and from themselves); and the absence of a legal label (such as 'refugee') that would allow them to remake a home (and a self) elsewhere.

Conclusion

This chapter has dealt with two very different populations, both of whom nonetheless share an experience of social and spatial marginalisation. The marginalisation experienced by Roma and Afghani refugees in Rome rests on their invisibility as actors in the public sphere, and their hyper-visibility in public space. Living in public spaces, their bodies exceed the boundaries between public and private, while their private lives are open to public scrutiny in the most invasive of ways. Forced to constantly combat being subsumed under discourses that refuse to recognise their individuality, and denied access to legal

documentation that would legitimise their inhabitation of the city, these populations are unable to enact full subjectivity. Their precarious legal statuses are complemented by equally precarious living arrangements, so that neither group can fully claim to belong in the city of Rome. I do not make this argument to claim that all individuals within these groups necessarily *want* to claim to belong in the city; rather, that even those who do are not able to, And, furthermore, those who do wish to maintain a nomadic lifestyle, in the case of Roma, or move on to other European states, in the case of Afghani refugees, are restricted from doing so by the proliferation of borders in the contemporary era of the nation-state.

The two groups focused on in this chapter live in precarious situations in which their material deprivations take precedence over political involvement, but at the same time, their plight is recognised by some government officials, NGOs and individuals in Rome, and moves are made to assist them and to counter their marginalisation in government policies. Resistances occur also in the actions of the marginalised themselves, who return to occupy the spaces from which they have been expelled by officials, and who continue to cross borders regardless of the efforts to stop them from doing so. While the socio-spatial exclusions faced by the people discussed in this chapter are seemingly insurmountable, they do not occur in isolation. Rather, the socio-spatial identification of strangers in the city of Rome problematises hegemonic understandings of the city and its population. As I have argued throughout the two chapters that form Part II of this thesis, legal categorisations of belonging intertwine with the everyday senses of belonging (or not belonging) that are experienced by migrants and minority groups themselves. This occurs because of the combination of material and imaginative processes of making home, in which narratives about place and belonging are woven into the embodied presence of migrants and minorities in the city. In this sense, then, hegemonic images of Rome are fractured by the very presence of these abjected others, who return to challenge the very discourses and policies that would see them expelled. Rome, thus, is always-already multiple, a city in which meanings and identities proliferate, crossing the borders

that would keep them out. It is to this combination of material and imaginative processes of belonging that I turn, in the following section.

PART III: EMBODIED AND VIRTUAL MULTIPLICITY

Plate 9

Cucimondo: cooking and singing with the Ukraine

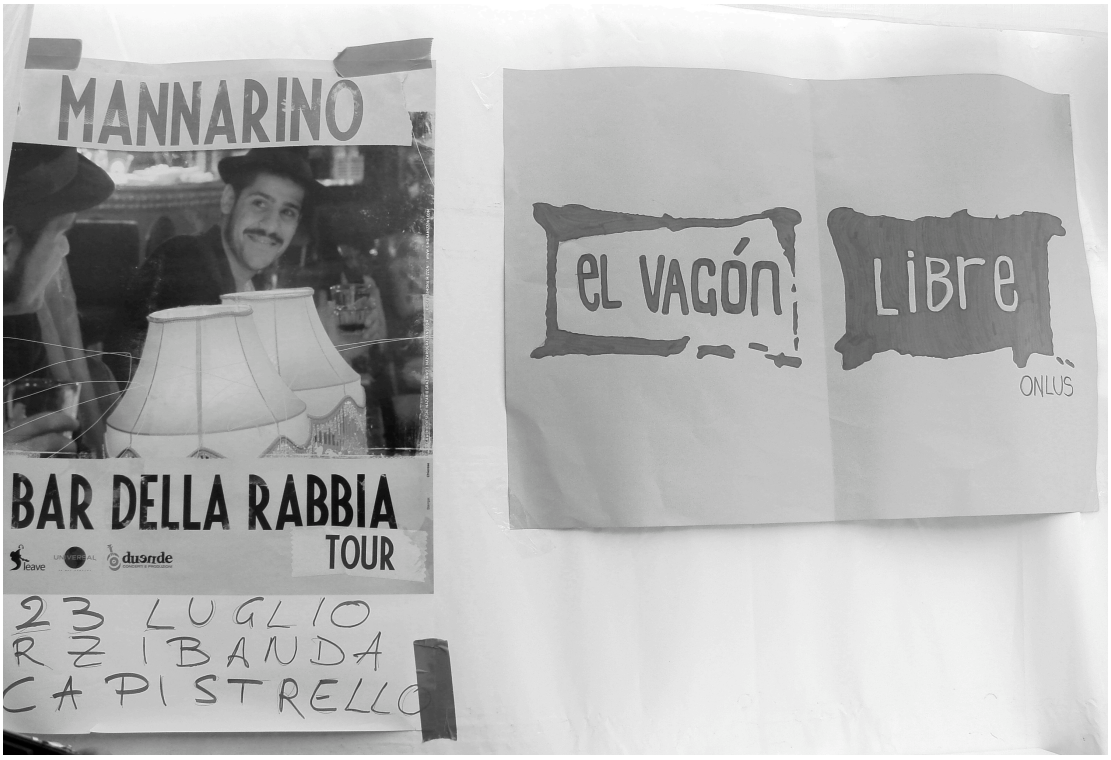
Rome 2009

Plate 10

Collecting rubbish in the Pigneto with *El Vagon Libre*

Rome 2009

Plate 11



Posters: *El Vagon Libre* in l'Aquila

l'Aquila 2010

Plate 12

El Vagon Libre in l'Aquila: realising the extent of destruction after the earthquake l'Aquila 2010

6. ‘A Culture of Food’: Sensory Experience and Ethnic Identity

Introduction

In Parts I and II of this thesis, I have developed a discussion of Rome as imagined and experienced through the city’s representations in film and literature, and through the experience of the tensions between migrants’ legal/official and everyday senses of belonging and being at home. In Part III, I turn to the examination of multiplicity, with two chapters that explore socio-spatial identification and its translation into other forms: the materiality of food as both a social and a spatial signifier; and active efforts at the grass roots level to change understandings of Rome in both material and virtual space. This first chapter in Part III focuses on a theme that emerged strongly from my fieldwork, that is, the sensory experience of migration, expressed through discussions about food. Food is more than just sustenance for the body. Certain flavours can remind us of a particular place or time, or an event that we recall from our childhood, just as other flavours can taste strange in our mouth and make us feel strange in our bodies. Food is memory (Holtzman 2006), in its most sensual form. Losing the foods of our childhood serves as a visceral reminder of what the body longs for but cannot access: the homeland left behind (Ben-Ze’ev 2004); the childhood food-scapes altered by time (Duruz 2005); the variety of peach that is no longer grown (Seremetakis 1994); and the recipes that died with an older generation (Counihan 2004). Analysis of the sensory nature of exchanges that occur through food shows potential for a rearticulation of socio-spatial identification that emphasises the intimate, embodied exchanges that occur in the everyday.

In a memoir of the role of food in her family’s experience of migration from southern India to London, Parvathi Raman (2011, p. 171) writes, ‘As time went

by, our food became entangled with memories and a sense of what we had left behind or even thought we had lost. However, this only developed as our relationship changed with our home elsewhere and our home of here and now.' Getting used to new ways of eating, after migrating to a new place, or adjusting old recipes to new ingredients, or teaching children, friends, and family how to cook the recipes learned from parents and grandparents, are all ways of expressing connections to places through the sensory experience of eating. At the same time, food is a material reminder of the presence of the 'other' in the places affected by migration. The smells of 'new' foods cooking, the unfamiliar practices of mealtimes, ingredients and cooking methods create opportunities for encounter between the self and the other. These encounters have the potential to be both positive and negative, both meaningful and superficial. Amanda Wise (2011, pp. 106), in a study of everyday multiculturalism in a Sydney suburb, describes the encounters with difference that food allows:

> [F]ood has far more than a symbolic, discursive role in mediating relations between self and other. It has the capacity to re-orient bodies in both positive and negative ways. It is because food is taken into our bodies through the gut, the palate, through aroma, and visual invocations of visceral feelings, making us porous, that it is experienced and responded to so intensely.

Food, combining materiality and everyday practices with sustenance that is essential for survival, is integral to an understanding of the embodied experience of identity. Food, that is, and the discourses of identity and place that surround it, 'articulates a sense of the self and a sense of belonging to a particular place.... [and] practices and discourses surrounding food assist or inhibit the formation of transnational imagination' (Sun 2002, p. 139).

The strong sense of tradition in Italy, which includes attachment to local produce and recipes, makes this introduction of new sensations controversial, at times. The chapter begins with a conversational exchange between myself and one of my interviewees, and friends, over the six months I spent in Rome doing fieldwork in 2009. I use this exchange as a starting point for a discussion of the role of food in forming and maintaining identity in Italy. I then analyse the discourses, and experiences, of food found in the Municipality of Rome's introduction of 'ethnic menus' in primary school canteens in 2005, intended to familiarise students with the cuisines of that city's immigrant populations, and

the subsequent reorientation of the program to one of 'regional menus' focussing on *Italian* dishes. Following this, I describe encounters in the city: eating out in the Esquilino, where 'ethnic' restaurants are the norm, and evenings with *Cucimondo* ('Cook the World'), an initiative aimed at providing space for intercultural exchange through food. Eating out, in local restaurants, can be a means of allowing the taste-buds to travel while the body remains in place. This is not only a kind of multicultural tourism in the city, but also a way of reconnecting with remembered flavours, spices, and smells, as well as connecting with people who share the city's spaces. *Cucimondo*, an organisation that invites members of Rome's many immigrant communities to teach recipes to, and share a meal with, the (mainly Italian) students, takes up this idea to create opportunities for sharing stories of migration, and the sensory experience of traditional recipes, in a conscious effort to build connections between today's inhabitants of Rome, regardless of their diverse origins. Food, throughout the chapter, is shown as an everyday act of nourishing more than just the body: through the evocation of strong, visceral reactions to new or familiar flavours, different places come into contact with each other and the distance between 'here' and 'there' is collapsed through the sensory ingestion of place into the body.

Food: a really strong thing

Food is a material, visceral reminder of the importance of embodiment in socio-spatial identification. The association of certain foods and practices of eating with certain places and people links racialised identities to places through sensory experience and consumption. The sensory experience of food, its 'taste and smell...as well as the aesthetics of its making are central to embodied racial identities' (Slocum 2010, p. 316). The tastes and smells of ingredients common in certain cuisines can recall those places to mind, bringing them into the here-and-now. In contemporary cities, the ready availability of flavours from around the world leads to fusion, or 'an unusual range of "creolised" tastes' (Duruz 2011, p.

49), where food presents, in the here-and-now, a material reminder of embodied multiplicity.

I interviewed Paola in Piazza Vittorio, in late autumn, 2009. This recorded interview is only one conversation among many that Paola and I had over the course of my stay in Rome. We often met for coffee or gelato, and occasionally went to the cinema, developing a friendship between two people living in a city that was not the one we were born in. Like me, Paola's original desire to come to Italy was informed by her Italian heritage; she had lived in Rome for seven years when I met her, but has since left. Even when we met, she was preparing to leave, and often spoke about how frustrated she had become with Italy, how much she missed Colombia. In the 'conversation' presented here, I interweave the words from Paola's recorded interview with my own observations and experiences, imitating some of our reflections over coffee or sweets while in Rome.

Paola speaks of the non-visual, sensory elements of place, those material yet seemingly intangible aspects of place that allow us to feel comfortable or alienated, connected or distanced, in our body and in our surroundings. She says,

> *I miss the music a lot because I've noticed, and this is also a beautiful thing and important for me, that every culture has its strong things, you know? When I lived in Colombia, I'd never left my country, things seemed normal... I don't know, the music... For us it's a very important thing, but to me it seemed normal, understand? When I came here I realised that we are a culture of, of... of music, of sounds. Here it's a culture of food. (Interview 11/9/09)*

Paola's voice, talking about the music of Colombia, is joyous; she almost sings her memories of the music and dancing of the parties, the festivals, which she went to in her youth. The aural world of Colombia seemed natural, the only aural world there ever could be. It was only upon leaving, and travelling to Italy, that Paola realised the specificity of this aural world, its located nature. In Paola's

words, Italy has 'a culture of food': eating together, people socialise; talking about food, people show their affection for and care of each other. In Italy it is food, in Colombia it is music, which orients people's social interactions in place.

> *Yeah, so this is important because as I said before when I lived there I'd never left, so for me it was normal to hear music everywhere, to have... all this music in our lives. And when I came here I realised that it's something that's ours, because here the culture is about food. Here it's all about food, you can have parties without music but never without food. You know? When you organise a party the first thing people ask is, "What are you taking to eat?" It's all about food, no? (Interview 11/9/09)*

Paola notices the differences most at social gatherings in Rome, where people will quite happily forego music but would never go without food. Her experience of this difference, in the sensory landscape of social gatherings, helps her to realise one of the ways in which she defines herself as Colombian and not Italian, one of the ways in which she notices desire for something absent, something that her body, her senses, remember of Colombia. This is an absence that is not fulfilled in Italy. Paola's words remind me, as we speak, of the absences that I hear in the aural landscape of Rome: for me it was always the sound of birds that was missing. Australian birds have such distinctive cries that can be heard across the city of Sydney, above the sounds of the trucks and trains, crows and cockatoos calling out their presence in the midst of the metropolis. Not in Rome. The *corvi* (rooks), circling in large flocks above Termini station, were disconcerting in their lack of noise, the flapping of their wings the only sound that marked their presence. Whether music on buses or birds in the trees, Paola and I heard the absence of the familiar sounds of our cities in every step we took through Rome's streets.

Paola and I both recall childhoods filled with the aromas and tastes of Italian food, though for us in Australia and Colombia this was something experienced through family, who one or two generations ago had brought their food practices to our two distant cities. Eating in Italy was different again, since, once there, it

became clear how hybrid ours and our families' food practices had become: a little bit Italian, true, but an Italian-in-exile, altered to match the ingredients available half way across the world, or added to with flavours brought to our cities through other migrations, from other parts of the world. And the differences between Italy and Colombia, for Paola, were not really about the ingredients, after all.

> *But more than anything, more than food it's about culture, in the sense that for us mealtimes, sure, they're a moment to share, but it stops there, like, you eat and that's it. While here, really, eating is...*
>
> *...*
>
> *So here for me, I've noticed that it's very important, that here the way of eating, how to explain it... I mean... you eat differently, but the difference isn't really in what you eat but in how you eat. Here truly it's all about the food. The parties, the meetings, family even, on Sundays... In Colombia it's similar but not that strong. Here, I see Italians who say hello, saying, "Hi, what have you eaten?" Not "How are you?" but "What are you eating? What will you eat tonight?" A really strong thing, but it's also beautiful, I like it. (Interview 11/9/09)*

In Paola's experience, the question 'What have you eaten?' stands for 'How are you?' in people's greetings, demonstrating care for each other through attention to food. In Rome, today, much of that care is expressed by eating out together, in the many restaurants, *trattorie* (small restaurants), and bars, as well as in cooking together, exchanging recipes and gossip over meals in the family home. Discussions flow around how to prepare a dish according to local traditions, where to find the best products, what wine should accompany a certain dish. In my own experience, too, food is important in Italy. Explaining to people that I can't eat wheat inevitably leads to long lists of questions where people run through all of their favourite foods asking if I can eat them: 'You mean no pasta?' 'No.' 'No pizza?' 'No.' 'No bread? No *biscotti*? No *tiramisù*?' I add that I am vegetarian and watch as people's faces collapse in confusion. 'But what do you eat?' And my own list begins: every kind of vegetable, fried, stuffed, blanched or

baked; *risotto ai funghi porcini* (my favourite), fresh rice paper rolls filled with greens and tofu, recipes patched together from memory drawing on the mix of flavours available in Australian cities... and mouths start to water, as we exchange recipes and cook and eat together. In 2004, in Catania, over dinner, my Sicilian friends began to guess the ingredients they could taste in the *risotto* I'd cooked for them, taking tiny portions on their forks, smelling the food then letting it sit on their tongues before guessing which ingredients I'd used, in what turned into a game we played whenever eating together. On a visit to my grandparents' village in the Aspromonte, in Calabria, the smell of roasting chestnuts wafting through the streets reminded me – in a round-about route from Italy to Australia and back again – of the smells of my childhood, when my mother's family would roast chestnuts on the coldest days and we were taught how to peel them quickly, before they cooled, burning our fingers to get to the sweet soft flesh inside. The smell of roasting chestnuts is a part of my Italian heritage that I experienced in Sydney, complicating notions of roots and traditions, as I, in my sense-memory, carry the hybridised identity of mixed heritage and migrations not only of people but also of the foods they consume.

In a study of family life in Naples, Goddard (1996, p. 206) found, 'Food that is emotionally as well as physically satisfying is the kind of food that mother prepared... So food becomes one of the links between individuals, their families and their place of birth.' Food is nourishment not only of a physical but also of a symbolic kind, through which social relations are maintained. Paola's acknowledgement that the culture of food is stronger in Italy than in Colombia does not preclude her from missing the foods of her childhood: elsewhere in our interview, she describes a recipe for milk porridge that she occasionally cooks for herself, but that her Italian friends do not enjoy eating because the taste is too unfamiliar. Her tastes, as well as her sense memories, mark her as different, even while she enjoys taking part in Italy's culture of food. Paola, in the extract above, has identified food as the nexus of family life in Italy: food in Italy is, indeed, a 'really strong thing'.

Emerging from this conversation is a sense that food – not just recipes but practices of eating, in the family home, in restaurants, at festival days and markets – is an important signifier of cultural heritage. Through the practices associated with food, such as eating together as a family, going to restaurants, or baking bread together (Counihan 1999), social relations are reaffirmed and taken into the body through the consumption of food products. What is considered edible or not can become a point of conflict, as shown by popular myths in Rome that demonise Chinese immigrants who are accused of serving dog meat in their restaurants, a myth used to comic effect in Lakhous' novel, *Clash of Civilizations over an Elevator in Piazza Vittorio*: the disappearance of the dog has characters speculating whether it was the fault of one of the many Chinese restaurants in the area. Geographical, as well as cultural, factors are influential as some ingredients are difficult to source in different parts of the world, and the importance of habit and tradition should not be underestimated. As Luce Giard (1998, p. 168) explains, in a discussion of food practices in France:

> Humans do not nourish themselves from natural nutrients, nor from pure dietary principles, but from *cultured* food-stuffs, chosen and prepared according to laws of compatibility and rules of propriety unique to each cultural area (in the Maghreb, for example, poultry is stuffed with dried fruits and in England currant ham is served with a roast, whereas French cuisine practices a strict separation between sweet and savoury). Foodstuffs and dishes are arranged in each region according to a detailed code of values, rules, and symbols, around which is organized the alimentary model characteristic of a cultural area in a given time.

In Italy, this attachment to food is evidenced in local traditions and recipes that form an essential part of the *campanilismo* – or attachment to the local, to the hometown or region – that is still strong today. The word *campanilismo* links senses of place to the senses: it derives from *campanile*, the bell tower, and describes the home-place as one that extends spatially only as far as the bell tower can be heard. This *campanilismo* is not static, however, as Loretta Baldassar (1997; 2001) argues when describing the extension of *campanilismo* into the suburbs of Perth, where migrants from San Fior in northern Italy maintain their connections to a home-place that is distant in both time and space.

In Italy, too, the strong attachment to the local described by *campanilismo* does not necessarily translate as insularity. Local food products have in some instances taken on political resonance far beyond their small towns of origin, for example in the Slow Food movement founded by Carlo Petrini in 1989 in Bra, northern Italy. Slow Food's philosophy is to encourage good, clean, and fair food through attention to local traditions, and through giving adequate attention to the time that food requires and the pleasure that food gives. The organisation's online statement of its philosophy states, 'We believe that everyone has a fundamental right to pleasure and consequently the responsibility to protect the heritage of food, tradition and culture that make this pleasure possible. Our movement is founded upon this concept of eco-gastronomy – a recognition of the strong connections between plate and planet.' Here, multiple narratives are at play: the pleasure to be found in eating, which is framed as a universal human right; the cultural heritage that food offers through traditional recipes that are, it is implied, the same as those eaten by the people of that region for centuries; and the environmental impact of people's eating habits and choices. Running through Slow Food's rhetoric is an understanding of culture as geographically specific, through the connections drawn between cultural heritage and the use of local ingredients and recipes. As Slow Food has expanded to include a network of groups around the world, an international publishing house, gastronomic fairs, and the University of Gastronomic Science, its emphasis has shifted focus from pleasure to sustainability, with a concurrent drive to educate consumers about local techniques of food production. In Slow Food, that is,

> [L]ocal food is approached as a vital part of a community culture to be preserved.... taste education is articulated via a commitment to reduce the gap between producers and consumers, removing the material and symbolic veil hiding the former from the latter, and asking consumers to take care of producers that are marginalized by global, standardized commodity circuits' (Sassatelli & Davolio 2010, p. 212).

In the mid-1990s, as European Union health regulations threatened regional varieties of foods and food production methods, Slow Food was involved in an 'endangered food' campaign. One of those 'endangered foods', the Tuscan *lardo di Colonnata*, a type of *salume* made by curing pig fat with herbs in marble basins, became the symbol in this campaign for Italy's local knowledge and food

varieties against the intrusions of European officials. This issue highlighted the problems of *materiality* in food legislation at a European level: the food product itself was not a problem according to the EU; the problem was rather the porous material in which it was made. The local stone was a part of the creation of this *lardo*, with the *lardo*'s flavour dependent on the use of marble in the curing process. The imposition of EU officials was symptomatic of wider changes taking place. In Alison Leitch's (2003, p. 442) analysis, this European-level attempt to control local food production was related to the push to 'Europeanise' identity, where 'food and identity' were becoming 'like the "Euro," a single common discursive currency through which to debate Europeaness and the implications of economic globalization at the beginning of the twenty-first century.' This also became a question of class in Italy. Taking up this issue, Slow Food was able to reconnect with the local food practices of Italy's working classes, and thus 'distanc[e] his [Petrini's] organization from accusations of gourmet elitism, while simultaneously challenging normalizing heirarchies of expert scientific knowledge, including those of the European health authorities' (Leitch 2003, p. 447). Here, European health regulations can be seen as an outside force seeking to alter local food practices to conform to expectations of purity and cleanliness imposed from above, while the strong *campanilismo* in Italy emphasises the importance of local traditions, framing them as resistance to impositions of a foreign elite.

