MIGRATORY STRATIFICATIONS

A New Perspective on Migration and Social Change through the Italian Lens

Edited by

Francesco Della Puppa, Giuliana Sanò, Giulia Storato

TRANSNATIONAL PRESS LONDON

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MIGRATORY STRATIFICATIONS. A NEW PERSPECTIVE TO OBSERVE THE INTERSECTION BETWEEN MIGRATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE

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For a stratigraphy of migrations

More than 30 years have passed since the publication of the first edition of *The Age of Migration*, Castles and Miller's 1993 book that pointed out the structural nature of migration in the most recent phases of the capitalist mode of production, and allowed us to safely speak of an "age of migration".

In recent decades, a strand of research under the name of "Migration Studies" has developed, to the point of becoming a veritable discipline. It has created a toolbox of theoretical concepts and analytical constructs capable of identifying and renewing cognitive questions, more or less critical perspectives, interpretative categories, and empirical practices. Of course, as a result of the multiplicity of positions within this disciplinary field (Zapata-Barrero *et al.*, 2021), these tools are often contested, but they also contribute to the scientific debate, advancing a critique of the inequalities that structure the social world and both generate migrations and, on the contrary, reproduce their *doxa*.

Within this debate, in which Migration Studies theorists have developed analytical tools for grasping the complexity of contemporary migration, there have been no lack of splits. As Barbara Sorgoni (2022) recently pointed out, "Refugee Studies" theorists insist that the two fields of investigation and interest must be kept separate. They maintain that the twentieth century was the "age of refugees", thereby forcing the complexity of contemporary migrations into that definition. However, the spirit with which we and the authors of the various contributes have approached this publication distances itself from this dichotomy. Using the notion of stratification, we emphasise the sedimentation of differences, rather than limiting ourselves to exploring whether they have either been erased or multiplied. This is because it is evident that in the field of migration what came before has not simply disappeared, but if anything has been

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transformed, maintaining elements and characteristics that we could call structural. Thus, we might say our proposal is archaeological (Foucault, 1969), in that it begins from the desire to break free of the presumed "evolutionary" linearity of migrations, instead trying to reveal the leaps, breaks, and gaps acting on various levels on both sides of the borders underlying the histories of immigrants, emigrants and migrations. And so we would like to use the concept of migratory stratification to focus on the continuities and ruptures produced by history. This brings us closer to what archaeologists call the stratigraphic method: the study of the relationships between the various layers of the same excavation. If we imagine that migration is to us what excavation is to archaeologists, our aim will be to compare and understand the relationships between the various layers (or phases) of migration. This naturally entails recapitulating the discursive formations that have traversed and marked the history of studies of migration, beginning from those analyses that have investigated and held together the two poles of migration: departure and arrival. Influenced by the archaeological perspective, our analysis is based on the principle of the relationship between the object and the knowledge, between migrations and the production of forms of knowledge and know-how, which are themselves also stratified.

Abdelmalek Sayad spoke of emigration-immigration in terms of *exile* and a "temporary that lasts" (2006) and introduced the concept of *double absence* (1999): emigrant-immigrants are only partially absent in the places they have left behind – in their families and village or neighbourhood relationships in their countries of origin, where they were born and socialised, which they sometimes feel they have betrayed by emigrating – and, at the same time, are not totally present in their country of destination, where they are only present physically, due to the many forms of exclusion they are subjected to there. This creates a mixture of painful contradictions that are perceived by emigrant-immigrants as a life of suffering.

At the same time, Sayad radically critiques the pseudo-scientific concepts derived from colonial discourse and "state thought" and "science of the state", such as "integration", "adaptation", "assimilation", "minority", and "insertion". Rather than telling us anything about the phenomenon of international migrations or the problems of emigrants-immigrants, all this identitarian terminology, which conceals a multiplicity of normative positions, in fact tells us about the problems of the immigration society and its institutions in their relation with immigrants.

From double absences to double presences

In the 1990s, almost in opposition to Sayad's migratory cosmology, the concept of *transnationalism* started to be widely used, referring to the process by which migrants construct social fields that bind together their country of origin and country of settlement (Glick-Schiller *et al.*, 1992: 1; see also Basch *et al.*, 1994). These perspectives that overcome or, at least, fluidify the categories of "exile" and "emigrant-immigrant" (Ambrosini, 2007) draw attention to migrants' participation in transnational activities and lead to the theorisation of a new figure of the migrant defined as the "transmigrant" (Glick-Schiller *et al*, 1992; Basch *et al.,* 1994): a subject that participates in the social, cultural and economic activities of both poles of migration and engages in frequent transnational commuting between the two (Boccagni, 2009). Thus, a figure that is *doubly present* (Queirolo Palmas, 2004; Riccio, 2007; 2014).

Following an anthropological tradition that, through its close analysis of societies and human and social groups, denied they tended towards equilibrium, harmony, and stasis, instead revealing their more conflictual and dynamic aspects, the transnational perspective developed an interest in the movement and dynamism between the two poles of migration – the departure and "destination" contexts – thus overcoming the structural-functionalist hypothesis of a tendentially static society (Piselli, 2014) and a homeostatic model of social structures (Palumbo *et al.*, 2023).

The dynamist school in France and the Manchester school complicated this model by focusing on the conflicting dynamics, changes, and transformations in African societies that had been impacted by colonial rule. The systems in these societies were subject to important processes both of internal de-structuring and of the integration of external economic and political models. The penetration of the capitalist mode of production and liberalist ideology, with its monetary economy and market system, alongside processes of intense industrialisation and urbanisation, led local societies to develop measures of adaptation, transformation, and negotiation between the various models:

> Individuals were constantly coming and going, moving between different spaces and cultural worlds, between cities and villages, mines and neighbourhoods; they were involved in worlds of changing, intersecting, and contradictory interpersonal relations (in the industrial, territorial, and tribal worlds). They had to play multiple roles across different groups and institutions that spanned different social areas and, due to the lack of homogeneous references and criteria for behaviour, they combined in ever different ways, often with conflicts and tensions. (Piselli, 1994: 47-48)

For the theorists of "transnationalism", it was crucial to start from this premise and, more generally, from the idea that no society, not even those that were generally included within the colonial, or, at any rate, ideologically tinged, "traditional", was static and changeless.

To the conflicts and changes that occurred during the age of colonialism and late- or "neo"-colonialism were added the processes of transformation and stratification imposed by the effects of transnational migrations both in the departure and arrival contexts.

Whereas Sayad's conceptualisation is criticised for its apparent lack of emphasis in the agency of emigrant-immigrants, the main criticisms levelled at the transnational approach (Boccagni, 2009: 528) are the following: the generalisation of models of behaviour that in fact only a minority of migrants could engage in, i.e. those with more resources (Guarnizo *et al*, 2003; Portes, 2003); the impossibility of defining a threshold of intensity or of frequency that distinguishes social ties that are transnational from those that are not (Boccagni, 2007); the lack of interest in the historical dimension of migratory phenomena and an overestimation of the innovative nature of transnational practices that have actually always characterised modern migrations and have been described by sociology since the "Polish peasant in Europe and America", and which, on closer inspection, are incorporated into Sayad's analysis (1999), which calls for a perspective that "sews up" the scientific, political and epistemological split between emigration and immigration; the diminishing consistency of migrants' transnational attachments and activities after the first generation, or at most, after the "second generation" (Morawska, 2003; Faist, 2004); the fact that migrants' continuing ties with their context of origin at most concern their specific local contexts of origin (Waldinger and Fitzgerald, 2004); the increasing permanence and finality of migrations in themselves and from an intergenerational perspective, which refutes the individualist perspective aimed at legitimising the precariousness of immigrant populations and the denial of their rights, and which Romenticises their forced uprooting or departure that in fact take place because there is a lack of alternatives for large numbers of people in the the global South (and East) (Basso and Perocco, 2003).

Beginning from the "overlap" between the transnational and intersectional approach (Yuval-Davis, 2006) – the latter of which was developed in the early 1990s by Kimberlé Crenshaw (1991; 1993) and taken up by many other authors (Brooks Redlin, 2009; McCall, 2005) – the construct of *translocal positionality* or *translocations* (Anthias, 2006; 2008; 2011) was elaborated, helping to grasp what Piore defined as a "dual frame of reference" (1979). Thus through the perspective of *translocal positionality,* it

is possible to emhasize the tension between migratory movement and changes in social positioning relative to the two (or more) poles of migration: crossing national borders can leave the migrant's positioning within class and gender boundaries unaltered, but it can also change the ways in which it is perceived and experienced by migrants. Furthermore, migratory movement can (and often does) entail a lowering of the migrant's position in the social pyramid or (given that migrants occupy different positions in their contexts of origin and possess different sets of economic, social, symbolic, and relational resources) can result in them maintaining their status in relation to their compatriots in their own community in the destination context, but suffering a social and symbolic downgrading in their relationship with those native to the destination context. In terms of social hierarchy, Anthias (2006; 2008; 2011) points out that the same individual can occupy different positions depending on the category and context of reference and that their identity is thus not fixed and immobile, but contextual.

Although these ideas circulated among those studying societies subject to colonial rule, they were not always specifically applied to the field of migration. In their long fieldwork among the Tswana, Jean and John Comaroff (2011) developed a very convincing thesis on the concept of person, distinguishing it from the European idea of the autonomous subject. Beginning by observing subjects' self-construction processes, in which they produced roles that changed from time to time according to gender, class, age, and complex social, economic and political relations with colonisers, the two anthropologists revealed a conception of the person in a constant (state of) becoming. In this context, being static was tantamount to social death, and to the saturation of pre-existing economic, political, social, and cultural ties. But in fact, as they penetrated the local social structure, new relationship networks signalled the existence of continuous changes and conflicts, both internal and external to groups and individuals.

Equally, transnational migrations set processes of self-construction in motion that concern both the subjects directly involved in the migrations and the social structures and relations of the departure and arrival societies (Della Puppa, 2014).

While the multiplicity of translocal positionings is the result of the attribution of static identities by the hegemonic discourses of the destination society, it is also structured by institutional regulatory norms, including migration policies that set the conditions for entry and residence within national borders, and decide the hierarchical relations between nations and continents.

While the categorisations "emigrant-immigrant", "migrant", "transmigrant" and "emigrant" have the benefit of avoiding essentialisation and describing the objectification of legal rules, they do not capture the multiplicity of migratory experiences and the continuous identity shifts of the subjects involved.

The overlapping of different migratory movements, therefore, seems to be better understood through the analysis of a specific socio-cultural and territorial context (Bommes and Radtke, 1996). While "translocality" appeared to be a useful analytical tool for identifying the tension between the local and national levels of analysis (Smith, 2011), the study of migration in *global cities* (Sassen, 1991) marked a further attempt to "localise migration" by observing immigrants' local participation in institutional construction and capitalist hierarchies (Glick Schiller and Çağlar, 2011; King and Della Puppa, 2021). In this, the concept of *superdiversity*, developed by Vertovec in 2007 as a critique of and challenge to the concept of multiculturalism, has been, and continues to be, widely accepted, (Vertovec, 2023). Fixing his gaze on the global city (Sassen, 1991), the Author highlighted how a "diversification of differences" has been progressively affirmed and, together with changes in migration policies, has fragmented – and, we would say, *stratified* – the immigrant component of the population, making it necessary, at least at an academic level, to construct its assumed "*diversity*" not only on the basis of different ethnic-national and linguistic-cultural backgrounds, but also around the various different ways migrants enter the territory and their relative legal statuses, languages, religions, genders, ages, and cultural and social capitals (Lockwood, 1996). The introduction of this descriptive concept, as Vertovec called it (2017), to the debate on international migration has stimulated both theoretical and methodological reflection on new forms of inequality, segregation, locality, hybridisation, and transculturation that emerge from the intersection and relationship between the different variables mentioned above. This would also include ethnic-national origins, but no longer exclusively as in the past (Vertovec, 2007; 2023). That which most distinguishes the concept of superdiversity from other concepts relating to diversity is that it "refers both to a process of simultaneous migration-driven diversification across various social and legal characteristics and to the social configurations arising from such a process". (Vertovec, 2023: 201)

Thus, adopting the lens of "superdiversity" means analysing how "old" and "new" forms of diversity can lead to new "social complexities" in terms of social stratification and identity construction processes, in which an important role is played by the context, which is made up of policies

and forms of power, but also of specific representations of subjectivity (Vertovec, 2023). However, this construct seems to focus on a "*situated present*", thus only on the end result of migratory stratification processes. The perspective of *migratory stratification* that we propose here, on the other hand, seeks to identify the relation between the picture of this "situated present" and the processuality that has shaped it and continues to shape it.

However, as Caglar (2020) has recently pointed out, the increasing focus on global cities and places of transit has led to an impoverishment at a methodological and epistemological level, since little or no attention has been paid to the role of smaller or, to use Caglar's words, "depotenziate/depowered" towns or cities within the various processes and phases of contemporary migrations. While immigrants have been present in inland areas subject to depopulation since the 1990s, Migration Studies continues to limit its analysis to their presence within large cities, metropolises and global cities. This results in a partial obscuring of the dynamics of *city making*, and especially of the contribution that *city makers*, that is, the immigrants who choose to settle in peripheral areas, make to these dynamics.

(Im)mobilities

This threefold view of migration (transnational, translocal, and local) has been both challenged by and reread through the lens of the so-called mobility turn (Faist, 2013; Sheller and Urry, 2006; Urry, 2007), which shall be acknowledged for having disarticulated and disintegrated the image of a fundamentally sedentary society. Some works have shown how this turning point has, paradoxically, contributed to increase a paradigmatic idea of mobility and convey a rather optimistic image of it (Glick-Schiller and Salazar, 2013; Heil et al., 2017). However, it would seem that both approaches do not sufficiently take into account the range of options and possibilities that co-exist within each mobility experience (Bjarnesen and Vigh, 2016; Priori, 2017; Steiner, 2019).

The idea of mobility is mainly based on the analysis of trajectories determined by space-time compression. However, this idea cannot compress and understand, in turn, the whole range of experiences and reasons of those who move. For this reason, Glick-Schiller and Salazar (2013) speak of "mobility regimes", to highlight the multiple aspects that underlie the choice to move from one place to another and diversify the conditions of treatment and the multiple forms of conditioning to which those who move are exposed – the result of devices applied (or not) based on the geographical area of origin, nationality, passport, and the reasons that push people to leave their countries. The notion of "mobility regimes",

from the one hand, questions the concept of motility (Kaufmann et al, 2004), that is, the potential mobility capital that each subject heterogeneously possesses as a result of different factors – for example, their position in the hierarchy of civic stratification (Lockwood, 1996) and the position of their country of origin on the international stage, which affects the power of their passport (Della Puppa, 2018; Della Puppa and Sredanovic, 2016) – and, from the other hand, also includes the possibility of non-movement, in particular for cases of migrants and refugees who are confined to border territories or within administrative detention centres. However, immobility can also manifest itself according to other regimes and through other devices: for example, when the loss of a fundamental right such as residence leads to the non-renewal of the residence permit (Shuss 2020) and, consequently, to administrative irregularity (Della Puppa et al., 2020; Della Puppa and Sanò, 2021a; 2021b; Sanò and Della Puppa, 2021). At the same time, mobility cannot be understood without its opposite: immobility (Della Puppa and Sanò, 2021a; 2021b; Sanò and Della Puppa, 2021; Salazar and Smart 2011). The biographical trajectories and geographical paths of migrants can be abruptly interrupted by chance or influenced by policy decisions that are adverse to their opportunities for regularization and freedom of movement (Belloni, 2016; Borri, 2017; Fontanari, 2019; Wyss, 2019). With the concept of trajectory, here, we do not want to take into account just spatial movements or biographies constituted by the linear succession of events, but we consider the intersection of placements, movements, stops and tactics in geographical and social space. That is, the trajectories would be built in the set of relationships between agents who, in the same field, face with a common horizon of possibilities (Bourdieu 1994). Therefore, the construct of trajectory, indicates the movement and agency of the actors in a social – and geographical – structured and structuring space, within which different forms of capital are given and change, habitus are built, expectations are outlined and shaped, and possibility reproduced. If, on the one hand, the tactics of immobility must be read within the strategies of mobility, at the same time, on the other hand, the trajectories of mobility and/or immobility are part of the biographical and social trajectories.

Temporalities

Within the framework outlined so far, international migration has been studied more from a spatial than from a temporal point of view (Griffiths et al., 2013; Jacobsen et al., 2020; Mercier et al., 2021; McNevin and Missbach, 2018). It is only recently that Cwerner's (2001) seminal article on the need to also consider time and temporalities in the analysis of migration has resonated in the academic debate, giving rise to what has

been called the "temporal turn" in the field (Baas and Yeoh, 2018). This led to studies and research (Della Puppa et al., 2024; Sanò et al., 2024; Storato et al., 2023) focusing on the mechanisms for confining immigrants through controlling their time (Chattopadhyay and Taylor 2022; Conlon, 2011; Philipson Isaac, 2022). This perspective thus holds that the perspective of (im)mobility (Della Puppa and Sanò, 2021b) is expressed in relation not only to space, but also to time, highlighting how particular national and international legislative and normative devices lead to temporal regimes that slow down or speed up the daily – and biographical – time of migrants. These regimes can be endured, but also (re)acted upon and against (Achtnich, 2022; Conlon, 2011; Rotter, 2016).

The theoretical constructs and analytical perspectives presented here all focus on the trajectories of subjects, that is, on the intertwining of their mobilities – or immobilities – in a geographical and spatial, social and identitarian, legal and normative, and even temporal sense, which are shaped by specific policies of spatial and temporal control (Della Puppa et al., 2024; Sanò et al., 2024; Storato et al., 2023). Adopting a visual and cinematographic metaphor, we could say that the camera follows individual and/or collective actors as they move within physical-geographical and social space, shedding light both on the resulting social complexity and on their subjectivity. However, if we kept the camera fixed in a specific place, we would record a series of snapshots that would demonstrate the sedimentation and overlapping of different migratory moments, capturing phases in the ongoing social transformation process triggered by migratory phenomena in a given contextual field, whether that is national, territorial, social, demographic, cultural, artistic, economic or institutional, etc.

International and internal migrations both drive and reflect profound changes (Basso and Perocco, 2003). In other words, they interact with and are influenced by the global phenomena of which they are part, and also affect national and local contexts. At the same time, taking up Mauss's famous expression, which Sayad (1999) later applied to human mobility, migrations constitute a total social fact, involving the totality of interdependent human practices and experiences that interact with the social, economic, political, cultural, and religious universe, as well as with different representations of the world. Assuming a diachronic perspective, therefore, we can see, on the one hand, the way in which migratory phenomena reshape the societies of origin, destination and transit, and, on the other, the stratification of the different migratory phases shaped by changing global and local scenarios through their incorporation in material objects and socio-cultural practices. So, taking up the cinematographic metaphor again, keeping the camera fixed in one place, creating an

apparently delimited frame, does not mean hypostatising the gaze and its object, but, on the contrary, making social change and the processes of transformation underway in all spheres of society more visible. It allows us to identify the connections and feedback between the structural nature of global phenomena and the space being studied, in which the sedimentation and overlapping of migratory phenomena can be seen.

From the trajectories of the subjects to the "contextual field"

This *sedimentation of different migratory moments* can be defined in terms of *migratory stratifications,* meaning the overlapping of different migratory phenomena that, arising from different overlapping epochs, exist in the same context. *Migratory stratifications* impose signs that become sedimented in territories and societies without completely erasing the previous ones, and create continually evolving landscapes of memory through a multiplicity of elements that, despite being heterogenous, display their own semantic unity. In different historical and social phases, the same social landscape can be crossed by a succession of immigrations, emigrations and transitions of different natures and origins, implemented in different ways, in which a multiplicity of actors – of different nationalities, classes, genders, generations etc. – can be protagonists.

The *migratory stratification* perspective finds its most immediate application in sociology and urban anthropology, in cultural studies narratives in and of cities, and in territorial and spatial approaches. The overlapping of the arrivals at different times of different people in the same territorial context has long been an object of interest to urban studies, albeit without a conceptualisation to that effect. For example, the *ecological succession* model developed by Robert Park (1936a; 1936b) and his analysis of the "competition" between city-dwellers and newcomers, in which both material and symbolic resources are at stake until a new equilibrium is found in a situation of "community order". Focusing on physical substitution within urban areas (Massey, 1983), Park's model of ecological succession has a local and contextual perspective that is attentive to the dynamics of conflict between groups. Although this model has been understandably called into question due to its biological and mechanistic reductionism and evolutionist elements, the study of the relationships between "old residents" and "newcomers" (Della Puppa and Gelati, 2015) was soon given new life in sociological studies (Elias and Scotson, 1965).

However, as relevant as it might be, it would be wrong to limit the perspective of migratory stratification to urban and spatial studies alone. The migratory stratification perspective also allows us to observe transformations in food landscapes and socio-religious geography, in

labour markets and housing dynamics, in superstructural aspects such as law and policy, and in cultural constructions such as food practices. The application of the construct and/or the assumption of the perspective of *migratory stratification* – which is unprecedented and that we advance here as an original theoretical-analytical proposal – is useful for demonstrating the processes of transculturation and the dynamics of social change that the various overlaps and sedimentations bring about in all spheres of social action and cultural processualities.

Beyond the urban gaze

The analytical perspective of *migratory stratification* means recognising the need to hook up and connect each other, as Charles Wright Mills (1959) pointed out, the socio-anthropological interpretation of the social transformations, brought about by migratory phenomena, and the reality of other historical processes, the structural and "objective" repercussions they have on the "local" dimension and the "subjective" trajectories. The *migratory scape* in a given historical *moment*, as well as the biographies and trajectories of the subjects that animate it, can only be fully understood if properly placed within the processual and historically determined overlapping of "migratory strata". It is only by assuming this perspective that the changing nature of this migratory scape is revealed and that a deep understanding of the historical meaning of the experiences of the subjects within it becomes possible.

Taking up some of the questions that Mills poses to interrogate the work of the sociologist, the perspective of *migratory stratification* similarly interrogates the migration scholar in relation to the position of a particular migratory landscape within the framework of the progressive and contextual stratification of migratory phenomena; to the dynamics of its transformation; to where it is located in the migratory sedimentation and to what importance it has from this standpoint; to how the particular social, cultural, territorial, economic, demographic, artistic, etc. component under consideration affects the migratory landscape of which it is a part, and how it is affected in turn; to what the essential characteristics of this migratory *moment* and stratification are; in what sense it differs from other "strata"; and in what particular ways it contributes to the migratory, socio-cultural, and semiotic marks that it leaves.

Between objectivity and subjectivity

The *migratory stratification* perspective also incorporates Norbert Elias' reflections on the need, once again, for historical sociology. According to Elias, the evolution of social reality can only be grasped in the light of long-term processes, and historical-sociological research must create major

syntheses that hold together the interweaving of processes at both the micro and macro levels. Hence, following the Eliasian argument, the study of the migratory and social transformations resulting from migratory processes have to both take into account the stratification of long-term migratory processes and identify the tension between structural processes and subjective trajectories. Social reality, which for Elias, and also for us, is intrinsically conflictual – and thus also a specific "migratory scape" – can only be grasped in its incessant becoming: not a chaotic and disordered becoming, let alone a linear one, but a dialectical one, structured by a continuous overlapping of other "migratory strata" which in turn are shaped by structural and superstructural currents.

In the migratory stratification approach, social and human sciences such as sociology, anthropology (Della Puppa, 2022; Parella et al., 2023), literary criticism and history converge in a Longue durée perspective, applied to the study of migratory phenomena, as it gives priority to long-term historical and social structures, rather than the contingency of individual events.

Echoes of Elias' arguments can be found in the construct of *migratory stratification,* as this new analytical tool appears particularly useful for escaping the reproduction of casual essentialist and essentialising views and explanations of so-called "ethnic groups" that often abound in studies on migration phenomena (Eve, 2011). Its heuristic value lies in the possibility of avoiding the objectivism and reductionism of considering migratory phenomena as entities, instead inviting us to focus on the interdependencies between groups and the relational nature of representations of communities' and territories' migratory pasts. It is not difficult to find reflections here of Elias and Scotson's (1965) observations on how the "old outsiders" of Wintson Parva sought to distinguish themselves from, and maintain privileged social positions with respect to, the "new outsiders", thus throwing light on one dynamic of the *stratification* of different migratory *moments* and experiences that persist in the same context, overcoming essentialising narratives about social life.

Above the contingencies

At the same time, the construct of *migratory stratification* helps the social sciences and Migration Studies to avoid chasing media sensationalism, the political agenda, the contingent interests of social entrepreneurs, and ideological narratives regarding migration. As Bourdieu (1996) warned, the field and language of information and the media create a consumerist trivialisation of events, leading to the reductive homogenisation of values of reality, based on the passivity of a public lacking the necessary critical

tools and means of comparison and verification. In other words, they produce prefabricated information emptied of any function of signification, but endowed with a power to reinforce the dominant *doxa*. Therefore, the media field draws attention to *omnibus* facts, suitable for everyone and such as to easily create simple consent and acritical sensationalisation. Social scientists also participate in this debate staged to fabricate consensus, assisting in the process of the spectacularisation of meaning in Debordian terms.