But how does this emphasis on local cuisines and food production play out in places where ethnic diversity makes itself felt? That is, the creation of a 'hegemonic local' (Slocum 2010, p. 314) involves racialisation, absenting alternative or minority food-scapes from the local and marking certain tastes as 'other'. At the same time, local food-scapes are always *in process*, never fixed; always changing, as old ingredients disappear and new combinations are discovered. The adoption of different eating practices occurs through a variety of means, from the introduction of everyday practices by migrant populations to the market imperatives of global capital, all working to change consumption patterns. One of my interviewees, Alita, whose experiences of migration to Italy from El Salvador were discussed in chapter 4 (above), works as a domestic

servant in an Italian household. She explained that when she arrived in Rome and started work, she found herself forced to follow the food practices of her employers, since she was eating in their kitchen, eating at their times. She said, in relation to the different amounts eaten at different times of day,

> *When I arrived here, I felt like I was dying. I wasn't at home; I was at the house where I worked. A... that small cup of coffee, you can add milk, and a couple of biscuits. That is breakfast... This is breakfast... Mamma mia! (Interview 15/11/09)*

This disjuncture of self and food felt by domestic servants is described by Parreñas (2001) in her study of Filipina domestic servants in Rome and Los Angeles. Here, Parreñas (2001, p. 165) argues, domestic workers suffer from a 'spatial inequality' in their access to the house:

> This spatial inequality signifies the lesser social status of the domestic worker in relation to employers. Consequently, it reminds them of their decline in labor market status…Filipina domestic workers…have regularly found themselves subject to food rationing…provided with a separate set of utensils, and told when to get food from the refrigerator and when to retreat to their bedrooms.

Alita describes the process of adapting to her employers' eating habits, as she has gotten used to eating a small breakfast and large lunch and introducing more salads and fresh fruits into her diet, compared to the 'rice and beans' of her home town. In fact, on a return visit to El Salvador, staying with her sister-in-law, she describes the difficulties of trying to adapt once again to eating habits that she no longer adhered to in Rome:

> *When I went to El Salvador, my sister-in-law...made me breakfast, a huge pile of breakfast, fried platano...beans, egg, tortillas, bread... I said, "How much? I can't eat it all!" "But no, you have to eat!" So I tried to eat it all to not... for my sister-in-law... (Interview 15/11/09)*

In this anecdote, food in Italy is described at first as strange and unfamiliar, to the point of inducing feelings of ill-health marked by the sensation of extreme hunger, in the words, 'I felt like I was dying.' In an about-face, after a period of around three years in Rome, this woman felt the same strange sensation of unfamiliarity on a return visit to El Salvador, in which the food and hospitality provided by her sister-in-law has become too much, over the top, a 'huge pile of breakfast.' In this way, migrants express changing food practices that come with

the incorporation of different foods into the diet, and the adoption of new mealtimes or amounts of food, in ways that 'illuminate the ambivalence of modern actors toward locality, community, and authenticity and toward the home and the world' (Ray 2004, p. 12).

At the same time as these changing practices affect the bodily inhabitation of place by migrants themselves, the foodstuffs that they bring with them from other parts of the world are taken up and marketed to local populations. In Rome today, the food available for purchase and consumption is becoming increasingly diverse, with kebab shops, Chinese and Indian restaurants, and even sushi bars opening across the city, while international ingredients can be bought at specialist shops, markets, and supermarkets. The commodification of 'ethnic' cuisines in global cities is often pointed to as evidence of the problems with cosmopolitan ideals, which would adopt the cultural products of immigrants while ridding the city's spaces of their bodies. This is discussed in depth by Ghassan Hage (1997, p. 104) in a study examining the relationship between food and multiculturalism in Sydney, in which he criticises the kind of cosmopolitanism that conceives of migrant homes 'as if there are no migrants living in them.' That is, the touristic elements of migrants' cultures, including food, are accepted and adopted by the majority culture while the migrants themselves remain marginalised and even, at times, invisible. Food can also become a means of resistance to the changes brought about by the international flow of goods and capital, as emphasis is placed on promoting or maintaining local cuisines in the face of globalisation.

In Italy, this insistence on the invisibility of ethnic diversity was taken even further in January 2009 when Lucca, a town in Tuscany, made headlines across the country for prohibiting the opening of 'ethnic' restaurants in the city centre (*La Repubblica* 26/1/09; *Corriere della Sera* 26/1/09, 28/1/09; *Stranieri in Italia* 26/1/09). Lucca's local government of the time insisted on the need to 'save' the traditional cuisine. The text of the regulation (*Città di Lucca* 22/1/09, p. 6, my translation) prohibits fast food within the walls of the old city, and in Article 9.4 specifies that 'in the menus of all alimentary businesses there must be present at

least one typical Lucchese dish, prepared exclusively with products communally recognised as typical to the province of Lucca.' This emphasis on a local cuisine, defined strictly to include only those elements 'communally recognised' as being 'typical', is further entrenched as being specifically targeted at eliminating 'ethnic' food from within the city limits in Article 9.7, which states:

> With the aim of protecting the culinary tradition and the typicality of the architecture, structure, culture, history and furnishings of the Historic Centres…it is not permitted to open an alimentary business the activity of which could be ascribable to diverse ethnicities. In the case of taking over already existing alimentary businesses, the type of sustenance can not be varied to that of diverse ethnicities. (*Città di Lucca* 22/1/09, p. 7, my translation)

Here, even commoditised evidence of ethnic diversity such as restaurants were unwanted and legislation was passed to keep them out of the confines of the historic city centre.

Unlike the forms of invisibility discussed in chapter 5 of this thesis, in this case the insistence on the invisibility of ethnic diversity is not so much about hiding the migrant from view, but rather about denying their *permanence*: immigration is presented as always new, and the changing eating habits of Italians, many of whom enjoy eating at the Chinese, Indian, and African restaurants found in many cities across the country, is not acknowledged. In such an environment, multiculturalism becomes highly visible, threatening and to be guarded against until in fact its 'threat' is *seen* everywhere. At the same time, the influence of such diversity is hidden from the other senses, in this instance, from taste: when ignoring the introduction of different cuisines and foodstuffs is not enough to guard against their prevalence, then, as the decision in Lucca shows, it may be necessary to prohibit 'ethnic' cuisines from taking up any space at all in the town's centre. In this way, only what are seen as traditional and local foods can be tasted within that geographical area, and the town is preserved for consumption by tourists while signs of ethnic diversity are limited to the town's outskirts, and to the homes of the migrants themselves.

The examples of Lucca and Slow Food are relevant to similar debates in the city of Rome, which focus on the tensions between recognition of Italy's increasing multiculturalism, debates about the health of 'fast foods', and emphasis on the

cultural heritage of local recipes and ingredients. Slow Food appeared in Italy at a time when local economies and traditions were under threat from above, from the European Union and a globalised economy; since then, public discourse in Italy indicates a sense of threat from below, from the changes brought with the bodies-in-movement of international migration. Lucca, a town for whom the preservation of a postcard-perfect visual landscape has become imperative, provided a test case for other local governments across the country interested in limiting the visibility of migrants. Rome has not legislated against the opening of 'ethnic' restaurants, though these are harder to find in the more 'typical' touristic areas such as Trastevere and Prato than in the Esquilino or Torpignattara, areas with high concentrations of immigrant populations. In Rome, that is, restaurants, delicatessens, supermarkets and specialty shops catering to diverse tastes seem to have followed the paths of migrants themselves. It is not a city where the cosmopolitan 'self' can consume the 'other' through their food without encountering their embodied presence.

This visibility of migrants' presence in Rome illustrates the importance of recognising the migrant's own use of food in everyday attempts at making a home in a new place. Hage again turns his gaze on the experience of eating as a home-making practice amongst Sydney's Lebanese community, arguing that when Lebanese-Australians create Lebanese neighbourhoods, shops, and restaurants, the aim is not to create an enclave in which to live separately from the wider community but rather 'to foster these homely intimations so as to provide a better base for confronting life in Australia: to build a shelter from "social and cultural crisis", but also to have a base from which to perceive and grasp Australian opportunities' (Hage 1997, p. 108). In this analysis, migrants' home-making practices revolve around the creation of an environment that conforms to their sense-memories, so that their bodies can be surrounded by familiar sights, sounds, smells, and tastes; so that they can, that is, be at home.

At the same time as engaging in home-making through creating familiar sensory environments, the domesticity of cooking can also lead to moments of intimate exchange in which the material needs of the body are met through shared

sensual enjoyment. This is perhaps particularly true for those of the second generations. As Antony, the young Italo-Indian whose parents had migrated to Rome before starting a family, described during his interview, cooking meals for friends involved a true fusion of cuisines. He said,

> *Even the pasta would be very... would be quite... you know it wouldn't be 100% Italian, it would be half way between Italian and Indian. We're very used to mixing cuisines at home. Even to make a simple steak we put extra chilli powder or whole chillies. Or for example we put Thai coconut milk in Indian dishes, we mix it up real good!*
>
> *[Interviewer: And what do your friends think?]*
>
> *They love our Indian cuisine but they really enjoy when they come over because they can actually have, you know, something that they know which is at the same time different to what they're used to. So, they're very happy with that. (Interview 12/11/09a)*

Mixing cuisines was seen as a positive, one of the ways that mixed cultural heritage could enrich the experience of cooking at home. The informant's friends were reported as having positive reactions to this fusion as well, showing the potential for cooking and food to introduce people to new experiences, and to be more creative with otherwise familiar dishes.

In an analysis of the friendship between two women who live in Sydney, Australia, Jean Duruz (2005) explores the ways that boundaries are crossed through friendship, memory and imagination. Duruz speaks against Hage's 'cosmopolitanism without migrants' by emphasising the embodied presence of *both* migrants and Anglo Australians in the streets of Sydney. Duruz (2005, p. 65) describes moments of 'unusual connections', in which imagination creates 'moments – of deep breathing, embodied remembering, and sympathetic, creative thinking – indicate that…King Street [in Sydney] is not one without migrants, nor is it one without [an] "Anglo" past.' Certainly, the use of imagination in forging links between here-and-now and there-and-then is a creative process in Rome as well. One interviewee, who migrated from Peru to Italy at the age of ten, when his mother moved for work, described the first two months as 'a catastrophe' (Interview 24/9/09b). He used this word because the

food in Peru is made with more spices and sauces, and it took time to adjust to eating 'plain' Italian food, but now that he lives alone he says he cooks mainly Italian food because it is 'simpler' (Interview 24/9/09b). Another, a married Afghani woman, said that she cooked Afghani food at home because that's what she knew, but was happy to eat Italian if eating out or at friends' houses (Interview 21/11/09). Santiago, an Argentinean man who had lived in London for a time before arriving in Rome where his uncle lives, spoke of food and language as two of the markers of being *in place*, stating,

> *In London I ate English food, it was horrible! [LAUGHTER] Here I eat, that is, pasta I eat practically like an Italian, but I think that... this is the difference too I think, the fact of mixed couples that I mentioned, no? Because at first, the first three months I stayed with my uncle, and my aunt is obviously Italian, that is, she cooks Italian food and so... And this too strikes me as a beautiful thing because you really live in a country in a certain way. It's the same with language. If you don't speak the language, Italian here or French in Paris, your perception of the society and of the people is really different. (Interview 10/10/2009)*

Elsewhere in the interview he spoke of some friends of his, who use food as one of the ways to demonstrate their Argentinean identity: 'All day [they] listen to Argentinean music, try to eat always the same things...they sit and chat on messenger all day with Argentinean friends... I don't need this connection to Argentina' (Interview 10/10/2009). For this interviewee, his own lack of attachment to the food, music, and language of his country of origin are explained by his attitude towards travel, which he describes as 'the desire to live in other places, and to feel myself a part of those places' (Interview 10/10/2009). Food, thus, can also be a way of expressing a cosmopolitan outlook, a *lack* of attachment to a mythologised home-place: rather than desiring the familiar dishes of childhood, this interviewee desired to experience the sensory world of the places he has lived in. Food, in this case, became a way of embodying a multiple sense of belonging.

‘Menu etnici’ vs ‘menu regionali’: food as education in Rome, 2007-2010

In developing policies that recognise the diversity of its school-age population, Rome’s city council sometimes celebrates that diversity, sometimes subjects it to controls in a promotion of a hegemonic ideal of what the city ‘should’ be. What does this reveal about the materiality of multiplicity? In this section, I discuss two, conflicting, programs introduced in Rome’s primary schools over recent years. An examination of the program *Ogni Mese un Paese* (‘Every Month One Country’) from 2007, and the replacement program of *Menù Regionali* (‘Regional Menus’) introduced in 2010, shows how imaginings of cultural diversity come to be signified by food, in both positive and negative ways. The original program was instigated at a time of increasing awareness of cultural diversity in Rome, but following the election of right-wing Gianni Alemanno as Mayor of Rome in April 2008, and in a climate of increasing demonisation of immigrants nationally (see chapter 4 of this thesis), discussions of cultural diversity in Rome shifted to focus on ‘integration’. In this section, I examine this shift in public discourse through a study of these two programs that use food to educate Rome’s youth about desired forms of socio-spatial identification in Rome.

Ogni Mese un Paese was a program instigated by the Municipality of Rome, where once a month a dish from a different part of the world was provided in primary school canteens. On the same day, teachers gave the students activities relating to the place of origin of the dish, using food as an educational tool as well as a means of furthering cultural exchange and knowledge. This program met with strong support from some schools, communities, and interest groups, as well as extreme opposition from others, most notably some mothers’ groups who protested at their children being forced to eat unfamiliar foods that they did not enjoy. The debate that this program generated was wide-ranging, and while it is easy to criticise as racist or culturally insensitive those voices that sought to have the program abolished, it is also important to recognise the problems inherent in

the program's own design and implementation, including poor planning and the imposition of unfamiliar foods on children, discussed below.

The *Comune di Roma* (or Municipality of Rome), when communicating the initiative to Rome's primary schools, called it 'an occasion for exchange of "flavours" and union of "knowledges",' with two intentions: 'to educate the palate to new flavours and enrich the mind with knowledge of new cultures' (*Informascuola* 28, 2007: 2). The menus were chosen to represent the eight largest immigrant communities present in Rome's school-age population, with dishes from Bangladesh, Romania, Albania, Poland, Peru, China, Morocco, and the Philippines. The program's stated aims were dual: '[it] doesn't only foresee the introduction of ethnic dishes, but also a dialogue between teachers, students and families on the many elements implicit in food: anthropological, historical-geographical and nutritional' (*Informascuola* 28, 2007: 2). From the beginning though, there were problems. Many schools were unprepared for the program, with teachers unsure of how to present the material and canteen staff were unsure how to prepare it. Parents worried that their children hadn't eaten, because of the unfamiliar flavours. In an extract from discussions of the 20th Municipality of Rome, these concerns were expressed as follows: 'the project, in its first day of application, provoked lively controversies in so far as the large majority of children did not eat, complaining of nausea, burning stomachs and vomiting' (20th Municipality of Rome, 10/12/2007). These two extreme reactions, either children sent home without having eaten, or children vomiting up the food offered to them, were presented as evidence that the program should be rejected as unworkable. It is difficult, of course, to argue that children should be forced to eat foods that their bodies reject. However, it is hard to ignore the vitriol against 'ethnic' food in some parts of the population, and one must at the very least wonder whether these extreme reactions were linked to mistrust of the 'other's' cuisines. It is possible that the children's physical rejection of the 'ethnic' foods they were asked to consume is evidence of a material process of racialisation, in which '[b]odies are shaped in racial terms through their labor, what they eat and where they live…[and] infants become kin through the sensuous connections of taste, touch and smell' (Slocum 2010, p. 318), with the

children no doubt influenced by their parents' opinions regarding 'ethnic' cuisines. This question is, however, beyond the scope of this thesis and much further research would need to be done.

Following these reports of rejection of the food by numerous schoolchildren, the program was suspended for a month. *Ogni mese un paese* began again in December 2007 with a Romanian dish, this time offering children the alternative choice to eat an Italian dish of pasta instead. This time, the criticisms were different: not accusations of hungry or vomiting children, but rather of insensitivity on the part of the Municipality of Rome. This refers to the murder of Giovanna Reggiani on 30th October 2007, in an outlying suburb of Rome, by an inhabitant of a nearby Roma camp (discussed in Chapter 5 of this thesis). The incident provoked a nation-wide reaction and led to changes to the *Pacchetto di Sicurezza* (a set of security laws, discussed previously in chapter 4) allowing for the expulsion of citizens of other EU member states. At the time, Walter Veltroni, centre-left Mayor of Rome between 2001 and 2008, was quoted as saying, 'Security is a large national question that calls for urgent initiatives on the legislative plain: prefects need to be able to expel [EU] community citizens who have committed crimes against people and property' (*La Repubblica*, 31/10/07). December's 'ethnic menu' for that year was from Romania, and the representative of the right-wing political party *La Destra* ('The Right), Fabio Sabbatini Schiuma, is quoted as saying, 'We feel offended by the bad taste given the concurrence with the recent appalling incidents' (*La Repubblica* 7/11/07). Though Schiuma's opinion is amongst the most extreme quoted in the newspapers, it nonetheless reveals the striking correlation made at the time between food – as a signifier of cultural identity – and community outrage at the actions of one member of an ethnic minority. Far from becoming the 'spice, seasoning that can liven up the dish that is mainstream white culture' (hooks 1992, p. 21), ethnic or racial diversity, in this instance, is the antithesis of desire. In the excess of outrage, the Romanian dishes served to Rome's schoolchildren were a material reminder of the unwanted presence of Romanian immigrants. This migrant group's food was ingested into the bodies of Rome's schoolchildren

even while the migrants' own bodies were subject to expulsions from within the nation's borders.

Throughout the program's short life (it was replaced with a program of regional Italian dishes in January 2010), both the left and the right of Roman politics used it to make their cases for their own visions of 'integration'. Left-wing parties and politicians argued for the need to educate children about the diverse tastes of the world, while those on the right argued for the need to ensure the health of Rome's children by providing a 'Mediterranean diet'. Significantly, in all of these representations of the *Menù Etnici*, whether negative or positive, little acknowledgement of the changing geographies of food is made. Tomatoes, those red juicy orbs so prevalent in Italian cooking, were brought to Europe from the Americas by early explorers, as was corn, the base of polenta. A Mediterranean diet could just as easily contain bazeen from Libya, kebabs from Turkey, or tzatziki from Greece, as much as the pasta, pizza, and prosciutto of Italy. Places, according to Doreen Massey, are always already multiple, and this is as true of their cuisines as it is of the earth and stone that forms their landscapes (Massey 2005, pp. 130-137).

The replacement program of *Menù Regionali*, which began in January 2010, provides dishes from around Italy, with the intention of educating students about the varieties of cuisines and traditions to be found within the nation's borders. When Rome's Education Minister, Laura Marsilio, announced the introduction of the regional menus, she said,

> This most recent enrichment of the scholastic menus will be the inspiration for an interesting educational approach, demonstrating that the local diversity expressed by the inhabitants and towns, as well as the specific regional traditions, are an important cultural heritage of the nation. (*La Repubblica*, 28/1/10).

The leaflet released by the Municipality of Rome explaining the program of regional menus says, 'With the introduction of the regional menus and dishes, rich in tradition, the children will have the possibility of learning more about our Country, experimenting with new flavours and discovering how many recipes, considered by us to be local, in fact have distant origins, like the bechamel that was brought here by our French cousins' (*Comune di Roma* 2009). Here, the

diverse provenance of some Italian food, like bechamel from France, is kept within the family, so to speak, as the French are described as 'our cousins'. Bechamel does not have an origin that is distant and to be feared, like some of the cuisines of Italy's immigrants, but is rather familial and familiar, from the neighbouring country of France. In the program's information brochure, children are represented as the future of the nation and food the means by which their connections to Italy will be cemented, as the menus are used as educational tools 'to underline the richness of the specific culinary identities that abound in Italy, a country close to the celebration of its unification' (*Comune di Roma* 2009).

By the time the program of regional menus entered its second year, after the 2010 summer break, the health of Italy's school-age population had become a national concern, with the release of a report from the Ministry for Health, titled *Linee di indirizzo nazionale per la ristorazione scolastica* ('Directions for a national policy for school catering', *Minstero della Salute* 2010). This document explicitly addresses malnutrition amongst youth in Italy, with obesity and malnutrition both high on the agenda. It claims that these are extensive problems 'amongst foreign children and caused also by the bonds with traditional dietary habits defended by the family. For this motive the policy guidelines do not explicitly provide for specific menus for foreigners' (*Corriere della Sera,* 2/8/10). Descendants of immigrants, regardless of the fact that many were born in Italy and hold Italian citizenship, are named as foreign in this document. This intervention from the Ministry for Health, with the stated aim of promoting good health amongst Italy's schoolchildren, works on the assumption that 'native' foods and food practices are healthier than those of Italy's always-foreign immigrant population, the 'traditional dietary habits defended' (mistakenly, we are left to understand) 'by the family'. The social aspects of food, its local, temporal, and cultural specificity, is in today's Italy working to *exclude* the food practices of that country's immigrant population, and through writing into policy the imposition of a 'Mediterranean' diet at school, to effectively stop the continuation of diverse food practices through the generations. The national policy for school catering can be read as part of a move to consolidate national cultural heritage, a move that is not necessarily negative but that is achieved in

this instance through excessively critical, ethnocentric, and prohibitive measures against the dietary habits of Italy's immigrants and their descendants.

Eating out in the Esquilino

This connection between food and identity is also evident in the shops and restaurants of the Esquilino, the suburb also commonly known as Piazza Vittorio. Here, the variety of produce available in the small specialty shops reflects the growing diversity of Rome's population. In the Esquilino, tourists and newer immigrants mix with long-term residents. This area has had an ethnically diverse population for at least a generation, unusual in a city which until recently was only a resting place as migrants moved further north, through Italy and into Europe. Chinese families have bought many of the coffee shops, as well as opening restaurants; there are Korean and Indian restaurants here too, and a halal butcher next door to an Italian deli. The covered market sells a wide variety of fruit and vegetables, and over time I befriended one of the Indian stallholders, who explains to me how to cook okra. At an Indian spice shop nearby, I met and interviewed one of the owners, an Indian doctor who is well known for her expertise in both Ayurvedic and Western medicine. The family also runs an Indian restaurant in the nearby suburb of Monti, where I was delighted to learn that they serve gluten-free naan. In fact, in both the restaurant and the shop, the family takes care to provide products that also have health benefits, combining their interests in food and medicine. While most of their products are used in Indian cooking, they are also developing their range in other products. Describing the shop layout, the owner's hand gestures towards the shelves holding the products she nominates:

> *Here Kerala, there northern India, there Sri Lanka, [then] something from the Arab countries, a shelf for organic Italian food, and also one for Africa, like that, understand? So, now slowly we're... yes, we've already contacted an Italian person to bring us organic wine... (Interview 24/9/09a)*

The shop also includes ayurvedic supplies, massage and hair oils, teas, and other items, and is a great place to find herbs and spices essential for Indian cooking.

The spice shop is located in the Esquilino, on one of the streets leading away from the markets, where fruit and vegetables from around the world are available for purchase. In the nearby streets you can also find shops specialising in products from China and Korea, the Philippines, (mainly sub-Saharan) Africa; there is a Halal butcher across the road from an Italian delicatessen, and a pan-Asian supermarket a few doors away from one of the oldest gelato-makers in Rome, Fassi's.