In fact, Migration Studies has all too often chased the news, letting its themes and vocabulary be dragged along, polluted and dictated by the media and politics. For example, the past emphasis on the (so-called) "social problem of (racialized) marginal neighborhoods" in Europe, which led to socio-anthropological research reproducing essentialist and culturalising analyses. Or the over-representation of theoretical, analytical, and empirical contributions on the theme of the "*sbarchi*" (migrant arrivals in boats). This too is a significant and dramatic phenomenon, but it is quantitatively marginal, compared, for example, to the settling of immigrant populations in Europe, the acquisition of citizenship, the rise of immigrant entrepreneurship, the social stratification of immigrant populations, and the political movements led by immigrant workers.

The *migratory stratification* approach obliges the social scientist who studies migratory phenomena and the social transformations they bring about to focus on "what remains" and becomes stratified, rather than on "what passes by" or simply "gives way to something else". It obliges them to observe migrations by holding together both the lines of continuity and of discontinuity from a non-segmented perspective, not tending to isolate facts and events from the socio-historical structure in which they take form and become stratified.

An effective key to interpreting this "remainder" consists in observing the dynamics in the world of work and, more specifically, the characteristics of immigrant labour. Generally, when we associate the concept of stratification with the world of work, we start from the mechanisms of labour substitution and differentiation. This corresponds to the way the labour market tends to include or exclude masses of more blackmailable and vulnerable workers in line with current economic needs. From this mechanism, which underlies the mechanisms of the stratification of the labour force, further forms of stratification are generated, largely in the form of migration policies and, of course, in the structural characteristics of the particular contexts and sectors of the labour market and of the current phase of the capitalist mode of production. To understand how these factors act in the process of stratification, it is

necessary to adopt a processual perspective capable of looking at the lines of continuity and ruptures produced *by* and *in* the labour market. If the entry of asylum seekers and refugees into the labour market has modified the practices of labour recruitment and regularisation, it has also reinforced the previous mechanisms of exploitation characterising individual labour sectors.

By investigating the link between labour policies and migration policies, we arrive at a conception of the concept of migratory stratification capable of identifying the structural nature of the individual phases that make up migration, but also its lines of transformation and change.

Regarding the "structure", or what Sayad (1999) called "immigration system" – namely the process of "naturalisation" that assumes the relations of domination, exercised over immigrants, as a natural and constitutive fact of their *inferiorisation* –, then, we can assume how this workforce is constantly conditioned and shaped by relationships that are independent of their individual will, depending instead on the will and decisions that others (dominant class) make for them. This implies the identification between the immigrant and the unqualified, low-paid and, more generally, exploited worker (*Ibidem*). However, to the structural datum, which is the result of the naturalisation mechanisms of domination and exploitation by the dominant classes, we must add the ongoing transformations and processes of negotiation carried out by the working class.

For a science of migration that shuns sensationalism

The interdisciplinary nature of theoretical speculation is also reflected in the set of research techniques that can be used to enable its development. The analytical perspective of *migratory stratifications* requires the construction of a methodological apparatus that allows us to grasp both the different *migratory moments* and the ways in which they overlap and stratify, acting on the same context. A good place to start would be a synchronic and diachronic analysis of secondary data on an immigrant populations composition and movements in a particular territory enclosed within specific political boundaries (whether that be a small municipality, a town or city, an entire province or the national or supranational context). A reference then to data produced by official statistical sources allows us to frame the observed phenomenon within broader social processes and transformations that are similar to or differ from the context under investigation.

This work on numbers and statistics would then have to be complemented by direct observation and ethnographic work. In the *migratory stratification* approach*,* the individuals and different social groups inhabiting the context being studied participate in the construction of knowledge through informal interviews and conversations conducted with the support of visual research techniques.

Thus the mapping, and the visible and sedimented signs, of the passing of time captured in objects, images, places, tastes, smells, and the stories told about them become fundamental tools for grasping the phases, moments, and transformations of that space, interweaving with the different subjectivities that have passed through it.

So far the research practice focuses on presences, but in the *migratory stratification* perspective presented here, absences and "disappearances" are also fundamental: they are expressed in legible positions and stratifications in the urban space and in the personal, and often family, biographies of those who pass through it and inhabit it, as well as in cultural products and migratory moments through which they express themselves. The visual analysis of urban traces like disused or restored buildings and businesses, billboards, layers of signs, writing, and graffiti, as well as of archive images, sheds light on the complex interweaving of arrivals, departures, and transits. The visual and textual materials contained in public and private archives, always used as stimuli for stories, also open up the possibility of constructing, through the collection of family histories, the links and connections between migratory moments that, despite having persisted in the territory, were not able to resist it.

Structure of the book

With this book, in addition to theorizing that of migratory stratification as an original and unprecedented analytical perspective, we would like to show some of its applications "in practic", that is, through the examination of some empirical case studies. To do this, we have chosen to focus on the Italian panorama, since it seems to us that Italy constitutes an emblematic and particularly fruitful case for showing the usefulness of this interpretative lens.

The Italian case is "exemplary" in this respect due to the evolution and coexistence of different movements from, to and within Italy. The country was in fact characterised by substantial emigration flows originating from both the North and the South, which peaked at the end of the 19th century (Romeno, 1992) and then by internal migration in the mid-20th century (Sanfilippo, 2011), to the rise, from the 1970s onwards, of international immigration (Colucci, 2018). The latter intensified in the 1980s (Bonifazi, 1998) and then soared in the 2000s (Fullin and Reyneri, 2010), despite the hostile political climate, growing Islamophobia (Perocco, 2018), and a restrictive legal framework (Della Puppa et al., 2020; Piro, 2020). While

new arrivals in Italy have gradually decreased, international immigration to Italy has now become a structural – and increasingly complex – phenomenon. If we add to this the persistence of emigration flows from Italy concerning both natives and migrants (Dubucs et al., 2017; Della Puppa, 2018; Della Puppa and King, 2019) and internal movements (Pugliese, 2011), which often involve immigrants themselves (de Filippo and Strozza, 2011; Bonifazi et al., 2012), it is clear that Italy is still a migratory crossroads.

Since, as we anticipated, the application of a perspective of migratory stratifications to the mere urban dimension would be reductive of its analytical and heuristic scope, we have structured the volume into four sections, dedicated to the assumption of this theoretical-analytical positioning with respect to different dimensions themes.

The first section focuses on the political dimension, taken both from its institutional side and, obviously, from that of social conflicts, and hosts the contribution of Andrea Caroselli and Andrea Pomella and that of Alessandro Maculan and Luca Sterchele.

Caroselli e Pomella examine how anti-racist struggles carried out in Italy over the last thirty years have left traces and sediments, disrupting the self-representation that the country holds of itself. Through an "archaeological" methodology, they gather the debris left by these experiences, highlighting their connections with the migratory stratifications that have traversed and problematised the meanings of Italian identity. Rather than a narrative-documentary continuum, they propose a history that interrogates the leftovers, fractures, and different types of existing relationships without reducing the phenomena to a single centre, displaying "all the space of a dispersion" and traversing the wounds of Italian postcolonial history. Racist murders, such as those of Jerry Masslo and Idy Diene. Labour struggles in the countryside, such as those in Rosarno and Castelvolturno and in factories, as in the logistics warehouses of Emilia Romegna. Occupations of buildings for housing purposes, as was the case with the Pantanella pasta factory in Rome. Demonstrations in the streets of the Italian major cities to obtain longer and faster-issued residence permits. Along those fault lines that interrupt the linearity of the historical discourse on migrations in Italy, what emerges are the extemporaneous debris of migrants' stories stratified in the Italian history. However, the long and complex genealogy of anti-racist struggles often does not prevent the erasure of their memory, more akin to the accumulation of strata than to any progressive narrative. The Authors thus show how this heritage continues to challenge the Italian society and to permeate through the Italian society. The Chapter of Maculan and

Sterchele explores the concept of migratory stratification within the framework of the Italian Prison System over the past three decades. From this perspective, prisons serve as focal points for examining the flows and dynamics that shape the experiences of the incarcerated population both before and during their imprisonment, with a particular emphasis on how these dynamics become entrenched within the prison environment. By examining prisons through this lens, the Authors critically analyze the selective processes of criminalization directed towards migrant populations. This entails examining the historical structures of migrant settlements in Italy, the integration of migrants into legal, informal, and illegal labor markets, the emergence of moral panics surrounding certain migrant communities, the provision (or lack thereof) of institutional support for migrants, and related phenomena. Consequently, their chapter seeks to provide a comprehensive overview of the patterns characterizing the influx of foreigners into the Italian prison system in recent years. Through a series of illustrative "snapshots", they delineate the sedimentation and overlapping of different phases of foreign presence in prisons, which evolve in response to broader social changes.

The second section is highly interdisciplinary, moving between sociology, pedagogy, psychology and literary criticism, and uses the perspective of migratory stratification to observe the generational and gender dimension, focusing on Tunisian migration (Calabretta and Romenia), on the processes educational (Cavaletto and Visentin), on the Romence of migration (Regazzoni and Ricorda). Andrea Calabretta and Vincenzo Romenia approach migratory stratification as a process of crystallization of structured differences based on historical figurations of intergroup relations and local social stratifications. They develop this approach as a variation of Norbert Elias' figurational approach, focusing on the case study of the Tunisian community living in the Italian city of Modena. Through the adoption of a diachronic and configurational perspective, theeir chapter shows how local migratory stratifications are influenced by changes of the migratory phenomenon itself and of the structural conditions of migrants' settlement, upholding the view of a constructed and relational nature of local migratory stratifications. Giulia Maria Cavaletto and Martina Visentin focus on the participation of pupils with migratory background within Italian schools, a twofold challenge to policy: a phenomenon that, on the one hand, invests education systems and the kind of solutions they, in a more or less formalized way, have been able to provide to give an answer to migration dynamics and the stratification phenomena resulting from migration; on the other hand, it challenges social protection systems by including education among social needs, and by putting a new integrated approach to education on the table.

Their chapter proposes a critical reading of three seasons of educational welfare within the Veneto Region with a specific focus on migrant pupils and the multi-actor responses, often experimental and innovative, put in place both about curricular content and about the acquisition of key competencies for lifelong learning, essential for school-to-work transition, full participation, and inclusion. The three seasons tension the quantitative pressure of the migratory phenomenon involving children aged for compulsory education with the solutions put in place by schools and area associations, with the initial purpose of managing an emergency (in the first season corresponding to the last two decades of the last century), then transitioning to an institutional takeover, albeit with heterogeneous funding across territories and discontinuous, until reaching a new recent experimental phase, which proposes innovative solutions in the direction of full inclusion. Then, the chapter of Susanna Regazzoni and Ricciarda Ricorda that compares two forms of migrant literature that are in some ways different and in others, instead, connected. In the first case, the Authors deal with Argentinean migration literature in relation to Italy, which starts in the middle of the last century and is constituted as a current that offers interesting fruits until today. In the second case, they intend to examine some examples of Italian migration literature, which propose the migration theme from the point of view of people coming from Argentina. The relation between the two areas will allow them to verify how literature transposes and allows to deepen the knowledge of migration phenomenon and, in particular, the overlapping of different migratory fluxes which brought in Argentina many Italian emigrants, who produced literary works written in Spanish, while more recently Argentinians emigrated to Italy and wrote texts in Italian.

The third section of the volume is structured around the sphere of work, as well as that of the conflicts between capital and labour, through the chapter by Davide Girardi and Ilaria Rocco and that by Giusepe Grimaldi. Girardi and Rocco intend to analyse the stratification of migrant workforce in the labour market of the Veneto Region, highlighting how it has become very articulated: there are now different strata in it, by nationality, by type of contract, by professional qualification. The analysis of these strata shows that people of foreign origin have become an essential component of the employment system, especially in some sectors. They also show that the characteristics of labour market participation do not follow a single trend, but differentiated trends: while signs of a clear segmentation by citizenship of the employment system persist, there are also signs of potential improvements in conditions, especially in the future. The analysis also shows how people of foreign origin have become central to the Italian labour market mainly through subjective or bottom-up

means, outside of forward-looking migration policies aimed at favouring the improvement of their conditions. From this point of view, the chapter points out the need to consider the results of the analysis above all in perspective. More specifically, it will be necessary to consider them for the purposes of the school-work transition of the new generations born of immigration, in order to ensure that their participation model can actually become a qualitative leap from that of their parents and not reproduce the traits of a subordinate integration. The chapter of Grimaldi focuses on migratory stratifications in Monfalcone, a town situated at the border between Italy and Slovenia (Friuli Venezia Giulia Region) which revolves around the largest shipyard in Europe. The study connects the mobilities related to the shipyard to the configuration of the city as a "frontier". Specifically, the chapter examines a process of "stratification of the frontier": by considering economic and political changes at micro, meso, and macro levels and connecting them to the reconfiguration of the territory it is possible to analyze the superposition of a frontier space between the capitalist and socialist worlds with a frontier between the global North and South. The Author aim to analyze how these multiple configurations intermingle and manifest within the same social space. Focusing on the children of shipyard workers – the majority of whom have migrant backgrounds – and on their preparation to become shipyard precarious workers the paper investigates the effects of the stratification of the frontier in the lives of the younger generations.

Finally, the last section of the book deals with urban cultures and spaces through the chapters by Alfredo Alietti and Claudia Mantovan, Fabio Bertoni and Tommaso Sarti, and Marzia Mauriello. In particular, starting from the concept of "ethnoscape", Alietti and Mantovan focus the discussion on the ongoing transformations in multicultural neighbourhoods, often marked by vulnerability and processes of stigmatization, and on how migrant presence is structured and stabilized within these places. Based on various ethnographic research conducted over the years by the Authors in some multiethnic neighbourhoods in northern Italy (mid-size town Padua and metropolitan area Milan), the objective of their chapter is to highlight the characteristics of the changes that have occurred within these spaces and to outline a synthetic framework of interethnic coexistence that has been built and layered in the analysed contexts. The concept of migratory stratification will be used consistently in the analysis as defined in the introduction of this book: focusing on how various population movements have succeeded each other in a specific context (in this case specific urban areas), the aim is to practice a processual, relational, and anti-essentialist sociology that manages to grasp the connections between migratory stratification and

structural processes of economic, political, and social nature; between stratification of migratory processes and stratification of narratives on migrations; between migratory stratification and social and urban change; between dynamics unfolding at micro, meso, and macro levels. While, drawing from cultural studies and the concept of "thinking with music", the chapter of Bertoni and Sarti traces and reconstructs the migration narratives depicted within rap music (and its derivatives, such as trap and drill), produced in Italy over the past three decades. Positioned as "street" music associated with working-class neighbourhoods, rap has emerged as a potent language for expression, storytelling, and occasionally counter-narratives, reflecting both internal South-North migrations and transnational movements. The children of these migrations now find themselves contributing to the construction of a hybrid, multiethnic 'collective identity' that transcends national and linguistic boundaries. Rap's mythopoetic capacity, amplified by its increasing mainstream popularity, serves as a conduit for translating migration experiences, intersecting with race, class, gender, generation, and urban inequalities, along with various internal and external migratory stratifications, often integrated through processes of subaltern stratification. From these foundations, the analysis of rap lyrics and imagery allows for the illumination of "minor" experiences and perspectives – related to everyday life, perspectives, and values – interwoven with migration. Mauriello's chapter focuses on food practices and cultural history of places. Specifically, she claims that, as food practices encompass ways of selecting ingredients and processes of preparation, distribution, and consumption that are rooted in the cultural history of a place, food plays a pivotal role in shaping identities. Yet, its inherent mobility, often accompanying individuals, imbues food with a transformative and syncretic nature. Notions like tradition and typicality, concerning foods and culinary traditions, thus require contextualization through the critical lens of a history characterized by stratifications, intersections, encounters, and continual movement. Within migrant communities, food serves as a "home-making tool" and a central instrument for re-creating one's place and space. Nonetheless, throughout migratory paths, food undergoes continuous transformation and adaptation while retaining its role as an "anchor" to the place of origin, thus serving as a valuable lens for understanding the processes of cultural stratification within migrant contexts and navigating the delicate balance between continuity and change. In fact, despite the intrinsic changes wrought by migration, food maintains its identity and symbolic significance, contributing to the reconfiguration of places and spaces that have recently become destinations for migrants. The city of Naples, in Southern Italy, exemplifies one such place, and this contribution aims to explore the transformative dynamics of food practices within migrant communities, with a specific focus on sub-Saharan African migrants, while also examining the impact of migrant cuisine on the local milieu, drawing from ethnographic research conducted in the city.

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SECTION 1

POLITICS, INSTITUTIONS AND STRUGGLES

CHAPTER 1

WALKING ON FAULT LINES AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL DISCOURSE ON THE DEBRIS OF ANTI-RACIST STRUGGLES IN ITALY

Andrea Caroselli[1]

*This is not only about the social or political conflict
surrounding the right to move and migrate,
but this is also an epistemological issue.
Iain Chambers, Paesaggi migratori. Cultura e identità nell'epoca postcoloniale,
2018*

In Search of Discontinuity

In this article, we will present a concise historical recollection of some of the most significative anti-racist struggles occurred in Italy over the past three decades. Our objective is to illustrate the emergence of a post-colonial subjectivity that exists outside what we refer to as the "white field" of national politics (Khiari, 2006). While local historical and sociological research has been addressing the issue of 'colonial removal' for some time now, we believe that it is not merely the migrant, post-migrant, and racialised presence that remains invisible today, but rather their agency, subjectivity, and historical significance. In other words, the discourse of the anti-racist grassroot movements align with the dominant public narrative, implicitly assuming an urgent temporality characterised by the continuous construction of moral panics (Cohen, 2002; Maneri and Quassoli, 2021).[2] Within this framework, we argue that what is being promoted by the anti-racist public discourse is a "history-less" and, very often, "subject-less" anti-racism.

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[2] The concept of moral panic was popularised by Stanley Cohen to explain the media uproar surrounding statistically negligible events, such as the clashes between mods and rockers. A necessary corollary of this concept is the construction of "folk devils" (in his case, working-class youth embracing new subcultural styles). Later revisited in the works of the CCCS in Birmingham, notably in Policing the Crisis, it was linked to a more general framework for managing economic, social, and political crises emerging around the 1970s. Assuming this standpoint, moral panic had the capacity to "redirect" and concentrate tensions stemming from the loss of centrality of Great Britain (and Europe) «by providing them with a simple and concrete, identifiable social "object"» (Hall, 2013).

Significantly, several essays have been dedicated to the various historical phases of anti-racism. However, these discussions have mainly revolved around the debate concerning whether the anti-racist movement fits the sociological definition of "social movement" (Rebughini, 2000). Additionally, scholars have attempted, in different ways, to piece together the movement's historical nodes and fundamental characteristics (Della Porta, 1999; Colucci, 2018, 2021; Cassata, 2021; Schwarz, 2021). However, these crucial references primarily focus on institutional and legislative history. Indeed, when it comes to analyse mobilisation forms, the dominant perspective among these scholars centres on how white activism has interpreted anti-racism, with particular attention given to trade unions, Catholic or secular associations, and left-wing grassroot movements (Della Porta, 1999; Caponi, 2021; Colucci, 2021). While this work is important and necessary, in the absence of alternative perspectives, it may inadvertently perpetuate a form of 'methodological nationalism' (Sayad, 2002).

Given this context, the concept of *migratory stratifications* can offer an effective framework for highlighting the depth and significance of anti-racist struggles in Italy. The same social landscape, in fact, can be traversed, in different historical and social ages, by a succession of immigrations, emigrations, and transitions of different nature and origin, carried out according to various modalities, involving a multiplicity of actors with particular national, class, gender, generational characteristics. As proposed in the introduction by Francesco Della Puppa, Giuliana Sanò and Giulia Storato, through migratory stratifications, it is possible to observe the transformations of food landscapes and socio-religious geography, the changes in the labour market and housing dynamics, policies and cultural constructs. Consequently, it allows the observation of unnoticed conflict scenarios. Therefore, by approaching to migration as a *stratified* "total social fact", to quote Marcel Mauss notorious concept, we are prompted to interrogate how Italian anti-racist struggles have shaped and reshaped cultural, economic, and physical landscapes (Appadurai, 2012). Tracing their memories brings us closer to question our present from an archive of minor stories, echoing the concept that Iain Chambers (2023) borrowed from Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari (1986). Just as minor literature measures itself by the ability to "challenge language", to expose the "paper language" of major literature, as well retracing the minor stories of anti-racism in Italy can yield a necessary effect of "displacement" in the narrative of the national Self. This could challenge epistemological and philosophical certainties that characterise even those Western analyses that recognise agency within racialised subjectivities. Indeed, the sociological narrative seems eager to normalise and domesticate the radical

epistemological and ontological questioning that anti-racist and anti-colonial struggles pose to the foundations of our vision of history and Self (Césaire, 2020 [1950]; Walcott 1979; Young 2004; Bouteldja, 2018; Yousfi, 2022), diving us in an existential interrogation "without final guarantees" (Hall, 1986: 43).

Consequently, by shifting our focus from the 'external' perspective of Border Studies (Tazzioli, 2019) and the "right to escape" (Mezzadra and Neilson, 2014) to one "internal" of what happens into Italian borders, it becomes possible to trace the genealogy of an autonomous political subject that has emerged not only through mobility and border crossings but also through the shaping of national political processes within transit and settlement spaces. Therefore, our aim is to gather tangible evidence of the remnants of experiences left by this subject, stratified in Italian history like sedimentary layers. In short, from our perspective, *migratory stratifications* are inevitably *conflict stratifications*. While we do not claim to provide a comprehensive account, we propose an 'archaeological' discourse (Foucault, 1999) that seeks to disrupt the dominant narrative and trace moments of discontinuity.

Rather than look at history as a continuous documentation, we address it as a heterogeneous collection of gaps, fractures, and social relations in the making. Our approach rejects the reduction of phenomena to a singular point but instead aims to reveal the entire spectrum of a "dispersion" (Chambers, 2020). To navigate this dispersion, we would wander along certain fault lines in Italian post-colonial history, those that, in our opinion, disrupt the linear narrative of migration in Italy. These fault lines include: The racist murders of Jerry Masslo, Soumaila Sacko, Abdul William Guiebre (known as Abba), Idy Diene, Ibrahim Manneh, Emmanuel Chidi Namdi, and Alika Ogorchukwu. They also encompass incidents such as the shooting in Florence in 2011, where two Senegalese hawkers were killed, and the attempted massacre in Macerata in 2018. The labour strikes in rural areas, such as Rosarno and Castelvolturno,[3] and within the logistics warehouses of the Emilia Romegna. Lastly, the squatting for housing purposes, exemplified by the case of the 'Pantanella' pasta factory in Rome, as well as the rallies held in major metropolitan areas to advocate for longer and faster issuance of residence permits. In our opinion, all these events represent fragmented debris of migrant subjectivities and their offspring, interwoven into the fabric of Italian society but, generally, not considered

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[3] Rosarno is a village located into Reggio Calabria metropolitan area, dedicated to oranges harvest, whilst Castelvolturno is a town into Caserta's County, the third most important city in Campania region, right after Naples and Salerno.

turning points in national history.

On the opposite, as it is usual to the Western historical and sociological conception of space and time, these events are represented within a linear and progressive temporality, wherein the task of history is to account for an already-happened past. Conversely, starting precisely from the concept of migratory stratifications, we believe it is possible to perceive the ongoing relevance of these insubordinations capable of interrupting the discourse of the authorised history. The debris of anti-racist struggles lay across and mark the colonial constitution of our present, somehow reconnecting it to the past and disintegrating our own epistemological certainties: «An altogether more complex past lives on and haunts the present» (Chambers, 2023: 489). These layers and ruins indeed propel us towards a history "whose site is not homogeneous, empty time, but time filled full by now-time [*Jetzzeit*]" (Benjamin, 2006: 395) and offer a perspective to "brush history against the grain". These layers allow us to destabilise the positivist premises inscribed into a significant portion of European and North American sociological, legal, and philosophical disciplines. There lies the possibility of reading and listening to that "tradition of the oppressed" which, following the evocative words of Walter Benjamin (2006: 392), "teaches us that the state of emergency in which we live is not the exception but the rule" and that "we must attain to a conception of history that accords with this insight".

Lost Histories. A (White) History-Less Anti-Racism

On the night of August 23rd, 1989, Jerry Masslo was brutally murdered in a shed in Villa Literno while sleeping alongside other twenty-eight migrant farmhands, all engaged in tomato picking. At the time, Masslo, who had arrived in Italy from South Africa in March 1988, was unable to obtain refugee status due to Italian laws. His murder took place amidst a rising mobilisation of black farmhands in Italy, a campaign that sought the involvement of trade unions and other social actors. This mobilisation aimed to bring attention to the underlying continuity between the colonial experience and the covert connection linking apartheid South Africa to democratic Italy. Masslo's killers, armed and hailing from Villa Literno,[4] targeted non-Italian farmhands with the intention to steal from them. At the end of the day, Masslo was fatally punished for defending his savings.

Today, to unravel the Italian postcolonial symptom and expose the various reductionisms that perpetuate its recurrence, it is sufficient to revisit the words he uttered prior to his untimely death in a brief interview

streamed on RAI.[5] He declared: «What I went through in South Africa is happening here in Italy», starkly highlighting his lack of hope and the necessity of seeking refuge elsewhere, where he might find better hospitality. Yet, as we know, this possibility was denied him, and he was savagely murdered, a victim of an economic system fed on his dehumanisation. T.J. Curry aptly captures this reality, arguing that *The Black is a Man-Not* (2017). In the days following the shooting, immigrant farmhands, supported by secular and Catholic associations, organised periodic protests to publicly denounce their exploitative working conditions, amid an atmosphere of aggression and theft perpetrated by the local population. In our view, Masslo's words disrupt the reductionist narratives that overshadow the colonial abyss from which they emerge and beckon us to engage with a long-term, local, and global temporality. Even during the funeral procession for Masslo, there was no shortage of provocation from the locals, who stigmatised the excessive presence of immigrants and the clamour for the murder. «A priest during the funeral called the murderers' action a simple "prank" turned bad» (Colucci, 2021: 128).