As well as the shops selling supplies for home cooking, the Esquilino is home to numerous restaurants serving Indian, Chinese, Korean, and Italian food. In Fassi's, the *gelateria*, the customers are as mixed as the Esquilino's inhabitants. The restaurants vary in quality and atmosphere, with many catering mainly to the tourist trade, while others are favoured more by local residents. There are subtle spatial boundaries that do not apply so much to the whole suburb, as to the streets and rooms within it, as I experienced while eating out in one of the small, local Indian restaurants in the Esquilino. At the time, I wrote in my diary:

> [I sat] inside this time, since it was cold and wet and windy, and they hadn't set up the tables outside. Other times, sitting outside, I have been surrounded by tourists and Italians – outside is where the non-Indians sit. Inside, on the other hand, has always seemed to be the territory of the Indian customers, many of whom seem to know the waiters, chefs, each other. (Field notes 3/11/09)

Inside, indeed, it felt like stepping into another world, for just as Parviz 'returns' to Iran when he steps into the kitchen in Lakhous' (2008) novel, inside this restaurant was a doorway to India. There were groups of men chatting over their naan and curry, a husband and wife sharing their meal, and a family with a small son who sat playing in his stroller. People ordered in their regional language (which I was unable to identify). This restaurant is simply furnished, and its food is simple too. Another Indian restaurant on the same street has more expensive food and furnishings, but does not have the same effect of transporting the visitor, through their senses, through the tastes, smells and sounds of the customers, into a village somewhere in India. Indeed, while eating outside I had felt comfortable and in place, inside I was aware of being watched by other customers, who fixed me with inquisitive gazes, questioning what this visitor from the outside was doing in their world. This restaurant, then, perhaps seemed to the casual observer to embody a kind of food tourism within Rome, but upon

entry into the inner world of its regular customers it revealed itself clearly to be a place in which 'ethnic' cuisine is intimately entwined with the embodied presence of migrants.

At other times, I took friends to dinner in the restaurants around the area, mixing research and friendship, trying things we'd never eaten before, comparing Chinese or Indian cooking in Italy with that available in Australia, or with that we'd eaten in the countries of origin of those cuisines. The waiters and proprietors of the restaurants were reluctant to sit down to be interviewed, prevaricating with explanations that there were a lot of researchers always asking questions, or that they didn't have time, or, in some cases, getting angry and refusing outright. So eating with friends and on my own became a way of exploring this aspect of food in Rome without sitting down to record the voices of the restaurateurs themselves. I did however interview a number of people who worked at *Romantica*, one of the restaurants specialising in Italian food. Here, only a few of the staff members were from Rome, with others from Egypt, India, Brazil, Peru, and Albania. Our discussions about *Romantica* were as much about the customers, the interactions with other staff members, and the suburb itself as about the restaurant itself.

Throughout the year, many tourists eat at the restaurant, as well as residents of Rome who are regular customers and friends of the staff members. It is a kind of microcosm of the interactions that take place in the city centre, where tourists and residents mingle and the staff members come from all over the world. One interviewee, an Italian, described himself as *romano di Roma* – Roman from Rome – and described another staff member, who is Sicilian but has lived in Rome for 60 years, as *mezzo romano*, or 'half Roman'. This interviewee said of Italian food:

> *Look, you can say what you like to Italians, [you can say] everything, anything. But about eating... You have to raise your hands, and applaud, because how you eat in Italy you don't eat in any other part of the world, and I think it's true. Everyone knows it.*
>
> *[Interviewer: But you go sometimes to eat in other restaurants, don't you?]*

> *Yes, sometimes I go to Chinese restaurants, I've been to an Indian restaurant, I've been to a Mexican restaurant. But... an alternative, if sometimes I feel like it... but it's not that I prefer it. If I have to choose I prefer Italian food, a plate of pasta or a piece of meat...fruit, vegetables, salad. (Interview 24/9/09c)*

Here, Italian food is described as 'the best in the world', and while other cuisines are acceptable to eat on occasion, they are not spoken about with the same passion or desire. The sensory experience of Italian food is a means of marking this 'Roman from Rome' as truly Roman, attached to the local produce and culinary traditions, even while he is open to experiencing the cuisines from around the world that are being introduced into Italy through immigration.

Another interviewee, who has Italian citizenship because her grandparents were Italian, described herself as Brazilian above all, saying, 'I was born there, I lived most of my life there, I formed my personality, my identity there, in that country I was born, in that culture, no? Yes I have a little of the Italian culture, from where they [her grandparents] come, but... it's different, understand?' (Interview 24/11/09). This interviewee described her first year away from Brazil, which she spent in London, as difficult, because 'at the beginning...I missed everything too much' (Interview 24/11/09). One of the things she particularly missed was a type of green tea, which she bought regularly at the market in the Esquilino, where there are many Brazilian products available. Her own attachment to food as a marker of cultural identity defies easy geographical boundaries: since her grandparents are Italian, she ate Italian food like *polenta* and pasta as a child, a way for her family to express their Italian heritage when in Brazil. Now, as an adult, she enjoys eating a variety of cuisines, going often to the Esquilino to eat at the Chinese restaurants there. She also eats regularly at a Peruvian restaurant on the other side of Termini station, near Castro Pretorio, though she recognises that it is not exactly traditional Peruvian fare, saying, 'They've changed the taste of the cooking to...be in line with the culture here, it's not exactly Peruvian but there's a root [to the cuisine] that is really Peruvian that you also find in Brazil and I miss it, so sometimes I go there...' (Interview 24/11/09). Here, the 'root' of the cooking found in this altered Peruvian cuisine speaks to a pan-Latin

American taste that is missing in Roman cooking, one which the interviewee misses and seeks out on occasion, when she is missing the tastes of home.

The products available in the Esquilino, at the covered market and in the small specialty shops, combine with the restaurants offering cuisines from around the world to create a space, within Rome, where the tastes and smells of other parts of the world can be found. The longing for a sensory experience that cannot be satisfied except through ingesting those tastes into the body, draws many inhabitants of this city whose roots lie elsewhere to this central suburb. Here, the routes through the city bring together people whose roots lie elsewhere, as they seek out the flavours of places distant in space and time that will allow them to feel comfortable, here, now, in this city. The Esquilino, where all these flavours are available for purchase, is evidence that through the movement of people, the everyday practices that they maintain over time, the sense-worlds of elsewhere come to inhabit the city of Rome, changing its own sensory landscape and bringing the world home, in a 'mobile, sensory geography of belonging that [can't] be contained in houses, flats, or even countries' (Raman 2011, p. 179).

Cucimondo: cooking with the world

Cucimondo is a not-for-profit association, founded in Rome in April 2009, which is aimed at creating opportunities for the different ethnic groups present in Rome to mix with each other in casual settings. The first major initiative of the association was a cooking school, where people of different origins who now live in Rome come each week to teach a class about the recipes of their home countries. Along with the recipes, the weekly 'teachers' talk about their personal journeys to Rome, how they maintain connections to their places of origin, the experiences they have had in Rome itself, and Elena Dalla Massara[35] (the director) distributes information sheets containing the recipes and also a brief history of the country/region of origin. As explained on *Cucimondo*'s website,

[35] Real name.

> Every evening the representative of a different country explains how to prepare the dishes of their own tradition, speaks of their culture of origin and of the motivations that brought them to Italy. At the end of each evening you taste the prepared dishes and receive leaflets with recipes, cultural information and useful addresses [e.g. of shops selling imported products].[36]

In 2009, I took part a number of these evenings of cooking, and observed both the 'representatives' of the different countries on the program, and the paying participants. Elena explained that the group's seven key members were interested in sharing different cultures in a simple, everyday way, and were inspired to hold a cooking school as a way of allowing a space for such exchange, avoiding the ghettoisation of Rome that they had observed occurring in the everyday life of the city (Interview 29/10/09). Following the initial success of the cooking classes, a reading group was also formed, where participants are given the opportunity to read and discuss books from around the world, with the intention of deepening the cultural exchange. Participants in the cooking classes are mainly in their 30s and 40s, a mix of both men and women, and though mainly Italian, there are also some participants who first came into contact with *Cucimondo* in the role of cooking teachers. The evenings of cooking are quite relaxed, with demonstrations of the recipes intertwined with stories of migration from the chefs, and then a shared dinner and time to chat. Following are my impressions of those evenings: sketches of a shared meal, senses of a shared space.

> <u>*Anger and pain: leaving Afghanistan*</u>
>
> *The three 'teachers' tonight are a husband and wife, and another married woman, a friend of theirs. Elisabeth, from the organisation* Kyrios*, is here as well, to provide further information on the plight of Afghani refugees in Rome. Elena [the organiser of* Cucimondo*] acts as interpreter throughout, not for the language as all three speak Italian well, but for the expectations of how a recipe is presented – which are quite different, as I learn throughout the evening.*

[36] My translation; for the Italian text, see http://associazionecucimondo.org/chi-siamo/attivita

The girl wears a light rose-pink tunic and pants, and her long dark hair covers her face as she bends over the ingredients to demonstrate the cooking method. Those watching are an audience, it seems: rather than active participation, the lesson is structured so that most of the cooking has been done already, and the demonstration serves to clarify the recipes written in the handouts the students receive at the beginning of the class. Everyone is asking questions, seeking the exact proportions and cooking times for a dish that has been cooked instinctively, learnt in the kitchen in the girl's family home. It takes 5 minutes to clarify that the basmati rice being used is the Pakistani kind and not the Thai kind, because "they seem the same" – and then, during the explanation, there are those that correct her Italian... not in a malicious way, it seems to be done more in the same mood as the questions about quantity and cooking time, part of this fixation on precision that Italians have developed in everything to do with their domestic lives... And the conversation returns to the rice: how to cook it, which is (again) different to the Italian method.

The girl's husband, meanwhile, explains the history of Afghanistan, the different ethnicities and their particular characteristics, their wars, the anger that many feel at having to flee their home, the refugees who are arriving in Rome in greater numbers.

Then we're shown another 2 dishes, with Elena asking questions on everyone's behalf so as not to lose too much time. An interpreter.

At the end of the lesson, Elisabeth speaks about Kyrios*, the association that provides lunch on Saturdays to the Afghani refugees living in the temporary camp near Piazzale Ostiense. One of the women in the class asks insistently (that precision again...) whether all the Afghanis in Italy were "really refugees", at which the husband jumps in with a comment about being* clandestino, rifugiato, profugo *['clandestine', 'refugee', 'exile'] and the inability of people to get their paperwork in order before running for their*

lives – the anger in his voice is palpable. 'Refugee' is a legal category, a term that does not explain the experience of Afghanis over recent decades.

Finally we eat – and while eating, I meet the girl who was showing us how to make the rice. She's shyer than her husband but just as angry, asking me why I'm in Rome when I didn't have to leave my home – as though, because she felt such pain at leaving, because she wanted to go back – as though I should have stayed at home, because she couldn't.

...

Singing songs and eating cake: Ukraine

This time there are six people teaching us the recipes from the Ukraine. The five women work as babysitters, housekeepers, caregivers for elderly Italians; the man works as a technician. All travel back to the Ukraine as regularly as work and finances will allow: one of the women explains that her husband and children still live there, and that when she travels back to visit she takes as many presents as she can carry. All have baked cakes that we'll share after the lesson, big, rich-looking cakes with intricate icing.

The first recipe is a kind of crepe, and in explaining how to make the pastry the teacher works instinctively, adding flour until it "looks right", while Elena counts the spoonfuls so that everyone can dutifully write the correct amount in their recipe books. Everything is cooked all'occhio *(by eye) tonight and some of the students become frustrated, wanting to hear precise measurements. The cooks are wearing traditional Ukrainian tops, white with red and green embroidery and frills. In the second recipe, all the ingredients are fried separately before being mixed together to make a rich-looking meat dish. How much of each ingredient?* All'occhio*, of course! I hear mutters from around the room about expanding wastelines and the fattening aspects of eastern European cooking.*

The recipes this evening are interspersed with singing, traditional songs from the Ukraine – there is obvious joy in the food being cooked, and the number of people who have come to cook together and show us their recipes, makes for a fun evening – it feels as though we've been invited into a Ukrainian home, despite the desks that remind me of school and the paperwork scattered around the office that has been taken over by Cucimondo *for the night. Singing and food, food and singing, and stories of migrations that involve constant return, as the teachers explain how they travel back and forth between Rome and their home towns in the Ukraine.*

...

Living in the diaspora: Armenia

Waiting, waiting. There was a public transport strike this afternoon. When these strikes hit, it's impossible to get anywhere in this broken old city with cars beeping their horns and belching out fumes and all the drivers screaming out the windows, scooters on the footpath, more pedestrians than I've ever seen as people decide, for once, that they can walk for fifteen minutes rather than wait for a bus that will never arrive...

I finally arrive at Cucimondo *and everyone is in a bad mood, but the cooking is a way to relax and the more the night goes on the calmer everyone seems. The teachers tonight are two older women from the Armenian diaspora. One woman was born in Libya and lived there, she says, until all the Christians were sent away. Most of the Armenians she knew came to Europe, and her family arrived in Italy in 1970 after a stay in Malta, following other relatives who had arrived in the 1940s. She tells us that it was hard to explain what 'Armenia' was until the 1980s, when the independence movement became stronger and a republic was formed in 1991. Until then, 'Armenia' was as much a diaspora as a geographic entity; a term used to refer to a non-existent homeland, a region remembered and desired rather than actual. Sometimes, she explains, 'Armenia' referred to*

the church in Rome that became a meeting place for the Armenian community of the city. This woman has never been to Armenia but insists she is Armenian. The other woman has been there only once; she was born in Syria but left with her husband to study in France, to become a teacher of French and religion. In Syria, she tells us, Armenians are well-integrated, educated, free.

These two women have fewer problems explaining their recipes than in previous Cucimondo *events: they have been in Italy for a longer period of time, their Italian is fluent and they are fluent, too, in Italian culture so that there is no need for Elena to act as interpreter. They know already to specify how much of each ingredient they are using; they know already that* all'occhio *will not satisfy, that hunger for precise measurements almost outweighs hunger for food amongst the students. As Nairi explains how to cook the pumpkin dish, she explains that she learnt it from the Armenians of Iran; it was only later, after speaking to people who had been to Armenia, that she found out that it was also cooked there.*

Diaspora winds through Nairi and Seda's stories and cooking, disrupting geographic boundaries, problematising associations of person and place, demonstrating a wandering identity being practised and a heritage of home cooking that has travelled through many domesticities and yet somehow retained a narrative constancy, marking these women as Armenian even when 'Armenia' was an impossible place.

Sharing recipes and stories, all the teachers were able to communicate something of their everyday experience of movement across international borders: the reasons were different, and the emotional repercussions varied, but all shared the experience of knowing that home is more complex than the first place you lived, and that identities change not only with migratory movement but also with political upheavals like the movement of national borders, the decimation caused by war, the independence of a homeland never visited. Parvathi Raman (2011, pp. 168-169), whose migration from southern India to

London occurred as a child and whose mother learnt to recreate the senses of home in the kitchen, notes:

> We were...marked by that migrant malaise, forever questioned about who we were, where we came from, and where we really belonged. We quickly learned that we disappointed people if we replied that these things didn't, and shouldn't, really matter, and that we were citizens of the world. We learned to create more complex stories of belonging, and in the process we also changed the way we thought about ourselves. We had to learn how to enact the migrant's life. In the process, home became "elsewhere." For us, home became more liquid, a shifting reservoir of our hopes, desires and dreams. Home was most often evoked listening to Indian music, and through the visceral pleasures of preparing and eating Indian food. The heady smell of lentils cooking on the stove, redolent with salt and spice, and sour with tamarind: this was home.

'Here' and 'away' mingle, in the air of the home, as the smells of cooking evokes the sensory experience of places half a world away. In creating a space where the smells of 'home' can be shared between strangers, along with the stories of migration recounted by the teachers, *Cucimondo* allows that mingling to open up the city of Rome, creating moments of shared experiences that also change the way that residents of the city think about themselves.

The translations that occur during the *Cucimondo* evenings are as much about the expectations of how to present a recipe, as they are about language barriers. Elena's presence at the front of the classroom, along with the teachers, became necessary at some points to diffuse frustrations and to ensure that the students understood as much as possible of the technique of making these dishes. The information provided by the teachers included a list of shops where students could go to find the right ingredients, if they wanted to try making these dishes at home: small specialty shops scattered through Rome, with a concentration located in the Esquilino. Through this sharing of recipes and stories, information is exchanged that will, potentially, lead the students of *Cucimondo* along the same routes through Rome as their teachers, in search of flavours from elsewhere that can only be found in certain parts of the city. In creating a space in which these exchanges can occur, *Cucimondo* is involved in changing the geography of the city, as it is lived and practiced by its residents, whose footsteps will follow unfamiliar paths in search of the sensory experiences they have been exposed to during these evenings of exchange.

Conclusion

Throughout this discussion, I have drawn out elements of the *experience* of eating, as well as the narratives attached to food, to show how it is more than just sustenance for the body. Food, working on the senses of taste and smell, evokes memories and associations with both the familiar and the unfamiliar. Being of the everyday, food is one entry point into an understanding of the sense(s) of 'home', that comforting feeling of being in tune with one's surroundings, and present in one's skin. Ulf Hannerz (2002, p. 219), describes the feeling of being at home, in the everyday, where 'much of what goes on is repetitive, redundant, seemingly infinite... "home" is...a special kind of bodily and sensual experience, of immersion in an immediately accessible environment. It is a matter of being there, in touch, with all one's senses.' For the migrant who finds themselves surrounded by a new sensory landscape, this involves adjustment and creativity: adjustment to the different aspects of the everyday that are emphasised, for example as described by Paola in the comparison of the roles of food and music in Colombia and Italy; and creativity, in adjusting old recipes to new ingredients or locating shops and markets that sell products from far-flung places around the globe. Cooking is one way to create a space – the kitchen – in which the senses might feel that familiarity, that comfort, of places left behind. Migrants also adopt new foods, including ingredients and recipes as well as rhythms and practices around meals, as a way of settling into new environments and claiming them for themselves.

At the same time, the introduction of new or 'exotic' food products and practices threatens the sense of comfort and stability established over time, troubling easy notions of nativity. As shown through the analysis of the school canteen education programs, difference may in fact be rejected in preference of maintaining a sensory landscape that conforms to hegemonic expectations and tastes. While this project focuses on questioning hegemonic constructions of the 'local', then, the effects of such constructions have real political effects on

people's everyday lives. Of course, the home-place is never constant or pure, whether that home-place is a Rome resistant to (or welcoming of) the introduction of new cuisines, or a place on the other side of the world, like Kerala, origin of the Myladoor family, somewhere closer, such as the Ukraine of the *Cucimondo* teachers, or the imagined homeland of Armenia. The mixing that is already present, though obscured or ignored, in 'local' or 'native' cuisines is recognised by Raman (2011) when describing the South Indian cuisines recreated by her mother in their London home. Raman (2011, p. 174) describes her mother's recipes as 'a series of culinary palimpsests, maps which shadowed the complex movements of our forebears...our ideas of home, and the supposed rootedness…were mere fictions we told ourselves about the sedentary nature of past family lives.' Just as the city of Rome is subject to multiple meanings and interpretations, 'local' cuisines, on closer examination, are always already uprooted, with influences from far and wide. Cuisines are as geographically complex as the communities who cook and consume them, and close examination of food as a symbol in narratives of belonging reveals the multiplicity of socio-spatial identification for sedentary populations as well as for migrants.

7. Reaching Beyond Rome: Grass-Roots Routes Between Here and There

Introduction

Moments of relationality in socio-spatial identification reveal the connections between the city of Rome and other places around the world. When people come together to form a group that resists hegemonic ways of inhabiting the city and instead insists on recognising different connections, the city itself becomes the site of creative movements towards multiple possibilities. Tactical uses of space, both physical and virtual, draw routes between Rome and elsewhere, imagining alternative visions of the city and of the Italian nation that include, rather than exclude, diversity. In this chapter, I focus on the relations created, maintained, and made possible by two youth-oriented groups, *El Vagon Libre* and *Rete G2 – Seconde Generazioni*, both of which are active in the cultural and political spheres. Through the discussions of the activities of these two groups, I follow Massey's (2005, p. 185) insistence on thinking of space relationally, in which space becomes 'the sum of all our connections, and in that sense utterly grounded, and those connections may go round the world.' Rootedness in the local, in this sense, does not indicate a lack of vitality or movement but rather is the means through which routes between, and connections to, other places are established.

If places are always relational, resistance to hegemony, which occurs through the organised, conscious agency of social movements as well as through tactical everyday practices and micro-resistances, can create changes and fractures that alter the imagined or narrated landscape of Rome, even if they are not always

successful in achieving their goals. As Steve Pile (1997, p. 29) argues when discussing the geography of social movements,

> Movement also implies a change in location – if locations are multiple and defined through struggle as much as they are the grounds on which this struggle takes place, then movement will not be so much a question of origins and destinations as the paths which are adopted in the course of any struggle, without insisting on *an* origin and *a* final destination.

Indeed, the origin and destination are often the same: Rome, Italy, Europe, though these are altered by the introduction of new ways of thinking about them, so that it *is* possible to imagine an Italy and a Rome in which the descendants of immigrants are no longer themselves labelled 'immigrants', even when no migration has taken place.

In this chapter, then, I proceed by examining the networks built up through the personal connections and routes established by migrations, and the virtual networks created on the internet. These networks operate in different ways but both allow us to explore the geography of Rome's connections to other places, and to understand alternative visions of Rome and of Italian identity. I begin with a general discussion of the multiplicity of place as revealed by the presence, in Rome, of people who arrived there in their youth, or were born there to parents of diverse origins. That is, the presence in Italy of Italians-with-a-difference, the second generations, the 'children of migration' (the self-identification used by *Rete G2*), challenges hegemonic notions of what it means to be Italian at the same time as opening up opportunities, through those individuals' own personal networks and organisation into interest groups, for connections between Rome and other places.

In the second and third sections of this chapter, I turn to a discussion of two youth-oriented organisations based in Rome whose activities connect that city to other places in Italy and around the world. *El Vagon Libre* is a cultural organisation which builds and maintains contacts with other cultural organisations and through personal networks of members and friends, using cultural exchange as social exchange, creating opportunities for conversation between people of diverse backgrounds living in Rome, and also providing

opportunities to send material support for specific projects from Rome to other places around the world. *Rete G2 – Seconde Generazioni* ('Network G2 – Second Generations') is a collective that agitates for changes to Italian citizenship for the second generations, the children of migration. This network has a strong online presence, using its online discussion forum to provide a space in which members can talk about the issues facing them in their daily lives, issues of discrimination, bureaucratic problems, engagement with Italian political issues, and so on. I focus on their online discussion forum, looking at the ways participants challenge hegemonic notions of a 'pure' Italian identity and insist instead on an Italianness that is open to the world, encompassing their diverse influences from their parents' cultural, linguistic, and geographically distant origins.

Finally, I discuss the experiences of second generation Italians at school, focussing on the tension between public discourse, government officials' understandings of 'Italianness', and the self-representation of second generation Italians, especially as found on the *Rete G2* forum. The section revolves around the government policy of placing a limit on the number of 'foreign' children in classrooms, which does not differentiate between children based on language skills or length of time spent in the country but rather is based on citizenship status. It seems unlikely therefore, that such a policy would assist in addressing the real needs of children who are learning Italian as a second language. The policy rather appears to rest on a fear of 'invasion', with children being told they do not belong. The discussions on *Rete G2*'s forum challenged this notion, arguing instead for a more inclusive approach to the presence of second generation *Italians* in Italian schools. The two groups focused on in this chapter, *El Vagon Libre* and *Rete G2*, are politically engaged in creating a space for change, for recognition of Rome as a multiple and multiply-engaged place with myriad connections between the city and elsewhere, established through both personal friendships and kin networks and through common interests and grass-roots collectivities. The discussion in this chapter provides evidence of the 'throwntogetherness' of place (Massey 2005). Rome, thus, is revealed to be an always-changing spatio-temporal event, in which the socio-spatial identifications of its inhabitants create a dynamic place of possibility.