Just a month later, on September 20th, 1989, immigrant farmhands folded their arms and initiated a strike, paralysing the harvest for a day. They gathered at the roundabout where they typically found employment, and marched to Masslo's grave. The protests by farmhands, bolstered by Catholic associations, institutional left-wing trade unions, and grassroots movements, unfolded in a national context marked by a surge in racist violence and international sanctions against South Africa due to its apartheid regime. These actions paved the way for the parliamentary debate on the so-called "Martelli Act" in the autumn of 1989. This act changed drastically the Italian legal framework concerning asylum rights and residency permits, representing the country's first explicit law specifically regulating migration.

Less than a year after Masslo's assassination, racial tensions erupted once again. In January 1990, hundreds of migrants, primarily from Pakistan and Bangladesh, occupied the building of the former 'Pantanella' pasta factory in Rome, situated at the beginning of Via Casilina, near Porta Maggiore. This event brought to the forefront questions of housing segregation and urban geography, challenging the invisibility imposed on this group of people and the relegation of their existence to the borders of an imagined elsewhere, outside urban centers. The "Pantanella" occupation was, in Stuart Hall's words (2018: 103), the moment «which has

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[4] Another village into Caserta's County.

[5] The Italian public television company.

brought the margins to the center» (Mellino, 2016). However, it was also the beginning of a fierce media campaign that produced an emergency order of discourse, whose securitarian and authoritarian tones would quickly lead to the eviction of the building and would prepare the ground for the governance of such social upheavals in the years to come. In his book *Shish Mahal* (1991), Renato Curcio has left us an account and a way of looking at this event which is still pervasive and emblematic of the institutional/racial methods of managing migration in Italy thirty years after this event. In his words,

> [W]hat will happen to them? Will they go back to Bangladesh or Tunisia? Not at all. The only effect of discrimination - which violates the Convention on the Rights of Migrants - will be to consign them to a clandestine condition again. A perverse and senile effect that will force them to wander from sorrow to sorrow, from exploitation to exploitation, from Pantanella to Pantanella. From Rome to Milan. From Turin to Rome. Banished by the institutions, they will experience loneliness, abandonment, and the vulnerability of disarray. They will know the meanest face of racism: the one that decrees their invisibility by law and then uncaringly beholds their fate (Curcio, 1991: 87)

Therefore, far from being a result of political unpreparedness, the conditions of abandonment, as effectively highlighted in Clara Gallini's postface to Curcio's book, became institutionalised and crucial to the racialised production of "vulnerable" populations and territories. This institutionalised abandonment appears to underpin the persistent «vulnerability to premature death» (Gilmore, 2007) experienced by racialised populations, encompassing not only physical death but also social death.

Finally, as we approach the end of this three-year period, which Miguel Mellino aptly identifies as a «turning point in national history» (2019), we arrive at 1991 when Italian (white) innocence was again severely tested with the arrival of the Vlora boat, carrying approximately eighteen thousand Albanian citizens affected by the economic and social crisis in the Balkans. Applying the perspective of Sandro Mezzadra (2006), their "right to escape" clashed with their imprisonment in the Bari stadium, which was turned into a vast refugee camp, and with a massive policy of illegalisation, expulsions, and pushbacks. Although footage of these dramatic events occasionally resurfaces in media archives and historical accounts, they often remain confined within a charitable imaginary that obscures their politically destabilising potential. This humanitarian order of discourse persistently reappears and can be seen as a self-assured reflection of the

emergency governance narrative (Caroselli and Mellino, 2018; Fassin, 2018). In this respect, it is helpful to recall a documentary film such as *Anija La Nave* (2012), written and directed by the Albanian-Italian director Roland Sejko, which has the merit of not only recollecting this period but also of interweaving collective and family histories and giving substance, flesh and blood, to the processes of subjectification that went through it. If, for example, the images of the Bari stadium loaded with detainees and the helicopters delivering basic supplies are well known, the fierce clashes with the police, the attempt to escape and the scenes of conflict surrounding the area are much less easily remembered.

Nevertheless, it is unnecessary to delve into distant memories to recognise our collective propensity for oblivion. In the years that affect us most, the rural areas of Southern Italy have served as the backdrop for strikes, racial murders, and super-exploitation. On January 7th, 2010, in Rosarno, the heartland of orange harvesting in the Calabria region, a car opened fire on African farmhands, resulting in the injury of three individuals. This act of violence may have been a punitive expedition due to their failure to pay a 'tax' to the *'ndrangheta*.[6] False reports of four deaths spread throughout the area, fueling tensions and eventually leading to a riot. While not the first incident of its kind, it was undoubtedly the most extensive and destructive. There are accounts of Rosarno residents inciting the police to «shoot at the immigrants». and organising themselves into groups to assist law enforcement in repression operations. The final words of the main character in Joseph Conrad's renowned novel *Heart of Darkness* (1899), Kurt, taken up by Lindqvist's book (1996), come to mind: "Exterminate all the brutes". In the aftermath of Rosarno riot, thousands of farmhands were loaded onto police vans to be rescued from mob squads armed with rifles and gasoline canisters. Within three days, all the black-skinned workers in the Gioia Tauro plain had vanished (Mangano, 2019).

In the same year, between September and October, migrants employed in agricultural labour and construction in Campania organised a series of protests at the roundabouts of Caserta's County roads. Protesters displayed placards with slogans such as «Today I'm not working for less than 50€! Today I'm on strike! Ajourd'hui je fais la grève!». This strike, one of the first against the exploitative system known as *caporalato*,[7] shed light on the

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[6] The local mob organisation.
[7] Within the *caporalato* system, farmers outsource to the *caporali* the recruitment, transport, and control of workers in the farmland. *Caporali* enrol the workers for their daily gig, bring them to the field, and in some cases provides them with information or access to housing in informal settlements. The c*aporali* bargain the tasks and payment with farmers and get paid for the whole team. They are responsible for the output of the

recruitment practices in the agricultural sector, that is: Queuing up at the *rotonde* of Castel Volturno or Cancello from the early hours of the morning; waiting for the *caporale* to arbitrarily select who would work and who would not, all while earning a meager wage. Refusing to participate in this system meant facing famine. Additionally, our recollection extends further to include the strike in the town of Nardò during the summer of 2011, the lockdown of the Anglo-Japanese company "Princes",[8] near the city of Foggia on August 25th, 2016, both in the Puglia region, and the eviction of the so-called Grand Ghetto in the Foggia countryside, which led to the occupation of the city cathedral on October 10th, 2017. Upon closer examination, if we turn our gaze to the past like Klee's Angel described by Benjamin, we can discern a substantial "pile of wreckages", remnants left to stratify from the daily history of struggles undertaken by migrant subjectivities over the past thirty years. What becomes significant is that this history of *migratory conflict stratifications* seemingly does not "exist" and has not sedimented within a collective memory mechanism that keeps these significant moments of struggle and their ongoing effects alive in the country.

Despite its brutality, the countryside is not the sole stage for the deeply rooted racist impulses within Italian society. Cities, often portrayed as bastions of cosmopolitanism, confront us with racial geographies of housing and social segregation, inhabited by an urban and multiracial underclass seldom recognised as a political interlocutor by Italian anti-racist movements. On Sunday, July 9th, 2017, Ibrahim Manneh, an asylum seeker residing in the city of Naples, began experiencing excruciating abdominal pain. However, when he arrived at the hospital, his condition was not recognised as critical. In the eyes of the medical staff, his pain did not warrant further investigation, and he was sent home. Later that evening, as Manneh's pain intensified, his friends grew increasingly concerned about his deteriorating health and repeatedly called for an ambulance that never arrived. In despair, they took to the streets, seeking help. However, a taxi driver refused to pick up Manneh for an urgent trip to the nearest medical facility, and a patrol of Carabinieri[9] officers drove them away. With no assistance forthcoming, his friends had no choice but to carry him on their shoulders to the nearest medical center. Unfortunately, despite being transferred to Loreto Mare hospital, Manneh died a few hours later from

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team and monitor work intensity and quality. Payment and working time are negotiated informally, remuneration is often piece-rate and consistently below the minimum wage, and collective provincial contracts and working time regulations are largely not complied with (Perrotta, 2014).

[8] A canned tomatoes exporter to the United Kingdom, controlled by Mitsubishi.

[9] An Italian corps of law enforcement.

peritonitis.

Another tragic incident occurred in Florence, where was killed Idy Diene, a fifty-three-year-old Senegalese man who had been residing in Italy for twenty years and used to commute daily by train from Pontedera to Florence for work as a hawker in the Oltrarno area. It was the same Florence where, back in 2011, in Piazza Dalmazia, Gianluca Casseri, a sympathiser of the neo-fascist organisation Casa Pound, shot and killed three Senegalese citizens, including Diene's cousin. Seven years later, on March 5th, 2018, Diene himself was fatally shot while walking on the Vespucci Bridge by Roberto Pirrone, a sixty-five-year-old retired typographer. Investigators revealed that Pirrone, armed with a gun, had initially intended to commit suicide but changed his mind along the way. Upon reaching the bridge, he halted and waited, allowing white people to pass before firing multiple shots, three of which struck Diene, the first black person he encountered, leading to his death.

Broadening our perspective, we can observe that Diene's murder occurred within a national context dominated by racist and xenophobic discourse on migration during the election campaign, primarily fuelled by Matteo Salvini, the leader of the right-wing party Lega Nord. Notably, this event took place just over a month after the attempted massacre in Macerata by Luca Traini, a far-right supporter. On the night of Diene's assassination, the outrage and anger of the local Senegalese community erupted throughout the city centre. During the protests, a few decorative flowerpots were knocked over and damaged. The next day, the minor property damage received more attention in the media than the bullets fired, leading to moralising speeches on how to behave in the aftermath of such a situation.

A few days after the murder, a rally took place in the heart of Florence. According to some press agencies, approximately thirty thousand people participated in the march for Idy Diene. Interestingly, no political organisation felt the need to delve deeper into the significance of the rally, and it appears to have generated limited new political networks. In our opinion, the attempt to portray the act of a "retiree shooting a black hawker" as an irrational and isolated effect of restrictive economic policies over the past two decades serves to conceal the racist nature of such violence. However, the unexpected turnout at the rally did compel the City Administration to declare a week-long period of mourning, albeit belatedly. It is worth noting that this decision followed closely after the city mourned the death of the professional football player Davide Astori, as if to emphasise that even in death, skin colour and social class carry their own weight.

Therefore, we propose to consider these dispersed histories as the stratified fragments, the "debris" we mentioned earlier, of the history of migration and anti-racism in Italy. In our view, this history relates to one of the most conflictual sectors of present-day society. Nevertheless, our knowledge barely scratches the surface of a vast universe of daily dehumanisation and conflict, often addressed by the white left as unexpected and decontextualised. In contrast to the early stages of the anti-racist, or perhaps more accurately, "pro-immigrant," movement (Della Porta, 2019), which, through its demands, managed to drive some legislative initiatives at the national level, all the episodes we have recounted, stratified over the past thirty years, have failed to generate more than sporadic shifts in public opinion among white left-wing organisations – whether parliamentary, grassroots, or civic associations. This is evident in the hesitant rhetorical battles over the reform of citizenship laws and the introduction of the principle of *Ius Soli*. Conversely, the "patronage" of left-wing parties and trade unions, the involvement of the Church, the strong presence of the third sector in implementing integration policies, and the notably weak position of migrant community representatives have characterised pro-immigrant mobilisations in Italy (Della Porta, 1999). From our standing point, it is precisely such a *history-less* and, as we shall see, *subject-less* feature, which still shackles a part of Italian anti-racism to a paternalistic and infantilising order of discourse, exposing one of its fundamental limits: The anti-racist movement in Italy was not constituted around the historical legacy of anti-colonial and anti-segregationist struggles. On the contrary, it was born out of a charitable spirit, at best welfarist, today we would say humanitarian, focused more on the "migratory question", linked in double-strand to the "right to escape", and the right to movement, than on the postcolonial question raised by citizenship.

A (white) anti-racism without a subject. An eternal repetition of the emergency

As pointedly suggested by Michele Colucci's book, *Storia dell'immigrazione straniera in Italia* (2018), those recollected stories indeed show the discovery of the phenomenon of immigration in a society until then accustomed to thinking of itself as a country of emigration. However, they reveal something more subterranean. On the one hand, they speak to our present, inviting us not to categorise racist violence as episodic or contingent. On the other hand, they force us to ask new questions about National History and to consider racism, as Foucault suggests in *Society Must Be Defended* (2005), as an institutional technology of production implicated in the production of European territories and populations.

Ultimately, in line with our suggestion, such stories, even when acknowledged by mainstream anti-racist discourse, are articulated so that the "subject of decoding" (Hall, 1973), to whom they are addressed is constantly at risk of perceiving them as de-subjectified. They become objects of an exclusively compassionate gaze in a pervasive form of miserabilism. In opening a dialogue or inquiry "into the subjects of cultural identity and representation", Hall reminds us, «it is clear that the writing self will also have to be 'enunciated'. We all always write and speak from a particular time and place, from a specific history and culture. What we say is always "in situation", positioned» (Hall, 1990: 244).

Observing the Italian white anti-racism "in situation", we notice an uncritical habit of taking the floor on behalf of others, appropriating the «cause of the other», as Jacques Rancière puts it:

> The primary meaning of the cause of the other is the rejection of identification with a certain self. It is the production of a people different from the people seen, named, and considered by the state, a people defined by the manifestation of a wrong done to the constitution of the commune and constructing from itself another space of community. A political subjectification always implies a "discourse of the other" (1998: 29)

Most of the time, exposure to this narrative inspires mere moral indignation, sorrow for what happens to the other, and impotent hatred of those who perpetrate violence. Moreover, Rancière suggests that «it often produces a feeling of security for not being in the shoes of others and, at times, irritation at those who indiscreetly remind us of the existence of suffering. Fear and pity are not political feelings» (1998: 28). Even in the cases we have brought to attention, it was not "the sun of torture" that cast light on "all countries", as Jean-Paul Sartre writes in the Preface of Frantz Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth* (1963: 30), «on the contrary, it was invisibility, removal», produced by the authorised powers (Rancière 1998: 28).

Yet, one of the most problematic areas where these dimensions forcefully emerge is in the ritual re-presentation of the "new subject", a way of focusing attention to the centrality of racism whenever we encounter the initiatives of marginalised sectors of society, particularly the racialised underclass that is often silenced. This way of presenting events simultaneously conceals and reveals the absence of historical depth reserved for these subjects. Similar to the perpetual present of postmodernity's advertising, this eternal repetition of sameness erases the decades-long struggle of migrant subjectivities and their descendants in this

country from collective (white) memory. Much like the protagonist in Christopher Nolan's renowned film "Memento" (2001), we awaken each day, resetting our memories, and continue to perceive ourselves as residing in a place of recent immigration, awaiting the next event. Although removed in the collective (white) memory, the "counter-offensives" to the violence of systemic racism allow us not only to build a historical trace that gives genealogical depth to the most recent events but can prompt us to interrogate our more distant past in the light of a decentralised gaze. A gaze that knows how to look from the margins to rediscover that white and censored chapter of our collective national unconscious, as Lacan puts it.

While it is undeniable that the ritual re-presentation of the "new subject" is nothing more than another symptom of *white amnesia*,[10] it is equally important to emphasise how a remarkable change in Italian social composition has now taken form. A change that could be useful to analyse by drawing on the historical archive of global anti-racism. In Italian cities, we can now look at the younger generations of Black Italians and, more generally, of foreign descent, often bringing new forms of urban struggles alongside with their White peers. They express styles, languages and claims ill-suited to the stringent ideological framework with which such phenomena are often deciphered. In this regard, it may be helpful to recall the words that Tony, the main character of the film *Pressure,* directed by Ové (1972), addressed to his older brother's friends. They were reproaching him for being too "British", having been born in the UK.

> Look, mate, why do you think I have an easier time? It's because I was born here? As far as I'm concerned, you have an easier time. When things start getting rough, you got somewhere to go back to. (…) You've got the dream to fall back on of sun, sea and palm trees. What have I got? Office blocks. Right? So I've got to stay here and survive. You know, fight to survive.

Even considering temporal and cultural distances, this seems an appropriate framework to reflect on phenomena marked by the growing media exposure of musical genres such as rap and, especially in the present-day, trap. These are modalities through which is expressed, today, what Pietro Saitta has pointedly called a *Violent Hope* (2023), marked in large part by narratives of material deprivation and the aspiration for a disrespectable social rise. Paraphrasing a famous definition by Stuart Hall (1996), we might say that in this case, the style and imagery conveyed by rap and trap music are increasingly configured as the modality through which class and

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[10] As Rancière suggests, it seems more productive to think of these episodes in terms of "amnesia" and measure the long-term extent of this amnesia in our present.

race are lived, the medium through which they are experienced and the form in which they are appropriated and "fought through". Without delving into the description of a highly complex scene (Bertoni and De Vidovich, 2022), it is essential to emphasise how the process of criminalisation of rap and trap music is profoundly linked to the emergence of an imagery played out on the themes of urban violence and lawlessness.

It is no accident that this imagery is acted out by "second-generation kids" or, in any case, by young people who, in their aesthetics, style and references, evoke a symbolic and *underclass* threat to the social and economic order (Molinari and Borreani, 2021). Put in another way, they reveal the reality of the social and economic order, as experienced from the margins and interstices of the urban hierarchy, where the possibility of material gain and the values of "street culture" (Bourgois, 2005) offer a more fitting meaning than any 'civic' rhetoric (Saitta, 2023). Such "explicit, unmediated and spontaneous conflictuality" (Sarti, 2023) is now emerging as another of those layers of conflict too often ignored for not belonging to the usual canons of the (white) 'political' sphere.

Conclusions. A stratified nostalgia.

This short essay aimed to trace a local genealogy of anti-racist struggles that have transformed Italy's social and political landscape. This trace can be explored through various perspectives, including oral history (Portelli, 2017) and the anthropology of memory (Halbwachs, 2001). Despite the tendency to reduce these conflicts to a symbolic dimension (Frisina and Ghebremariam Tesfaù, 2022), it is crucial to demonstrate how the history of Italian anti-racism has consistently intertwined with all political dimensions. In this sense, the concept of *migratory stratifications* allows us to understand the transformations of political conflict, which evolve alongside the social and cultural conditions of migrant and post-migrant generations who continuously reshape Italian citizenship and its boundaries of inclusion (Carbone et al., 2018). However, despite the evident influence of Black Atlantic tradition in the lexicon used (Gilroy, 2003), the translation of these concepts in the Italian social science debate often remains superficial and limited to discursive practices that do not challenge the gaze and analytical approaches to socio-historical conflicts. Consequently, there is a risk of engaging in mere rhetorical restyling, where analytical tools become formulaic and fail to delve into the postcolonial fractures of Italian society.

The need for an "epistemological break" becomes even more essential in our current historical moment. According to Enzo Traverso's perspective (2016), the fall of the Berlin Wall and the presumed "end of

history" have left a lingering wound in the collective imagination of revolutionary movements. This wound, which never fully healed, allows us to grasp the deeper meaning behind the proliferation of works marked by nostalgic tones, where the desired object persists as an irretrievable loss in the present. Lost in the ashes of history is the messianic confidence in the future and in an inevitable victory, which was once present despite numerous defeats: it facilitated the sublimation of the memory of the vanquished into the certainty of their redemption. The Covid-19 pandemic has seemingly exacerbated and intensified this feeling of existential bewilderment, where lives struggle to envision a future free from dystopias, catastrophes, and isolation.[11]

However, the feeling of a lost future and the subsequent introspective retreat can serve as the necessary space for an interrogation of the "self". As it is indicated in the citation in the exergue of this article, it can promotes a new genealogy of the modernity, where "the universal claim of a dialectical logic, which seeks to uphold the singular sovereignty of the subject, of the nation and of history itself, falters as its philosophical home is pushed beyond safe coordinates" (Chambers, 2018: 3). This landscape of debris can also be the place for a particular, "postcolonial", nostalgia. It not only encompasses shattered hopes from national liberation struggles but also urges us to question the possibilities of an encounter that never fully materialised, marked by stratified misunderstandings. Enzo Traverso encapsulates this missed dialogue in the encounter between T.W. Adorno and C.R.L. James, who, despite their meeting in New York, fail to move beyond a surface impression (possibly betraying the colonial unconscious of Frankfurt's critical theory). We must ask ourselves what remains of this encounter today and to what extent we continue to miss it, remaining trapped in a shallow discourse that avoids questioning our epistemic horizons.

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[11] Such a future loss emerges strongly in the Italian scenario. As pointed out by Pietro Saitta (2023: 19-20) basing his analysis on a recent Istat report: In this regard, the first observation to be made is that the prevalence of bad jobs, the shrinking prospects for social mobility, the emergence on a national basis of a new urban issue centered on the conditions of the inner cities, the coming of second generations to early adulthood, the possibilities offered by new digital media, the spread of an entrepreneurial culture focused on informality (such also because it often has as its object goods, services and digital channels whose regulation is low or difficult to implement) and the crisis of youth political practice, all operate together in spreading generational perceptions of a primarily negative nature about present and future prospects. This often happens beyond class affiliations and objective prospects, as confirmed by a recent and bleak report by Istat.

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CHAPTER 2

MIGRATORY STRATIFICATION IN PRISON. AN OVERVIEW OF THE ITALIAN CONTEXT[1]

Alesandro Maculan[2] and Luca Sterchele[3]

Introduction

In this chapter, we aim to challenge the concept of "migratory stratifications" as outlined by the editors in the introduction to this book – the sedimentation and overlap of various migratory moments persisting within the same social context – as Della Puppa, Sanò, and Storato conceptualized in the introduction of this book –, concerning the dynamics and flows that have characterized the Italian penitentiary system over the last 30 years (Colucci, 2018). This undertaking does not merely entail a thorough examination to test the concept's validity at a specific, situated level, presumed to possess exceptional characteristics compared to other social and institutional contexts. Instead, building on previous studies that have shaped the trajectory of Critical Prison Studies (see Sbraccia and Vianello, 2016), this contribution regards the prison as a perspective angle, an observation point from which to examine the processes affecting the incarcerated population beyond confinement, where these processes often undergo significant solidification.

In this regard, delving into the prison milieu involves interrogating the selective articulation of processes of criminalization toward the migrant population. This includes considering historical structures of migratory settlements in the country, migrants' integration into legal, informal, and illegal labor markets (De Giorgi, 2010), waves of "moral panic" (Cohen, 1972) affecting certain migrant subjectivities and communities, as well as forms of institutional support (or lack thereof) extended to them, among other factors.

Moreover, as noted by other scholars, the prison has immediately

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[1] This contribution is the result of the authors' shared reflections. More specifically, chapters 2, 3, 5 are attributed to Alessandro Maculan. To Luca Sterchele chapters 1 and 4.
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assumed a central role – both symbolically and materially – in the life trajectories of migrants. To such an extent that it could be identified as perhaps the first multicultural institution in Italy, or as termed by those working within it, a genuine "laboratory of multiculturalism" (Sbraccia, 2020; 2007).

Therefore, the chapter aims to offer an overarching view of the more or less stable flows characterizing the influx of foreigners into the prison system in recent years. While the presence of migrants in prisons began to assume significant proportions since the early 1990s, the quantitative reconstruction outlined here will focus on their presence since 2007, when data on the number of foreign prisoners categorized by nationality was first collected, systematized, and published by the Italian Ministry of Justice. This will enable us to provide a series of "snapshots" illustrating the sedimentation and overlapping of different phases of foreign presence in prisons – phases continuously evolving in tandem with changes in the broader social context.

The substantial influx of foreign prisoners into the country's penal institutions since the 1990s, particularly those located in the North and Center, necessitated a comprehensive redefinition of strategies and practices for managing the incarcerated population by prison staff. This was driven by both the specific needs presented by this new demographic in terms of daily routines and a perceived inadequacy of the formal and informal regulatory frameworks governing everyday prison life (Sbraccia and Vianello, 2020). Far from merely posing managerial challenges for prison operators, the selective processes of criminalization and incarceration towards migrants also required prisoners themselves to adapt to the evolution of what was becoming a 'multicultural prison' (Sbraccia, 2020; 2011).

Furthermore, the analysis of official data will be complemented by qualitative observations to delve deeper into how the prison has transformed in response to this anthropological shift, particularly in terms of internal spatial organization. Indeed, this was soon structured through the subdivision of infra-mural spaces along lines of selective fragmentation, including the creation of "ethnicized wings" that gradually established differential detention regimes for prisoners of various nationalities and geographical origins, thereby configuring vastly different experiences of imprisonment.

The migrants' over-representation in the Italian prison system

On May 31, 2023, the prison population within the Italian prison system was 57,230 individuals. Among them, 17,902 were foreign citizens, accounting for 31.3% of the total[1] (with 741 foreign female prisoners, constituting 4.14% of the foreign population in prison). These figures immediately draw attention due to the evident over-representation of the foreign incarcerated component, especially when considering that the foreign resident population in Italy on January 1, 2023, was just over 8.5%[2]. However, these statistics should not come as much of a surprise. Since the early 1990s, the number of foreign prisoners has consistently been high, leading to a "process of replacement[3] of about a third of the prisoner population that occurred within a five-year period and then stabilized to the present day" (Sbraccia, 2016: 63).