Multiplicity for the 'children of migration'

Viewing Rome through the lens of Massey's (2005, p. 140) concept of 'throwntogetherness', in which 'what is special about place is...the unavoidable challenge of negotiating a here-and-now (itself drawing on a history and a geography of thens and theres); and a negotiation which must take place within and between both human and nonhuman,' I suggest that there are multiple possibilities for identification with the city. For the second generations in Italy, the 'children of migration', identification with the towns and cities in the country in which they live is not an easy, accepted thing. That is, socio-spatial identification with the 'local', for those with diverse origins, is contested by autochthonous Italians in everyday interactions, which involve questioning where someone is from, assuming that they must be from elsewhere because of their somatic features, or being surprised at someone's use of Italian without an accent. At the same time, the second generations themselves recognise the connections to other places that they have inherited from their families, as discussed in Chapter 3 of this thesis, where the layering of Mogadishu and Rome in the narrative of Igiaba Scego (2010) reveals how the local is shadowed by other places. As I discussed in Chapter 4 of this thesis, citizenship in Italy is based on *jus sanguinis*, and the bureaucratic processes for obtaining residency permits create situations of precarious residence even for those who were born in Italy to foreign parents. With citizenship out of reach for many, the second generations often have difficulty reconciling allegiance to their country of residence with interest in and allegiance to their cultural heritage and the places of their parents' birth.

Jacqueline Andall (2002, p. 390) argues that, in a study of second generation African-Italians in Milan,

> the presence of African-Italians will begin to challenge notions of what constitutes "Italianness", already a contested sphere of enquiry...Although hyphenated senses of belonging are not yet fully articulated in Italy, interview

> narratives reveal evidence of multi-positionality within the notion of diasporic space.

In this study, Andall defines the second generation as those who were born in Italy, or arrived there before the age of 6; those, that is, who started school at the age time as their Italian classmates. Andall's analysis shows that multiple spatial identifications are being expressed by the second generations; since they express allegiance to *both* the place in which they were raised, *and* the place from which their parents came, they do not necessarily have a sense of exile that is one indicator for diaspora. Another problem with using the concept of diaspora in this discussion is that it emphasises the nation-state model: diasporic subjects are those who have travelled from one nation-state, to live in another, without interrogating the nuanced construction of those places of origin and arrival, nor the connections that exist between them. Yasemin Soysal (2002, p. 138) argues, 'this axiomatic primacy granted to nations and nation-states as units of analysis is difficult to hold in the face of contemporary changes in the geography and practice of citizenship and belonging.' Migration, that is, does not necessarily lead to the sense of loss inherent in the notion of diaspora, but can reveal the multiple connections to places created and maintained across time and space. Indeed, I argue that especially in the case of the second generations, but also for many who migrated as adults and have established extensive connections to their adopted city, a notion of 'diasporic space' tells only part of the story. Instead, looking at places as relational and multiple allows for the recognition of that multi-positionality expressed by the second generations that traces the lines between Rome and other places. For this reason, then, my use of the term 'second generations' is wider than Andall's; I use it to indicate all those whose migration was undertaken without agency, because their parents chose to migrate. This may include minors as old as fifteen, as well as young children and babies born in Italy after their parents' migration. My purpose is not to compare how different age brackets at the time of migration negotiate their allegiances to Italy and to their home country, but rather to understand how young people with diverse origins challenge hegemonic notions of 'Italianness' and 'Romanness' through their multiple understandings of place.

Framing the analysis through multiplicity, then, recognises the presence in Rome of individuals with diverse origins, including autochthonous Italians *and* immigrants and their descendants. The different senses of place created through the interactions of these diverse cultural heritages open up opportunities for imagining a multifaceted Rome that contains, within itself, the possibilities for relations with other places. The second generations also, in their very presence, reveal the possibilities of opening up the identifier 'Italian' to take on ever more nuanced meanings. In his study of identity informed by his own experience of migration from Lebanon to France in 1976, Maalouf (2000) argues that everyone's identity is formed through multiple allegiances. He argues that it makes no sense to say he is 'more' French or 'more' Lebanese, since his identity is formed precisely through the combined experience of having lived for long periods of time in *both* places. Speaking against calls to choose just one of these allegiances – whether national or local, religious or ethnic, linguistic or cultural – Maalouf (2000, p. 3) states, [i]dentity can't be compartmentalised…I haven't got several identities. I've got just one, made up of many components combined together in a mixture that is unique in every individual.' Identity conceived as a mixture of many components works with a sense of place as 'throwntogetherness' to create multiplicity in the city of Rome. The presence of young immigrants, second generation Italians, and autochthonous Italians who grew up together, attended school together, engenders multiple possibilities for socio-spatial identification in Rome and, therefore, for understandings of material and imagined belonging in the city. Bounded within the physical confines of buildings, streets, piazzas, the city nonetheless opens itself up to the world, and is created anew by each and every individual who calls it home.

This is not to argue that this multiplicity is a purely individual pursuit. Rather, I argue that the individuals who live in the city fit unevenly into the social collectivities that exist there, sometimes supporting them and sometimes challenging them in a continual play between the individual and the social. Identification with a collective group identity, for example 'Italian' or 'Roman', may occur at the same time as identification with the ethnicity of one's parents, or in opposition to it; the second generations again, through their very

embodiment of difference and multiplicity, reveal the contingency of group identifications. As I have argued throughout this thesis, 'the local' – in this case, the city of Rome – is constructed, with historical and social processes working to create and alter our understandings of the city at different times. Identity, which relies on identification with a location ('Roman', 'Italian'), or with being out-of-place ('immigrant', 'refugee'), is itself therefore formed through interaction with constructions of 'the local' that occur in a specific place, at a specific time. As stated by Gupta and Ferguson (1997, p. 13) in the introduction to a collection of essays exploring the importance of space and place in anthropology,

> Identity and alterity are therefore produced simultaneously in the formation of "locality" and "community." "Community" is never simply the recognition of cultural similarity or social contiguity but a categorical identity that is premised on various forms of exclusion and constructions of otherness. This fact is absolutely central to the question of who or what it is that "has" such identities (a group? an individual?), for it is precisely through processes of exclusion and othering that both collective and individual subjectivites are formed. With respect to locality as well, at issue is not simply that one is located in a certain place but that the particular place is set apart from and opposed to other places.

This 'setting apart' from other places occurs in a variety of ways, for example through the constitution and maintenance of geographical boundaries, which are then written onto the bodies of inhabitants through bureaucratic categorisations of residence and citizenship. Exclusions occur spatially *at the same time as* they occur socially, as argued in the discussion of spatial exclusion and abjection in Chapter 5 of this thesis. Everyday practices and the association of particular characteristics with particular places are also involved in this process; as shown in the discussion of food in Chapter 6, even the sensory experience of the 'local' is itself multiple, and contingent. The contingency of space, its chance, is what lies behind Massey's (2005, p. 151) concept of 'throwntogetherness'. As she argues,

> Place as an ever-shifting constellation of trajectories poses the question of our throwntogetherness....The multiplicity and the chance of space here in the constitution of place provide (an element of) that inevitable contingency which underlies the necessity for the institution of the social and which, at the moment of antagonism, is revealed in particular fractures which pose the question of the political.

The 'particular fractures' posed by the presence, and agency, of the second generations in Italy involve challenges to the dominance of certain forms of

nationalism and collective identity in that country. The political engagement of young people in Rome around issues of identity, as explored in this chapter, emphasises different elements of the 'multiplicity and the chance' of Rome, providing space for diverse understandings of this city opposed to other places, as well as revealing the connections between this city and other places.

This play between bounded physical space and open, relationally constituted places is not limited to the city. The nation is conceived as a discrete territory that is 'home' to a particular 'community', since 'nations are produced and constituted as places and communities in which "a people" might belong' (Ahmed 2000: 98). This can have serious, and sometimes violent, consequences for those seen *not* to belong, as discussed in detail in Chapter 5 of this thesis. Rome, as capital city of Italy, contains some of the elements of nationhood constructed at the nation-state level (see the discussion in chapter 2). However, as I have argued throughout this thesis, this identification occurs in specific ways in this specific place, and identification with the city can occur even in circumstances when identification with the nation is minimal. Rome itself, as a home-place for people with many different allegiances, is home also to myriad kinds of connections between people within the city, and between other places. These connections, in 21st century Rome, are mediated not only through the physical proximity and everyday encounters between the city's inhabitants, but also through communications technologies, which create opportunities for encounters with others separated by large distances. That is,

> [S]o extensive have the city's connections become as a result of the growth of fast communications, global flows, and linkages into national and international institutional life that the city needs theorization as a site of local-global connectivity...[noting] also the everydayness of spatially stretched and distant connections (Amin & Thrift 2002: 26-27).

In this chapter, I focus on the *active* resistance to hegemonic notions of place and identity, in order to trace the relations between social actors, both individuals and groups, formed in the city of Rome. These relations reach past the boundaries of the city to connect it to places beyond. Collective action of that kind resists hegemonic notions of belonging based on ethnicity involves a (re)articulation of collective identity, as individuals come together to agitate for

new understandings of who and what a 'Roman' is. As argued by Alberto Melucci (1996, p. 40) in his analysis of collective action:

> Actors produce collective action because they are able to define themselves and their relationship with the environment...The process of creating such definitions is, however, not linear: the events in which a number of individuals act collectively are the product of the interaction, negotiation, and opposition between different action orientations. The actors construct a "we"...by rendering common, combining and then painstakingly adjusting three different kinds of orientations: those relating to the *ends* of the action (to the meanings that the action has for the actor), to the *means* (that is, to the possibilities and limits of action), and finally to the relationships with the *environment* (to the field in which the action takes place).

Both *El Vagon Libre* and *Rete G2*, while involved in very different kinds of struggle, are actively moving towards a different understanding of the city of Rome that includes space for its connections to other places, as well as space within the city for those with diverse origins and cultural practices. In this sense, Rome multiplies, through the struggles that occur within it, to include new claims for belonging, new expressions of solidarity, new networks of social actors and connections across space and time. The processes of collective identity construction (see, for example, Melucci 1996) are different for both of the groups discussed in this chapter. The first, *El Vagon Libre*, focuses on material actions and interpersonal relations developed through being *bodily* in particular places, at particular times, with personal networks used to develop trans-local connections between social actors in Rome and others on the opposite side of the world. The second, *Rete G2*, uses its online presence to ensure that the collective identity of its members, second generation Italians who organise around the key issue of Italy's *jus sanguinis* citizenship laws, is maintained across the large geographic area of the Italian nation-state. For both groups, it is clear that organisation around a particular social issue has occurred through both interpersonal and inter-spatial relations, originating in Rome and moving towards a relational understanding of the socio-spatial identifications that occur in that city, in Italy, and around the world.

El Vagon Libre: fiesta!

In this section, I discuss the moments of intercultural exchange enabled by the youth group *El Vagon Libre*, with which I volunteered while doing fieldwork in Rome in 2009. *El Vagon Libre* is an NGO founded in Rome in 2006, with a constantly changing membership. Now at the time of writing in early 2012, this group seems to be disbanding, with only one regular activity left. There is however a continuation of the group through the activities of one of its founding members, who now lives in Berlin, Germany. In the context of *El Vagon Libre*'s activities in Rome, the group presents an important aspect of potential interactions in the city, in that throughout its existence it has consciously engaged with diversity in Rome, building up connections with people in other places around the world, and making use of the multiple ways that people inhabit the city's spaces. The organisation is voluntary, with members from around the world, though at present mainly Italians and Latin Americans resident in Rome. *El Vagon Libre*, according to its website, was created by a group of young people living in Rome, who 'intended to create a common, free, and serious instrument to participate in the support of the poorest areas of the earth. The association treasures the meeting of different cultures, to provoke a common feeling in people with diverse destinies, and to transform this extraordinary feeling into a concrete assistance.'[37] These concrete acts have included raising money through holding parties in Rome, to donate to causes in Latin America, one example of which was buying instruments for a group of travelling musicians in Buenos Aires. Another saw the group involved in assisting with the realisation of a trans-frontier meeting between indigenous populations in Colombia, Ecuador and Venezuela. The contacts with other organisations and persons in need, like the musicians, are always made through group members, who for personal reasons including provenance, study, or work have extensive contacts across Latin America.

[37] See http://www.elvagonlibre.org/chisiamo.html for the Italian text. It should be noted that this website is out-of-date: written in 2006, it has not been maintained, as the organisation's main activities occur not in virtual but in actual space.

Claudia Gatti,[38] one of the founding members of *El Vagon Libre*, explained, 'We're from all over the world but we are migrants...many of us are migrants but privileged...we're all people with an education, often with a university education, but we're interested in working with other types of immigrants who maybe don't have our same fortune' (Interview 23/9/09). So, the group is aware of the class differences between different types of immigrants, but rather than making this a point of separation, seeks to turn this division into an opportunity for cultural exchange. In the same interview, Claudia discussed the importance of viewing cultural events *as* political interventions, saying, 'All the events and the conferences that we organise have a political aspect…we mean political in that sense. Material actions on the ground, cultural events too are for us a political act in that sense' (Interview 23/9/09). For this grass-roots organisation multiplicity, that combination of the 'throwntogetherness' of place and the 'unique mixture' of identity, is framed as *embodied and material*: direct actions aimed at altering people's understandings of Rome are conducted through 'material actions on the ground'.

The activities that *El Vagon Libre* organises in Rome include parties, often with Latin American music, conferences to further the knowledge about Rome's diverse populations, and once a month clean-up days in a park in northern Rome, where mainly homeless Romanian and Polish immigrants spend the morning cleaning the park in return for a small stipend paid by *El Vagon Libre*. Claudia explains that the objectives of the organisation are to 'circulate the message that Rome is a multiethnic city, and the positive possibilities that this multiethnicity brings, and we want to use the energy and the potential that the youth have to do this' (Interview 23/9/09). She explains that far too often in Italy, the power or the distribution of funding, and for the activities that an organisation can undertake, rests with older people, a frustrating situation across all sectors of Italian bureaucracy and one that excludes younger people from the decision-making process. *El Vagon Libre* instead insists that young people can bring positive change to the NGO sector in that country, through an injection of new

[38] Real name.

energy and awareness of the changes occurring in the country. *El Vagon Libre*, then, is consciously aware of engaging in practices that challenge hegemonic understandings of what Rome is and could be, established through a *generational* as much as through a racial or class heirarchy. The group's continued engagement with the bureaucratic structures as well as with people from a variety of backgrounds resists social separation along generational, ethnic and class lines, and the spatial manifestations of this separation, and instead emphasises the experience of living in Rome in the 21st century as one of 'throwntogetherness'.

Sitting somewhere between a volunteer-based, small NGO and a social movement, *El Vagon Libre* is difficult to classify. It emphasises material engagement with the problematics presented by diversity in Rome, as well as in providing funding and support for activities in economically depressed regions of the world; but it does so through activation of personal networks and collective actions, as well as using youth-oriented activities and parties to mobilise a changing vision of Rome in which diversity is seen as a positive force in the city. This group, then, is not involved in orienting its actions around one singular identity. Rather, *El Vagon Libre* is driven by an interest in solidarity, in diversity, and in cultural exchange; it includes the direct participation of people from diverse backgrounds, all of whom unite around a common concern: asserting and defending the positive potential of diversity, and providing material assistance for those less fortunate. In this way, the group is involved in creating a sense of place, of the city of Rome, that is expansive, and that views Rome as home to many and diverse people, with many and diverse interests, origins, and material needs. The connections built up between people in Rome and people around the world are direct and personal, pointing to the opportunities that the movement of people provide for the creation of social movements, especially when focused on material acts in the field. I now provide a narrative description of two events in which I participated, which demonstrate how *El Vagon Libre* operates and is involved in connecting Rome to places beyond the physical boundaries of the city.

On a Sunday in September 2009, I attended the park clean-up in a suburb in northern Rome, Pina dei Sacchetti. This activity was a monthly occurrence in which members of El Vagon Libre provided lunch, plastic bags, and cleaning equipment for a number of homeless Polish and Romanian immigrants who lived in the area, and who received payment for this work. The activity began when one of the members of El Vagon Libre*, who lived nearby, was made aware of the possibility for initiating an activity in the park. There is a convent nearby, where the nuns provide access to the canteen for the disadvantaged and homeless of the suburb. There is another association active in the park, an environmental organisation that seeks to maintain this green area and protect it against pollution and the encroaching buildings of the Roman periphery. So,* El Vagon Libre *made contact with both of these organisations that already active in the area, and began its own activity that was separate from both the religious activities of the sisters and the environmental activities of the park's organisation. In this initiative,* El Vagon Libre *focused on providing an activity for which disadvantaged immigrants living in the area could earn a small stipend, as well as providing them with a connection to the area through physical work, and with the intention of showing other residents of the area that the men involved were willing and able to participate in maintaining a clean environment. The first day I attended, I arrived late, as the park is in the outer suburbs to the north of Rome. On arrival, I found Claudia upset over an incident that had occurred that morning in which one of the homeless men criticised the volunteers from* El Vagon Libre*, calling them (in less polite terms) meddlesome do-gooders. Another, older, woman from* El Vagon Libre *explained to me that many of the men had problems with alcohol, and that their life experiences had left them with little trust in women. Indeed, on that day all of the volunteers from* El Vagon Libre *were female, and I began to wonder if this had something to do with the outbreak of tension. Since I had arrived after the incident occurred, the men seemed to be avoiding the area where* El Vagon Libre *volunteers collected the bags of rubbish and prepared lunch, so I had little opportunity to speak with them. After the clean-up was finished, and while the men ate lunch, some of*

them approached Claudia to apologise. Her emotional response had demonstrated that this was, for her and for the other volunteers of El Vagon Libre*, an important activity that they did not undertake lightly; they had demonstrated to the men that they cared, the display of emotion proving their involvement and interest in the men's lives.*

…

In May 2010, I returned to Rome for a week to participate in a party, jointly organised by El Vagon Libre *and a number of other associations. This party took place in l'Aquila, the mountain city destroyed by a violent earthquake on 6th April 2009. This event, organised with government and NGO funding, was originally to take place in Rome, but through a series of personal connections and networks between organisations it was moved to l'Aquila. The change in location was arranged with the purpose of assisting local cultural organisations, artists, and musicians to raise funding and continue their operations despite the ongoing difficulties of displacement following the earthquake. Wandering through the city before the concert, in the evening, we saw buildings destroyed, rubble strewn across the ground, streets closed to the public. That same day, there was a protest meeting in the old town centre, organised by displaced locals intent on reclaiming their city from the builders, military and police who had taken it over since the earthquake. There were rumours of corruption in the rebuilding programs: rumours that the new buildings meant to replace lost homes were being built by construction companies with the right connections, rather than with the interests of the people in mind, and that repairs to the damaged areas were being delayed so that more money could be made from this new construction work. This suspicion of widespread corruption, along with the residents' experiences of displacement, loss of control, feelings of helplessness and moments of resistance, are explored in the 2010 documentary,* Draquila – l'Italia che trema*, by Sabina Guzzanti. On that day, visiting that town, my companions from* El Vagon Libre *were amazed at the level of destruction, since images of l'Aquila circulating in Italian*

media have focused on the rebuilding projects and avoided images of remaining destruction. The level of censorship in the media of this country means that television cannot stand in for actual, physical presence in a place; this town, its fallen beauty, its residents agitating for a return to the historic centre that may never happen, cannot be reproduced and circulated through the mass media. In a country where such reproductions are controlled by Berlusconi's media empire, such events must be experienced, viscerally, in the flesh. Visiting l'Aquila, we felt uncomfortable taking photos of places where so many people have died, and where memorials have been carefully placed and maintained by family members. We resisted reproducing as an image the site that had such a strong impact on us. Instead, we left the destroyed centre and returned to the site where the party was to take place and began setting up. As the evening progressed, the outlet of emotions was palpable: the event was a seething mass of young people, many of whom had lost hope that they would ever be able to return or find work in their home town. The performers on stage sang their praises for those who lost their lives, and everywhere there was overheard snippets of talk about the corruption and difficulties of the rebuilding process. The stories of this day, walking through the ruins and heard from those who lived through the earthquake and the subsequent displacement, would be told over and again to family and friends; word of mouth is, in some ways, more powerful than any image could be in circulating the continuing desperation of the situation in l'Aquila.

What these two narratives of the activities of *El Vagon Libre* show, is the importance of *presence* in intercultural engagement and relations between places. It was only through the emotional interaction between Claudia and the men from the park, that an understanding was reached of each other's intentions, and that material assistance was shown to be motivated by more than a sense of duty and to encompass, also, care for the men themselves. At the event in l'Aquila, funding was organised through contacts in Rome and directed to an area of Italy that had suffered greatly from a natural disaster. At the same time, government propaganda about the rebuilding program was revealed for what it

was: a cover-up of the ongoing, daily struggle to live in l'Aquila. Indeed, many of those we spoke to on the day had left the town in search of work elsewhere, and many had no hope of ever returning, since it was not only the buildings that were destroyed in the earthquake but many businesses and people's livelihoods as well. What both occasions reveal are the ways in which *El Vagon Libre* is engaged in making, and maintaining, *embodied* connections between Rome and elsewhere, as well as in speaking out about injustices and inequalities in that city and in other places. The activities of this small, volunteer-based group are, in this way, integrally involved in the relationality of place: relations between people of different generations, classes and ethnicities, in the project in the park; and relations between cultural organisations in Rome and in another Italian town, at the event in l'Aquila. *El Vagon Libre*, then, as a loose collectivity with an ever-changing membership and focus, is an important example of the shifting landscape of socio-spatial relations in Rome, and of the importance of embodiment in understandings of multiplicity.

Rete G2 – Seconde Generazioni: material change through a virtual medium

The *Rete G2* formed in Rome in 2005, following a chance encounter by the founding members in a bar near Termini train station. The founders were concerned with the ways that second generation Italians were treated by the police, represented by the mainstream press, and marginalised in the community; they decided to form a network that would address these concerns, and forge connections with other second generation Italians from across the country, organising collective actions to lobby for changes to citizenship laws and to give second generation Italians a voice and an opportunity to come together and discuss their experiences with people in similar situations. The network emphasises that the second generations in Italy should not be described as immigrants, as they so often are in mainstream media, stating on its website,

> The network *Rete G2 – Seconde Generazioni* is a national, non-aligned organisation founded by children of immigrants and refugees born and/or raised in Italy. Members of G2 define themselves as 'children of immigrants':

> those born in Italy did not undertake any migration, and those born overseas but raised in Italy did not emigrate voluntarily, but were brought to Italy by parents or other relatives. "G2" therefore does not stand for "second generation immigrants" but for "the second generations of immigration", referring to immigration as a process that is transforming Italy generation after generation.[39]

This distinction between 'second generation immigrants' and 'the second generations of immigration' is important, since it allows the group to emphasise the 'Italianness' of the second generations: the identities of second generation youth are described as Italian-with-different-origins. Emphasising the 'Italianness' of those whose families have migrated from elsewhere challenges notions of nativity that rest on geographical boundedness, in which any movement across the limits of a geographical border is a transgression; instead, *Rete G2* seeks to transform the landscape of both the social and the spatial in Italy to allow for difference and diversity in the social, 'Italianness', delimited by the boundaries of the spatial, the Italian nation-state.