How, then, should these data be interpreted? The hypothesis – not widely embraced in the scientific discourse on these matters but certainly more appealing in common sense discussions – that the over-representation of migrants in Italian penal institutions serves as a reliable indicator of their inclination to commit criminal acts cannot be considered (cf. Ferraris, 2012). As pointed out by Sellin (1951), the farther one moves away from the offense committed, the more unreliable the data becomes (cf. Kitsuse and Cicourel, 1963).

The critical criminological approach (cf. Baratta, 1982) that underlies the interpretation of the phenomenon in this essay leads us to pay considerable attention not so much to the concept of crime as to the processes of criminalization that have been affecting foreign citizens in Italy and Europe for several decades (cf. Palidda, 2011; Barker, 2012). By focusing on criminalization processes, we aim to examine the prison system, particularly the composition of the prison population, as the outcome of specific selective processes (cf. Sbraccia and Vianello, 2010). In recent decades, these processes have predominantly targeted individuals in the lower echelons of the social hierarchy due to a shift in the control and management of social marginality from the institutions of the welfare state to those of the penal state (cf. Wacquant, 2009).

These criminalization processes operate on different levels. They begin

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[1] Data provided by the Italian Ministry of Justice (www.giustizia.it).
[2] Data provided by the Italian national institute of statistics (ISTAT; www.istat.it).
[3] The substitution process has not only occurred within prisons but has also extended beyond them. As highlighted by Sbraccia (2015), the replacement of native workers with migrant workers has been a characteristic feature in various occupational sectors, including construction, agriculture, domestic work, and other areas. This trend is not confined to legal employment but also extends to illegal activities.

with normative productions that penalize migrants based on their legal status (cfr. Santoro, 2010; Melossi, 2015). The processes then extend to the activities of the police, who follow specific criminal policy guidelines in identifying specific areas to be monitored and individuals to be controlled, among other actions (cf. Palidda, 1999; Melossi, 2008; Fabini, 2023). Furthermore, the functioning of criminal justice system operators plays a role in these processes (cfr. Quassoli, 1999; Campesi, 2003; Mosconi and Paduan, 2005). As highlighted by Fabini and colleagues (2022), when considering the criminalization of migrants, it is crucial to acknowledge its deep intertwining with the dynamics of precariousness and subordinate inclusion in local economies (De Giorgi, 2010). In Italy, these dynamics contribute to ensuring the survival of its economic system. Additionally, the process of criminalizing migrants is reinforced by the frames of meaning provided by social representations conveyed through the media, which often depict migrants as illegal immigrants, delinquents, or subjects to be expelled (Maneri, 2011)[4].

In essence, examining the composition of the foreign prisoner population in the Italian prison system concerning their countries of origin requires an acknowledgment that, while the involvement of many foreigners in illegal economies is undeniable[5], the activities of control agencies and repressive apparatuses are never neutral but inherently selective (Sbraccia and Vianello, 2017). Furthermore, selectivity extends beyond the entry flow into Italian prisons to encompass the exit flow. Foreign citizens encounter greater difficulty accessing alternative measures to prison compared to natives. This is influenced by both informal operational logics within the penal field (see Torrente, 2014) and specific regulatory provisions that restrict or exclude access to such measures for certain crimes primarily charged against migrants (Braude et al., 2023). This dynamic may elucidate the over-representation of foreign prisoners with a remaining sentence of less than one year (constituting 42.02% of the total), who, in theory, would be formally within the legal time limits to serve their remaining sentence through an alternative to prison (cfr. Associazione Antigone, 2023).

Regarding the foreign prison population, the annual report on detention

[4] In this context and concerning the latest waves of criminalization of migrants in Italy, it is pertinent to refer to the work of Braude, Fava, and Traylor (2023) on the criminalization of the so-called "scafisti" (smugglers) and the impacts of Decree Law 20/2023, commonly known as the "Cutro Decree", on "Urgent provisions on the flow of legal entry of foreign workers and the prevention of and fight against irregular immigration."

[5] It is important to note, however, that many migrants often hold the least qualified positions within criminal organizations. This places them at a higher risk of social control and, consequently, increases the likelihood of their arrest and conviction (Sbraccia, 2015).

conditions in Italy by the Antigone Association highlights that this group is significantly younger than the native population and is typically sentenced for less serious offenses, resulting in shorter sentences (only 16.6% with a remaining sentence of more than 20 years, and 6.6% serving life sentences). Foreign prisoners are more prevalent among those in pre-trial detention (33.7%), particularly among those awaiting trial (35%), while they are underrepresented among individuals with a final sentence (30.2%). Furthermore, it is crucial to emphasize that the rate of foreign prisoners in Italian prisons is on a decline. In 2023, they constituted just over 31% of the total prison population, whereas in 2011, the rate was over 36%. Additionally, their detention rate, calculated based on the total number of foreigners resident in Italy, is also decreasing—from 0.71% in 2008 to 0.33% in 2021.

Migratory stratification in prison

Within the Italian prison system, there are currently approximately 130 different nationalities represented. Some of these nationalities are present in very small numbers, while others are significantly more numerous. Figure 1 illustrates the foreign composition in Italian prisons over the last fifteen years, focusing on the eight main nationalities present. The percentages provided are calculated in relation to the total number of foreign prisoners and include Morocco, Romenia, Albania, Tunisia, Algeria, Egypt, Nigeria, and Gambia.

Morocco consistently represents the largest foreign nationality within Italian prisons, maintaining a presence between 16% and 22% over the last 15 years. Following closely, with values ranging between 10% and 16% depending on the year, are prisoners of Romenian, Albanian, and Tunisian nationality. While Algerian was the fifth most prevalent nationality in prison in 2007, its presence has steadily declined over the years. Starting in 2015, the Nigerian presence has grown, reaching almost 7% of foreigners in prison in 2023. Egyptians and Gambians constitute between 2% and 4% of the foreign prison population, with a slight increase, particularly in the last ten years, albeit with some slowing down.

It is important to note that commenting on the more or less significant fluctuations in the detention rates of the considered national communities is not straightforward. The period from 2008 to 2023 is relatively short for capturing substantial variations, often spanning longer timeframes. It is crucial to emphasize that a multitude of factors contributes to the construction of these rates, and these factors must be taken into consideration.

Figure 1. Percentage of foreign prisoners by nationality out of the total number of foreigners imprisoned
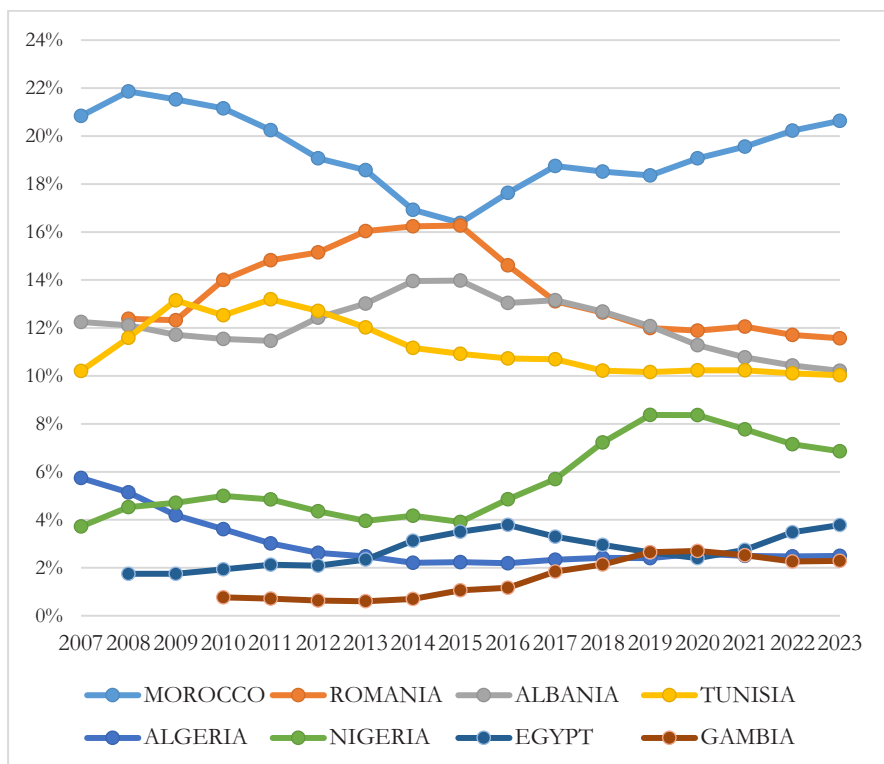
These factors encompass the nature of migratory flows, considering both their quantitative and qualitative aspects, including their composition by gender and age, as well as their annual growth or decline. Additionally, the features of migratory networks and their connections with legal, informal, and illegal economies play a significant role. At the juridical level, the influence of national and international laws and regulations on shaping migratory flows to Italy and the subsequent criminalization processes leading to incarceration should be considered. From a penal standpoint, aspects such as the prisoners' legal status (e.g., individuals on remand or serving final sentences), the type and duration of sentences, and their access to alternative measures to prison are critical. Moreover, at the social level, attention must be given to processes that define specific social groups as subjects of intense social control through securitarian policies and waves of "moral panic" (cfr. Cohen, 1972; Dal Lago, 1999; Firouzi, 2014). This intricate set of factors calls for in-depth exploration through specific studies focusing on the different nationalities incarcerated.

Table 1. 31 December 2021

	% Of foreigners incarcerated (on the foreign population in prison)	% Of foreigners resident in Italy (on the foreign population)	Number of foreigners imprisoned	Number of foreigner resident in Italy	Incarceration rate per 100,000 inhabitants (on each of the national community)
MOROCCO	19,56%	8,35%	3.333	420.172	**793**
RomeNIA	12,05%	21,54%	2.054	1.083.771	**190**
ALBANIA	10,77%	8,35%	1.836	419.987	**437**
TUNISIA	10,23%	1,97%	1.744	99.002	**1.762**
NIGERIA	7,77%	2,37%	1.324	119.435	**1.109**
EGYPT	2,75%	2,79%	468	140.332	**333**
GAMBIA	2,52%	0,43%	430	21.826	**1.970**
ALGERIA	2,49%	0,36%	425	17.998	**2.361**

Another interesting indicator to consider is the incarceration rate per 100,000 inhabitants, providing insight into how extensively the tool of detention is employed within states or specific national communities. As illustrated in the table, the nationalities most prevalent in the Italian prison system significantly surpass Italy's overall detention rate, which stood at 93 prisoners per 100,000 inhabitants in 2022. This observation aligns with the previously discussed over-representation of foreign prisoners.

Examining Table 1 allows us to understand how this over-representation varies among different nationalities and prompts us to propose some interpretative hypotheses. A notable finding is the comparatively low incarceration rate of Romenian citizens compared to other countries. It is plausible to assume that the criminalization process for Romenians may be more contained since they are EU citizens and therefore less susceptible to the risk of legal irregularity faced by others. Conversely, the higher incarceration rates among Algerians, Gambians, Tunisians, Nigerians, and Moroccans indicate, on one hand, a selective criminalization process that follows the color line (Du Bois, 2010; Maculan, 2014; Sbraccia and Vianello, 2020). On the other hand, these rates suggest their involvement in specific illegal markets. However, as previously noted, their presence often resides in the lower echelons of these economies, exposing them more to visibility and thus to social control (Sbraccia, 2016).

Ethnic circuits: governmental strategies in prisons' daily life

Looking inside the contemporary prison, additional facets of the phenomenon of migratory stratification become apparent. While on one

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hand, Italian prisons have assumed a multicultural character since the 1990s, on the other hand, the internal organization of these spaces soon adopted a spatial fragmentation that simplified this heterogeneity. Prison spaces began to be divided into areas of relative homogeneity based on the national origin of the inmates, with the establishment of detention wings more or less explicitly designated along ethnic lines (see Sbraccia, 2012). Thus, considering the quantitative framework outlined earlier, the importance of differential spatial allocation of subjectivities within various prison areas in analyzing migratory stratifications within the prison environment becomes immediately evident. Indeed, several Italian prisons exhibit an informal subdivision of detention spaces explicitly categorized "on an ethnic basis". In this context, prison spaces develop along a somewhat defined color line (Du Bois, 2010; Sbraccia, 2012), resulting in a qualitatively significant effect of spatial segmentation (Sbraccia, 2011; Pulino, Sbraccia, and Verdolini, 2018). Strategies for subdividing the prison population manifest in some cases with explicit clarity, while in others, the contours remain blurred and uncertain, consistent with the concept of "prison individualism" (Buffa, 2013), according to which "every prison is a world in itself".

The following ethnographic note, written by one of us during a period of observation in a prison in northern Italy, vividly exemplifies the mechanism described:

> I descend to the second floor, where I meet the officer in charge who explains the organization of the sections: "In Wing A, they are mixed; there are all ethnic groups: Italians, Maghrebians... In Wing B, there are four ethnic groups: Maghrebis, Nigerians, Pakistanis, and Zambians". I notice that the cells in Wing B are currently closed, while in Wing A they are open. The officer informs me that this is because Wing B encountered problems during meal distribution due to the general "problematic" nature of the prisoners there, while those in Wing A are generally more disciplined. I enter Wing A and proceed down the corridor. A prisoner invites me to see his cell, which appears very clean and tidy. Glancing out of the window, I notice double fences. Despite this, the man remarks that "the view is good; at least it overlooks the football field". The inspector confirms, referring to the wing, that 'this is the best, the quietest". Shortly afterward, I enter Wing B. The atmosphere is markedly different: there is considerable commotion, and as I walk toward the end of the corridor, a young Maghrebi prisoner catches my eye and remarks: 'Welcome to the other world'. As we leave the wing, another prisoner in his 40s,

nearly toothless, halts us, indicating that the boy standing nearby is underage and should not be there. Wings 2C and 2D appear relatively calm. Another officer, a young man, informs me that only European detainees are housed there. The head officer confirms, adding that 'there are no Maghrebi detainees here; the few that are, have converted to Christianity'. I inquire about any sub-Saharan prisoners, but the young officer responds, "No, there are no Africans here; they are on the upper floor. Here, we only have Italians, Albanians, Romanians..." (Ethnographic Diary, Zobeide Prison, 2018)

In analyzing the dynamics of ethnic subdivision of the prison population described in the field note, the notion of a "prison circuit" assumes analytical significance. This concept appears particularly salient in studying the prison in relation to its constituent spaces and the strategies employed for its management. As Santorso and Vianello (2017) elucidate, the term "circuit", originating in the early 1990s in reference to social and penitentiary dangers posed by crime and affiliation with specific criminal entities (high-security circuits), has progressively broadened to encompass cases where the specific needs of a detained minority necessitate differentiated regimes (e.g., attenuated custody, with the establishment of special institutes for mothers with children in tow) or the provision of specific treatment activities (therapeutic programs dedicated to drug-addicted prisoners) (Santorso and Vianello, 2017: 7). The authors acknowledge the often informal and unstable nature of these areas, highlighting their profound ambivalence. They underscore how "the 'circuit' is not solely the legally defined practice of distributing prisoners based on security level or safety concerns but also an informal set of decisions and opportunities for managing resources and spaces emanating from both prison administrators and the prisoners themselves. While circuiting processes are portrayed as a direct result of formal prison organization, an attempt to control and simplify the social and demographic complexity of prisoners to ensure more effective management, they simultaneously describe a reality where prisoners themselves, in response to the material deprivation of prison life and/or through socio-cultural affinities, autonomously foster processes and practices of differentiation (based, for instance, on geographical origin or involvement in illegal economies)" (Santorso and Vianello, 2017, pp. 8-9).

This specific institutional strategy, notwithstanding its often informal nature, is primarily justified through two main rationales: firstly, the subdivision of wings "on the basis of ethnicity" is portrayed by staff as an attempt to meet prisoners' demands, who prefer to share their daily

detention life with compatriots due to the horizontal solidarity that would be guaranteed by shared geographical origin (Sbraccia and Vianello, 2020). Secondly, the "ethnic circuit" purportedly facilitates the pursuit of order and security objectives, fundamental to institutional functioning. Security concerns particularly revolve around the transposition of external conflicts into the prison environment, reflecting tensions stemming from competition over sectors of criminal economies among different national groups, thereby reproducing segmentation observed in urban contexts (Santorso, 2016).

However, this strategy, often coupled with a superficial understanding of various aspects concerning the prison population, fosters a separation mechanism driven not only by criminological considerations but also by simplistic cultural stereotypes associating more or less desirable attributes with different national groups. In this context, autochthonous prisoners are generally perceived as more "reliable" and "adaptable" to the institutional context, displaying a greater capacity to "serve their time" (Kalica and Santorso, 2018) and, consequently, enjoying greater facilities based on the reward/sanction regime governing everyday detention since the enactment of the Gozzini Law in 1986.

> The prison population is divided between the two buildings comprising the prison: 200 prisoners are in the "new building", opened in 2014, while others are housed in the "old building", dating back to the early 1990s. The privileged nature of the "new building" is evident: the prison director explicitly informs me that this space accommodates only "non-problematic prisoners", or as she emphasizes, "the least problematic ones". Indeed, during the day, a healthcare worker at the prison confirms this criterion of subdivision: "Prisoners are transferred from the old building to the new one as a reward for their behavior... Consequently, some are transferred from the new to the old..." (Ethnographic Diary, Ipazia Prison, 2018)

Even the segment of prisoners from Eastern Europe, as we have seen, is generally regarded as "less problematic" today. They are often assigned to sections that, while not explicitly designed as "rewarding," nonetheless afford a relatively better quality of daily life. This is attributed to access to valuable resources such as work opportunities, training courses, and contact with external realities (Sbraccia and Vianello, 2020). Conversely, individuals from the African continent are often relegated to so-called "ghetto sections" (Sterchele, 2021; Sbraccia, 2017), areas marked by pronounced social and material deprivation.

The subdivision of prison areas thus unequivocally follows a color line (DuBois, 2010; Sbraccia, 2012). It's evident how a circuiting mechanism of this nature, albeit aimed at ensuring debatable security criteria, inevitably leads to the spatial concentration of prison population components associated with extreme poverty, thereby creating zones of «marginality within prison marginality» (Sbraccia, 2015: 68). This mechanism of "ethnic circuiting" results in a deep segmentation within the socio-spatial fabric of the penitentiary. By promoting precise processes of racialization of the social space, it leads to a selective intensification of disciplinary and surveillance techniques and a corresponding tightening of the regime of daily deprivation for certain prisoners' subjectivities.

In regard to these dynamics, Chantraine et al. (2012) underscore how control functions within the prison are precisely articulated around this fragmentation of spaces. They highlight the interactional modalities through which various professional groups operating within the prison negotiate reciprocal influence on these areas. According to the authors, the institutional order is not only a result of the calculated distribution of the prison population across different areas but also of continuous bargaining practices among the various professional groups operating within.

The Chief prison officer explains the characteristics of the "drug-addict section", which appears crowded with inmates mainly from the Maghreb area undergoing methadone substitution therapy. He states:

> We find it very difficult to place other people in that section... because they do not want to go there." When asked why, the director responds, "That is not a good environment: there are self- and hetero-aggressive individuals, they engage in self-harm... it is difficult to coexist. (Ethnographic Diary, Prison of Zobeide, 2017)

As Seddon (2007) argues, the management strategies implemented by the administration stem from a series of 'dividing practices', representing "political strategies which categorise, separate, normalise and institutionalise populations. An understanding of these practices thus goes to the heart of any analysis of how human conduct is governed" (ivi: 158). These categories and their attributions are not inherently predetermined but result from social and cultural processes within the prison's moral environment (Kauffman, 1988), thereby intertwining with the securitarian elements inherent in the institution (Maculan and Sterchele, 2022). Seddon further asserts, citing McCallum (2001), that «the categories that underpin these divisions are not fixed or naturally occurring phenomena. Rather, these categories of person are created or "made up", and become known in order to be governed (McCallum, 2001: 36). The categories, and the

knowledges and discourses within which they are articulated, are thus tools for the exercise of governmental power over the conduct of individuals» (Seddon, 2007: 159).

These classification processes inspire the spatial reallocation of the subjectivities they invest, facilitating their movement within well-defined areas that «ensure fixation and allow circulation» (Foucault, 1977). Thus configured, the practices of spatial decomposition of prison space constitute a central element in the governance strategies of the prison population. On one hand, they enable a deeper understanding of the individuals assigned to these areas, leading to intensified control over the risks and problems they may present. On the other hand, they facilitate the application of the reward mechanism described earlier, leveraging the constant possibility of moving prisoners to sections considered more or less desirable depending on their cooperative behavior.

Concluding remarks

With this contribution, we have aimed to take the initial steps toward interpreting migratory stratification within the prison context. This perspective, emerging from the field of migration studies, holds the potential to make a significant contribution to the broader field of prison studies.

The course of study outlined in these pages has brought to light two facets that warrant further investigation. The first pertains to the intricate processes contributing to the construction of detention rates for different nationalities, encompassing both the characteristics of migratory flows and the criminalization processes affecting migrants of various nationalities. The second focuses on the repercussions of this stratification within prisons, particularly concerning organizational and relational dynamics. These dynamics have profound effects on the everyday life of prisons, impacting not only the prison population but also the experiences of the prison staff. Further research is needed to delve into these aspects and gain a deeper understanding of their complexities.

Examining the prison through the lens of migratory stratifications involves understanding the quantitative dimensions that characterize the institution. Thus, it is necessary to understand the dimensions and characteristics of the phenomenon. Starting from these – albeit with the limitations we have already underlined in having partial official data at our disposal – we believe that exploring this theme from a qualitative point of view has a very important function. This qualitative exploration is not only relevant for studying criminalization processes, especially concerning the role of social control agencies, but it also plays a crucial role in understanding the everyday life in the multicultural prison. The multicultural prison needs to be studied in terms of its management, organization, and changes. Additionally, examining the strategies of adaptation and resistance practiced by detained individuals of different nationalities sheds light on their everyday relationships characterized by a mix of collaboration, cohabitation, and conflict. Qualitative research in these areas can provide valuable insights into the lived experiences within the prison, contributing to a more comprehensive understanding of the multifaceted dynamics at play.

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SECTION 2

GENDER AND GENERATION

CHAPTER 3

MIGRATORY STRATIFICATIONS AND SOCIAL AGEING.
DISENTANGLING CHANGE IN A TUNISIAN COMMUNITY
IN ITALY

Andrea Calabretta[1] and Vincenzo Romenia[2]

The contribution of Elias to the comprehension of migratory stratifications

In their pivotal *The Established and the Outsiders* (1994 [1965])*,* Elias and Scotson showed how the eldest members of Winston Parva community, although sharing religion, skin colour, and occupation with newcomers settling in a different town area, tried to maintain their material and symbolic power vis-à-vis the newcomers, accused of not sharing the cultural codes of the original group and of leaning towards deviance. To be considered part of an «old» family, in social and not biological terms, meant for the old residents «a claim to social distinction and superiority» (Elias and Scotson, 1994 [1965]: 151) that fed several strategies of exclusion towards the newcomers, ranging from gossip to refusal of physical contact.

In this sense, the figurational approach and in particular the *established-outsiders* figuration, aimed at overcoming essentialised lectures of social life that objectivate physical and cultural characteristics (Petintseva, 2015), hiding and reiterating the power relations between groups (Loyal, 2011). For this reason, the approach appears particularly useful in migration studies often flawed by the reproduction of essentialised views on ethnic groups (Eve, 2011). On the contrary, for Elias «what one calls "race relations" are simply established-outsider relationships of a particular type» (Elias and Scotson, 1994 [1965]: XXX). Hence, the study of successions and stratifications in a particular social context loses any remaining reductionism as long as, following Elias' lesson, ethnic, cultural, racial or religious differences between groups are conceived as constructed on an underlying power conflict (Bertheleu, 2008).

Not differently from Elias' proposal, the perspective of *migratory*

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stratifications seeks to focus on «the overlapping of different migratory phenomena that, arising from different overlapping epochs, exist in the same withtext» (see: Introduction: 12). Its heuristic value emerges from the possibility to counter the objectivism and reductionism of considering migratory communities as entities. Rather, the perspective of migratory stratification, especially if intended in an Eliasian fashion (see: Introduction), invites to focus on the interdependencies between groups and on the relational nature of the representations of the migratory past of communities and territories.

Methodology

The paper draws on 30 in-depth interviews carried out with Tunisian migrants who arrived in Modena during the 1980s and 1990s and their children, born and/or raised in Italy. The interviewees share a common rootedness in the Modena context and for this reason we labelled them as «established Tunisians». We started the fieldwork by building relations with the main gatekeepers of the Tunisian community (associations' leaders, imams, unionists), then we enlarged our network through the snowball technique, gaining trust of subsequent participants. The study is based on in-depth and unstructured interviews in Italian, in which we invited participants to narrate their biographical journey, allowing us to develop a diachronic perspective in addressing the research question. In addition, four semi-structured interviews with privileged witnesses (two workers of the foreigners' centre, a trade unionist, a former mayor) were used. Once written out verbatim the interviews have been thematically analysed using Atlas.ti. By focusing on the Tunisian community living in the Italian city of Modena, we ask: what was the role of previous migratory stratifications in the settlement of the Tunisian community in Modena? How do the changes in local configurations modify the permeability and representation of migratory stratification for new and old migrants?

Modena: a history of migration

As in other parts of Italy, also in the province of Modena poverty and distress were the ordinary condition for many people at the end of the XIX century, feeding significant emigration movements to Latin America (AA.VV., 2003). It was only after WWII that Modena entered in a new migratory phase thanks to the development of a robust industrial sector. This first economic boom, taking place in the late '40s and in the '50s, called in the city many young men from the rural area of the province, paving the road for a more structured internal migration.

During the '60s, the most important element of Italian mobility ceased to be emigration, surpassed in quantitative terms by internal migrations.

Even in Modena, this decade brought with it significant changes in the economic and demographic landscape. The province experienced a diversification and a consolidation of the industrial production: in Sassuolo the ceramic district expanded, in Carpi several textile factories were set up, and the whole province became associated with the mechanics and automotive industry (Ferrari, Maserati, Goldoni). The growing need of manpower attracted young workers from Southern Italy, especially from Campania, who were generally able to find an occupation within some hours from the arrival in the city (Colucci and Gallo, 2020). However, as many newcomers came from rural areas, the impact of the urban-industrial environment was often critical and many of them suffered from prejudices against southerners, amounting in marginalisation and social exclusion. Despite these shortcomings, the internal migration from Southern Italy to Modena went on and southern workers soon enough fraternised with autochthones in the frame of trade unions' claims and struggles (Bubbico, 2005).

Arrival and settlement of Tunisian migrants in Modena

As Sayad recalls, emigration, considered as a rupture of the social order, needs to be preceded by the crisis of social cohesion in the context of origin (Sayad, 1999). We could extend the same reasoning also to the immigration side, noting that also immigration takes place on the basis of a precedent crisis in the context of arrival.

In the case of Modena, the change that set the ground for the arrival of international immigrants is connected to the gradual transition to a post-Fordist economy and to the expansion of the secondary labour market (Daly and Barot, 1999). In this context, the arrival of a large foreign labour force met the need for a flexible and low-paid workforce that could be more easily bent to the contextual changes of the market (Daly, 2001). The large demand for low-skilled work, no longer satisfied by internal migration, led many Tunisian migrants towards Modena. «When I got my residence permit, I asked the boss if he would make me sign a regular contract. As you know, when you're down [in the South] it's difficult, especially in the countryside… no one hires you legally. Then I decided to go to Northern Italy, I heard there was a lot of industry in Modena, and I came here. I got off the first day and at the train station I found a Moroccan who told me 'If you have the documents you can go directly to the employment office', I went there… and there were tons of jobs!» (Rachid, 59).

As shown by Rachid's example, many Tunisians arrived in Modena in the '80s after a «double passage» (Daly, 2001: 197), as they were previously

employed in the agricultural sector in Southern Italy. This merge of international and internal migration favoured the rapid insertion of the Tunisian community in Modena since most of Tunisian migrants were already socialised to Italy and to Italian language.

However, in the first phase of Tunisian settlement in Modena, the heaviness, riskiness, and precariousness of migrants' occupational insertion coupled with a general climate of mistrust and social exclusion towards the newcomers, that partially reiterated the exclusionary rhetoric previously used against southerners (Daly and Barot, 1999). Maghrebi migrants experienced episodes of intolerance and racism in public places, as bars, or in the workplace and, as the case was with the southerners, found hard to have a proper housing (Daly, 1990). «When I came to Modena in 1990, I saw people sleeping outside, where there is the stadium. I said, "good God, with that cold there they're sleeping outside to work?" Did you understand? Life is hard, not like I thought» (Fadil, 54).

Notwithstanding the reiteration of these issues, the legal and economic situation helped Tunisian integration. Not only the '80s and '90s were characterised by recurrent amnesties that allowed migrants to regularise their administrative position, but soon enough migrant workers were recognised as one of the pillars that sustained Modena's well-being: «there was a need for labour, in short, industry was changing and probably there was no longer enough labour here. [...] Obviously the sons of our entrepreneurs also worked in these companies and [the speech I made to them was:] if you want to keep your companies open and grant a job for your children, you must also help to find houses [for immigrants]» (Valter Reggiani, former mayor of Nonantola). Therefore, local institutions tried to support the socio-economic integration of the needed labour force: «They asked each of us where he was working and sent a letter to the municipality. I was working in Nonantola at the time and there the municipality gave us a bed in a dormitory, in a flat we were four people» (Hamoud, 52). Shortly afterwards, initiatives were also launched to promote the inclusion of foreign communities in the local social and political fabric, for instance creating municipal advisory councils with representatives elected among the immigrant population (Caponio, 2006).

These institutional initiatives, together with the insertion of Tunisian workforce in strongly unionised factories and with the associative density of the Modenese territory, pushed the community to develop their own associations, involved in mutual aid as well as cultural activities «the first association, created in 1988, was called 'Association of Tunisians in Modena and in Emilia-Romegna'. First, we had a football team called 'Tunisian Star' and we had 30 players that we took off the streets. We had

a Tunisian folk music group, and we toured all over northern Italy [...] We used to help with what we could do, help them fill out the application for a residence permit, find a bed for someone when they got sick…» (Mansour, 58).

Finally, in this phase of settlement it is observable a significant interaction between the Tunisian community in the making and previous internal migration flows, especially the Neapolitan-origin dwellers. Several Tunisian newcomers found jobs in Neapolitan firms, especially in the building sector, as they seemed less stringent than Modenese companies with regard to documents, allowing even irregular migrants to work while at the same time postposing their regularisation: «I was passing a *cantiere* and I saw that there was a man there and I realised that he was going to start a job site. And so I started working with him. I started to learn Italian, this guy was from Naples, so he struggled to speak pure Italian, I had to learn a little of his language to communicate. But when I asked, "Giuseppe, will you give me a contract?" he changed the subject, for a whole year it was like that» (Khalil, 54). In this trade-off, it was not uncommon for Campanian entrepreneurs to engage in degrading practices towards the newcomers, as if they wanted to sanction their own trajectory of success through the exercise of power: «After the amnesty, I got the documents and worked for a Modenese company. I worked well, the boss paid me well, without delays, he never offended me; on the other hand, when I was undocumented, and I worked with the people from Caserta they offended me because I didn't understand the language and they even argued a couple of times with my brother» (Kamel, 53). However, in other social situations, the relationship between Tunisians and previous internal migrants seemed more balanced. Episodes of mutual support were cited in the interviews together with experiences of intense conviviality in which the recognition of each other's strangeness from the Modenese context became a basis for commonality: «I played with this amateur football team, the people were almost all Neapolitans... One day we went to Pavullo to play the semi-final…there was this bar with a TV playing English music. I didn't understand so I asked: 'Guys, is English the second language here?'. And they replied: 'Mohamed look, our second language is Italian' and we all started to laugh» (Mohamed, 53).

The rooting of Tunisians in Modena

During the 1990s the first Tunisian community in Modena seemed to exit, at least in part, from its initial condition of marginality and, taking root in the local fabric, offered a more stable landing place for subsequent arrivals, especially in the context of the ever-increasing processes of family reunification.

Part of this process of rooting was the possibility for many Tunisian migrants to stabilise in the local working environment: «Little by little they started to attend the union and there was a phase when we had a lot of North African and then Albanian members. Then, the North African immigrants in the 1990s were already stabilised and in the next decade, before the arrival of new flows, they had often acquired positions of responsibility» (Daniele, CISL trade unionist). However, these workers had to adapt day by day to the changes of a more and more precarious labour market: «Since the early 2000s many North Africans have become artisans, self-employed in construction, not so much by personal choice, but often under pressure from companies. Because the construction sector in recent decades has undergone a process of production decentralisation…a division between excavation, plastering, flooring, plumbing... And enterprises have asked their employees to be craftsmen to reorganise company costs» (ibidem).

Connected to the capacity of first migrants to secure their economic position in Modena was their ability to reunite families. This is observable in the growing quota of female presences (26.7% of the total) and of under 14s (22.5% of the total) part of the Tunisian community in the city of Modena in the mid-2000s (Zacchia Rondinini, 2007: 32). Widening our gaze to the whole province, female presences in the same years appear even more consistent (33%) (ISTAT, 2022), a fact that testifies how the city (in this case Modena) plays the role of first arrival port for newcomers, typically young men. As the number of reunited families grew, community organisations also partly changed their focus and, starting from the end of '90s, began to address the needs of this family environment: «We made our request thanks to a consul and asked for an Arabic language teacher for our children, since the families in Modena were already quite numerous. And the government answered and gave us teachers» (Driss, 56).

The increasing diversification of the Tunisian community also seemed to ward off the risk of community closure. The migrants who settled in Modena came in fact from different areas as the coastal provinces of Sahel, the inland area of Kairouan and the urban context of Tunis. The latter had often better social origins and educational credentials but were still initially engaged in manual labour, levelling their social position over others. Finally, the absence of exclusive residential areas also limited the urban ghettoization of the community. Several Tunisians settled in Sacca and Crocetta, two neighbourhoods previously hosting southern migrants, but many others found accommodations elsewhere in the city or in nearby towns.

The first two decades of Tunisian presence in Modena, ranging more or less from mid-'80s to mid-2000s, appear characterised by an overall process of rooting in the local area. Notwithstanding difficulties and discriminations, many Tunisian workers and their families seemed capable to draw successful migratory careers (Martiniello and Rea, 2014) and to begin a process of *establishment* in the local community side by side with other international and internal migrants. In this sense, the presence of a significant migratory stratification in Modena proved quite useful for the first Tunisian migrants arriving in the city as they moved in an environment partially equipped to receive new labour flows (i.e. in terms of functioning of the employment centres and of the ability of trade unions to intercept newcomers) and where process of «ecological succession» (Park, 1936) were on the move (i.e. in the case of the partial substitution of population in the working-class neighbourhoods).

Crisis effects: changing configurations in Modena

The years around 2010 were a period of complex crisis for the Tunisian community in Modena. First, the repercussions of the global financial crisis began to affect the real economy and foreign population in Modena experienced a significant decrease of disposable income, much higher than that of natives (Costantini et al., 2015). Moreover, to keep their jobs, and so to maintain their residence permits, many workers left the sectors most in crisis (construction, factories) to move towards expanding occupational sectors, generally characterised by greater flexibility and job insecurity (services, trade).

The crisis hit significantly the «established» Tunisians whose labour insertion took place mainly in the industrial and construction sectors, the ones most affected by the economic crisis. «When the crisis began, they started to close ceramics' factories, we were out then. [...] There were no permanent job. They called you when they were 'tight', they needed workers for two or three months, then when the job ended: 'sorry, stay at home, when there is something, I'll call you'» (Mounir, 60). Remittances sent by the Tunisian community from Modena's province showed this dynamics as they fell from 5,5 million of 2007 to 2 million of 2008. Many Tunisians lost their jobs or entered periods of employment discontinuity. Several of them moved away from Modena, heading towards Northern Europe or, to a lesser extent, to Tunisia. The need of manpower that had justified the arrival and subsequent stabilisation of the Tunisian community in Modena seemed eroded by the economic crisis reducing the labour interdependence and reshaping the relationships between the foreign and native component of the city (Valzania, 2012; Loyal, 2011). The weakening of foreigners' positions in the local configuration of Modena was also amplified by the posture of national and local institutions that during the

years of the crisis inaugurated a season of austerity and of withdrawal from the public scene. The end of public initiatives aimed at integrating foreign communities, in both cultural and political life, amplified the perception that migration was for public powers and for the whole citizenry just a problem to solve. In Wacquant's words, we could call this as a season of «de-civilisation» (Wacquant, 2004: 97) in which relations between foreign and native groups became more strained.

Moreover, for the Tunisian community, the period of the economic crisis also coincided with the events of the revolution in Tunisia. In January 2011 Ben Ali's regime was overwhelmed by popular protests and a phase of institutional transition began, affecting the entire state administration, including its offshoots abroad. The local associations, which until recently had collaborated with the consulate, found themselves delegitimised: «As a member of the Tunisian association, my father also had meetings with the consulate. [...] And in the period that followed [the revolution], I heard from some people, daughters of dissidents, that my father was one of the... one of Ben Ali's friends, a kind of spy» (Safiya, 28). The crisis of the previous associations, creators of a fictitious unity of the Tunisian community in Modena, then amounted to a new competition for community representation both in the associative and political spheres, which were experiencing an unexpected freedom after the dictatorship.

As relations within the Tunisian community in Modena became more conflictual, further deteriorating the group's social cohesion, another event intervened: the departure, in the revolutionary chaos, of almost 24,000 young Tunisians towards the Italian coast (Ferraris, 2021). Modena, the first province in continental Italy for Tunisian presence, represented an important social enterprise for this flow and in 2011 alone at least 500 young Tunisians were intercepted by the public reception services. «The two components that have supported the arrival of these people in Modena were on the one hand the fame, meaning that the city was very famous in the outskirts of Kairouan and of Tunis... and partly the connections [...] which did not mean having a family here, but having someone you have known who's told you about Modena» (Laura, worker at the Foreigners' Centre). In the rush towards Italy those taking the opportunity to cross the border seemed particularly ill-prepared to the journey: «it was a group of men with very limited resources, 70 percent of whom were illiterate or had a very low level of education [...] what drove these guys was not a project, no, it was a 'I tried so hard that this time I will make it'» (Elisa, worker at the Foreigners' Centre). The absence for many of them of strong relationships in Modena, the great difficulty in obtaining a long-term regularisation, the economic crisis at its peak, were all factors that prevented most of these young people from successfully integrating into the local socio-economic fabric. Forced to occupy a marginal position, a small but visible number of them entered circuits of petty deviance, mainly linked to drug dealing. The local press played a crucial role in constructing the stigmatisation of those that can be defined as «the Tunisian outsiders», associating the whole national group to crime and offering a strong support to the «moral entrepreneurs» (Becker, 2017 [1963]: 175) claiming a harsher approach to the migration issue.

For the «established» members of the Tunisian community the presence of the group of newcomers was a factor further weakening their position in the local configuration. Soon enough they perceived the risk of being assimilated to the «outsiders Tunisian», hence remaining stuck within the «ethnic frontier» (Barth, 1969: 15): «It is Tunisians, Moroccans, foreigners in general who come here and do things that should not be done. Maybe they sell drugs, they steal, and this is not good because people have the wrong idea and think everyone is the same» (Selma, 22). The process of being assimilated to the «minority of the worst» (Elias and Scotson, 1994 [1965]: XXVII) had therefore a direct effect on the image of the «established Tunisians» among the autochthones: «One day I was chatting with an old woman on the bus: "how old are you? what are you studying?" and then she asked "Where are you from?". Because very often in winter I lighten up and they mistake me for a southerner, "ah, Tunisian!". Why do they say things like this 'ah, Tunisian!'? Sometimes I ask myself, I say 'but why do they do that?' Then, on the other hand, I tell myself it's normal, in the newspaper it's always full of 'Tunisian has done...', 'Tunisian has done...', I understand» (Ines, 22). To be assimilated to the minority of the worst was for the established Tunisians not only a matter of image but a condition that turned symbolic borders into social barriers (Lamont, Molnár, 2002). In a context defined as of de-civilisation, social exclusion, already partially experienced by old Tunisians, was thus further exacerbated by this process: «Because of certain behaviours, I stayed more than a year looking for a flat, I can't find it. Because of someone's mistakes, we all pay» (Hamoud, 52).

New equilibria and new perspectives on migratory stratification

As seen, the multiple effects of the crisis of 2010 put in danger the acquisition and maintenance of a symbolic status among the group of established Tunisians and their process of «social ageing» in Modena (Elias and Scotson, 1994 [1965]: 150).

In particular, the arrival of the group of new Tunisians, soon object of

gossip and stigmatisation, represented an event that worsened the conditions of life for the older group. In this condition, the reproduction of exclusion processes seemed to be the only possibility for them to differentiate from the newcomers. This attempt involved several strategies, starting from physical distance from the newcomers, in the fear of an anomic infection (Elias and Scotson, 1994 [1965]): «I don't give a damn about them now, I see them and change direction. Because of them they always speak bad of us, or don't they? » (Nael, 20). Even more powerful in opening the rift between old and new Tunisians was the construction of a discourse that contrasted the 'us' of the established Tunisians with the 'them' of the outsiders: «When we arrived, we made sacrifices, they don't now, when they arrive everything is ready [...] the new want to make money with little effort...» (Hamoud, 52). Hence, it is clear that for the young Tunisians arriving in Modena in the aftermath of the revolution the presence of a migratory stratification in the city was not a valuable resource. On the contrary, it amplified their exclusion and stigmatisation since the older Tunisians appeared the fiercer protagonists of their marginalisation.

Within this process, also the established Tunisians seemed affected in their participation in the local migration history and the position they occupied in the local migratory stratification became a field of struggle. As seen, in the first phase of settlement and rooting of the Tunisian community the presence of older (internal) migratory flows seemed a condition that supported this process, giving material and symbolic benefits to the Tunisian workers. However, in the following years, the changing configuration in Modena made the participation to the local migration history much more controversial due to the increasingly politicised nature of the migratory issue, which benefited the right-wing parties. For the old Tunisians the reiteration of exclusion towards newcomers was therefore intertwined with the implementation of visibility tactics with autochthone acquaintances (Frisina, 2010), aiming at disengaging themselves from the negative image of the new Tunisians and demonstrating the seniority of their presence: «When [the girl I was seeing] understood that I was Tunisian, she backed off a bit, so I told her, 'Wait, before you do anything, before you start thinking... I'll take you to my house, you know my family, you know our way of life, you know my sisters and everything'» (Adam, 26). At the same time, the hostility of the social context generated a tendency to privilege relationships with people already known: «If I hang out with Italians because they are my colleagues, they know who I am, they would never say 'are you Tunisian, do you always work seriously, or do you also deal drugs?' But if you go to another place where [they don't know you] ... you're screwed. Because there's the stigma in Modena, for sure» (Laila, 68). Within these relations the cumbersome

label of Tunisians, if not removed, was at least redefined, re-proposing, especially in close friendships, that self-representation with orientalist traits which in public discourse gave way to stigmatisation: «I also have many [Italian] friends who come to my house, they eat our food, you know when I was in my job they said "whatever you do something, bring it to us" and I really gladly bring it» (Hanen, 45).

The latest development: an ongoing change

In recent years the Tunisian community in Modena resumed the path of a gradual rooting in the local context, as the growing number of presences and the concomitant growth in the value of remittances seemed to testify, in the framework of an improved economic environment. We should also note the progressive and almost linear growth of female presences up to the current 44% of the Tunisian community in the province in 2021 (ISTAT, 2022). Also from the point of view of associative activities, the Tunisian associations progressively resumed their cultural, educational and social activism.

Undoubtedly, difficulties remain with regard to the occupational integration in a labour market that became more segmented and precarious and that pushed many of the first and new generations towards fixed-term jobs in the service sector. Secondary migration movements towards Northern Europe have not come to a halt, as well as new arrivals, whose possibilities of local integration varied greatly depending on the presence of proximity networks or on their absence, as in the case of arrivals of people without documents. Hence, we cannot deny, within the Modenese Tunisian community, a significant stratification that also translates into varied relations between established Tunisians and both the native component and the new arrivals.

These changes are also observable in the slightly less politicisation of the migration theme by local politicians and in the revival of a series of initiatives aimed at the valorisation of the city's migratory history. An example in this sense is the inauguration in 2019 of a composition of statues placed in Crocetta neighbourhood celebrating the immigration to Modena, with an old Neapolitan migrant called to cut the ribbon. These latest developments testify to the ceaseless mutation of social configurations and of the impact of their ephemeral equilibrium on the significance attributed to the migratory past of a local community.

Conclusion

In this paper we attempted to observe changes, cleavages, and re-significations in the peculiar migratory stratification of Modena, focusing

in particular on the Tunisian community. In this investigation we adopted a configurational perspective, observing the changing power relations between autochthones and foreigners over the time. In fact, according to Elias, it is only possible to reach exhaustive explanations if sociological problems are conceived «as problems of phenomena which have the form of processes, which participate in a movement in time» (Elias and Scotson, 1994 [1965]: 11).

In our case-study the adoption of this diachronic perspective allowed us to observe the deep change characterising old and new Tunisian settlements in Modena. The former flow, benefiting from local labour demand and possibilities for administrative regularisation, seems to have had a better chance of positively integrating the local migratory stratification, while later arrivals experienced a symbolic and social exclusion upheld also by the members of the same national community. Not only we were able to observe how a change in structural conditions determined different processes of integration in the local migratory stratification, but we also enquired the interdependencies at work between different migratory strata. For instance, we appreciated how the initial settlement of old Tunisians in the Modenese context resulted in a reinterpretation of their migration path in parallel with the Neapolitan experience. Their symbolically ascending trajectory was followed by a renewed stigmatisation, caused also by the arrival of the new Tunisians, the «minority of the worst», and by their marginalisation in the local context. These changing configurations and their impact on the local migratory stratification have thus determined non-linear paths of social ageing, reigniting also in the group of old Tunisians experiences of symbolic and social exclusion and confirming that the length of residence is by no means a direct indicator of «social oldness» (ibidem, p. 12).

We can therefore claim once again that relationships between migrants of different ages and between migrants and autochthones are not based on visible affiliations, such as ethnic or religious ones, but rather on the significance of these affiliations attributed by the corresponding power relations, determined by a struggle that is both material and symbolical (Park, 1936). In this light, the presence of past migratory flows seems to translate as much in an increased receptivity as in a strong closure towards newcomers depending on whether their arrival reinforces or challenges the social configuration and power relations in place in the situated social context. Hence, while «keeping the camera fixed» (see: Introduction: 12) on the Modenese migratory stratification, adopting Elias concepts we could look at it not as a monolithic object but as a social construction characterised by a processual and conflictual nature, thus avoiding any risk

of reductionism. In this sense, the constructed and fluid nature of the migratory stratifications can also be appreciated in its dimension of collective memory and representation of a community migratory history, further terrain of struggle according to the power relations of the present (Halbwachs, 1968 [1925]).

In conclusion, the perspective of migratory stratifications, at least as investigated in the case study, offers greater heuristic advantages if employed as a processual optic on the different changes in configurations involving foreign populations and their representation in a local context. In this way, the perspective of migratory stratifications makes it possible to understand how current changes in migratory phenomena also affect processes of establishment and rootedness that are already in place, delaying them, questioning them or supporting them.

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CHAPTER 4

PERIODS OF EDUCATIONAL WELFARE AND MIGRATORY STRATIFICATION. THE CITY OF PADUA AS A CASE STUDY

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Introduction to the topic and literature survey

At the heart of EU recommendations and strategies on education (European Council 2000 Lisbon Strategy; Recommendation n. 16/2022; Council Resolution on a strategic framework for European cooperation in education and training towards the European Education Area and beyond (2021-2030) 2021/C 66/01) lies the concept of lifelong learning and the increasingly necessary interpenetration between curricular cognitive competences and extra-curricular socio-emotional competences, with a view to constructing the knowledge society and developing human capital as a 'social engine' driving a better society (Ferrera, 2013). On the one hand, this new period of education can be traced back to the transformation of welfare systems, which began moving more toward active policies, along with a weakening of the neo-liberal Keynesian approach, and the definition of local welfare strategies and stronger links between social and educational policies (Ferrera, 2006) — policies that have historically been few, or neglected. The strengthening of educational policies would thus respond to new social needs: not only for competitiveness and wealth production, but also for social inclusion and genuinely equal opportunities for all. From this perspective, investments made by welfare states in education became an equitable measure affecting the opportunities and outcomes enjoyed by individual (especially as regards school-to-work transition, early adult years, and efforts to reduce inequalities based on ascribed variables).

It was in this scenario that the concept of educational welfare emerged, essentially joining up social and educational policies (both strategically significant in the redistribution of resources), and definable as a set of policy interventions aimed at education, schooling and the training sector

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with the goal of developing capabilities, reducing inequalities and promoting full social and civil participation (Del Boca and Pasqua, 2010). Conceived in this way, consequently, the notion of educational welfare calls for reflection on the various actors in the world of education, considering interventions undertaken explicitly by the school education system (formal context), by associations and by third sector players (non-formal context), but also by the nuclear and extended family (informal context), following a logic of triangulation. Thus, it is an educational welfare interwoven with changes in the composition of pupils within the Italian school: prior to the 1950s, the migratory stratification present in certain Italian schools (typically those of the north) was the result of internal economic migrations towards the industrial triangle and the industrial districts of the North East, then from the 1980s, there began a migration "from elsewhere", from other continents, with other languages, other cultures, slowly at first, then self-evidently gathering pace.

Most of the literature on educational welfare has focused thus far on a particular segment of education (Partial, 2015; 2017), pre-schooling in particular, which is recognized as having a pivotal role in the fight against school inequalities, in encouraging female employment, and in secondary and normative socialization. In this paper, we take a broad approach to educational welfare at every level of education, discussing child agency, well-being and the development of competences with goals that are cognitive and relational, affective and emotional, and intended ultimately to promote social inclusion and participation. The attention given to all levels of the Italian school — and to how the contents of curricular and experiential learning take shape therein — derives precisely from the migratory pressure mentioned above: the presence of migrant students in the Italian school (albeit with significant differences between regions, indicating the attractiveness of certain regions as perceived in the migratory plans of incoming families) begins in kindergarten and primary school, and continues through to upper secondary school, with progressive engagement in studies and activities of all tracks and at all levels. Therefore, in parallel with the change in migratory movements, the participation of students with a migratory background in school will change. This trend was also reflected in the distribution of migrant students among the schools, indicative of ghettoization, initially, and only much later of integration, and is consistent with Park's model of ecological succession (1936), which sees city dwellers competing with newcomers, not least for access to educational resources.