In mainstream media, the second generations continue to be described as 'immigrants', even by those who sympathise with immigrants in Italy, as shown in the description of the novel *Blacks Out* (Polchi 2010) in chapter 3 of this thesis. In discussions of the processes of integration and immigration policy, the second generations are often indistinguishable from their parents: those born in Italy, to foreign parents, take on their parents' citizenship until the age of 18, when they have one year in which to apply for Italian citizenship. This application is dependent on proving continuous residence in Italy for the previous eighteen years, and other factors including school results, work or study prospects, and criminal records often influence the final decision. Those who travelled to Italy as children with their parents are in an even more precarious situation: at eighteen, they must apply for their own residency permit, subject to the same conditions as adult immigrants, for a further ten years before being eligible for citizenship. *Rete G2* seeks to challenge this restrictive migration regime, agitating for new understandings of Italian identity as well as lobbying government and other organisations to change citizenship laws. They focus on the rights to citizenship of all who were born and grew up in

[39] My translation; for the Italian text, see http://www.secondegenerazioni.it/about/

Italy, regardless of the origin of their parents. *Rete G2* is, in this way, involved in negotiating for clearer definitions of the rights of second generation Italians, conceived as *Italians* first and foremost.

Rete G2's website includes news items and notifications relating to the group's activities, and to second generation Italians, as well as a discussion forum where members can post items relating to a variety of topics. These include reports on demonstrations or meetings organised by *G2*, discussions of experiences of racism, queries on how to negotiate the bureaucratic minefield of residency permits and citizenship applications, and general discussions about everyday life in contemporary Italy. The use of the internet by the group allows them to open up a space for discussion with members across the country, which would otherwise be impossible. This places *G2*'s website into the context of alternative media, which, according to Atton (2002, p. 4), 'are crucially about offering the means for democratic communication to people who are normally excluded from media production.' While *G2* members are not necessarily excluded from media production, with many engaging in academic research, journalism, and other forms of communication, nonetheless their representation in mainstream media remains problematic, with the website and discussion forum allowing them to present a different image to that reproduced in the mainstream. This use of the internet is closely tied to group members' material existence, since they use the site to discuss topics that will have a direct effect on their lives. As Atton (2004, p. 11) says in a later work,

> The use of the Internet by social movements is inevitably wedded to practices in cultural and social worlds that exist in other discursive areas beyond the "virtual": street protests, political lobbying, face-to-face dialogue, community-building. The virtual world of media production equally has its every-day, lived dimension that entails the connection between on-line and off-line relationships, where production that appears to have its outcomes in a virtual world is intimately woven into the fabric of everyday life. Indeed, these "outcomes" do not properly reside in that virtual world at all; they are sited there temporarily as a function of the carrier medium, but have their origins and their effects (social, cultural, political) in a world that is represented and determined by social forces and practices that cannot be bracketed off from Internet practices.

That is, *G2*'s activities occur in *both* virtual and actual space, with the one bleeding into the other as actions are planned online and then carried out in Italian cities, or as events in Italy are retold, rewritten, and reinterpreted online.

I use Atton's term, alternative media, over other suggested terms such as Clemencia Rodriguez's 'citizens' media', as *G2* challenges not only understandings of Italian identity but also questions the boundedness of national space itself. Rodriguez (2001, p. 20) states:

> [R]eferring to "citizens' media" implies first that a collectivity is *enacting* its citizenship by actively intervening and transforming the established mediascape; second, that these media are contesting social codes, legitimised identities, and institutionalized social relations; and third, that these communication practices are empowering the community involved, to the point where transformations and changes are possible.

This is what *G2* is involved in doing: it is using the internet as a means of presenting group members' concerns and experiences to a wider audience; as a means of keeping in touch with members spread across Italy and in other parts of the world (for example when visiting relatives etc.); and, as a politically active group, it is attempting to transform the legal and social status of its members in Italy. However, many of *G2*'s members are not Italian citizens, and the difficulties faced by people who feel themselves to be silenced in the mainstream press, to belong in Italy but denied access to citizenship, or who feel Italian but are challenged in that feeling in everyday interactions, have led many members to seek out an *alternative* space, where their concerns can be discussed and where actions can be planned, while allowing space for participation for those who are *not* citizens. This is the creation of a space that is an extension of the material places in which group members live, such that connections between the founders in Rome and the members spread across the country can be maintained and strengthened in a context where their presence will not be questioned.

The internet is an important tool for social movements, allowing direct dissemination of information to a much larger audience than would otherwise be possible through mainstream media. Furthermore, this use of the internet shows that in cases where action is focused on a specific cause, the use of the internet is very much tied to participants' material existence, their concerns with policies and practices that affect their lives directly, and their attempts to effect changes in the societies in which they live. As Jayne Rogers (2003, p. 40) argues, '[t]he Internet...is being used in different ways and these uses need to be considered in

context. In particular, the aims and objectives behind the application of communications technologies by different actors needs to be addressed.' Users of the *Rete G2* discussion forum are very much concerned with emphasising the connection between their online personas – their inhabitation of virtual space – and their everyday selves – their inhabitation of the actual spaces of Italian cities and towns. It is in this way an example of socio-spatial identification that moves between embodied and virtual multiplicity.

The forum is a site of discussion, an extension of the embodied self, situated in actual places in Italy, into virtual space, an extension that allows members to speak out about their experiences, to discuss relevant contemporary issues, and to engage in in-depth, politically aware discussions amongst friends and colleagues who are not able to see each other face to face. The use of the internet, here, allows for an extension of the everyday lived experience of space and place into the extension of the virtual realm, where members network with each other as well as with other groups with an online presence, such as *Associna*, an association for second generation Italians of Chinese background. The fact that *Rete G2* is an organised group involved in direct action on specific issues, and is not constituted through membership of a specific ethnic minority but focuses on the particular situation of *all* second generation Italians, from problems with gaining citizenship and residency permits to everyday experiences of racism and discrimination, means that the online discussions are focused on the corporeal experiences of the group's members. *Rete G2*, in its collective actions, also seeks to problematise accepted definitions of what it means to be Italian, through 'a process of identity-formation which constructs and reconstructs itself in the life-course of individuals and groups' (Melucci 1996, p. 159). *Rete G2* emphasises the changing nature of Italian society, responding to events as they occur, or as individual members face challenges with documentation and other issues, thus demonstrating the many ways that members of the group are redefining what it means to be Italian today.

Rete G2 defines its mission statement and method of participation as follows:

Objectives of the Network G2 – Mission:

- Reform of the law for the concession of Italian citizenship so that it becomes more open in relation to the second generations. Access to citizenship is the only way to ensure that children of immigrants are considered in actual fact equal, in their rights and obligations, to their contemporaries, children of Italians;
- Cultural transformation of Italian society, so that it becomes more aware and recognises all its children, regardless of their origins.

The Method of G2:

G2 follows a method of direct participation, without intermediaries, for a direct dialogue with other institutions, a task that is primarily a collective analysis of the reality of Italian life, rather than mere testimony of the individual journeys of the children of immigration. *G2* has an inclusive approach to political forces, it is a network that uses the instruments of politics but defines itself as unaligned, that is, as not dependent on any one party.[40]

Though the group was founded in Rome, its members come from all over the country, and there are now active branches in other cities such as Milan, Genova, Padova, and Bologna. These branches come together in national workshops organised by *Rete G2*, where members have the opportunity to discuss issues directly affecting them, as well as generating ideas for change and to further the rights of the second generations in Italy. *Rete G2* is involved in various projects including *Radio G2* in Milan, the production of videos, cds, festivals and plays, and actively lobbies government to change citizenship laws in favour of the children of migration.

In 2006, *Rete G2* began a discussion forum as part of its website:

> This forum was born on 2 July 2006, the day after the first national Workshop of the G2 Network, as an expansion of our blog site. It is a useful tool animated by members of the G2 Network, and also frequented by single users, children of immigrants or of Italians, all brought up in Italy, who want to have a bit of a chat.[41]

The forum is open; anyone can read the threads and discussions, but only people who join the network are able to respond and to post items. There is a code of conduct, advising that offensive or racist comments – that is, comments that do not enter into debate but are intended only to insult other users of the forum –

---

[40] For the Italian text, see http://www.secondegenerazioni.it/about/

[41] This text is translated from a post, titled 'Chi siamo?' ('Who are we?'), in the forum section titled 'Presentazione, Regolamento, Richieste staff' ('Presentation, Regulations, Staff requests'), http://www.secondegenerazioni.it/forum/viewtopic.php?f=8&t=7

will be removed.[42] There are now over 950 users of the forum, who are given 'levels' that mirror the various categories of residency of foreign citizens in Italy; you can move up a level only through participation, or through becoming an organiser or administrator of the network. So, for example, a newly-registered user will be given the level 'clandestino' (clandestine), the word used to indicate someone residing in Italy illegally; after a certain number of posts, they might be moved up to 'in attesa del permesso di soggiorno' (awaiting residency permit), to 'G2 integrato' (G2 integrated), and so on. Forum topics are organised under three main headings: *Cos'è G2?* (What is G2?); *Principi di G2 – Seconde Generazioni* (Principles of G2 – Second Generations); and *Generale* (General). Under each of these headings there are a number of sub-headings: for example, under 'Principles of G2' there are discussion threads under the sub-heading *L'Italia che vorremo* (The Italy we would like), and under 'General', *Arte e Cultura* (Art and Culture) and *Pensieri* (Thoughts).

There is also a section where researchers, journalists, students and others can leave questions and requests for the members of *Rete G2*'s discussion forum, for example requests for interviews, short surveys, etc. These requests often generate fierce debate, as the members of the network have over the years worked towards a carefully considered definition of the parameters of *Rete G2*, along with clear and precise definitions and representations of the people it represents. For example, "Erica" wrote on 20 Oct 2008 requesting information regarding the professional formation of *giovani stranieri* (young foreigners); "1123" responded referring back to the network's terms of reference, stating, 'We of the network G2, rather than defining ourselves as young foreigners, define ourselves and feel ourselves to be, in every way, Italian, Italian with different origins.' [43]

There are many threads discussing difficulties with applications for citizenship and for the ever-important residency permit, and others concerned with racism,

---

[42] The full text, in Italian, may be read here: http://www.secondegenerazioni.it/forum/viewtopic.php?f=13&t=5
[43] See the post at http://www.secondegenerazioni.it/forum/viewtopic.php?f=34&t=1496

with the ways in which someone's personal appearance affects others' opinion of them, leading to questions of identity. Examples include posts that discuss experiences of growing up in Italy only to be constantly told, when meeting new people, 'But you speak Italian so well!' Such comments from other Italians may not be meant maliciously, but these moments of everyday racism nonetheless work to other the second generations, marked as 'different' by their somatic features, placing them outside the national language when in fact it may be the only language they know fluently. Another major theme for discussions is current events in Italy. One event, which reverberated across the country, involved a violent crime against a member of the second generations and led to a great outpouring of emotion on the discussion forum. Abdoul Guiebre was murdered in Milan on 15 September 2008, after he stole a packet of biscuits from a shop: the shop owner and his son chased Abdoul down, as witnesses described them, screaming 'dirty nigger' and other racist insults before the son beat Abdoul to death (see the discussion in chapter 3 of this thesis, for an analysis of how this and similar events relate to everyday expectations of who is Italian, and who is not). Discussions in mainstream media presented a range of viewpoints, and articles did specify that Abdoul had grown up in the periphery of Milan, however he was for the most part referred to as an immigrant, and not as a second-generation Italian as *Rete G2* would define him; such discussions focused on questions of whether the case demonstrated a rising xenophobia in Italy in general, or whether it was a one-off case.[44]

On the *Rete G2* discussion forum, a huge outpouring of emotion occurred, as people mourned one of their own, for many a friend, and discussed how this case related to their own lives. In one post in particular, a message from "Paula" on 22 September 2008 demonstrates the difficulties faced by second generation Italians in such instances of violence. She writes,

> "Son, the death of Abba doesn't concern you…"

[44] For a full discussion of the incident and subsequent protests in Milan, see Hepworth 2011; for an in-depth analysis of the event as it reverberated through 'acts of citizenship' of second generation Italians both in the city spaces of Milan and in cyberspace, see Hepworth & Hamilton, forthcoming.

> While we were in Milan to participate in the protest for the death of Abdul/Abba, which the Network G2 supported, I heard a number of times some of the children of immigrants from the Network recount:
>
> *'My mother said: "What happened to the boy in Milan doesn't concern you"'; 'My father wasn't able to understand and repeated, "What does it have to do with you, the story of that murder?"'…*
>
> Has it also happened to you in the past few days, have you found yourselves discussing animatedly with your parents (immigrants, first generation, mum and dad…) explaining what it meant to you to feel touched to the core by the murder of young Abba, child of immigrants, an Italian like us?
>
> What do you think?[45]

Here, this member of *Rete G2* is defining herself against her parents, as Italian and *not* an immigrant. She also mentions that *Rete G2* was involved in the protests that occurred in Milan itself, at the site of the murder. In this case, the link between virtual online presence and corporeal presence in Italy was made strongly through *Rete G2*'s ability to mobilise its membership online, to take part in a physical protest in the city of Milan. Members travelled from across the country to participate, and discussions on the online forum included responses not only to the event itself but also to *Rete G2*'s involvement in Milan, as the children of migration spoke about their parents' responses to their participation in the protest. Other responses describe similar differences of attitude between parents and child. One such example was written by "PurpleWoman" and is a direct response to "Paula's" post:

> "...they're things that don't concern you, you have other priorities..."
>
> My mother the day before I left said it to me, what to say I was put down by this phrase. At first I thought only that it was maternal fear and understandable, the fear that a child evokes too often.
>
> And I asked myself how my mother, a woman with an open mind didn't understand the sign in my decision to participate, didn't understand that Abba could have been me, could have been a member of *G2* and could have been the kid from the house next door...
>
> ...This time defining ourselves children of immigration, children of immigrants, seems like we want to take light years of distance from our parents, from their culture and also part of ours, well I don't think that's it I think that at the base like our "autochthonous" peers we have and we suffer from the generational gap with our parents…
>
> …so what do you reply when your mother or your father tells you that it doesn't concern you?!..

[45] http://www.secondegenerazioni.it/forum/viewtopic.php?f=22&t=1362&p=9216#p9216

> ...I smile and I don't respond because I know that my mother deep down can never understand my status of second generation, my being a bit from here and a bit from there, a hybrid flower, she'd understand in part the fight to be considered equal to our peers on paper and also in spirit..
>
> ...and so nothing is left to me but to look at her and smile and think that at least one of us is half-saved from this running towards obstacles…

In this instance, the generation gap that already exists between parents and children is represented as complicated further by the fact that the parents grew up in a different place: the migration that they underwent as adults was lived differently by their child, who is 'a bit from here and a bit from there', whose relation to Italy is more complicated since it is the country in which she was raised and therefore 'home', even when Abba's murder has shaken that sense of 'home' to its core.

In discussions such as these, it becomes apparent that the forum of *Rete G2* is very much concerned with life as it happens, in the spaces of Italy's cities and towns as well as in the bureaucratic space of citizenship of the nation-state. Experiences in the corporeal world inform the online discussion forum, as the internet is used with the specific purpose of maintaining contact and generating debate amongst people with different experiences, countries of origin, and ancestry, but with one common concern: membership of a group that takes part in action for the right to equality, both legally and socially, of the children of migration in Italy. The group has mobilised around this issue because its members are so often at risk of being expelled, not necessarily physically but symbolically, from the national space; this symbolic expulsion indicates a rift between the embodied presence of these young Italians within the borders of the nation-state. Their use of virtual space to challenge this symbolic expulsion makes sense, for when it erupts into the actual spaces of the Italy's multiethnic cities, this symbolic expulsion turns violent and all too material, and may even lead to death as it did for Abba. The parents of the members of *G2* have migrated in most cases to participate in Italy's workforce, but the children are left in the in-between space of identification with both their parents' 'home-place' and their own, the Italian cities where they have grown up. Their socio-spatial identification defies the boundaries placed around the Italian nation-state and the Italian identity. The abjection of the second generations that can be seen in

such instances is contested, because of their act of speaking out against such exclusions, of claiming a space for themselves in the Italian imaginary. The online forum is an extension of *Rete G2* members' everyday struggle with questions of identity, an extension of the social spaces in which they live, a means of narrating their thoughts and experiences in a medium over which they have control, and thus of bypassing the censorship and discrimination, intended or not, which occurs when others attempt to represent them.

The Colour of Passports

One of the places where the presence of large numbers of second generation children is felt the most, and therefore one of the places in which this contestation of 'Italianness' is at its strongest, is the school classroom. In Italy, public discourse concentrates on the 'integration' of immigrants, particularly those of school age; in January 2010, Berlusconi's government proposed that classes in Italian schools be capped at a maximum 30% of foreign students per class (*Governo Berlusconi* 11/1/10). At the time, the Education Minister, Mariastella Glemini, emphasised the importance of such a decision in ensuring the 'integration' of foreign students, since a cap on their numbers would ensure a more even spread across the nation's schools and reduce the risk of creating 'ghetto' schools. No differentiation was made between those children born in Italy to foreign parents (who do not automatically gain citizenship) or those who arrived as young children. In fact, the text on the Government's website, published on 11 January 2010, shows that these children, too, are considered always-foreign, making special mention of one ethnic group in particular:

> There are schools where the percentage of immigrant children is much higher: in some classes it reaches 52%. In this case, the clarification that those children born in Italy will be excluded from the cap of 30% fixed for each class could cause some problems, because there are many cases of children – above all Chinese – born in Italy, but who then returned to live in China, with grandparents or in boarding school, who return to Italy at school age without knowing even one word of Italian.

> The guidance, therefore, is that in application, the criteria of exclusion from the cap of 30% will refer not only to the place of birth, but also and above all to effective knowledge of the Italian language.[46]

It is understandable that a government would be concerned with the language skills of its school-age population. However, the language used in this instance by the Italian Government and its officials indicate that the measures are meant to target specific groups: the explicit mention of Chinese children plays to general prejudices in the Italian population regarding the 'inability' of the Chinese to be 'integrated'. Furthermore, the indication that the intent is to include in the count of 'foreign' children in each classroom even those born in Italy, regardless of the actual letter of the law, reveals one of the ways in which the second generation continues to be constructed as foreign.

At the beginning of the school year, in September 2010, this cap of 30% of foreign students per class came into effect. However, at one of the schools in Rome, *Carlo Pisacane*, where high percentages of foreign students have been present for a number of years, there was one class in which not even one child who was Italian-with-Italian-parents had enrolled. As a result, Rome's Education Minister, Laura Marsilio, visited the school. On this occasion, she reprimanded the school for its interpretation of the 30% cap, stating, 'Even if these children were born in Italy, it's wrong not to consider them foreigners. It's not just the register of birth, but a question of culture' (*La Repubblica* 16/9/10). Marsilio, here, implies that the only 'true' Italian, with Italian culture, is an autochthonous Italian, and that children born in the country to foreign parents can not be considered Italian in the same way. As stressed by both the Italian and the Roman education ministers, being Italian is not a matter of having been born in Italy; holding an Italian passport or birth certificate is obviously not enough. Later in the same article, the headmaster of the school *Laparelli* is quoted as agreeing with Marsilio, saying, 'the children of foreigners, even if born in Italy, have…a [cultural] background different to that of Italians, while instead the children of Italians breathe an Italian culture' (*La Repubblica* 16/9/10). While cultural and religious differences may be apparent in the children's upbringing,

[46] My translation; for the Italian, see http://www.governoberlusconi.it/dettaglio/597/tetto-del-30-di-alunni-stranieri-per-classe

this view does not admit cultural differences into the definition of 'Italianness', nor take into account the children's knowledge of local languages and practices. In fact, the children that greeted Marsilio in September 2010 at the Scuola Carlo Pisacane performed a song in Italian dialect for the minister.

Marsilio's comments sparked outrage from opposition politicians in Rome, and Rome's Mayor, Gianni Alemanno, distanced himself from her almost immediately, clarifying that her comments were only true in so far as Italy's citizenship follows the rule of *jus sanguinis* and instead emphasising the important contributions of all children born in Rome, regardless of their parents' origins (*La Repubblica* 16/9/10). But the most moving response came from an entry posted on 23 September 2010 by "Alice Elliot", on the website of the *Rete G2*, an extract of which is translated below. "Alice's" father is English, her mother Italian; she was born in England but moved to Italy aged 3, where she attended school. Here, we see an example of the personal experience of living that connection to place that is denied in official discourse, as it was denied to the children visited by Marsilio at the beginning of the school year. I reproduce here my translation of the Italian text: it is worth quoting at length, as this expression of protest against official representations and solidarity with younger second-generation youth eloquently expresses the problems with official accounts that deny these children a place in imaginations of Italian identities.

Which shade of red is my passport?

How do you measure Italianness? From the 'air you breathe at home,' reply both Marsilio and the principal of the elementary school. And that's when I'm again flooded with doubts about my origins, my belonging. How do you measure the air that you breathe at home? What percentage of it has to be Italian, the air you breathe, to put into circulation in your body the essence of Italianness? Because I grew up in a house that was a little peculiar, and I'm not sure if the air I breathed during the past 25 years could be considered 'Italian.' Does a scientific reading exist? A reading of quality offered by the Minister for the Interior to measure, in a quantitative way, the nationality of the air of a home?

...

> To avoid confusion, to avoid that these children, Italian citizens, might feel in some way excluded from her argument and not feel themselves to be foreign enough, Marsilio underlined that 'it's not just a fact of registration, but a fact of culture.' And she's right, Ms Marsilio, to tell those 6 year old children, in their first days of school: it should be made clear, in their minds, that they are different to all the other children. In case they get confused or feel a sense of belonging to the Nation, to the city, to the school, to the neighbourhood, things should be made clear from the beginning. It's obvious, then, that even my citizenship isn't enough security, as proof of my Italianness – the argument of Marsilio suggests that there are some citizens who are more citizens than others, more Italian than others, with a passport redder than the others. Given my circumstances, which shade of red is my passport?
>
> ...
>
> Sure, some might tell me that my 'origin' is more 'European' than theirs. When we speak of the 'Italian air breathed at home,' though, are we really sure that English air is closer to Italian air than 'Albanian air,' 'Moroccan air,' 'Chinese air'? Does the Moroccan air breathed at home by the children of Moroccans 'pollute' the Italian air that children breathe more than the English, American, Austrian, Swiss air breathed by the children of English, American, Austrian, Swiss parents, born and raised in Italy? Maybe the Minister for the Interior should really distribute guidelines revealing the quality of the air of every house, caravan, or tent in Italy. That way we can all sleep more easily. Because finally we'll know exactly who is pure Italian and who isn't, who is only a third Italian, who only four fifths, who seven ninths.[47]

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed the coordinated actions of two very different groups, *El Vagon Libre* and *Rete G2*, both of which, in their own ways, are active in changing the connections between the social and the spatial in Rome and Italy.