In the context considered here, the concept of educational welfare will be discussed in combination with that of migratory stratification, as the very context in question presents a significant incidence of students with migratory backgrounds, and at the same time a plurality of responses implemented by institutional and non-institutional social actors. The two concepts therefore, educational welfare and migratory stratification, are closely interdependent and mark the different periods of institutional interventions and experiments in education. For the purposes of this paper, migratory stratification is referred to in the diachronic sense, whereby migratory phenomena play an active role, shaping and modifying the contexts in which they occur, and at the same time are transformed by these very contexts, determining a stratification of different migratory ages.

The significance of this construct also becomes the more apparent when related to categories of life course sociology, focusing especially on the concept of interdependence between individual, family and institutional trajectories (Elder, 1985), with particular attention to cases where migration history/background will have helped to shape those trajectories. The educational context, with its multiple environments (formal, informal, and non-formal), affords an ideal vantage point from which forms of educational welfare (hence institutional responses and educational experiments) can be matched to the characteristics of individuals and groups whose personal or family histories include migration experience: in effect, the educational context allows us to observe institutional responses to the many forms of migration stratification, which reflect a diversification of differences (Sassen, 1991; Lockwood, 1996). And the periods of migration, which will be detailed chronologically and legislatively in due course, have in turn influenced the type of response made by welfare systems. The idea of extensive and pervasive educational welfare, materializing in different contexts with varying degrees of formalization and institutionalization, is based in part on the social investment paradigm (Hemerijck 2012; Morel, Palier& Palme 2012). The focus is on strengthening social policies and educational services to contain the risks typical of globalized societies – which are extremely diverse in terms not only of social but also of ethnic, religious and cultural differences – and on multiplying education and subsequent employment opportunities on a more equal basis, thereby triggering a virtuous process based on educational credentials and competitiveness linked to human capital. Another contributory factor is the capabilities approach (Nussbaum, 2010), which sees welfare not as a cost but as an investment, and envisages educational practices in terms of social innovation. Both the social investment paradigm and the capabilities approach (Robeyns 2006) would show how welfare systems had become anachronistic, incapable of responding to changing economic and social needs and new risks (old and new forms of poverty, loss of social cohesion,

a widening pool of people claiming and being granted benefits because of lower spending, migratory waves of increasing magnitude and varying nature) (Iori, 2018)[3]. The result is a vision of a coordinated and multi-actor education based on a participatory, solidarity-based dimension of socio-educational co-responsibility (Alessandrini, 2019). Starting from these assumptions, this paper outlines the periods of educational welfare, as defined above, in a local context. We pay particular attention to multi-ethnic educational environments characterized by phenomena of migratory stratification that have given rise to more or less standardized responses from educational systems.

We focus on contexts with a large population of pupils coming from a migratory background primarily because of certain characteristics and needs/emergencies associated with them. There is a complex dialectic between the rights of children and the duties of education in schools with high concentrations of migrant pupils, for socio-cultural reasons (how investment in education is defined, and the sustainability of this investment according to the culture of origin and the migratory history of pupils). There have been efforts to change how school institutions and the third sector have responded to improve the reception, integration and inclusion of these pupils. This has variously affected the well-being of children and the agency of minors within educational contexts, precisely in the light of their family and migratory biography, depending on the constraints and opportunities offered by different reception settings. In reality, the interventions and proposals of educational welfare in their broadest, multi-actor sense, are directed not only at children and adolescents, but at a family ecosystem in which the intergenerational and intragenerational aspects that evolve will challenge precisely those responses proposed by educational welfare as solutions. The result is an extreme fragmentation, or failure to make the above-mentioned connection between educational and social contexts. The availability of resources and/or shortcomings in the

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[3] Italy is one of the countries where social spending is higher than the European average (29% of GDP, compared to 28% in the EU27), but it suffers from a functional distortion due mainly to two factors: overfunding for pensions and for protecting the income of the elderly (56% in Italy against a 44% in European countries as a whole) and underfunding in spending on health, family policies, poverty alleviation, active labour policies and education (3.9% of GDP). Another major limitation of social spending in Italy relates to the strong orientation toward monetary transfers (76% of public spending) rather than services (24%). A large part of social protection (its organization and, in some areas, its funding) is also left to families (Italy has a familistic, do-it-yourself welfare system). Today, the country's traditional welfare system is doing little to face the "new" social problems of social mobility, loneliness, aging, a low birth rate, the work-life balance, and new poverty. Data indicate an inadequate coverage rate for traditional users (e.g., 30% of the dependent and 30% of the disabled), and most of the services offered focus on individual demand, they tend to isolate users and do not help to aggregate demand. In addition, as welfare costs are largely borne by households, emerging social problems require not financial responses (as resources are already in the hands of households), but innovative solutions based on an aggregative and integrative logic.

local welfare and territorial educational offering have a very significant influence, as does the involvement of the local third sector, and especially the third-sector organizations that specialize in schooling and the educational fabric.

Data and research design

The city of Padua has characteristics of particular relevance for the purposes of investigating migratory stratification and the more or less institutionalized response elicited over time, socially and educationally. The city has a long tradition of 'volunteering', acknowledged in 2020 when it was accorded the status of European capital of volunteering. Many of those involved are active on the front of inclusion and reception of migrant people. Furthermore, the Veneto Region, along with other regions of the North, and Emilia Romegna, is among those with the highest concentration of foreigners who see opportunities to settle in these areas, with long-term migratory plans in mind (Data from the Ministry of the Interior, 2022).

According to the ISTAT Census of non-profit organizations in 2022, there are more than 6,000 such organizations operating in social, educational, cultural and sport-related spheres, in the city and province of Padua, demonstrating not only the abundance of activities and initiatives carried on by these organizations, but also their dynamic nature. Indeed the "Padua Capital" 2021 report[4] describes expanding and coordinated activities between public and private organizations, the involvement of all social actors, the activation of seven working groups (on poverty and new marginalizations; health, sport and well-being; culture and education; technology and innovation; environment and town planning; economy and sustainable development; peace, international cooperation and human rights), and the adoption of sub-local initiatives in different city districts to respond to specific needs. Padua has therefore developed its social vocation and civic commitment over the years, and has done so in response to significant and constant migratory flows. During a first period, from 2001 to 2010, the number of residents with a migratory background more than tripled. This was followed, from 2011 to 2021, by a more moderate growth of 4.7% (Sistan data, processed by the Municipality of Padua Planning, Control and Statistics Department, 2021). In 2001, migrant residents made up just over 6% of the population, rising to 14% in 2010, and 16.7% in 2021. Despite a heterogeneous territorial distribution (immigration has mainly affected the northern and western areas of Padua),

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[4] https://www.Paduaevcapital.it/wp-content/uploads/2021/08/Report_datipdevc.pdf

there is general evidence to suggest a prevalence of certain ethnic groups: Romenians the most numerous, followed by Moldovans, Chinese, Nigerians and Moroccans. The largest age group among these migrant residents is currently that of 35-39 year-olds, followed by <29-year-olds (children, adolescents and young adults).

The quantitative significance of immigration has therefore given rise to new needs in the city, and new challenges for the world of volunteering. Three main migration periods are identified in this paper, based on the above data and the different forms of migration (by gender, reason for migration, migration plan, age, place of origin, and so on) over the last twenty years. The identification of migration periods — from the analyzed context — also produced different welfare periods connected to the concept of migratory stratification. A first form of migratory stratification undoubtedly concerns the generational aspect, and linked to this, a chronologically identifiable "period" of migration: even when the migratory event is not experienced personally, the fact that it forms part of a family narrative makes it a constitutive element of one's identity. This first aspect undoubtedly modulates the "double absence" discernible in older generations toward a "double belonging" in younger, or second generations.

Distribution of nationalities by district in Padua, year 2021

	District						
	Centre	North	East	South-East	South-West	West	Total
Romenia	5.46%	33.54%	18.62%	18.18%	7.13%	17.07%	100.00%
Moldavia	5.26%	28.38%	16.68%	19.68%	9.38%	20.62%	100.00%
China	15.92%	42.81%	23.14%	7.92%	4.66%	5.54%	100.00%
Nigeria	2.52%	40.94%	18.12%	10.47%	7.94%	20.01%	100.00%
Philippines	15.96%	27.24%	10.10%	21.31%	13.03%	12.35%	100.00%
Morocco	5.73%	25.39%	29.80%	14.27%	6.25%	18.57%	100.00%
Albania	9.97%	22.21%	19.18%	18.50%	12.39%	17.75%	100.00%
Bangladesh	4.45%	75.38%	7.96%	2.39%	2.06%	7.76%	100.00%
Sri-Lanka	16.00%	23.14%	10.60%	22.94%	6.63%	20.69%	100.00%
Other countries	16.16%	29.70%	15.97%	16.31%	9.23%	12.63%	100.00%
Total Migrants	9.92%	33.64%	17.52%	15.88%	7.99%	15.06%	100.00%

Source: Sistan data, processed by Padua Local Authority, 2021

A second form of migration stratification is observed at the intragenerational level and substantiated by certain key dimensions: gender, which conditions the migration experience, other things being equal, and affords opportunities that can also be modulated in relation to the context of origin; birth order, which within the migrant family influences self-representation in relation to the migration experience, whereby the nature of the kinship within the household gives shape to particular mechanisms

of expectation and opportunity. In this respect too, reception and the availability of resources in educational systems provide a useful vantage point for the identification of such dynamics.

This examination also reflects a succession of regulatory periods. Indeed, from the 1990s to the present there have been very different laws on migration: in 1990 the Martelli Law was introduced, the first attempt to regulate migration and recognize the right to asylum by lifting the "geographical reservation" of the 1951 Geneva Convention and introducing a programmed number of entries per year; Law 91/1992 also introduced *jus sanguinis* as a criterion for the recognition of citizenship; in 1998 came the Turco Napolitano Law, which introduced entry planning based on the absorption capacity of the labour market and instituted the residence permit; and under the subsequent Bossi Fini Law (2002), the rules for entry and stay in the country were tightened. Reference to the regulatory framework is fundamental to the study of the welfare periods, insofar as each piece of legislation has represented a response to precise migration events. The early 1990s saw massive arrivals from the former Yugoslavia following the conflict there, and from North African and sub-Saharan African countries too, in this case mainly for economic reasons; and the numbers of migratory flows continued to rise in the years that followed, expanding not least as a result of clandestine migration. Some of these arrivals were absorbed by the destination territories, in cases where the migration plan took on the characteristics of stability. It is in this setting that new social and educational needs and new challenges for welfare systems have emerged. It also compasses the first period of welfare — in the context of our interest addressed by this paper — up to the 2000s, when migrants accounted for less than 10% of residents, the proportion of migrant households was minimal, second generations were almost non-existent, and the main reason for migration was to seek employment. In a second period, from the early 2000s until 2016 (a year before the so-called Minniti Decree), migration increased significantly, sometimes due to an emergency (as in the case of refugees and asylum-seekers following dramatic events in their countries of origin), but again, associated more often with the quest for better economic conditions and accompanied by medium to long term migration plans involving family units. Finally, from 2017 to the present, a third phase has been characterized by a substantial stabilization of migration flows, but with the emerging phenomena of second and even third generations of residents with a migratory background, their full social, cultural and economic participation, and a

decline in the number of migrants living in situations of extreme poverty[5].

The migration periods have also had effects on the participation of migrant children and adolescents in school systems and their actual opportunities to enjoy the right to education. According to MIUR 2019-2020 data published in September 2021, the proportion of migrant pupils in Italian schools (from primary to upper secondary school) averaged 14.1% (with peaks of over 15% in lower secondary schools) of the total number of students in the Veneto as a whole, and in the city of Padua. There has recently been a drop in the numbers of pupils enrolled in primary school (due to a stabilization of migratory pressure and an increasing alignment of reproductive patterns among migrant and native women), a constant presence in lower secondary schools and the first two years of upper secondary school, and a tendency for pupils to drop out early, at the age of 16 (on completion of the compulsory education cycle). Also apparent from the data is that the Veneto region holds a national record, with more than 71% of its migrant students being second-generation, although these continue to leave school earlier than their Italian peers.

The distribution of these pupils among different classes and schools is the key issue addressed by many education policies: having established that the 30% ceiling proposed by Minister Gelmini was unconstitutional, current legislation confirms that all minors living in Italy have the right to access education, confirming the inclusive mission of the school system. In 2017, the media made much of the fact that Padua had the first case of a high school class consisting entirely of migrant pupils. Clearly, the focus of this paper is not so much on the overall numbers of migrant pupils, but rather on their distribution and concentration in such percentages as to demand specific interventions on the part of schools and other actors in the world of education.

The higher school dropout rate affecting students with migrant backgrounds, the greater instability of their educational pathways, the lower performance they achieve compared to their Italian peers, and the persistent stereotyping in the choice of supply chains (paths) precisely because of ethnic origin — and gender, as an additional hostile factor (elements confirmed by the Ministry: https://www.invalsiopen.it/ alunni-stranieri-in-italia-dati-ministero-istruzione/; see also in this regard the ISMU reports for 2020 and subsequent years) — have presented a challenge to formulators of educational policies and law enforcement interventions in recent decades. For the local context of interest, different

[5] https://www.miur.gov.it/documents/20182/0/Alunni+con+cittadinanza+non+italiana+2019-2020. pdf/f764ef1c-f5d1-6832-3883-7ebd8e22f7f0?version=1.1&t=1633004501156

types of data were used here to investigate the above-mentioned migration periods, identify any migration stratification, and see how institutional and third-sector parties have responded in order to achieve the reception, integration and inclusion of migrants in the educational setting:

- secondary data from institutional sources, serving particularly to sketch out the first two periods of educational welfare in Padua (Sistan 2021 data; 3 interviews with well-informed witnesses from the volunteering world);

- primary data collected by researchers in the field, using qualitative techniques (15 ethnographic observations carried out at lower and upper secondary schools between November 2022 and February 2023; 4 in-depth interviews conducted with educators from local associations, already working with schools). The survey was conducted from October 2022 to February 2023.

Welfare periods, institutional responses, innovation in educational practices

The backbone of this survey derives not just from a chronological account and monitoring of migratory flows in Padua, but from an intersection of factors. First, we identify the quantitative characteristics of migrations occurring at different times, from which a migratory stratification of school-age minors is generated, and differences in the response of educational institutions (more or less coordinated with other actors involved in educational processes). It is clear that the migration periods and the welfare periods constitute an attempt to reduce the complexity of elaborate and interconnected social phenomena. The same concept of migratory stratification lends itself profitably to this analysis provided that it is considered not as a succession of stages but as a plurality of discrete interdependent phases, each built on the previous one and prefiguring ideas from the phase next in sequence.

Next, we assess the degree and the forms of social and educational innovation implemented. Based on these criteria, we identify three periods of educational welfare in the area of interest. The intersection of the two factors in play (high/low public and third sector activation; high/low number of migrants) generates a semantic space in which the periods of educational welfare can be situated (Figure 1).

The presence of migrant pupils in the Italian education system has gradually and yet quite rapidly brought new educational needs to the attention of teachers and school managers, over a twenty-year period. A first issue is that of the second language (L2) these migrant pupils have had

to learn, but other needs have emerged in terms of study methods, orientation and inclusion, with a view to ensuring that all pupils in the school system can effectively enjoy full participation and citizenship, regardless of any ascribed variable (such as gender, ethnic origin, order of birth). It should not be forgotten that this kind of approach, targeting the inclusion of every individual and the full development of their potential, does not apply only to people with a migratory background. In a broader sense, it represents a European effort, since the beginning of this century, to ensure that inclusion, equal opportunities and gender equality become keywords for the actions of all Member States.

Figure 1. Periods of educational welfare in the semantic space of generative factors

HIGH INSTITUTIONAL ACTIVATION OF THIRD SECTOR

	2nd period of educational welfare (growing numerosity)	3rd period of educational welfare	
LOW NUMBERS			HIGH NUMBERS
	1st period of educational welfare	Not present in the context	
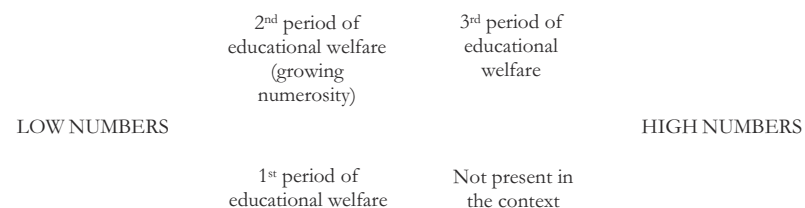
LOW INSTITUTIONAL ACTIVATION OF THIRD SECTOR

a) The first period: could "few" be synonymous with "negligible"?

The first period of educational welfare was characterized by a limited number of migrant pupils at all levels of the education system in Padua, which resulted in a weak institutional response and limited attention to the new needs. In this phase, the possible presence of migrant pupils in the classroom was managed on a one-to-one basis, by individual teachers (especially in primary schools) and by school principals particularly sensitive to the issue.

"It depends a lot on where the school is located: not all schools have had the same concentration of migrant students over time, and much depended on proximity to places of residence; if the school was in an area with a high density of migrants, it had plenty of migrant students. But precisely for this reason, because it was a "minor problem", no structural interventions were activated. To start with, teacher training was completely non-existent, so teachers learned on the job" (focus group with teachers, educators, principals).

The third sector was involved mainly outside the school, providing various forms of support (financial support, language teaching, job seeking, facilitating access to services, and so on). The new educational needs were quantitatively modest as migration was mainly for economic reasons, hence limited to male breadwinners of families (mainly from the sub-Saharan region or North Africa) or women (mainly from Eastern Europe), as highlighted by the various reports on immigration in the Veneto region (see: venetoimmigrazioone.it and www.sistan.it, various years, queries of authors).

It was only at a later stage that their families were able to join them, bringing children born elsewhere. During this period, migrations involved few minors and consequently had little impact on the education system, other than calling for L2 interventions, and a certain amount of cultural mediation (in practice, mostly linguistic), partly due to the scarce economic resources available to schools for such activities (Fiorucci, 2017). Added to these elements is the fact that migrants coming into the school system were still placed mainly in pre-school, primary and lower secondary school classes. It follows that the response of the education system at this stage was still poorly organized, and there were no specific guidelines. These were nonetheless the years in which pioneering teachers and managers implemented initiatives and practices to cope with the radical social changes under way. Similarly, the third sector had only a small role at this stage, uncoordinated with educational institutions and oriented typically toward emergency interventions of particular severity, in collaboration more with social services than with educational services. It should also be considered that the "critical mass" of students with migrant backgrounds was still limited, and yet to have its full impact on public policies in education.

"Public interventions and the presence of coordinated actions between actors are activated only when problems assume a certain relevance, becoming numerically important and requiring charge to be taken at system level" (focus group with educators, stakeholders and representatives of the local third sector)

At this stage, interventions in some areas of the country with a high density of people having migrant backgrounds were still of a pioneering nature (see in this regard the case of Porta Palazzo in the city of Turin, and The Gate project). The number of students is still modest, with no systemic and capillary actions, and no specific training for teachers and school management: as a first period, however, it has the merit of initiating an authentic educational revolution, in which all students become actors of change. There is a progression from "integration" to "inclusion", and

mechanisms of belonging to the school community are activated, in a first step toward full participation and exercise of agency.

b) The second period: when rising numbers prompted a better-organized response.

As mentioned above, the numbers of migrant students in Italian schools began to rise from the early 2000s, partly as a result of family reunifications and the migration of entire households. The stabilization of families on Italian territory also led to an increase in the number of "second-generation migrants", born to families with a migration background but in a country other than the country of origin of their parents, and in some instances their siblings. In such cases, secondary socialization processes have favoured second language acquisition. Although the arrival of non-speaking migrant students still continues, they are in a minority compared to the previous period. It is this changed social scenario that determines appropriate educational welfare responses. In fact, these are the years when the third sector and schools embarked on forms of cooperation, for two reasons: the schools on their own were already busy with curricular activities, and they lacked the resources, skills and energy to cope with other needs of their immigrant pupils, needs that were also becoming increasingly complex due to the growing ethnic heterogeneity (with arrivals from different countries) and expanding age range of these new charges. Alongside children born in Italy who entered the school system as early as kindergarten, experiencing a secondary socialization process entirely similar to that of their Italian peers, there were also adolescents who could go to school but had to join classes of younger pupils because of their linguistic difficulties and the curricular mismatch. The Third Sector operates in this scenario with great flexibility, much greater than schools are able to; and educators themselves move into educational contexts with greater expertise, derived from long and specific experience with contexts (not necessarily schools) typified by a high concentration of ethnic mix and intercultural challenges. Collaboration with the third sector also became essential in order to create networks between associations cooperating with multiple schools, and thereby indirectly connecting these same schools through the selfsame third sector.

"Cooperation with the third sector has always existed, but it took on new characteristics when the issue of migration took on relevance and also became the subject of political attention, for which there was also funding for projects to support inclusion; although it must be said that accessing these resources was not at all simple, as teachers also had to learn how to be project managers, and associations had to respond to calls that were altogether new,

and required a good capacity for innovation and experimentation" (focus group with teachers, educators and school leaders)

This was also the period of ministerial funding, especially with the Fondo Asilo Migrazione e Integrazione (FAMI) projects coordinated by regional authorities to establish groups of schools and third-sector parties with a rich agenda ranging from L2 to inclusion workshops, workshops conducted with families to enhance migration histories as a resource for the community they belong to, orientation practices that are also gender-sensitive and aimed at supporting the empowerment of female students, and support with homework. Schools also began to allocate funds of their own to initiate support activities which, in the more successful cases, managed to involve migrant families too, with L2 courses for mothers accompanying their children to pre-school and primary school, for example, or opportunities for sharing the migration experience with ad hoc workshops aimed at all pupils and families, regardless of their origin and nationality. During this second period, schools began to appoint members of staff as in-house integration representatives, later called inclusion representatives[6]. These pivotal figures were delegated by the school manager to oversee changes in the needs of the school's user base, although their remit sometimes went beyond the issue of migration alone. The purpose of such educational interventions was primarily to provide migrant students with the tools they would need to continue their education, fit in with the school's curricular programs, and improve their chances in the labour market. But there was also a stronger focus on social inclusion involving not only immigrants, but all pupils, regardless of their migratory or settled family background. It was also during these years that the Ministry's first institutional documents on the integration of migrant pupils at school began to take shape: worthy of note are the Guidelines for the Reception and Integration of Migrant Pupils 2006 and 2014, indicators of institutional direction concerning a phenomenon that is not only growing in quantity but challenging in complexity and heterogeneity, with regard to contexts.

c) The third period: looking beyond school towards citizenship

There has been a stabilization of the number of students belonging to families with migratory backgrounds; many of them are second, and even third generation. This data highlights that for these students much of the secondary socialization has taken place within Italian schools; however, the

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[6] These representatives are not staff from outside the school, it is specified that they are teachers with delegated authority for inclusion, which is often a function concerned more with bureaucratic needs than with actual inclusion.

persistent element of relative fragility, regarding their profiles and the related opportunities and constraints, comes from the family context, and from the interactions between school and family. A look at certain data trends will give a better understanding of this third period. Trends in the numbers of migrant students attending school in Padua show a decrease in enrolments for primary education (for the reasons described previously; see also data sources mentioned above), and an increase in the proportions of students continuing their studies through upper secondary school, which takes in all pupils, including those with a migratory background. Education projects and employment goals are therefore expanding, and the gender gap has shrunk among migrant students, with more female students likewise continuing their education for longer and achieving results comparable with those of their Italian peers. The high drop-out rate appears to have been attenuated. Professionalizing opportunities in the secondary superior school remain limited for migrant students compared to their Italian peers. Both gender-related and pathway-related barriers indicate that schools alone have not yet succeeded in breaking down stereotypes and prejudices stemming from ethnic origin, due mainly to difficulties in achieving the part of secondary socialization entrusted to families, many of which are still tied to social representations typical of their cultures of origin. It is for these reasons that in this third welfare period the types of interventions change, and are linked increasingly to the development of citizenship, transversal, social and emotional skills, in order to bridge a gap that goes far beyond language proficiency or integration within the class group.

> "When migratory plans consolidate and families choose a country to live in, school also changes its meaning and value. Being born here or arriving here is not the same thing. If I am born here, I go to school here, I play with other children here, my parents speak Italian, my brothers maybe even go to university, exactly like many Italian kids would; even the gender dimension becomes less relevant, in fact migrant girls are like Italians, better, they care more about school, they have better grades and this is a tool for cultural change" (focus group with teachers, educators, principals)

Rather, it is a matter of acting and working on the agency skills of students, their attitude to the future, and the opportunities they have to make choices for their education and employment going forward. There is a new need now to concentrate on the skills of students and their longer-term horizons, in the world after they leave school. This third period of educational welfare demands coordinated efforts to bring together the resources of the school system, the third sector and other players, both private (companies, foundations) and public (universities), in implementing measures to develop and diversify school-leavers' extra-curricular skills. From soft skills to key competences for life-long learning, these are interventions based firmly on moves to acquire other resources that can be deployed not only in the labour market but also with a view to achieving the full citizenship of young people and their active participation in society.

c.1) An experience of education welfare

Given the nature of the third educational welfare period, its origin and its peculiarities, it is worth giving space here to the main results of an intervention organized with several schools in Padua on key competences for life-long learning within a Horizon 2020 project. The project known as KIDS4ALLL (Key Inclusive Development Strategies for LifeLong Learning) aims to foster the acquisition, maintenance and development of competences in the 8 key areas of life-long learning (functional literacy; multilingual competence; mathematical competence and basic competence in science and technology; digital competence; personal, social and learning-to-learn competence; social and civic competence in citizenship; entrepreneurial competence; competence in cultural awareness and expression). Alongside these skills, particular attention is paid to developing socio-emotional competences (according to the OECD Big Five model), which have a strong, multidimensional impact on individual biographies and social integration: they are positively associated with better labour market outcomes and behaviours typical of an active and inclusive citizenship, and with various aspects of an individual's material, psychic and social well-being[7].

The KIDS4ALLL project was implemented from November 2022 to February 2023, at lower and upper secondary schools in Padua and its hinterland, in socially and culturally heterogeneous contexts with a different social mix and presence of migrant students. It involved training activities on the key competences of life-long learning, and indirectly on socio-emotional competences, through the intervention of third-sector educators specializing in the education sector. They used resources provided specifically for the project (handbook, platform, training resources for teachers and educators, etc.). There were three associations involved, all with a lengthy experience of working with schools of all levels, and the focus was on the topics of skill development and inclusion[8]. They

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[7] See also: www.kids4alll.eu

[8] The third sector organizations involved were: Amici di Popoli, Popolinsieme, Cooperativa sociale Orizzonti. Amici dei Popoli was founded in Padua in 1983. Since the second half of the 1990s it has been

adopted a method known as the 'buddy system', which consists of working in pairs in both a content learning phase and a subsequent phase of reflection on the content learned. With the production of original contributions relating to the skills examined, the students (Italians and migrants) took part in a training course that aimed to help them acquire new knowledge and develop their skills and a cooperative working method that could be transferred to everyday school life.

The distinctive element of the KIDS4ALLL project is a change of perspective compared to previous interventions. At first, the experience is coordinated between the classroom teachers and the educators of the associations involved; what is done and learnt with the educators then becomes part of the curricular pathway. Next, the intervention focuses on skills that are never explicitly required and reinforced as part of the school curriculum. Finally, the various life-long learning and socio-emotional skills are solicited and trained using an innovative method that is transferable to standard educational contexts.

The result is a state-of-the-art type of educational welfare, highly innovative in its methods, in its triangulation approach (involving schools, associations and universities), and in its content.

In this most recent period, the phase of migratory stratification is characterized by the stabilization of families whose migratory plans are focused definitively on the North East of Italy; however, it is also the period that sees a trend slowly being reversed, in that for the first time, there are fewer arrivals and the number of students with a migratory background in Italian schools is on the decline. There are several reasons for this: first, the fertility choices of migrant women who have been settled in Italy for a certain time become more like those of Italian women; this means fewer children in general, whether or not they have Italian citizenship. And this consequently also means fewer migrant students in the various school cycles. Second, migrant students who attend Italian

actively involved with educational courses in schools, offered throughout the Veneto Region on the themes of Peace Education, Interculture, Global Citizenship, Human Rights, Responsible Economy, Migration, and Non-violent Conflict Management. The activities of Linguistic Facilitation for Minors of Migrant Origin began in 2000. Popolinsieme was founded in 1990, initially with occupational, housing and social support activities. At the beginning of the 2000s, Popolinsieme began to propose training and awareness-raising activities in local schools with the project Finestre - Storie di rifugiati (Windows – Refugees' Stories). The association's activities became more diversified and three different areas of action emerged: reception, training and awareness-raising. The Orizzonti Social Cooperative was founded in 2003 by a group of Intercultural Mediators, Linguistic Facilitators and Psychologists working in the field of intercultural relations. The Cooperative's aim is to pursue the general interests of the community through the management of educational, social and cultural services concerned primarily but not exclusively with meeting the inclusion and integration needs of adults, families, minors and young people of Italian and migrant nationality, as well as disadvantaged persons.

school are for all intents and purposes Italian, except for the recognition of nationality; they speak Italian as a native language, they belong to peer groups that include both Italians and other young people with histories of family migration, they know about Italian cuisine, they choose places of aggregation on the basis of age and not nationality. In short, they are citizens who have been socialized to a specific way of thinking, grown up with a particular outlook and experienced the world by breathing the culture of this country every day. But they do not have a recognized nationality.

Conclusions

The migratory stratification produced in little more than twenty years in the city of Padua has triggered educational welfare processes marked by a progression of interventions, levels of standardization and experiences of innovation. The school undoubtedly affords the ideal lens through which to view these dynamics. It is in schools that interventions can be implemented to respond to young people's needs with the necessary degree of flexibility and initiative (due to their autonomy and the resourcefulness of teachers and managers), and often in a more timely manner than on the institutional level. Schools also move in a rich and complex milieu: they can work with their students, but only achieve their objectives if they activate the resources of the students' families, getting them involved and serving as a reference point from which to generate plans and horizons of meaning, prerequisites for inclusion and full citizenship. Through its three periods, the educational welfare described here also reveals a wealth of stimuli and initiatives, which include an ability to create networks and build bridges between public and private actors, and a flexibility in responding to educational needs that are always changing, but deeply rooted in parts of the territory, connected with employment and cultural dynamics, social recognition and the definition of meanings within material and symbolic spaces (schools, neighbourhoods, homes, public services, etc.).

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CHAPTER 5

MIGRANT LITERATURES BETWEEN ITALY AND ARGENTINA[1]

Susanna Regazzoni[2] and Ricciarda Ricorda[3]

Between Italy and Argentina

The ability of literature to provide a narrative of migration, to reveal, in its specific ways, what lies behind official historical truths, and to thus be a fundamental tool for knowledge, emerges clearly in the migratory dynamics between Italy and Argentina, and in particular in the overlapping of different migratory movements over time. First Italian emigrants crossed the Atlantic, writing literary testimonies in Spanish, the language of their destination country, while more recently Argentinians have emigrated to Italy and written texts in Italian.

As Vanni Blengino (2003) writes, in the history of migration the "Argentine case" is exemplary both in terms of the continuity and the extent of its migration processes. Whether as the "dream" of a better life, or as the nightmare of its realisation, it points to the complexity of the event from the mid-nineteenth to the mid-twentieth centuries, with emigration affecting first northern and then southern Italian regions. The arrival of Italians in Argentina, one of the first migrant communities in the country, also influenced the various sectors of society both quantitatively and qualitatively, modifying their customs and traditions as part of the progressive acquisition of a new identity. Moreover, from a socio-historical point of view, Italian culture became integrated into all spheres of life, including libraries, music, the arts more broadly, and culinary tastes, thus influencing the country's development.

It is worth noting there is extensive literature on this subject in Argentina: its population has always had a complex identity, creating a cultural mosaic from the various different waves of foreigners, mainly Italians and Spaniards, who have been in the country since the mid-

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[1] This chapter is the result of a collaboration by Ricciarda Ricorda and Susanna Regazzoni; the part related to Argentina is written by Regazzoni, that prelated to Italy is written by Ricorda.
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nineteenth century.

From this point of view, the Argentine case seems to display the characteristics of *transnationalism*, insofar as the migrant appears to be a participant in the social, cultural and economic activities of both countries and strongly committed to transforming the identity of the destination country.

Although this process has not been easy, the grandchildren of those who arrived as foreigners are now more willing to rethink their origins, tending to recognise what their parents had tried to forget: that these first migrants often arrived in Argentina as poor people in search of a better future.

This rethinking has also produced literary texts, both in Spanish and Italian, which tell stories that have frequent points of contact with the authors' family histories. Indeed, most writers approach their writing on the subject as a phase in their own personal development, whilst also acknowledging the importance of its social impact. Others also have clear political intent, such as Mempo Giardinelli (1997) and Griselda Gambaro (2002), who theorise the need to counter the politics of oblivion characteristic of dictatorship and the transition to democracy, declaring that for the construction of the nation's future it is necessary to look to the past to find their personal and collective roots (Regazzoni 2018; Regazzoni and Mancini, 2022).

On the other hand, it is important to note that there has recently been a return within Italian literature to the narration of Italian emigration between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, which is reread through the lens of migration today. Thus, the fact that the narrated events are in the past does not weaken the link with the present, on the contrary, it offers a new space for intervention, acting as a strong "counterpoint" to the present (Ricorda, 2013).

In both cases, the texts refer to themes such as the representation of the individual within society, their feelings of belonging or exclusion, and the baggage of alternative traditions and memories that determine them.

The narrated events cover a wide time span and geographical area: Italy before and after migration, the Argentine provinces and the metropolis, youth and old age. The way in which facts and experiences, feelings and events are selected is important when questioning the transmission of inheritance and the perception of origins. The term "inheritance" refers to the transmission of knowledge and traditions, the conscious acceptance of an interpreted, selectively accepted, re-elaborated and re-signified cultural

background. However, it is important to note that none of the authors who have tackled the issue of migration, whether of an individual or a family, have claimed that their work is autobiographical. Despite this, it is clear that this writing is partly self-referential, typical of one area of this narrative genre, which describes events that naturally refer back to the author's life.

This implies that the author undergoes a radical change over the course of their life. The most interesting writer in this regard is the naturalised Argentinean but originally Italian writer Antonio Dal Masetto (Intra, Lago Maggiore, 1938 – Buenos Aires, 2015). He moves from the question of origins, linked to his ancestors through the real and narrative mediation of his mother, to personal issues affecting his life in the present. The shift from a male narrator who identifies with the writer's mother to an undefined female protagonist-narrator, who could imply a female narrator-writer, indicates a more complex way of referencing the subject, creating a rhizomatic identity that opens up a dialectical relationship, as Ilaria Magnani has pointed out (2009).

The idea of the *melting pot* as constitutive of Argentine society is displaced in favour of the individual dimension of *criollismo*, the understanding of which allows us to see deep into the dynamics of a supranational phenomenon as modeled by the Italy-Argentina relationship.

This phenomena is more central to the New World and more marginal to Europe. The observations of the Algerian sociologist Abdelmalek Sayad are helpful in this regard. He suggests that there is a fundamental difference between emigrants and immigrants: the former are invisible presences, denied in the imagination of their country of origin, while the latter are perceptible and in many ways condition the culture of the land of arrival (2002). Physically and abstractly absent from their country of origin, emigrants are completely estranged from it and, at the same time, represent the only source of sustenance for family members who have remained in their homeland. Immigrants, on the other hand, are a presence that is initially rejected because they are perceived as a threat, and then carefully monitored.

From this point of view, the migration that transformed Argentina between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, which included Italians among its protagonists, must be remembered in the twenty-first century, in which Europe is experiencing an increasingly multicultural reality, an ongoing globalisation that has already changed world history. This multifaceted reality is accompanied by a concept of identity that becomes variable, plural and composite, precisely because different cultural worlds exist in one place. As laid out in the introduction to this volume, this

sedimentation of different migratory moments could be defined in the terms of *migratory stratifications*: sedimentations of migratory moments that "impose on territories and societies marks that are sedimented without completely erasing those that were there previously, and compose landscapes of memory in continuous becoming, through a multiplicity of heterogeneous elements that nevertheless can display their own semantic unity".

One of the consequences of this extraordinary and still relevant phenomenon is the transmigration of culture on the immaterial level, rippling out from the individual contributions of immigrants to the cultural and social life of the new country in which they live (Regazzoni and Mancini, 2022).

The distinction between emigrant and immigrant proposed by Sayad is helpful for explaining the different literary importance given to migration in the two countries. The Italian literature has some specific characteristics: although heavily affected over a long period of time by emigration, this phenomenon was not, with very few exceptions, adequately represented in Italian literature while it was taking place; and Italy only started to experience more consistent immigration in the 1990s (Colucci, 2018), when the first Italian-language texts by authors of foreign origin and language were written (Mengozzi, 2013; 2023).

The years since have seen a blossoming of both Italian and overseas authors dealing with the subject with reference to Argentina. The former includes Maria Luisa Magagnoli (*Un café molto dolce*, 1996), Lucilla Gallavresi (*L'Argentino*, 2003), Renata Mambelli (*Argentina.* 2009), Mariangela Sedda (*Oltremare*, 2004, *Vincendo l'ombra*, 2009), Romena Petri (*Tutta la vita*, 2011) and Laura Pariani, author of numerous books on the subject. The Basili and LIMM database also had 24 entries for writers from Argentina who published works in Italian in 2023 (Bregola, 2006: 361-362), mostly for poetry or short stories, but also novels and essays, from Adrian Bravi, well-known author of numerous works of fiction and non-fiction, to Miguel Ángel García (*Il maestro di tango e altri racconti*, 2005), from Clementina Sandra Ammendola (*Lei, che sono io*, 2005) to Betina Lilian Prenz (*Morte con lode. La prima indagine di Sarah Katz*, 2019).

In both cases, as Vera Horn (2008) has pointed out, although the theme of migration has exploded in Italy, particularly recently, it is because the emigrant has come to be seen as a central or characteristic figure of the twentieth century and, even more so, of the twenty-first. The upheaval the emigrant undergoes is complete, since an individual's roots, language and social norms are crucial to defining them. Migrants are often forced to forget their old way of being in order to learn a new way. Theirs is a condition of crossing, of translation, since they do not belong to their new country and no longer even to that of their origins, although they dream of a mythical return, which is usually unattainable. This condition inevitably leads them to seek a new sense of belonging in an attempt to recover what Marc Augé calls an anthropological place, that is, the physical and symbolic construction of a space to be claimed as their own, which creates a synthesis of their cultural journey and, at the same time, their relational and historical identity, common to all human beings (Augé, 2009).

Italians in Argentina

In this context, women play a secondary role, both from a chronological point of view and from a cultural and political point of view. At the beginning, they did not travel, and when they did, it was as the anonymous companions of a man, father, husband or brother. They had low cultural status and no political rights, at least until the mid-1950s. They were absent from the public life of the country, although there are exceptions such as the Italian-Argentinean activist Julieta Lanteri (Brigue Marittima, 1873 – Buenos Aires, 1932), the first woman in Argentina to fight for the right to vote, against its prohibition by law.

Fiction written by women on the theme of migration began as early as the second half of the twentieth century, but, as Silvana Serafin points out – with the exception of *Gente Conmigo*, by Syria Poletti (1961), followed at a distance by Nisa Forti's *La Crisalida* (1984) − it is only in the 1990s that we find works in which this theme appears with a certain consistency and assiduity, resulting in a story that is important on the level of identity. It is only towards the end of the twentieth century that we can speak of "migrant literature" thanks to the number of works at that time characterised by specific themes, albeit with a diversity in narrative style, making them difficult to classify as a single genre. The best known examples can be found in authors such as Antonio Dal Masetto (*Fuertemente es la vida*, 1990, *La tierra incomparable*, 1994 and *Cita en el lago Maggiore*, 2011), Nisa Forti (*El tiempo, el amor, la muerte,* 1990), Mempo Giardinelli (*Santo oficio de la memoria*, 1991), Héctor Bianciotti (*Ce que la nuit raconte au jour*, 1992), Rubén Tizziani (*Mar de olvido*, 1992), Héctor Tizón (*Luz de las crueles provincias*, 1995), Marina Gusberti (*El laúd y la guerra*, 1996), María Angélica Scotti (*Diario de ilusiones y naufragios*, 1996), Roberto Raschella (*Diálogos en los patios rojos*, 1994 and *Si hubiéramos vivido aquí*, 1998), and Lilia Lardone (*Puertas adentro,* 1998), to name but a few.

Soon the variety of women writers widened creating a clear predominance of female narrators, such as Griselda Gambaro (*El mar

que nos trajo, 2001), María Inés Danelotti (*Inmigrante friulano*, 2004), Maristella Svampa (*Los reinos perdidos*, 2005), María Teresa Andruetto (*Stefano*, 1997; *Lengua madre*, 2010), Susana Aguad (*Ayer*, 2006; *El cruce del salado*. 2015), Virginia Higa (*Los sorrentinos*, 2018), Graciela Batticuore (*La caracola*, 2021) and Nora Mazziotti (*Amores calabreses*, 2016 e *Las cocoliches*, 2021).

Syria Poletti (Pieve di Cadore, 10 February 1917 – Buenos Aires, 11 April 1991) is an Italian writer, essayist and poet naturalized as Argentinian. She is considered the forerunner of the group of female authors from both countries. Her works are characterized by the desire to open up the narrative to a broad and rich polyphony of voices, in which the family is central and where a history of female subalternity finds the means to resist through a solidary network between women. On her arrival in Argentina in 1938, Poletti taught Italian language and literature at the Dante Alighieri Society in Rosario whilst also getting her qualification as an Italian and Castilian teacher at the Languages Department of the University of Cordova. In 1950, she settled in Buenos Aires and began working as a journalist, as well as writing short stories and books such as *Gente conmigo*, her first and still most famous novel. As Silvana Serafin writes, her work reveals a continuous "determination of an autobiographical perspective [...] fundamental for understanding the conscious relationship between past and present, in which emigration acts as the linchpin of her existence" (Serafin 2003, 41, our translation).[4] Her work deals mainly with female characters existing within the traditional models and roles of early twentieth century literature. Their marginalization is almost always linked to problems of immigration, placing them at the border between nostalgia for what they had left behind and the difficulties of integrating.

However, Syria Poletti's experience as an immigrant displays its originality in its being characterised from the outset by a firm desire to fully integrate into her host country, guiding her choice to write solely in Castilian. This choice, which includes partly abandoning her native language, gives her a particularly special position within the literary context of the time.

Argentina soon became her new homeland, a constant theme in all her writings, and the language of the country became her new means of communication, such that today she is considered an Argentinian writer in

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[4] «Determinazione di un'ottica autobiografica […] fondamentale per comprendere il cosciente rapporto fra passato e presente, dove l'emigrazione funge da cerniera della sua esistenza».

her own right, with many of her texts being reproduced in anthologies for use in schools.

Her first novel, *Gente conmigo,* was a great critical success, and is still seen as the first text on Italian emigration to Argentina.

In the first part of the novel, the author recounts the difficulties of living in the Friulian mountain community at the beginning of the twentieth century. While the young people emigrated, the women and children remained in the village. The women always have to be independent, solitary, strong, tough, silent and dignified.

In the second part, she paints a broad and dramatic picture of Italian emigration to Argentina. The emigrants' task is to overcome their feeling of abandonment, disorientation, and loss and to try to settle into their new context and build a new identity. The protagonist, Nora, narrates this process of integration in a lucid style but with a bitter tone. A naive and generous woman, she gets caught up with various people and situations that sometimes increase her problems and suffering. The story has a variety of characters, mainly loud and ignorant emigrants from southern Italy, portrayed as underdogs who feel estranged from and disappointed by their new lives.

She experiences Italian migration first hand as the result of her own life, as part of the heritage of her people, and also as a constitutive factor of Argentine history.

The latter is very evident in *...y llegarán buenos aires* (1977), which is the best example of a new fusion of literature and autobiography. The book displays her new maturity as an author, breaking away from her previous narrative forms to experiment on unexplored paths. Made up of a collage of different writings, it is pioneering in offering an overview of various genres: short story, autobiographical narration or self-narration, letters, and interviews. They often have historical plots in which the theme of Italian immigration to Argentina is used as a literary rather than existential motif.

In the opening text, which shares the title of the book, Poletti expresses her extreme gratitude to the place that has hosted her for most of her life and has allowed her to realise her dream of becoming a writer. The story begins with the legend of the Madonna of Bonaria, who was miraculously found near Cagliari, in an area called "Malaria" due to its unhealthy air, which would soon be cleansed through the fulfillment of an ancient prophecy, summarised by the author as follows:

Wait. Our Lady will come and new winds will blow. She will arrive with a small boat in her hand. Then, good winds will blow and the swamps will

dry up. Our Lady Saint Mary will stay on our hill, but she will also go far away, carried by the sailors, because she will protect them with good winds. (Poletti, 1977: 8, our translation)[5]

Devotion to the Virgin, who miraculously arrived from the sea, accompanies the history of Sardinia from the time of Catalan domination to the southern conquest of Latin America. Don Pedro de Mendoza, her devotee, was responsible for founding Santísima Trinidad y Puerto de Santa María de los Buenos Aires, the future metropolis in the delta of the Río de La Plata. In 1580 another coloniser arrived, Juan de Garay, who again baptised the settlement with the name Santa María de los Buenos Aires. The writer concludes by poetically describing the close ties between the two villages, which, formed in the mists of time, took on the sacred character of myth.

"Autobiografía" and "Reportaje a los cuatro vientos" are complementary autobiographical texts, which are particularly important for the author in their function of self-promotion and affirmation. In the first text, Syria Poletti (1977, pp. 61-6) presents the story of her life in a few pages through a highly poetic narrative register that reproduces the typical forms of fairy tales. The *incipit* reads as follows:

I was born on a night of avalanches and snowstorms. More than half a meter of snow fell while my mother gave birth to me in Pieve di Cadore. A fairy tale landscape. Or one of witches. Snow-capped peaks, glaciers, dazzling hills, forests of pine trees fleeing in black spirals, lakes of an incredible blue, castles, bell towers, and many sleds. (Poletti, 1977: 61, our translation).[6]

The truth of real existence is secondary to the truth of the poetry of the narrative. The protagonist/Syria Poletti briefly lays out the milestones of her life through idyllic images, which are abruptly interrupted by her decision to travel to the New World, a choice which is fundamental to the story. We have already met, even if fleetingly, these characters, events, and images in her previous books, and the two planes of reality/fiction overlap and blur. The tragedy of the war is constrasted with the dream of America.

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[5] «Aguarden. Ya vendrá Nuestra Señora y soplarán aires nuevos. Llegará con una navecilla en la mano. Entonces, soplarán buenos viento y los pantanos se secarán. Nuestra Señora Santa María se quedará en nuestro cerro, pero también se irá lejos, llevada por los navegantes, porque ella los protegerá con buenos aires.»

[6] «Nací en una noche de aludes y tormenta de nieve. Más de medio metro de nieve cayó mientras mi madre me daba a la luz en Pieve di Cadore. Paisaje de cuentos de hadas. O de brujas. Cumbres nevadas, glaciares, cerros deslumbrantes, bosques de pinos huyendo en espirales negros, lagos de un azul increíble, castillos, campanarios y muchísimos trineos».

In fact:

The young people dreamed of America, of a new world where there would be no wars, no social injustices, nor the abhorrent class differences that I had suffered. And Argentina presented itself as the great option for the future; my parents lived here. There was a lot of land here and a people we felt were our brothers.. (Ibdem: 64, our translation)[7]

Recovering memories means finding words to express the painful experience of a distant family, the trauma of arriving on a new continent, the loss of identity, and the ability to respond to the difficulties of being an immigrant. The author overcomes these painful experiences through the cathartic process of writing. Poletti's testimony of creative suffering links her to a long tradition of women destined to remember for themselves and for others.

Essay, fiction, personal reflection on writing, and memoir: *...y llegarán bueno aires* is difficult to categorise, straddling various literary typologies. It is an impure genre that is rich in insights and particularly interesting precisely for this reason. As a piece of writing it is constructed from simple, short sentences, always adhering to a poetic, fable-like narrative model. The series of easy stereotypes is redeemed by the elegance and fluency of the language and the humorous tone that overcomes prejudices about and clichés of the poor immigrant.

Ordering the facts of life into an autobiography is a response to an unconscious desire to show existence in all its variety. However, this is ultimately impossible because the written page is reduced to a series of fragments of the past that are re-presented in the writer's current reality, often conditioned by nostalgia and self-censorship.

Argentineans in Italy

The case of immigrants arriving in Italy from Argentina has its own specificity, linked to a history that has seen the direction of displacement stratified and reversed over a century. It is important to note that this inversion is not a case of those who had left returning to their land of origin, but a new form of emigration in search of better living conditions, in a difficult political, social and economic period for Argentina. Many Argentineans emigrated during the period of Videla's dictatorship and the military juntas (from 1976), pushed to leave by the tragedy of the

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[7] «Los jóvenes soñaban con América, con un mundo nuevo donde no hubiese guerras, ni injusticias sociales, ni las aborrecidas diferencias de clases que yo había padecido. Y la Argentina se presentó como la gran opción de futuro; aquí vivían mis padres. Aquí había mucha tierra y un pueblo que sentíamos hermano».

desaparecidos, and the continuing serious economic crisis in the years that followed, which included rampant unemployment, debt, and very high inflation. In this period Italy changed from being a place of mass departures to a place of arrival.

The condition of Argentinians coming to Italy is different from other foreigners. On 5 February 1992, the Italian Parliament passed Law 91 on citizenship, which "rewards" (even distant) descendants of Italians abroad, in a spirit of "reparation" for the latter having been previously disregarded by national institutions (Colucci, 2018: 100-101). Their integration into Italian society should thus be less traumatic than for those coming from other countries. However, the literature tells a different story, also representing this particular aspect of migration from the inside.

This is verified in the writing of Clementina Sandra Ammendola, born in 1963 in Buenos Aires to an Italian father of Calabrian origin who arrived overseas in the 1950s, and an Argentine mother of Spanish and Italian descent. Ammendola, who now lives in Turin, defines herself as a "migrola", who

> lives and studies migration out of necessity, moves between one nationality and another (indeed, she has two, Argentine and Italian), journeys through words and experiences, searches for a voice – although she has more than one: sociologist, educator, writer – and chooses Italian to tell stories that serve as examples, that are able to convey what she has seen and heard. (Ammendola, 2005: 4, our translation)[8]

She has written numerous short stories (Camilotti, 2009), a number of which have won the literary competition Eks&Tra, a Bolognese association that has done exceptional scouting work in "discovering" and initiating "migrant" authors such as Leila Wadja, Gabriella Ghermandi, and Igiaba Scego into writing. Ammendola has also published poetry and an important paper, *Immigrazione di ritorno e percorsi di cittadinanza* (Ammendola, 2003).