[47] My translation; website of the *Rete G2*, section 'racconti' (stories), post titled 'Il mio passaporto di che rosso è?', http://www.secondegenerazioni.it/2010/09/23/il-mio-passaporto-di-che-rosso-e/

In both cases, a number of people have come together to act collectively around a particular issue or set of issues, taking part in the 'contentious politics' in which 'ordinary people – often in alliance with more influential citizens and with changes in public mood – join forces in confrontation with elites, authorities and opponents' (Tarrow 2011, p. 6). These groups, both formed in Rome at the beginning of the 21st century, recognised the changing nature of Roman and Italian society, in which increasing ethnic and cultural diversity is creating situations of tension, opportunities for solidarity, and moments of exchange. These transformations are occurring in the everyday lives of the people who are a part of them, and in the city streets of the Italian capital. These transformations are evidence of both embodied and virtual multiplicity, in which socio-spatial identification is recognised as encompassing a vast mixture of connections to place that is constantly changing as the population changes.

What is significant about the groups discussed in this chapter is their *active* involvement in these changes: both *El Vagon Libre* and *Rete G2* have invested time and effort to develop new visions of a multicultural city and nation; both groups have also been concerned with challenging hegemonic imaginings of the city and its inhabitants, using personal and online networks to connect Rome to places beyond. In speaking up about the changing nature of Roman and Italian society, in speaking out about global injustices (*El Vagon Libre*) or national inequalities (*Rete G2*), these two social actors are speaking from place – that is, from Rome. Combined with the discussion of food as a signifier of cultural identity that *travels with* migrants, this final section of the thesis has focused on material and everyday transformations in the socio-spatial identifications of those who inhabit the city of Rome. As the possibilities for difference in understandings of belonging in Rome multiply, the city itself becomes visible as heterogeneous, and the self within it as a complex combination of allegiances. The relational, interspatial and intersubjective essence of Rome is revealed by those who speak against dominant discourses of the self and the city that would seek to exclude or hide the diversity that exists in Rome today: those involved in articulating this multiplicity are speaking out of place.

8. Conclusion: The Changing City, The Changing Self

Drawing together theoretical approaches to place and identity, I have undertaken a synthesis of two literatures that often sit in separate fields of study. This was important for this project for a number of reasons. Firstly, the original impetus for the research grew out of a sense of being out-of-place when living in Rome. I therefore began to think about what it meant to be *in* place, and how individuals might find ways to belong in a place that was so different from their childhood homes. The research traced numerous ways in which this happens: personal narratives are about the places in which one lives, as much as about the individual; places themselves become meaningful through our interactions within them; and even food is as much about geography as it is about culture or taste. Through the connections between places made and maintained by migrants, places themselves begin to change and to take on new meanings, at the same time that individuals alter their behaviours, becoming used to the sights, sounds, smells and tastes of the new place until it becomes familiar, and homely.

Secondly, the bureaucratic structure around immigration in Italy makes it extremely difficult for people to attain legal citizenship status, and their residency status is often precarious. As the research progressed, I realised that this leads to many moments of resistance, in which official classifications of legal belonging are rejected and personal narratives of inhabitation are emphasised, allowing for expressions of belonging in Rome that are not always officially sanctioned. That is, political decisions and public discourses about legal belonging in Rome do not correlate to the everyday practices and personal narratives of belonging engaged in by migrants and their descendants. The 'group' identities of 'Italianness', and 'Romanness', are thus challenged and expanded to include the self-representation of migrants and their descendants as 'at home' in Italy, and in Rome, even while ever more stringent migration laws

seek to exclude them from gaining the status of full citizens, of full subjects, within the nation's borders.

Finally, I have emphasised the importance of *embodied* as well as *narrative* identity, an important point of discussion given the politically charged nature of debates over immigration in Italy, the use of immigrants as scapegoats in discussions of many of the country's recent troubles, and the racialisation inherent in notions of 'Italianness'. Analyses that focus on urban space tend to ignore the complexity of identity formation; at the same time, analyses that concentrate on identity tend to take as a given the stability of places. Bringing these two literatures together, then, allowed me to enter into the discussion of how socio-spatial identification is occurring in contemporary Rome, in a period of increasing immigration into the city as well as into Italy as a nation-state. This synthesis of two disparate literatures was the only way to answer the questions that generated this study: how do people with diverse origins negotiate their relationship to the city in which they live, in a politically charged and often racist environment? How is a sense of being 'at home' maintained despite the many difficulties faced on a day-to-day basis, including difficulties with visas, housing, and work? And, finally, what happens to our understandings of what the city of Rome itself is, when the sense of 'Italianness' and 'Romanness' is expanded to include diverse cultural practices and heritages?

This thesis follows approaches that view places as dynamic and relational, subject to change over time and to constant redefinition through changing practices, conflicting claims, and symbolic meanings. Rome, I argue, was always already plural, given meaning by the stories told about it, taking on different characteristics at different times. These histories do not disappear, but are incorporated into the alternative possibilities offered up by the physical spaces of the city. Michel Serres (1991, p. 281) says, '[b]ehind history, behind tragedy is the distribution of multiplicities. Sandbanks, turbulences, a mob, a crowd, a harvest we have lost account of.' Under the gaze that seeks an origin, cities multiply. Rome multiplies. As capital city of modern Italy, former urban centre of the ancient Roman Republic and Empire, and centre of the Catholic Church,

Rome takes on symbolic meanings that resonate around the world. At the same time, Rome is currently undergoing significant social change: in contemporary Italy, Rome is the city with the second-highest percentage of foreign residents, second only to Milan. The increasing visibility of diversity in Rome leads to a reformulation of identity, of what it means to be 'Roman'. In this thesis, identity is approached as both narrated and embodied, where narratives of migration and inhabitation of the city are accompanied by visual markers of difference such as skin colour or dress. Where these differences become undesirable, for some sections of Roman society, the individual is first objectified as the unwelcome stranger, an unindividuated member of a minority group, and then in extreme cases abjected, expelled from the city either physically, in the case of Roma, legally, through bureaucratic processes that deny full citizenship to people who have resided in Rome for years, or metaphorically, through the rejection of these people's stories as a part of Rome's present and future. This abjection is never total nor complete, however; resistance takes place through claiming a place for the migrant self, whether this be in the introduction of alternative narratives about Rome, or in the claims to belonging and inhabitation of otherwise-empty spaces in the city, or through active resistance in the form of social movements and cultural exchange.

As shown throughout the thesis, these alternative understandings of the self and the city abound, and have material effects on the city itself. The introduction of authors of diverse backgrounds into the Italian literary scene means that a range of new experiences is being expressed in the Italian language. The interactions of people in daily life leads to positive exchanges, with organisations like *Cucimondo* promoting the exchange of recipes, food, and stories of migration. The second generations resist easy classifications as either Italian or foreign, and instead find creative ways to express connections to both their parents' place of origin, and Rome, the city in which they grew up. Groups like *El Vagon Libre* and *Rete G2* are active in establishing and maintaining connections between Rome and elsewhere. The two most marginalised groups discussed in this thesis, Roma and Afghani refugees, risk falling through the cracks of an unwelcoming government, and in fact are targeted in policies of expulsion. Their continued

presence, however, challenges the state's efforts to control their movements and inhabitation of space, and as Roma organise politically and numbers of Afghanis increase, there is hope that their precarious situations will change, and that Rome will succeed in becoming a truly open city.

The work presented here is necessarily fragmentary: this is a snapshot, of certain versions of, and certain ways of being in, the city, at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Some questions of difference and belonging have taken a back seat: gender, as the most obvious example, has not been discussed explicitly, although indications that there exists a gendered difference in experiences of socio-spatial identification do appear in the discussion, and were certainly present the interviews and fieldwork. The choice to ignore this particular line of enquiry was made early on, in order to enable a closer focus on racialisation in both narrated and everyday senses of place in Rome. It would be interesting to see how masculinity and femininity influence perceptions of victimhood in refugee claims, for instance. Another point for further exploration is the way in food is implicated in the material process of racialisation, as suggested by the discussion of the visceral reactions to the 'ethnic' dishes experienced by Rome's schoolchildren. Here, it would be interesting to explore correlations between home-as-mother and food-as-home, where 'infants become kin through the sensuous connections of taste, touch and smell' (Slocum 2010, p. 318): the visceral reactions of Rome's schoolchildren may indicate a troubling of the sense of home and self that is akin to Kristeva's (1982, p. 1) discussion of abjection as a 'violent, dark revolt of being.'

In addition, circumstances in Rome have changed dramatically since I began the research for this thesis. On a very short return visit to Rome in May 2010, I met a few of the people I had interviewed earlier, but others had already moved on. Some were attempting to renew visas; another had had to travel back home because of a death in the family; another had since returned to her country of origin, taking her Italian boyfriend with her. Rome itself had not changed significantly, however there were signs that the global financial crisis was continuing to impact its residents, with many people I knew in increasingly

precarious work situations. Now, as I put the finishing touches on this thesis, the situation has worsened and Europe's debt crisis has come home to the Italian capital, and to Italy as a whole, with a technocratic government under the leadership of Mario Monti appointed to replace Silvio Berlusconi. The Northern League is once again speaking of separation from the rest of Italy, while economic depression leads a new generation of Italians to contemplate emigration (*Il Fatto Quotidiano* 18/02/12; *La Repubblica* 22/10/10; *Il Sole 24 Ore* 20/12/10). The effects of these most recent changes are still playing out, but it is clear that Italy's resident 'others' remain in a precarious situation. Racist incidents in Turin and Florence at the end of 2011, in which a Roma camp was burnt to the ground (*Corriere della Sera* 10/12/11; *La Repubblica* 11/12/11) and Senegalse immigrants murdered in cold blood in the street (*Il Fatto Quotidiano* 13/12/11; *La Repubblica* 13/11/11), indicate a level of violence in the autochthonous population that is in danger of exceeding the limits of control.

Though I recognise the limits of this work, what I have shown in this thesis is a city in flux, a city changing at the same time that the people who inhabit it change. The stories that Rome's inhabitants tell, about themselves and about the city that they live in, complicate the ways in which the city itself is conceived. At the same time, the claims to belong in Rome that speak against hegemonic ideas of who and what a Roman is resonate in the ways that the self is expressed in this city, at this time. The city troubles easy descriptions, revealing the porousness of places, their existence as (always-contested) 'spatio-temporal events' (Massey 2005, p. 130). When places are viewed as interspatial and opened up to possibility, when the ambiguities inherent in abject spaces begin to exceed their boundaries and trouble the city as a whole, what becomes visible is not so much the 'real' city in all its plurality but rather the power plays at work in attempts to define it. This study of the complexity of socio-spatial identification, in which the self is understood as a mix of intersubjective narratives and embodied experiences, and the abjected other refuses to disappear and instead makes claims to belong and to be at home, reveals the contested and constantly changing nature of the city, and of the changing self within it.

Bibliography

20th Municipality of Rome (10 December 2007) *Estratto Dal Verbale Del Consiglio Del Municipio Roma Xx,*

Accame, G. (1997) *Il Risorgimento Imperfetto : Perché Da Cavour Siamo Arrivati a Bossi*, Roma: Liberal

Agamben, G. (1998) *Homo Sacer. Sovereign Power and Bare Life*, Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press

Agnelli, A. and G. Spadolini (1994) *Nazione E Nazionalità in Italia : Dall'alba Del Secolo Ai Nostri Giorni*, Roma: Laterza

Agnew, J. (1997) "The Dramaturgy of Horizons: Geographical Scale in the 'Reconstruction of Italy' by the New Italian Political Parties, 1992–1995," *Political Geography* **16**(2): 99-121.

Agnew, J.A. (1995) *Rome*, Chichester ; New York: John Wiley & Sons

Ahmed, S. (2000) *Strange Encounters : Embodied Others in Post-Coloniality*, London: Routledge

Ahmed, S., C. Castaneda, et al. (2003) *Uprootings/Regroundings: Questions of Home and Migration*, Oxford and New York: Berg

Ainis, M. (24 January 2010) "L'immigrato in Sciopero," *Il Sole 24 Ore*.

Alcoff, L. (2006) *Identity Politics Reconsidered*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan

Alexander, M. (2007) *Cities and Labour Immigration: Comparing Policy Responses in Amsterdam, Paris, Rome and Tel Aviv*, Aldershot & Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Limited

Ambrosini, M. and E. Caneva (2010) *Tolerance and Cultural Diversity Discourses in Italy*, Milan and Florence: University of Milan and European University Institute

Amin, A. (2002) "Spatialities of Globalisation," *Environment and Planning A* **34**(3): 385-399.

Amin, A. (2004) "Regions Unbound: Towards a New Politics of Place," *Geografisker Annaler: Series B, Human Geography* **86**(1): 33-44.

Amin, A. (2007) "Re-Thinking the Urban Social," *City: analysis of urban trends, culture, theory, policy, action* **11**(1): 100-114.

Amin, A. (2008) "Collective Culture and Urban Public Space," *City: analysis of urban trends, culture, theory, policy, action* **12**(1): 5-24.

Amin, A. and S. Graham (1997) "The Ordinary City," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* **22**(4): 411-429.

Amin, A. and N. Thrift (2002) *Cities: Reimagining the Urban*, Cambridge: Policy Press

Andall, J. (2002) "Second-Generation Attitude? African-Italians in Milan," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* **28**(3): 389-407.

Anderson, B.R.O.G. (2006) *Imagined Communities : Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London ; New York ;: Verso

Andrijasevic, R. (2006) "Lampedusa in Focus: Migrants Caught between the Libyan Desert and the Deep Sea," *Feminist Review*(82): 120-125.

Andrijasevic, R. (2010) "Deported: The Right to Asylum at Eu's External Border of Italy and Libya1," *International Migration* **48**(1): 148-174.

Anzaldúa, G. (1991) *Borderlands : The New Mestiza = La Frontera*, San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books

ARCI Roma (4/7/08) "Prendetevi Le Nostre Impronte, Non Toccate I Bambini Rom" http://www.arciroma.it/2008/07/04/prendetevi-le-nostre-impronte-non-toccate-i-bambini-rom/ (Accessed 10 December 2008).

Arendt, H. and M. Canovan (1998) *The Human Condition*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Ascoli, A.R. and K. Von Henneberg, Eds. (2001) *Making and Remaking Italy: The Cultivation of National Identity around the Risorgimento*, Oxford, New York: Berg.

Associazione 21 luglio (2010) *Esclusi E Ammassati: Rapporto Di Ricercar Sulla Condizione Dei Minori Rom Nel Villaggio Attrezzato Di Via Di Salone a Roma,* Rome: http://www.21luglio.com/images/Report/esclusi%20_e_ammassati.pdf

Associazione Cucimondo http://www.associazionecucimondo.org/. Accessed 15 June 2012.

Associazione Di Volontariato Jerry Masslo http://www.associazionejerrymasslo.it/. Accessed 16 November 2011.

Atton, C. (2002) *Alternative Media*, London ; Thousand Oaks Calif.: SAGE

Atton, C. (2004) *An Alternative Internet*, Edinburgh ; Edinburgh University Press,

Augé, M. (1995) *Non-Places : Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity*, London ; New York: Verso

Bachelard, G. (1969) *The Poetics of Space*, Boston: Beacon Press M. Jolas

Baldassar, L. (1997) "Home & Away: Migration, the Return Visit & 'Transnational' Identity", *Home, Displacement, Belonging* I. Ang and M.J. Symonds. Nepean, Sydney: Research Centre in Intercommunal Studies, University of Western Sydney.

Baldassar, L. (2001) *Visits Home : Migration Experiences between Italy and Australia*, Carlton South, Vic.: Melbourne University Press

Balibar, E. and I.M. Wallerstein (1991). "Race, Nation, Class Ambiguous Identities". London ; New York: Verso http://simsrad.net.ocs.mq.edu.au/login?url=http://www.aspresolver.com/aspresolver.asp?SOTH;S10022465

Bancroft, A. (2005) *Roma and Gypsy-Travellers in Europe: Modernity, Race, Space, and Exclusion*, Aldershot, UK & Burlington, USA: Ashgate

Bauman, Z. (1995) "Making and Unmaking of Strangers," *Thesis Eleven* **43**: 1-16.

Ben-Ze'ev, E. (2004) "The Politics of Taste and Smell: Palestinian Rites of Return", *The*

Politics of Food, M.E. Lien and B. Nerlich. Oxford & New York: Berg**:** ix, 244 p.

Beneduce, R. (2008) "Undocumented Bodies, Burned Identities: Refugees, Sans Papiers, Harraga — When Things Fall Apart," *Social Science Information* **47**(4): 505-527.

Benhabib, S. (1992) *Situating the Self : Gender, Community and Postmodernism in Contemporary Ethics*, Cambridge; Oxford: Polity Press; Blackwell

Benhabib, S. (2002) "Political Geographies in a Global World: Arendtian Reflections," *Social Research* **69**(2): 539-566.

Benhabib, S. (2005) "Disaggregation of Citizenship Rights," *Parallax* **11**(1): 10-18.

Berezin, M. (1999) "Political Belonging: Emotion, Nation and Identity in Fascist Italy", *State/Culture: State Formation after the Cultural Turn*, G. Steinmetz. New York: Cornell University Press**:** 355-377.

Bhabha, J. (2009) "Arendt's Children: Do Today's Migrant Children Have a Right to Have Rights?," *Human Rights Quarterly* **31**(2): 410-451.

Bianchi, G.E. (2011) "Italiani Nuovi O Nuova Italia? Citizenship and Attitudes Towards the Second Generation in Contemporary Italy," *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* **16**(3): 321-333.

Bickford, S. (1996) *The Dissonance of Democracy : Listening, Conflict, and Citizenship*, Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press

Bondanella, P. (1987) *The Eternal City : Roman Images in the Modern World*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press

Bondanella, P. (2001) *Italian Cinema: From Neorealism to the Present*, New York; London: Continuum

Bondanella, P. (2002) *The Films of Federico Fellini*, Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press

Borren, M. (2008) "Towards an Arendtian Politics of in/Visibility: On Stateless Refugees and Undocumented Aliens," *Ethical Perspectives* **15**(2): 213-237.

Boym, S. (2002) *The Future of Nostalgia*, New York: Basic Books

Brighenti, A.M. (2010) *Visibility in Social Theory and Social Research*, Basingstoke, Hampshire England ; New York: Palgrave Macmillan

Brunette, P. (1987) *Roberto Rossellini*, Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press

Bunge, W. (1977) "The First Years of the Detroit Geographical Expedition: A Personal

Report", *Radical Geography*, R. Peet. Chicago: Maaroufa Press**:** 31-39.

Capussotti, E. and L. Ellena (2003) "The Way of Oblivion: Refugees in Italy," *Feminist Review* **73**(1): 148-152.

Caritas, Ed. (2009) *Caritas Diocesana Di Roma V Osservatorio Romano Sull'immigrazione 2009*, Rome: Idos.

Caritas-Migrantes, Ed. (2009) *Caritas / Migrantes Xix Dossier Statistico Immigrazione 2009*, Rome: Idos.

Cavarero, A. (2000) *Relating Narratives : Storytelling and Selfhood*, London New York:

Routledge

Cere, R. (2002) ""Islamophobia" And the Media in Italy," *Feminist Media Studies* **2**(1): 133-136.

Cerqua, A. and E. Trusiani (2011) "Forme, Visioni, Rappresentazioni Della Città Di Margine". *XIV CONFERENZA SIU*, Torino, SIU.

Chatty, D. (2010) *Deterritorialized Youth : Sahrawi and Afghan Refugees at the Margins of the Middle East*, New York: Berghahn Books

Citta di Lucca (22 January 2009) "Regolamento Sugli Esercizi Di Sommonistrazione Di Alimenti E Bevande" http://www.olir.it/ricerca/getdocumentopdf.php?lang=ita&Form_object_id=5172 (Accessed 14 May 2012).

Clark, M. (1984) *Modern Italy, 1871-1982*, London ; New York: Longman

Coluzzi, P. (2007) *Minority Language Planning and Micronationalism in Italy: An Analysis of the Situation of Friulian, Cimbrian and Western Lombard with Reference to Spanish Minority Languages*, Bern: Peter Lang AG

Comune di Roma (2007) *Patto Per Roma Sicura*, Rome: Prefettura di Roma, Comune di Roma, Provincia di Roma & Regione Lazio

Comune di Roma (2007) *Informascuola 28: Newsletter Dell'assessorato Alle Politiche Educative E Scolastiche N. 28. 15 Ottobre 2007,* Rome: http://www.google.it/url?q=https://www.comune.roma.it/PCR/resources/cms/documents/informascuola_28_15_10_2007.pdf&sa=U&ei=8YbZT7G_AY6fiAfYwvWmAw&ved=0CBIQFjAB&usg=AFQjCNGqvgm6D1dUJS1aMKMuzdi35p-NKg

Comune di Roma (2009) *Menu Regionali,* http://www.comune.roma.it/PCR/resources/cms/documents/menu_regionali.pdf (21 October 2010)

Corriere della Sera (26 January 2009) "Niente Più Kebab Nel Centro Di Lucca. Il Comune Stabilisce Nuove Regole" http://corrierefiorentino.corriere.it/firenze/notizie/cronaca/2009/26-gennaio-2009/niente-piu-kebab-centro-lucca-comune-stabilisce-nuove-regole-150935189542.shtml (Accessed 11 November 2011).

Corriere della Sera (28 January 2009) "Lucca, Stop Ai Ristoranti Etnici. "Salvaguardare La Tradizione"" http://corrierefiorentino.corriere.it/firenze/notizie/cronaca/2009/28-gennaio-2009/stop-fast-food-kebab-lucca-mirino-slow-food-150943922221.shtml (Accessed 11 November 2011).

Council of Europe (2002) *Legal Situation of the Roma in Europe,* http://assembly.coe.int/documents/workingdocs/doc02/EDOC9397.htm

Counihan, C. (1999) *The Anthropology of Food and Body : Gender, Meaning, and Power*, New York ; London: Routledge

Counihan, C. (2004) *Around the Tuscan Table : Food, Family, and Gender in Twentieth Century Florence*, New York: Routledge

Crang, M. and P. Travlou (2001) "The City and Topologies of Memory," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* **19**: 161-177.

Dal Lago, A. (2009) *Non-Persons: The Exclusion of Migrants in a Global Society*, Milan: IPOC Press M. Orton

de Certeau, M. (1988) *The Practice of Everyday Life*, Berkeley: University of California Press

de Genova, N.P., Nathalie, Ed. (2010) *The Deportation Regime: Sovereignty, Space, and the Freedom of Movement*, Durham; London: Duke University Press.

Di Luzio, G. (2006) *A Un Passo Dal Sogno: Gli Avvenimenti Che Hanno Cambiato La Storia Dell'immigrazione in Italia*, Lecce: Besa Editrice

Doherty, J., V. Busch-Geertsema, et al. (2008) "Homelessness and Exclusion: Regulating Public Space in European Cities," *Surveillance & Society* **5**(3): 290-314.

Douglas, M. (1966) *Purity and Danger : An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul

Duggan, C. (1994) *A Concise History of Italy*, Cambridge [England] ; New York: Cambridge University Press

Duncan, J.S. (2005) "Men without Property: The Tramp's Classification and Use of Urban Space", *The Urban Sociology Reader*, J. Lin and C. Mele. London & New York: Routledge**:** 164-172.

Duruz, J. (1999) "Food as Nostalgia: Eating the Fifties and Sixties∗," *Australian Historical Studies* **29**(113): 231-250.

Duruz, J. (2005) "Eating at the Borders: Culinary Journeys," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* **23**(1): 51-69.

Duruz, J. (2011) "Quesadillas with Chinese Black Bean Puree: Eating Together in 'Ethnic' Neighbourhoods," *New Formations* **74**(1): 46-64.

Düvell, F., A. Triandafyllidou, et al. (2010) "Ethical Issues in Irregular Migration Research in Europe," *Population, Space and Place* **16**(3): 227-239.

El Vagon Libre http://www.elvagonlibre.org. Accessed 15 June 2012.

European Roma Rights Centre (2000) *Campland: Racial Segregation of Roma in Italy,* Budapest: http://www.errc.org/cikk.php?cikk=115

European Roma Rights Centre (2008) *Security a La Italiana: Fingerprinting, Extreme Violence and Harassment of Roma in Italy,* Budapest: http://www.errc.org/cms/upload/file/m00000428.pdf

European Roma Rights Centre, Open Society Centre & OzzervAzione (4 May 2009) *Violations of Ec Law and the Fundamental Rights of Roma and Sinti by the Italian Government in the Implementation of the Census in 'Nomad Camps',* http://www.errc.org/cms/upload/media/03/D5/m000003D5.pdf

Falasca-Zamponi, S. (2003) "Of Storytellers and Master Narratives: Modernity, Memory, and History in Fascist Italy", *States of Memory : Continuities, Conflicts, and Transformations in National Retrospection*, J.K. Olick. Durham: Duke University Press.

Fanon, F. (1967) *Black Skin, White Masks*, New York: Grove Press

Fellini, F. (1960) *La Dolce Vita* Italy. Distributed by Umbrella Entertainment, Australia.

Ferrarotti, F. (1988) *Oltre Il Razzismo: Verso La Societa Multirazziale E Multiculturale*, Roma: Armando Editore

Ferrarotti, F. (1990) *Time, Memory, and Society*, New York: Greenwood Press

Ferrarotti, F. and M.I. Macioti (2009) *Periferie: Da Problema a Risorsa*, Rome: Sandro Teti Editore

Finotelli, C. and G. Sciortino (2009) "The Importance of Being Southern: The Making of Policies of Immigration Control in Italy," *European Journal of Migration and Law* **11**(2): 119-138.

Forgacs, D. (2000) *Rome Open City = Roma Città Aperta*, London: BFI Pub.

Forgacs, D. (2004) "Space, Rhetoric, and the Divided City in *Roma Citta' Aperta*", *Roberto Rossellini's Rome Open City*, S. Gottlieb. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press**:** 106-130.

Foucault, M. (1978) *The History of Sexuality*, New York: Pantheon Books R. Hurley

Freud, S. (1973) *Civilization and Its Discontents*, London: The Hogarth Press

Friese, H. and S. Mezzadra (2010) "Introduction," *European Journal of Social Theory* **13**(3): 299-313.

Gabaccia, D.R. (2000) *Italy's Many Diasporas*, Seattle: University of Washington Press

Gedalof, I. (2003) "Taking (a) Place: Female Embodiment and the Re-Grounding of Community", *Uprootings/Regroundings: Questions of Home and Migration*, S. Ahmed, C. Castaneda, A.-M. Fortier and M. Sheller. Oxford & New York: Berg.

Geddes, A. (2000) *Immigration and European Integration: Towards Fortress Europe?*, Manchester: Manchester University Press

Giard, L. (1998) "Part Ii: Doing-Cooking", *The Practice of Everyday Life, Volume 2, Living and Cooking*, M.d. Certeau, L. Giard and P. Mayol. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press**:** 149-248.

Ginsborg, P. (2001) *Italy and Its Discontents : Family, Civil Society, State 1980-2001*, London: Allen Lane

Giordano, B. (2000) "Italian Regionalism or 'Padanian' Nationalism - the Political Project of the Lega Nord in Italian Politics," *Political Geography* **19**: 445-471.

Goddard, V.A. (1996) *Gender, Family, and Work in Naples*, Oxford ; Washington, D.C.: Berg

Gottlieb, S., Ed. (2004) *Roberto Rossellini's Rome Open City*, The Cambridge University Press Film Handbooks Series, Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Governo Berlusconi (11 gennaio 2010) "Tetto Del 30% Di Alunni Stranieri Per Classe" http://www.governoberlusconi.it/dettaglio/597/tetto-del-30-di-alunni-stranieri-per-classe (Accessed 16 March 2010).

Grand, A.d. (2004) "Mussolini's Follies: Fascism in Its Imperialist and Racist Phase, 1935-1940," *Contemporary European History* **13**(2): 127-147.

Grandi, F. and E. Tanzi, Eds. (2007) *La Citta Meticcia: Riflessioni Teoriche E Analisi Di Alcuni Casi Europei Per Il Governo Locale Delle Migrazioni*, Milan: Franco Angeli.

Guild, E., C.A. Groenendijk, et al. (2009) *Illiberal Liberal States : Immigration, Citizenship, and Integration in the Eu*, Farnham, Surrey ; Burlington, VT: Ashgate

Gupta, A. and J. Ferguson (1997) *Culture, Power, Place : Explorations in Critical Anthropology*, Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press

Guzzanti, S. (2010) *Draquila - L'italia Che Trema* Italy. Distributed by Giangiacomo Feltrinelli Editore.

Hadjimichalis, C., D. Sadler, et al., Eds. (1995) *Europe at the Margins : New Mosaics of Inequality*, Chichester ; New York: J. Wiley.

Hage, G. (1997) "At Home in the Entrails of the West: Multiculturalism, 'Ethnic Food' and Migrant Home-Building", *Home/World : Space, Community and Marginality in Sydney's West*, H. Grace. Annandale, N.S.W.: Pluto Press.

Hage, G. (1998) *White Nation : Fantasies of White Supremacy in a Multicultural Society*, Sydney: Pluto Press

Hall, S. and P. Du Gay (1996) *Questions of Cultural Identity*, London ; Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage

Hamilton, O. (2010) "Conversation as Research: Collecting Life Stories, Creating Places," *The International Journal of Interdisciplinary Social Sciences* **5**(6): 43-50.

Hamilton, O. and K. Hepworth (forthcoming). "'Let Me Stay Home': Belonging, Place and Second-Generation Migrant Youth in Italy". *Crossroads in Cultural Studies*. Paris

Hannerz, U. (2002) "Where We Are and Who We Want to Be", *The Postnational Self : Belonging and Identity*, U. Hedetoft and M. Hjort. Minneapolis, Minn. ; London: University of Minnesota Press**:** 217-232.

Heidegger, M. and D.F. Krell (1978) *Basic Writings from 'Being and Time' (1927) to 'the Task of Thinking' (1964)*, London [etc.]: Routledge and Kegan Paul

Hepworth, K. (2011). "Enocunters with the Clandestio/a and the Nomad in Milan". *Transforming Cultures Research Centre (TfC)*. Sydney: University of Technology, Sydney. **PhD**

Hepworth, K. (2012) "Abject Citizens: Italian 'Nomad Emergencies' and the Deportability of Romanian Roma," *Citizenship Studies* **16**(3-4): 431-449.

Hibbert, C. (1985) *Rome, the Biography of a City*, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Viking

Holtzman, J.D. (2006) "Food and Memory," *Annual Review of Anthropology* **35**(3): 61–78.

Honneth, A. (1991) *The Critique of Power : Reflective Stages in a Critical Social Theory*, Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press

hooks, b. (1992) *Black Looks: Race and Representation*, Boston, MA: South End Press

hooks, b. (1994) *Outlaw Culture: Resisting Representations*, New York: Routledge

Horton, J. (2008) "A 'Sense of Failure'? Everydayness and Research Ethics," *Children's Geographies* **6**(4): 363-383.

Howard, M.M. (2009) *The Politics of Citizenship in Europe*, Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press

Human Rights Watch (2011) *Everyday Intolerance: Racist and Xenophobic Violence in Italy,* http://www.hrw.org/reports/2011/03/21/everyday-intolerance-0 (1/10/11)

Isin, E.F. (2007) "City.State: Critique of Scalar Thought," *Citizenship Studies* **11**(2): 211-228.

Isin, E.F. and K. Rygiel (2007) "Abject Spaces: Frontiers, Zones, Camps", *The Logics of Biopower and the War on Terror : Living, Dying, Surviving*, E. Dauphinee and C. Masters. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Iveson, K. (2007) *Publics and the City*, Oxford: Blackwell

King, R., G. Lazaridis, et al., Eds. *Eldorado or Fortress? Migration in Southern Europe*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Knudsen, E.R. (2010). "The Rhetoric of Race in Fascist Elementary Education". *Italian Cultural Studies - A Conference*. Dartmouth University

Konstantarakos, M. (2000) *Spaces in European Cinema*, Exeter, England ; Portland, OR: Intellect

Korac, M. (2009) *Remaking Home: Reconstructing Life, Place and Identity in Rome and Amsterdam*, Oxford & New York: Berghahn Books

Kristeva, J. (1982) *Powers of Horror : An Essay on Abjection*, New York: Columbia University Press

La Repubblica (31 October 2007) "Sicurezza, Veltroni Contro La Romania: Per Le Espulsioni Varato Un Decreto Legge " http://www.repubblica.it/2007/10/sezioni/cronaca/tor-di-quinto/reazioni-uccisa/reazioni-uccisa.html (Accessed 21 October 2010).

La Repubblica (1 November 2007) "Roma, È Morta Giovanna Reggiani. La Polizia: "Si È Difesa Disperatamente"" http://www.repubblica.it/2007/10/sezioni/cronaca/tor-di-quinto/flebile-attivita/flebile-attivita.html (Accessed 10 December 2012).

La Repubblica (7 November 2007) "Niente Menu Romeno Nelle Mense Delle Scuole" http://ricerca.repubblica.it/repubblica/archivio/repubblica/2007/11/07/niente-menu-romeno-nelle-mense-delle-scuole.html (Accessed 21 October 2010).

La Repubblica (26 January 2009) "Stop a Fast Food E Kebab. Lucca Nel Mirino Di Slow Food" http://www.repubblica.it/2009/01/sezioni/cronaca/lucca-etnico/lucca-etnico/lucca-etnico.html (Accessed 11 November 2011).

La Repubblica (10 February 2009) "Esquilino, Lanciafiamme Improvvisato Per Bruciare I Bengalesi, Fermato" http://roma.repubblica.it/dettaglio/Esquilino-lanciafiamme-improvvisato-per-bruciare-i-bengalesi-fermato/1588672 (Accessed 18 February 2009).

La Repubblica (16 September 2010) ""Quegli Scolari Sono Stranieri": Bufera Sulle Frasi Dell'assessore" http://roma.repubblica.it/cronaca/2010/09/16/news/assessore_marsilio_i_figli_di_immigrati_anche_se_nati_in_italia_sono_stranieri-7135365/index.html?ref=search (Accessed 15 October 2010).

La Repubblica (28 January 2010) "Menu D'italia"

http://ricerca.repubblica.it/repubblica/archivio/repubblica/2010/01/28/menu-italia.html (Accessed 21 October 2010).

La Repubblica (14 May 2012) "I Profughi Invisibili Della Capitale: L'istantanea Dei Rifugi "Informali"" http://www.repubblica.it/solidarieta/immigrazione/2012/05/14/news/i_rifugiati_invisibili-35038433/ (Accessed 30 March 2012).

Lakhous, A. (2008) *Clash of Civilizations over an Elevator in Piazza Vittorio*: Europa Editions A. Goldstein

Langallier, K.M. (1989) "Personal Narratives: Perspectives on Theory and Research," *Text and Performance Quarterly* **9**(4): 243-276.

Law, J. (2004) *After Method : Mess in Social Science Research*, London ; New York: Routledge

Lefebvre, H. (1991) *The Production of Space*, Oxford, OX, UK ; Cambridge, Mass., USA: Blackwell D. Nicholson-Smith

Leitch, A. (2003) "Slow Food and the Politics of Pork Fat: Italian Food and European Identity," *Ethnos: Journal of Anthropology* **68**(4): 437-462.

Lerner, L.S. (2002) "Narrating over the Ghetto of Rome." *Jewish Social Studies* **8**, 1-38

Lombroso, C. (2006) *Criminal Man*, Durham: Duke University Press M. Gibson and N.H. Rafter

Maalouf, A. (2000) *On Identity*, London: The Harvill Press B. Bray

Maclean, M. (1987) "Oppositional Practices in Women's Traditional Narrative," *New Literary History* **19**(1): 37-50.

Marciniak, K. (2006) *Alienhood : Citizenship, Exile, and the Logic of Difference*, Minneapolis, Minn. ; London: University of Minnesota Press

Marinaro, I.C. (2003) "Integration or Marginalization? The Failures of Social Policy for the Roma in Rome," *Modern Italy* **8**(2): 203-218.

Marinaro, I.C. (2009) "Between Surveillance and Exile: Biopoliticsand the Roma in Italy," *Bulletin of Italian Politics* **1**(2): 265-287.

Massey, D. (1993) "Power-Geometry and a Progressive Sense of Place", *Mapping the Futures : Local Cultures, Global Change*, J. Bird, B. Curtis, T. Putnam and L. Tickner. London; New York: Routledge.

Massey, D. (2005) *For Space*, London; Thousand Oaks; New Delhi: Sage Publications

McNevin, A. (2011) *Contesting Citizenship: Irregular Migrants and New Frontiers of the Political*, New York & Chichester: Columbia University Press

Melucci, A. (1996) *Challenging Codes : Collective Action in the Information Age*, Cambridge England ; New York: Cambridge University Press

Memmi, A. (2000) *Racism*, Minneapolis; London: University of Minnesota Press S. Martinot

Mezzadra, S. (2005-2006) "Citizen and Subject. A Postcolonial Constitution for the European Union?," *Situations* **1**(2): 31-42.

Mezzadra, S. (2006) *Diritto Di Fuga: Migrazioni, Cittadinanza, Globalizzazione*, Verona:

ombre corte

Ministero degli Affari Esteri (15 December 2011) "Italia-Libia: Via Libera Alla Riattivazione Del “Trattato Di Amicizia”" http://www.esteri.it/MAE/IT/Sala_Stampa/ArchivioNotizie/Approfondimenti/2011/12/20111215_ItaliaLibiaTrattatoAmicizia.htm (Accessed 10 January 2012).

Ministero dell'Interno, Italia (1 November 2007) *Legislazione - Sicurezza - Decreto-Legge 1 Novembre 2007, N. 181* http://www.interno.it/mininterno/export/sites/default/it/sezioni/servizi/legislazione/sicurezza/0998_Decreto_legge_01_11_2007_n181.html. Accessed 15 April 2008.

Ministero dell'Interno, Italia (29 December 2007) *Legislazione - Sicurezza - Decreto-Legge 29 Dicembre 2007, N. 249* http://www.interno.it/mininterno/export/sites/default/it/sezioni/servizi/legislazione/sicurezza/0996_2007_12_29_decreto_espulsioni.html. Accessed 15 May 2008.

Ministero della Salute (2010) *Linee Di Indirizzo Nazionale Per La Ristorazione Scolastica,* http://www.salute.gov.it/dettaglio/phPrimoPianoNew.jsp?id=276 (21 October 2010)

Naficy, H. (1999) *Home, Exile, Homeland : Film, Media and the Politics of Place*, New York: Routledge

Nowell-Smith, G. (2001) "Cities: Real and Imagined", *Cinema and the City : Film and Urban Societies in a Global Context*, M. Shiel and T. Fitzmaurice. Oxford, UK; Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers.

Odmalm, P. (2005) *Migration Policies and Political Participation : Inclusion or Intrusion in Western Europe?*, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire ; New York: Palgrave Macmillan

Paasi, A. (2001) "Europe as a Social Process and Discourse: Considerations of Place, Boundaries and Identity," *European Urban and Regional Studies* **8**(1): 7-28.

Painter, B.W. (2005) *Mussolini's Rome*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan

Papastergiadis, N. (2000) *The Turbulence of Migration : Globalization, Deterritorialization, and Hybridity*, Malden, MA: Polity Press

Papastergiadis, N. (2006) "The Invasion Complex: The Abject Other and Spaces of Violence," *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography* **88**(4): 429-442.

Parati, G. (2005) *Migration Italy : The Art of Talking Back in a Destination Culture*, Toronto ; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press

Parreñas, R.S. (2001) *Servants of Globalization : Women, Migration and Domestic Work*, Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press

Pasolini, P. (1961) *Accattone* Italy. Distributed by Water Bearer Films, USA.

Passerini, L. (1996) *Autobiography of a Generation: Italy, 1968*, Hannover, NH: University Press of New England L. Erdberg

Pastore, F. (2004) "Immigration in Italy Today. A Community out of Balance: Nationality

Law and Migration Politics in the History of Post-Unification Italy," *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* **9**(1): 27-48.

Pensky, M. (2005) "Memory, Catastrophe, Destruction: Walter Benjamin's Urban Renewal," *City* **9**(2): 205-214.

Piasere, L. (2008) *I Rom D'europa 3rd Edition*, Rome: Laterza

Pick, D. (2004) ""*Roma O Morte*": Garibaldi, Nationalism, and the Problem of Psycho-Biography." *History Workshop Journal*, v-34

Pile, S.K., Michael, Ed. (1997) *Geographies of Resistance*, London; New York: Routledge.

Polchi, V. (2010) *Blacks Out: Un Giorno Senza Immigrati*, Rome: Laterza

Polzer, T. and L. Hammond (2008) "Invisible Displacement," *Journal of Refugee Studies* **21**(4): 417-431.

Pratt, K.J. (1965) "Rome as Eternal," *Journal of the History of Ideas* **26**(1): 25-44.

Puggioni, R. (2005) "Refugees, Institutional Invisibility, and Self-Help Strategies: Evaluating Kurdish Experience in Rome," *Journal of Refugee Studies* **18**(3): 319-339.

Pugliese, J. (2008) "Whiteness and the Blackening of Italy: La Guerra Cafona, Extracommunitari and Provisional Street Justice." *PORTAL Journal of Multidisciplinary International Studies* **5**,

Puwar, N. (2004) *Space Invaders : Race, Gender and Bodies out of Place*, Oxford ; New York: Berg

Raman, P. (2011) "Me in Place, and the Place in Me: A Migrant's Tale of Food, Home and Belonging," *Food, Culture and Society: An International Journal of Multidisciplinary Research* **14**(2): 165-180.

Ray, K. (2004) *The Migrant's Table: Meals and Memories in Bengali-American Households*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press

Restivo, A. (2002) *The Cinema of Economic Miracles: Visuality and Modernization in the Italian Art Film*, Durham; London: Durham University Press

Rete G2: Seconde Generazioni http://www.secondegenerazioni.it/ Accessed 15 June 2012.

Rhodes, J.D. (2007) *Stupendous, Miserable City : Pasolini's Rome*, Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press

Ricoeur, P. (1992) *Oneself as Another*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Ridolfi, M. and N. Tranfaglia (1996) *1946 : La Nascita Della Repubblica*, Roma: Laterza

Rivera, A. (2009) *Regole E Roghi : Metamorfosi Del Razzismo*, Bari: Dedalo

Rodgers, J. (2003) *Spatializing International Politics : Analysing Activism on the Internet*, London ; New York, NY: Routledge

Rodríguez, C. (2001) *Fissures in the Mediascape : An International Study of Citizens' Media*, Cresskill, N.J.: Hampton Press

Roma Today (11 February 2009) "Esquilino: Bulli Tentano Di Bruciare Ragazzini Bengalesi, Arrestato Un Writer Ventenne"

http://www.romatoday.it/cronaca/bulli-contro-bengalesi-esquilino-arrestato-ivano-balzanella.html (Accessed 18 February 2009).

Ronzitti, N., Ed. (January 2008) *Il Trattato Italia-Libia Di Amicizia, Partenariato E Cooperazione: Contributi Di Istituti Di Ricerca Specializzati N. 108*, Rome: Senato della Repubblica Servizio Studi e Servizio Affari Internazionali.

Rossellini, R. (1945) *Rome, Open City* Italy. Distributed by Image Entertainment, Chatsworth, Calif. USA.

Ruta, S. and A. Lakhous (2008) "Humor Is an Instrument of Combat: A Conversation with Amara Lakhous," *World Literature Today* **82**(5): 14-17.

Said, E.W. (1978) *Orientalism*, London: Routledge K. Paul

Salih, R. (2004) "The Backward and the New: National, Transnational and Post-National Islam in Europe," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* **30**(5): 995-1011.

Sanchez, R. (2006) "On a Critical Realist Theory of Identity", *Identity Politics Reconsidered*, L. Alcoff. New York: Palgrave Macmillan**:** xiii, 289.

Sassatelli, R. and F. Davolio (2010) "Consumption, Pleasure and Politics," *Journal of Consumer Culture* **10**(2): 202-232.

Scego, I. (2010) *La Mia Casa È Dove Sono*: Rizzoli

Schuster, L. (2011) "Turning Refugees into 'Illegal Migrants': Afghan Asylum Seekers in Europe," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* **34**(8): 1392-1407.

Scicluna, H. (2009) "The Life and Death of Roma and Sinti in Italy: A Modern Tragedy." *Roma Rights Journal* **2, 2008**, 9-29

Sciortino, G. and A. Colombo (2004) "The Flows and the Flood: The Public Discourse on Immigration in Italy, 1969–2001," *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* **9**(1): 94-113.

Scott-Baumann, A. (2010) "Being a Stranger by Paul Ricoeur," *Theory, Culture & Society* **27**(5): 37-48.

Seremetakis, C.N. (1994) "The Memory of the Senses, Pts. 1 & 2", *The Senses Still: Perception and Memory as Material Culture in Modernity*, C.N. Seremetakis. Boulder: Westview Press.

Serres, M. (1991) *Rome : The Book of Foundations*, Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press

Shields, R. (2006) "Knowing Space," *Theory Culture Society* **23**(2-3): 147-149.

Sigona, N. (2003). "How Can a 'Nomad' Be a 'Refugee'? Kosovo Roma and Labelling Policy in Italy". *Sociology*. **37:** 69-79

Sigona, N. (2005) "Locating 'the Gypsy Problem'. The Roma in Italy: Stereotyping, Labelling and 'Nomad Camps'," *Journal of Ethnic & Migration Studies* **31**(4): 741-756.

Simmel, G. (1971) *On Individuality and Social Forms : Selected Writings*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Slocum, R. (2011) "Race in the Study of Food," *Progress in Human Geography* **35**(3): 303-327.

Slow Food http://www.slowfood.com/. Accessed 11 November 2011.

Sobchack, V. (1999) ""Is Any Body Home?": Embodied Imagination and Visible Evictions", *Home, Exile, Homeland : Film, Media and the Politics of Place*, H. Naficy. New York: Routledge**:** xii, 248 p.

Soja, E.W. (1996) *Thirdspace : Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places*, Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell

Soysal, Y.N. (2002) "Citizenship and Identity: Living in Diasporas in Postwar Europe?", *The Postnational Self: Belonging and Identity*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press**:** 137-151.

Stranieri in Italia (26 January 2009) "Ristoranti Etnici Vietati a Lucca" http://www.stranieriinitalia.it/il_tirassegno-ristoranti_etnici_vietati_a_lucca_6957.html (Accessed 11 November 2011).

Sun, W. (2002) *Leaving China: Media, Migration, and Transnational Imagination*, Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers

Sun, W. (2009) "Suzhi on the Move: Body, Place, and Power," *positions: east asia cultures critique* **17**(3): 617-642.

Tarrow, S.G. (2011) *Power in Movement : Social Movements and Contentious Politics*, Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press

Trinh, T.M.-H. (2011) *Elsewhere, within Here : Immigration, Refugeeism and the Boundary Event*, London: Routledge

Tsing, A.L. (2005) *Friction : An Ethnography of Global Connection*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press

http://www.mediciperidirittiumani.org. Accessed 4 May 2012.

UNHCR UNHCR (2011) *Asylum Levels and Trends in Industrialized Countries, 2011: Statistical Overview of Asylum Applications Lodged in Europe and Selected Non-European Countries,* http://www.unhcr.org/4e9beaa19.html (9/4/12)

Ventresca, R.A. (2006) "Mussolini's Ghost: Italy's *Duce* in History and Memory," *History and Memory* **18**(1): 86-119.

Verstraete, G. (2010) *Tracking Europe : Mobility, Diaspora, and the Politics of Location*, Durham [N.C.]: Duke University Press

Wise, A. (2011) "Moving Food: Gustatory Commensality and Disjuncture in Everyday Multiculturalism," *New Formations* **74**(1): 82-107.

Yancy, G. (2005) "Whiteness and the Return of the Black Body," *The Journal of Speculative Philosophy, New Series* **19**(4): 215-241.

Yancy, G. (2008) *Black Bodies, White Gazes: The Continuing Significance of Race*, Lanham, MD.; Plymouth: Rowman & Littlefield

Appendix 1: List of Interviews

1. “Paola” (name changed), female, origin: Columbia, 11/9/09
2. No name given, male, origin: Afghanistan, 16/9/09
3. Claudia Gatti (real name), female, member of *El Vagon Libre*, 23/9/09
4. No name given, female, origin: India, 24/9/09a
5. “Andres” (name changed), male, origin: Peru, 24/9/09b
6. No name given, male, origin: Italy, 24/9/09c
7. Elisabeth (real name), female, member of *Kyrios*, 28/9/09
8. Patrizia (real name), female, involved with *Tor de Cenci*, 9/10/09 and 12/10/09
9. “Santiago” (name changed), male, origin: Argentina, 10/10/09
10. Elena Dalla Massara (real name), female, member of *Cucimondo*, 29/10/09
11. Nazzerano Guarnieri (real name), male, member of *Federazione Romanì*, 5/11/09
12. Graziano Halilovic (real name), male, member of *RomaOnlus* and *Federazione Romanì*, 5/11/09
13. “Antony” (name changed), male, origin: Italy, 12/11/09a
14. “Celia” (name changed), female, origin: Brazil, 12/11/09b
15. No name given, female, origin: Afghanistan, 13/11/09
16. “Alita” (name changed), female, origin: El Salvador, 15/11/09
17. No name given, male, origin: Afghanistan, 18/11/09
18. No name given, male, origin: El Salvador, 20/11/09
19. No name given, female, origin: Afghanistan, 21/11/09
20. No name given, female, origin: Brazil, 24/11/09

Appendix 2: Conversation as Research

Published as:

Hamilton, O. (2010) 'Conversation as Research: Collecting Life Stories, Creating Places'. *The International Journal of Interdisciplinary Social Sciences* **5**(6), 43-50

Introduction

In describing the methods that I employed while doing ethnographic fieldwork in Rome, Italy, in 2009, I emphasise the dialogical elements of ethnography, its reliance on the rapport between researcher and informants, and the embodied and located nature of research in the field. The methods used do not replace more traditional methodologies, but rather extend them, making explicit those messier elements of research that, in some accounts, are disregarded or concealed. Nancy A. Naples describes her own ethnographic practice as strongly reflective, a practice that 'acknowledges how relationships in the field blur what counts as "data", takes into account the contradictions of friendship in fieldwork, and openly confronts ethical dilemmas faced in fieldwork-based friendships to enhance fieldwork agendas' (2003: p. 37), recognising that the researcher's interactions with the people being studied are an essential part of data collection and the generation of knowledge. In this paper, those conversations that occurred during the fieldwork, in addition to the interviews and observations, are made the focus of my description of a research method that requires the researcher to be present in the field. The research focused on the moments of storytelling in individual lives that affect our understanding of place, in an attempt to make explicit the multiple meanings that are attached to the one place and to draw out some of the taken-for-granted ways in which a relationship to place is established and maintained.

As de Certeau says, '[t]his place, on its surface, seems to be a collage. In reality, in its depth it is ubiquitous. A piling up of heterogenous places' (1988: p. 201). In order to enter into the depths of the place I was studying, Rome, I had to engage

with the people around me, taking part in conversations and becoming a part of the everyday rhythms of the city. Throughout the period of fieldwork, the act of conversing made of the research a cooperative process. In a sense, that opening up of the self – of my self – to the experience of research allowed me to understand more intimately the rhythms and unspoken conventions of daily life in Rome, in a kind of experiential ethnography that combined qualitative research techniques with embodied inhabitation of place. Conversations formed the basis of this experiential exchange between myself and research participants, as a way of grounding the research in the place, in the city, that was our focus. The paper begins by exploring the embodied nature of ethnographic work, proceeding to a discussion of conversation as a research method, and the performative elements of personal narratives, emphasising throughout the importance of place in both ethnography and everyday life.

Embodied research

In 2009, I spent six months living in Rome, where I examined the ways in which immigrants and their descendents create a sense of belonging in the city, adding to the ways that Rome is conceived, in what is at present a difficult political moment for minorities in Italy. Throughout this period I paid attention to that social and political context, adapting my research methods as I learnt more about the communities and individuals I was studying, as well as being able, over time, to give more of myself in exchange, working with volunteer organisations, acting as listener and confidant for some participants, and talking back, actively engaging with the city around me. I developed an awareness of the experiential aspects of doing ethnographic fieldwork, the dwelling-in-research, to borrow from Heidegger's discussion of being-in-the-world, an awareness that is doubly important when the research itself is focused on people's stories of migration as connected to their experiences of place.

There were numerous moments when it became apparent that my embodied presence would have an effect on the research itself. I reproduce, in abbreviated form, two examples from my field notes that demonstrate some aspects of this dwelling-in-research:

(Esquilino): met X for coffee. He is insisting that we can have an amicizia *(friendship) even though I explained (a little obfuscation on my part) that I am* fidanzata *(literally, engaged; in common usage, in a relationship)….Will not be interviewing him….Over being a single girl in Italy. Too hard.*

(tea with volunteers and Afghani refugees, near Piramide): Another bomb went off in Afghanistan the other day. One of the guys mentions it, and when asked if his family is ok all he can say is, 'I hope so.' He has no way of contacting them. Another sits mainly in silence; earlier he had spoken with another volunteer about problems he's having with documents, and it seems his mind is still preoccupied. The third is the most relaxed – not because his problems are less serious but because his mind is on other things: the search for a girlfriend. He asks us if we have single friends every chance he gets… (researcher's notes, 2009)

As the two quotes above show, the people I approached did not allow me to be *only* a researcher, unmarked by any other identification; I was also interacting with them in their everyday lives. I was (fairly) young, female, and single, which particularly affected my interactions with potential male participants. I also held the ambivalent position of insider-outsider: I had lived in Rome previously, and so drew on my own memories and knowledge while conducting the research; I spoke Italian, and held Italian citizenship, thanks to my grandparents who had migrated to Australia in the mid-twentieth century; and this story of migration in my family helped, in some cases, to show that I could be trusted with participants' own stories of migration. As Ruth Behar puts it in *The Vulnerable Observer*, 'We now stand on the same plane with our subjects; indeed, they will only tolerate us if we are willing to confront them face-to-face' (1996: p. 28). In this paper, I use the term conversation to capture that sense of dialogic exchange between myself and the people around me: researching in Rome, and indeed in any located ethnography, requires listening, paying attention to, the stories told about and in the city, whether these stories are articulated vocally, in everyday conversation or recorded interviews; physically, in movements through the city (de Certeau's tactics [1998]); or in public policy, discourse, and the media.

Conversation involves telling stories, drawing on past experiences, and talking about current affairs, in a performance of identity that '"works" because it draws on and covers the constitutive conventions, which, through repetition, effectively produce what appears as eternally fixed and *re*producible' (Fortier, 2000: p. 5). This is conversation that takes into account the embodied experiences that affect an individual's position, experiences that affect the researcher no less than the research participants: working in the field, like migrating to a new place, requires negotiation with existing social structures, since '[p]rocesses of homing and migration take shape through the imbrication of affective and bodily experience in broader social processes and institutions where unequal differences of race, class, gender and sexuality, among many other relevant categories, are generated' (Ahmed et al, 2003: p. 5). Paying attention to these social processes, though, makes the research itself a messy process, as discussed by John Horton in relation to research ethics:

> Indeed, I suggest that an attention to the 'messy', 'excessive' minutiae of everyday lives might compel us to think anew about what doing research entails (a succession of banal, everyday, sometimes unpredictable practices and events) and thus what 'research ethics' is (a succession of decisions, relationships, encounters and responsibilities in and amongst those everyday practices and events). It is, after all, in and of small, banal, happenstance, random, daft, everyday happenings and encounters – the sorts of happenings and encounters foregrounded in this paper – that life is lived; where ethical dilemmas unfold and take hold; where unethical events are felt most pointedly; where research ethics, fundamentally, has to be done. (2008: p. 378)

I agree, and would take his observations further to argue that paying attention to the 'minutiae of everyday lives' compels us also to reconsider the ways in which we might describe our research methods. When in the midst of conducting ethnographic research, there is a constant movement back-and-forth, from what might best be described as broad research, that is, listening to conversations on the street, reading newspaper articles, examining public policies, to more focused listening and interaction, paying attention to the accounts of individuals. And there is also, at the same time, the need to respond to the world, to enter into conversations, to speak, to recount stories of one's own; in fact, in many cases, people would not participate in my research project until a certain level of trust was established, a trust that could be arrived at only after I had opened myself up to the research experience, made myself vulnerable, and added my voice to the dialogue.

Conversations in place

The situated nature of ethnographic research means, also, paying attention to the rhythms of everyday life as experienced in that place and at that time. Every city's character is made up of the uses and meanings assigned to it by its inhabitants. If we ask, as Doreen Massey enjoins us to do in *World City* (2007), '"What does this places stand for?" ' (p. 10), many meanings and understandings of place begin to reveal themselves. As Massey says of London,

> There is a vast geography of dependencies, relations and effects that spreads out from here around the globe…in considering the politics and practices, and the very character, of this place, it is necessary to follow also the lines of its engagement with elsewhere. Such lines of engagement are both part of what makes it what it is, and part of its effects. Questions of identity run through this book. (p. 13)

Working in Rome had the added challenge of the sheer numbers of tourists that travel through the city daily: it took longer to enter into the daily rhythm of Rome's more permanent inhabitants than it might have done in a city less overrun with tourists. Visitors to Rome generally stay for a few days, see the main historical sites, and leave, rarely moving beyond the surface collage of the city, but there are other aspects of the character of Rome that I wanted to interrogate, namely the continuing transformative presence of immigrants and their descendents, Romans-from-elsewhere, in a sense. Entering into Rome's depths takes time: it is essential to pay attention to the brief moments of encounter that occur in everyday life.

Entering into Rome's depths requires effort, not only to get to know the individuals who inhabit the city, but also to convince them that you are more than another passer-by, that you are familiar, constant, to some extent a part of the place. Lisa Tillmann-Healy, in her paper 'Friendship as Method' (2006), describes something similar to the use I made of conversation in conducting ethnographic research:

> Researching with the practices of friendship means that although we employ traditional forms of data gathering (e.g., participant observation, systematic note taking, and informal and formal interviewing), our primary procedures are those we use to build and sustain friendship: conversation, everyday involvements, compassion, giving, and vulnerability. (p. 278)

While that is certainly what I undertook to do in Rome, it was also with the

knowledge that a mere six months in the field was not long enough to enter into the deeply intimate relations of friendship as outlined by Tillmann-Healy. In projects such as mine, where a limited time is to be spent in a densely-inhabited city, the conversations that occur will be with many people in many situations, regardless of their immediate relevance to the case studies, as this allows for a continuous interaction with the daily rhythms of the city. Furthermore, as I was interrogating peoples' sense of place in an urban belonging, I was less concerned with developing intimacy over time and more intent on creating intimacy in the moment; the method employed was not that of friendship but of a more immediate and tactical (because never permanent or complete) sharing. Conversation, then, describes well the method employed, as I used not only the traditional forms of qualitative research such as interviews and observations, but also some aspects of friendship, in a specific, targeted, and transient way.

These included, firstly, the conversations that occurred before, after, and during the recorded interviews. Explanations of what I was looking for, of what participants thought they might be able to tell me, and of whether we could find a common point between my needs for the research project and their individual experiences, opened up both my own research and participants' storytelling to a research experience that was in some sense cooperative. I began to respond and to change my method of questioning, and indeed my research questions, as a result of these conversations. The second kinds of conversations were the small daily exchanges with strangers, at the bus stop, in cafes, and in piazzas, where people in Rome gather in the evenings to socialise. People sit on benches or walk around the piazza talking, while children play football, basketball, and – in the 'new', multicultural, Rome – cricket. One piazza that was central to my research, piazza Vittorio, is not far from Rome's central train station, and is the focal point of the Esquilino, known commonly as Rome's 'Chinatown' but in fact has a much more diverse and heterogenous population, from places as far-flung as India, China, and the Philippines, as well as Italy and other European countries. The hotels and cheap hostels scattered throughout the area only add to this daily mix of languages, habits, and dress. The conversations I had with people in the piazza and in the local shops were not only efforts to identify potential interview

subjects, but also a means of learning the rhythms of daily life in this area of Rome, and making myself a part of it as well. In both cases, there were elements of dialogue as a creative exchange, one which opens up the possibility of new meanings and ways of thinking: dialogue as described by David Bohm, when he says, 'in such a dialogue, when one person says something, the other person does not in general respond with exactly the same meaning as that seen by the first person… On considering this difference, he may then be able to see something new, which is relevant both to his own views and to those of the other person' (2004: p. 3).[48]

The performance of life stories

Conversation includes narrative elements, with people recounting parts of their life stories when asked about their experiences of migration, as we discussed their relationship to the city where they now lived (however transitory that sojourn might prove to be). The storytelling that occurred in the interviews was performative, as people narrated some elements of their lives and avoided talking about others: in one case, the interviewee changed certain details as soon as the recorder was switched on for the 'official' interview, in an act that recalled previous performances of his story of migration with police, in his application for refugee status. In all the interviews, a range of emotions was expressed: there was sometimes emotional distress when painful memories were recounted, words of comfort or encouragement from me, and laughter as we shared jokes. In one interview, the recording reveals the anger in the participant's voice as he describes events in Argentina that led to his uncle's forced migration to escape the dictatorship of the 1970s. This is a story that he has told many times before; it involves his family and friends in Argentina and, now, in the Argentinean diaspora; this is a story that helps to explain certain decisions made throughout his life, as well as his continued interest in politics and activism. So, for this performance of identity, events in Argentinean history are bound up with the participant's personal narrative, his family history, and the wider social context

[48] Bohm's idea of dialogue owes much to his discussions with Indian philosopher Jiddhu Krishnamurti, and the two published a number of their conversations on topics as wide-ranging as truth, time, and the limits of thought.

of migration from Argentina to Italy. His uncle's migration to Rome was described as an essential motivation for his own decision to begin travelling: 'I think it was always, in a positive sense, my uncle's "fault", you know? I mean, he lived overseas so he always pushed us to travel, study, travel… And I think that, listening to him, I did… I mean, most of my travel I also did thanks to his inspiration, I think' (2009: researcher's records).

In 'Personal Narratives: perspectives on theory and research', Kristin Langallier explores personal narrative as performance, as well as political praxis. She says, 'In telling stories we organize events and human action into some sort of whole; we give form to the understanding of a purpose in life…. In a most profound way, our stories tell us who we are and who we can – or cannot – be' (1989: p. 267). The performative nature of personal narrative is also described as an impulse of memory: this is narrative 'which, in an involuntary way, continues to tell us our own personal story. Every human being, without even wanting to know it, is aware of being a *narratable self* – immersed in the spontaneous auto-narration of memory' (Cavarero 2000: p. 33, emphasis in original). This is not to conceive of a life as only narrative. Cavarero states, earlier in the same work, '[l]ife cannot be lived like a story, because the story always comes afterwards, it results; it is unforeseeable and uncontrollable, just like life' (2000: p. 3). Stories help us to situate ourselves in relation to the messiness of everyday life, allowing us to explain decisions, unexpected situations, reactions in the heat of the moment; narrative allows us to identify ourselves over time, to explain the ways we have changed while remaining, essentially, the same person (see Ricoeur 1992, esp. pp. 113-168). In research that uses conversation as a method, I would extend the analysis further to include, in the definition of storytelling as it relates to the self, those performative acts and practices that occur around the stories, such as movement and facial expression, as well as everyday, non-narrative acts including (but not limited to) voting, migrancy, and work, which inform the position from which a life story is recounted. The performative act of storytelling is located, through the body, in the places in which it is enacted; life stories themselves, through references to places remembered and imagined, are shown to have a strong geographical grounding. As in the interview discussed above,

storytelling reveals the intimate connections between places that are formed through intertwining a personal narrative with a family narrative and a narrative of historical events.

In an ethnographic project that makes explicit the importance of location, experience, and narrative, conversation becomes the primary method of research, as a way of entering into the dialogic relation between individuals and the places in which they live. Perhaps the best demonstration of the multiply-expressed self, and its relation to place, is my experience of interviewing an Afghani man who arrived in Rome as a refugee a little over ten years ago, at the end of the 1990s. I interviewed this man, whom I will, here, call Ali, changing his name for the purposes of confidentiality, in a café, in between his other activities. That evening we raced between an office where he helps other migrants with visa applications, a homeless shelter where he occasionally works, and piazzale Ostiense, where Afghani refugees had for some time been living, in a temporary camp in one of the forgotten spaces of the city. This encounter, with someone who had experienced the upheaval of having to leave his home in Afghanistan as a refugee, and who had then established a home for himself in Rome where he was now helping other refugees and migrants, involved walking, talking, and listening. That evening, Ali was in need of company as he vented his frustrations at the difficulties faced in his work and personal life. He was not only speaking for himself, but also for those he helped daily; as we walked between Testaccio and Trastevere, where our conversations took place, he also asked questions, about the experience of refugees in Australia, about my research, and about my connections to Italy. As we walked, we spoke about our families, about migration more generally, and about the struggle to make a home, somewhere, wherever in the world you end up. This theme of home came through strongly in the interview as well, as Ali spoke about losing his home in Afghanistan, firstly to ongoing wars, secondly to distance in time and space. There was a sense of loss that, for Ali, was not translated into nostalgia but into energy, which he directed into his work with other Afghani refugees in Rome. This demonstrates the importance of a sense of possibility in home-building, as pointed out by Ghassan Hage when he says, 'the intimations of lost homelands as well as more obviously

those of “new homelands”, should be seen as “affective building blocks” used by migrants to make themselves feel at home where they actually are’ (2007: p. 104). Employing conversation as a research method, in this case, allowed me to respond more readily to Ali’s story, and to continue the research beyond the confined timeframe of the recorded interview.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have used examples from my fieldwork in Rome in 2009 to describe the importance of paying attention to the other elements of research that occur around the recorded interviews and planned observations. The location of the research is important, as both the researcher and the research participants affect, and are affected by, the contexts within which they live their daily lives. The city becomes comprehensible through the stories that people tell about it, the energy that they put into working in it, and the conversations that they have within it.

In acknowledging the everyday connections between self and place, and the performative elements of recounting life stories, it is useful to develop a research method that responds to the unexpected messiness of conducting situated, embodied ethnographic research. Such a research method involves not only listening to but also engaging in conversations, adding our voice to the mix; it involves developing a research practice that is interactive, that allows for change in response to the circumstances we encounter, and that takes into consideration the researcher’s own embodied inhabitation of the place of fieldwork. It involves, in essence, conversation as research.

References

Ahmed, Sara, Claudia Castañeda, Anne-Marie Fortier, Mimi Sheller (eds) *Uprootings / Regroundings: Questions of Home and Migration*, Oxford: Berg

Behar, Ruth (1996) *The Vulnerable Observer: Anthropology that breaks your heart*, Boston: Beacon Press

Bohm, David (2004 [1996]) *On Dialogue*, London & New York: Routledge

Cavarero, Adriana (2000) *Relating Narratives: Storytelling and Selfhood*, trans. Paul A. Kottman, London & New York: Routledge

de Certeau, Michel (1988) *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall, Berkeley: University of California Press

Fortier, Anne-Marie (2000) *Migrant Belongings: Memory, Space, Identity*, Oxford: Berg

Hage, Ghassan (1997) 'At home in the entrails of the West: multiculturalism, 'ethnic food' and migrant home-building', in Helen Grace, Ghassan Hage, Lesley Johnson, Julie Langsworth, & Michael Symonds, *Home/World: Space, Community and Marginality in Sydney's West*, Sydney: Pluto Press, pp. 99-153

Heidegger, Martin (1962) *Being and Time*, trans. John Macquarie & Edward Robinson, London: SCM Press

Horton, John (2008) 'A "sense of failure"? Everydayness and research ethics', *Children's Geographies* Volume 6 Issue 4, pp. 363-383

Kuberski, Philip (1992) *The Persistence of Memory: Organism, Myth, Text,* Berkeley: University of California Press

Langallier, Kristin M. (1989) 'Personal narratives: Perspectives on theory and research', *Text and Performance Quarterly*, Volume 9 Number 4, pp. 243-276

Massey, Doreen (2007) *World City*, Cambridge & Malden, MA: Polity Press

Naples, Nancy A. (2003) *Feminism and Method: Ethnography, Discourse Analysis, and Activist Research*, London & New York: Routledge

Ricoeur, Paul (1992) *Oneself as Another*, translated by Kathleen Blarney, Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Tillmann-Healy, Lisa (2006) 'Friendship as method', *Emergent Methods in Social Research*, ed. Sharlene Nagy Hesse-Biber & Patricia Leavy, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications

Researcher's notes and interviews, Rome, July-December 2009