Of particular interest is her 2005 novel, *Lei, che sono io. Ella, que soy yo*, which is told in the "hybrid" form that characterises many migrant writings, centred on the experiences of the individual, but presented as indicative of a collective dimension, moving from her childhood in

Argentina to the decision to emigrate to Italy and the consequences of moving to the new country.

It is published by Sinnos in the series "I mappamondi", which is aimed mainly at a school age audience ("Bilingual books written by immigrant authors for Italian children who have foreign schoolmates and for foreign children who have Italian schoolmates, books that bridge the stories, languages, and traces of different cultures", Ammendola, 2005). The text has some formal and stylistic peculiarities, most notably its dual language: each page of Italian is translated into Spanish on the facing page. The translation is done by the author herself, rendering her double identity immediately visible to the reader. Her identity thus seems to recompose itself in the co-presence of the two languages, rather than in the superimposition of one over the other (Camilotti, 2015: 238, d'Abdon, 2007: 99).

A second peculiarity is found in a further splitting, already highlighted in the title, *Lei che sono io*, and which is continually re-proposed, like a sort of *leitmotif,* throughout the narration, between the third person used to narrate and her identification with the writer's "I". The result is an autobiography *sui generis,* whose value is reinforced, as Silvia Camilotti writes, "by the continuous overlap between the 'she' who is the object of the narration and the 'I' who narrates, a strategy that also evokes the double condition/identity of the migrant, belonging to several places or to none" (Camilotti, 2015: 238, our translation).[9]

The text is divided into three parts. The first part, "Lei e la sua prima cittadinanza argentina", follows the protagonist's life overseas, some aspects of which she returns to in the third part, "Punti di riferimento". We are shown her family, her childhood with its school activities and games, her adolescence and youth, up to her university studies in teaching and sociology, and her decision to leave at the end of the 1980s due to the impossibility of a future with a job, home, and family:

> in Argentina they talk of a miracle: only a miracle could save the thirty-six million Argentineans from a future of poverty, with no hope of well-being. (Ammendola, 2005: 50, our translation)[10]

In this first part, her memories are calmly recalled, although not without some negative elements – such as the difficulties of being the daughter of

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[8] «Vive e studia la migrazione per necessità, si sposta da una nazionalità ad un'altra (infatti ne ha due, argentina e italiana), percorre parole e vissuti, si mette in cerca di una voce – anche se ne ha più di una: sociologa, educatrice, scrittrice – e sceglie l'italiano per raccontare storie esemplari che siano in grado di trasmettere ciò che ha visto e sentito».

[9] «Dalla continua sovrapposizione tra la "lei" oggetto della narrazione e l'"io" che narra, strategia che evoca anche la doppia condizione/identità del migrante, quel suo appartenere a più luoghi o a nessuno».
[10] «In Argentina si parla di un miracolo: solo un miracolo potrebbe salvare i trentasei milioni di argentini da un futuro povero, senza speranze di benessere».

an Italian, with the inevitable mispronunciation of her surname, and her distance from her paternal family, despite her grandmother's visits from Calabria – and some tragic moments, in which she mentions the fate of a friend's uncle, who suddenly becomes *desaparecido*.

The second part, "Lei e la sua doppia cittadinanza argentina-italiana'', begins with her arrival in Rome in December 1989:

> Clementina Sandra Ammendola, that's me, crosses the ocean and becomes a migrant. This migration of hers is not adventurous. It is simply the possibility of a better future, she, that is me, thinks and hopes (Ammendola, 2005: 60, our translation)[11]

The story that follows clearly illustrates the process evoked by Sayad (2002). Sandra knew she could count on getting Italian citizenship and an Italian passport, thanks to her father who had always remained Italian, but neither the sharing of a cultural baggage that had partly come from her father's land of immigration, nor her dual citizenship seemed to mitigate the "sufferings of the immigrant":

> What can be found along the paths of migration? Perhaps a border, which is not always clear, between the here, the we, and the you. The migrant moves from their existential centre towards the unknown, the outside, while always remaining bound to their own centre by a thin but strong line [...] In Italy I experienced a sort of clandestinity: even though I had all my documents (but not enough for my qualifications or my driving licence to be recognised), when I went to renew my identity card I was told that I was probably mistaken and would have to apply for a residence permit because of my strong Argentinean accent. This is one episode among many, an episode that nevertheless sharpens the inevitable sense of uprooting that all of us migrants suffer when we leave for the unknown. (Carpinelli, 2004, our translation)[12]

Here we find the common difficulties, the search for a job far below her skill level, with her unrecognised degree, being hosted by friends before

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[11] «Clementina Sandra Ammendola, che sono io, attraversa l'oceano e diventa una migrante. Non è un migrare avventuroso, il suo. È solo la possibilità di un futuro migliore, pensa, spera lei, che sono io».

[12] «Cosa c'è lungo le vie della migrazione? Forse un confine non sempre chiaro tra il qui, il noi e il voi. Il migrante si sposta dal suo centro esistenziale verso l'ignoto, l'esterno, rimanendo tuttavia sempre legato da un sottile ma tenace raggio al proprio centro. [...] In Italia ho vissuto una sorta di clandestinità: pur avendo tutti i documenti in regola (non sufficienti però ad ottenere il riconoscimento dei titoli di studio o della patente), quando andavo a rinnovare la carta d'identità mi sentivo dire che probabilmente mi sbagliavo e che dovevo richiedere il permesso di soggiorno, per il mio marcato accento argentino. Questo è un episodio tra i tanti, un episodio che tuttavia acuisce ancor più l'inevitabile senso di sradicamento che tutti noi migranti patiamo nel momento in cui partiamo verso l'ignoto».

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finding a home of her own, the hardships of a life sacrificed. From the perspective of *translocal positionality*, there is a clear process of social and symbolic downgrading in her relationship with Italians. Yet Sandra, whose identity is again misunderstood in the mispronunciation of her name, because in Italy they call her Alessandra, makes a journey that leads her to self-recognition, which takes place in her writing. Her calling to write, already evidenced in short stories and poems that she had written many years earlier, now re-emerges. With the letters and other materials at her disposal, she aims to tell «stories of life, of dreams, of adventures, of abandonment» (Ammendola, 2005: 88, our translation).[13] It is the beginning of a long journey, «to search for voices and new forms of narration, of belonging» (Ibidem: 92, our translation).

The fundamental role that writing and literature can play in the search for identity by those who have undergone the trauma of disorientation is confirmed in this text by the importance Sandra attributes to the library, a space of encounters and learning, in which she can meet people of different nationalities and read books in Spanish.

Even more significant is the function Ammendola attributes to writing in a short story a few years later, "Ci sono volte, tutte le volte"*,* published in the newspaper *Il Manifesto* on 30 December 2007 and then in the book *Roba da donna* (from which we quote: Camilotti, 2009). The axes around which the text revolves are already laid out in the *incipit*: «There are times, even now, when memories lead me to tell stories. Each time I have many memories» (Camilotti, 2009: 261, our translation).[14] Here the centrality of the two related themes of "stories" and "memories" emerges. In the story's conclusion, these two words return, but in relation to the difficulty of activating memory, which is also always a means of recovery: «There are times, even now, when I struggle to remember. Each time I have many regrets» (Ibidem: 267, our translation).[15]

This text, which is more complex and stylistically elaborate than the flowing language of the novel, is punctuated by the anaphora "I remember", a verb placed at the beginning of each new sentence. This work of remembering starts from Argentina and the year in which the narrator's "I" decides to become a "migrola", to leave, driven, as we have seen, by "multiplied poverty" and the lack of prospects in her own country.

Although aware of the fact that she has the privilege of an Italian passport (and «passports, like people, are not all equal» (Ibidem: 263, our

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[13] «Storie di vita, di sogni, di avventure, di abbandoni».

[14] «Ci sono volte, anche ora, in cui i ricordi mi portano a dire delle storie. Tutte le volte ho molti ricordi».

[15] «Ci sono volte, anche ora, in cui fatico a ricordare. Tutte le volte ho molti rimpatri».

translation)[16] – and of being able to travel to the country that her relatives left, for the narrator migrating «is a condemnation»[17]. Her suitcase cannot contain everything, even «the space around»[18] becomes «the space within».[19] Her destiny is «being far away and inhabiting the elsewhere» (Ibidem: 267, our translation).[20]

In this condition of displacement she has to create an image of herself that is of a dual nature, between uprooting and «a frantic search for evidence to rehabilitate *more identity under my skin*» (italics in original, Ibidem: 267, our translation).[21] Writing is the tool through which she can avoid feeling excluded or extraneous, can explore her own trajectories, and remain a migrant with dual citizenship, as a therapeutic resource for Sandra on a par with other writers who have suffered the trauma of migration.

The recomposition achieved in *Lei che sono io* both through her writing and the "equal" presence of the narrator's two languages, in this story has the connotation of a continuous search rather than a goal that is easily at hand. It nevertheless finds in memory and its preservation through written words a viable space of compensation.

Stratifications

The historical emigration between Italy and Argentina has changed in magnitude and direction, as can be seen in the texts analysed here, which recount a *migratory statification* that took place not only in a diachronic sphere, but also in "alternating" spatial contexts, first from Italy to Argentina and then vice versa. It is thus interesting to note how the representation of the Italian emigrants of the initial "migratory moments"– such as those provided by Syria Poletti – has changed, analysing how more recent writers – such as Laura Pariani, who reconstructs the journey of the poet Dino Campana to Argentina – seem to turn the previous perspective on its head, characterizing Argentina as a foreign but close and authentic country in which to escape from a suffocating Italianness (Regazzoni and Mancini, 2022).

In a world in which expatriation is being reconsidered in the collective imagination and in political and economic structures, literature demonstrates an inclusive and empathic knowledge, capable of monitoring

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[16] «I passaporti, come le persone, non sono tutti uguali».
[17] «È una condanna».
[18] «Lo spazio intorno».
[19] «Lo spazio interno».
[20] «Essere lontani e abitare l'altrove».
[21] «Ricerca affannosa di prove per riabilitare *più identità sotto la pelle*».

and determining the history of an uprooted humanity.

Telling stories can allow us to give order, rationality and logos to the encounters and struggles, contaminations, and intercultural hybridisations associated with migration, which are usually perceived as a threat to the social imaginary. This demonstrates the irreplaceable importance of literature as a tool of knowledge and communication.

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SECTION 3

LABOUR, CONFLICTS AND COMPETITION

CHAPTER 6

MIGRATION STRATIFICATIONS IN THE ITALIAN LABOUR
MARKET: THE CASE OF THE VENETO REGION[1]

Davide Girardi[2] and Ilaria Rocco[3]

Introduction

The Italian migratory scenario has been characterised, especially during the last decade, by dynamics of change that have profoundly modified its features. These changes have affected both the structure of the immigrant component present in Italy and the social context, with a reciprocal conditioning and strengthening of the two aspects (Osservatorio Regionale sull'immigrazione del Veneto, 2010; 2021).

Conversely, in Italy the public debate on migration remains marked by a strong focus on the problematic aspects (Allievi and Dalla Zuanna, 2016; Strozza, 2018), as if these changes had never taken place or were (at best) less relevant than they actually were. From this point of view, the prevailing arguments for talking about immigration still oscillates between securitarian aspects and those related to the labour market, while strategic reforms (such as that of citizenship) remain anchored to partial proposals and fail to break out of a stalemate that has been going on for many years, with a considerable impact especially on young descendants of migrants, and in particular on their prospects for future social mobility (Besozzi, Colombo and Santagati, 2009; Allievi, 2022).

Consequently, the picture that emerges is then one of "suspension": between indicators that signal not only persistence, but also changes, and social representations of migration strongly centred (only) on the former.

Concerning indicators, however, further work can be done to better investigate the changes that have taken place, especially by paying attention to some aspects that have so far marked the participation of immigrants in

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[1] The authors jointly conceptualized the work, performed the analysis, and interpreted the results. The writing of the individual paragraphs is attributed as follows: paragraph 1 and 2 to Davide Girardi; paragraphs 3, 4 and 5 to Ilaria Rocco. Paragraph 6 was drafted together
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Italian society more than others: among them, the participation in the labour market (Ambrosini, 2001).

For the past two decades, in fact, the large increase in the immigrant component among the labour force has in many respects become the driving force of the Italian labour market, especially because it is characterised by young people, fundamental in sectors with a marked labour shortage, due to the combined effect of expectations (directed towards other sectors) by the "native" labour force and subsequently due to the worsening demographic winter that is now conditioning the country's prospects. Thus, the participation of immigrants in the Italian labour market has been, and still is, marked by a strong duality in comparison with the Italian component (Cingano and Rosolia, 2010); for this reason, it still makes a lot of sense to speak of the three "D" jobs (Abella et al., 1995), albeit with a labour demand that has progressively shifted from the prevailing role of manufacturing to an increasing role of services. On the other hand, however, two decades of structural participation of immigrants in the Italian labour market have allowed us to glimpse some embryonic signs of social mobility "in" work, such as – in manufacturing – the growth among immigrant workers of skilled blue-collar workers (Perotti, 2008). Such changes, however, were mainly investigated with *ad hoc* surveys (both qualitative and quantitative), which only partially allowed the actual consistency of these signs to be appreciated.

Here, instead, we propose to investigate the changes in the labour market using data taken from administrative sources, which make it possible to reach the universe of subjects of interest (Strozza and Conti, 2013) and to reconstruct a more exhaustive and probing picture of the drivers of change mentioned at the beginning of this essay. The "sensitizing concept" for reading these changes is that of "migratory stratifications", as conceptualized by Della Puppa, Sanà, and Storato, which represents the overall interpretative framework of this volume. Indeed, it allows us to observe the phenomenon of interest both in its persistence and in its changes, avoiding on the one hand the reductionism of a never-ending "emergency" linked to the presence of immigrants in the territory and, on the other hand, the idea that when we speak of "change" it is transversal and linear. The concept of migratory stratifications, on the contrary, allows us to highlight persistence – in our case, in the labour market – but also changes, which are partial and overlapping with respect to previous "strata". For analytical reasons, the stratification dimensions will be considered singularly, but clearly the interweaving of these dimensions contributes to forming meta-strata in which each subject represents a

broader multidimensional vicissitude, highlighting the coexistence of subjective and contextual elements that is proper to the migratory stratifications approach.

More precisely, in this essay we will try to understand whether: i) it is possible to identify "layers" in immigrants' participation in the labour market; ii) what are the characteristics of these layers. As we will specify later, the added value of this analysis compared to current research is the possibility of retrospectively reconstructing the subjects' work histories. This will make it possible to take stock of immigrants' participation in the labour market in a regional context considered historically significant in terms of economic performance.

The choice of Veneto, a region in Northern Italy, balances a research choice and constraints on the feasibility of the analysis. A focus on the entire universe would have entailed considerable complicating elements trying to extend the research focus to the entire national context, given that the availability of administrative data possible in the Veneto region is not always feasible elsewhere. This limitation, however, did not further condition the research choices, because the Veneto region was a pioneering laboratory (Castegnaro and Marini, 1989; Brunetti et al., 1990) in the participation of immigrants in the labour market, in the broader macro-area of Northern Italy. Delving into the Veneto context, therefore, means having a privileged view on migratory stratifications in the labour market.

The preliminary investigation of the Veneto context will be the focus of the next section. We will then proceed to illustrate the analysis methods, the main results obtained, and the potential analytical implications derived from the data.

Migration stratifications in the labour market: the perspective of a leading Italian region

The expression "utili invasori" ("useful invaders") – used by Maurizio Ambrosini (1999) between the end of last century and the beginning of the current one – was a very appropriate interpretative key to illustrate how Italy was dealing with the migration phenomenon when it had already begun to take shape in a non-extemporary (and indeed structural) way. On the one hand, a "symbolic wall" was building an alleged "irreducible otherness" of immigrants, who were represented in terms of extraneousness and kept in a socially legitimate niche; on the other hand, those same immigrants had already become functional for the Italian economy, especially in its most dynamic areas.

The latter certainly includes Veneto, described in the press at the time

as a central area of that North-East "miracle" that saw regions with an agricultural past become a solid manufacturing reality in just a few decades. For Veneto in particular, this happened in the second part of the 20th century, especially in the 1980s and 1990s (Marini, 2012). This development took place within a territorial conformation defined as "industrial district" (Beccattini, 2000; Murat and Paba, 2005). It was characterised from the outset by a number of peculiarities: these included a high density of small firms, a strong productive specialization and a local culture which assigned a socio-cultural value to doing business and hard work. The "industrial district" became a particular marker of a development model that did not identify itself either with large industry (widespread above all in north-western Italy) or with agriculture (which still characterised above all the southern regions) (Bagnasco, 1977). In Veneto, the industrial district found a specific declination: for example, the footwear district, the tanning district and the mechanics district. From this perspective, Veneto was a first-rate district laboratory, based on strong labour intensity. Since the 1980s, the migratory component became central to the districts' labour demand (Anastasia et al., 1998), which already in those years was affected by a twofold effect that would "explode" in the following years: an intense labour demand for young people – especially in factories – which was accompanied by a decreasing appeal of the industrial sector among young Italians, and the first signs of that "demographic deficit" which would find in young immigrant workers an essential functional substitute to cover the *labour shortage* attested by young Italians aiming at other employment positions (characterised by a different social *status*). Veneto, from this point of view, demonstrated very clearly how there was no competition between Italian and immigrant workers, who were in fact "not competitors, but complementary" (Cingano and Rosolia, 2010).

In other words, the immigrant component became a central player in the Veneto districts' economic performance, initially in the general labour component and later in the skilled one. This centrality stemmed from a twofold need: that of employers to fill positions that would otherwise remain vacant; and that of immigrant workers to secure a solid residence permit.

Subsequent developments would partly modify these features, but they did not radically change the basic coordinates of immigrants' integration into local labour markets. In this regard, it is worth recalling both the changes that have taken place in labour demand since the 2000s and those on the side of the immigrant component and its participation in the employment system (Bertazzon, 2007; Osservatorio Regionale

sull'immigrazione del Veneto, 2007, 2010; Gambuzza and Rasera, 2010; Anastasia and Oliva, 2015).

The demand for labour saw the emergence of innovative medium-sized enterprises (Marini, 2005), an international opening of the districts (Morrison and Sacchetto, 2016) and a reduced capacity to create "quantity" of labour, which now shifted to the side of greater "quality". This did not completely change the nature of the districts, which remained centred on small enterprises and in any case manifested the need for a workforce that was still not manned/supplied by the native labour force. However, the specific weight of manufacturing was changing, with the growing role assumed by services and in particular care services (Vianello, 2007). It was precisely care services that became another key driver for the immigrant component, replicating in many respects the same pattern followed by the manufacturing sector: immigrants went to fill those job positions for which there was a lack of Italian labour supply. This was especially the case in care services, which saw an irreplaceable presence of immigrant family carers from Eastern Europe.

The immigrant labour supply changed with the aforementioned gender equalisation (with the great growth of the female component, not only related to family reunifications, but also the self-employed), the diversification of areas of origin (with the increase of Southeast Asian origins) and, in recent years, the (still limited) emergence of second generations from immigration into the labour market (Bertazzon, 2021).

Developments in the level of demand and supply of immigrant labour were also affected by the broader dynamic processes that have involved the country. On the demand side, the process of internationalisation of enterprises and the establishment of global value chains further consolidated (Horvát et al., 2020), pushing company size into the background as the only discriminating variable. Within this framework, the insistence on "quality" and on more qualified skills linked to innovation paths has, however, led companies to achieve more with "less" labour, trying to increase the latter's productivity (Marini, 2012). On the supply side, the employment system has seen an increasing de-structuring of job positions (Barbieri and Scherer, 2005; Barbieri et al., 2018), with the growing prominence of "non-standard" positions (especially for younger people). From this point of view, even "standard" positions (full-time and indefinite) have been accompanied by the presence of the working poor (in terms of tasks and wages), in which the permanent contract does not constitute a guarantee of employment security.

These trends were finally accompanied by the effects of the Covid-19

pandemic, which had a disruptive effect on the immigrant population in Veneto and demonstrated the importance of the positioning achieved and the centrality of the variable given by social capital (Girardi, 2021; Della Puppa and Perocco, 2021; Donà, 2021).

The reference to the impact of Covid now allows us to better position our analysis, which is related to stratifications in the labour market. Focusing on labour trajectories, indeed, will allow us to better appreciate conjuncture effects and tendential effects, as well as to understand how much the changes in immigrants' labour trajectories refer to specific patterns and how much they are the effect of wider macro-trends. From the perspective of "migratory stratifications", the advantages of a retrospective approach are evident: firstly, reconstructing older layers in comparison with more recent ones; secondly, understanding the conformation of the layers and trying to identify the variables that have given them their specific conformation.

Methods
Data source

The data used in this work derive from the Labour Information System of Veneto[4] (SILV), an administrative archive collecting the stream of declarations (Compulsory Communications) due by employers to notify the events of activation, termination, extension, or transformation of each employment relationship.

The wealth of analytical details of this data source[5], which provides information on single workers and companies, enables the analysis of employment dynamics within the regional boundaries since the early 2000s. The available socio-economic information includes not only the country of birth but also the citizenship held by the worker when the employers sent the communication of hiring; it is therefore possible to identify the foreign component that transits through the regional labour market[6].

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[4] The Veneto region is a territory in northern Italy with a strong economy and a particularly dynamic labour market.

[5] To summarise the information available, this source provides coverage on: labour flows related to open-ended and fixed-term contracts, apprenticeships, contracts through employment agencies, on-call, domestic and para-subordinate work, as well as non-curricular traineeships; events activated by companies located in the region; events related to individuals domiciled in the region; both the private (since the early 2000s) and the public (since 2006) sector.

[6] Although at national level the digitalisation process of management of the Compulsory Communications started in 2008, in the Veneto region this process began in the second half of the 1990s, therefore its data can be considered exhaustive and reliable from the early 2000s. Since the exponential growth of the foreign presence in Italy was mainly recorded during the 2000s, the longevity of the database used allows us to observe almost the whole universe of foreign workers.

Inclusion criteria

From a methodological perspective, in this first exploratory analysis a retrospective approach was adopted, i.e. the work trajectories of the foreigners fulfilling all the inclusion criteria[7] were followed retrospectively into the regional labour market until their first entry; therefore the population of interest includes the subjects that satisfy the following characteristics:

I.   individuals with foreign citizenship (information derived from their first employment relationship observed);[8]
II.   individuals who have an employment contract active during 2022 with an open-ended, apprenticeship, fixed-term, temporary, domestic or para-subordinate contract;[9]
III. individuals hired by a company with a local unit based in the Veneto region, regardless of the worker's residence or domicile.

Through the reconstruction of individual careers, it is possible to investigate if some evidence exists of a stratification into layers of foreign workers making up the observed universe. This approach can verify, after decades of immigration, how many and which subjects are still active in regional employment; however, this is not the only possible perspective. A prospective longitudinal approach would have made it possible to follow the foreign workers into the labour market for periods of equal duration starting from their first entrance. Although also this approach might have led to interesting results, the retrospective one was preferred because it is less affected both by the high territorial (towards other regions or countries) and labour mobility (towards other types of work, including irregular work) characterising the foreign population and by the temporal limits of the data source.

Characteristics and paths of foreign workers involved in the labour market in 2022

The individuals with foreign citizenship who had an active employment

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[7] The observed population does not include foreign workers previously transited in the regional labour market and no longer present in 2022.

[8] On the basis of this choice, the observed universe includes both workers who retained foreign citizenship and those who acquired Italian citizenship in the meantime. For this reason, the population considered in this analysis may slightly overestimate the current presence of foreigners in the labour market; however, given the aim of this work, this choice does not affect the assessments made.

[9] For the workers with more than one contract active during 2022 we considered the most stable one.

relationship during 2022 were 458,289[10]. The male component is the prevalent one (59%), and European citizenship is the most frequent (28% EU and 25% non-EU), followed by African and Asian citizenships with one-fifth of the observed subjects each. The presence of seniors is significant (28% of foreigners are at least 50 years old) and becomes even higher among subjects with non-EU European origins (36%), mainly women with Moldovan or Ukrainian citizenship.

Focusing on the employment relationships ongoing during 2022, almost half of the foreigners are employed with open-ended work (48%), while a third of them have a contract with fixed term (22%) or mediated by staffing agencies (10%). A high proportion of domestic workers (17% in the observed universe) is also visible; by restricting the observation only to the female component, this percentage almost doubles to 32% (it is just 7% among men), highlighting the marked gender gap that sees foreign men more frequently employed with open-ended contracts (55% against only 37% for women), mainly in the industrial sector in which they are typically employed (49% compared to 19% of women).

However, it is important to note that women have highly qualified positions more frequently than men with the same type of contract: the foreign women holding a highly skilled profession are on average 6% while 39% of them have a low-skilled job; among men these percentages are 4% and 54%, respectively.

Foreigners respond to the demand of the local productive fabric in a complementary manner to the Italian component: they are more frequently employed in low-skilled professions, especially in agriculture (a sector in which they are more present than Italians), in the construction industry and in care or cleaning services (as caregivers and assistants, domestic workers, cleaning staff and waste services workers).

Tracing back the employment history of the observed foreigners down to the identification of their first entry into the regional labour market, it is possible to determine the length of their stay. It emerged that one third of the subjects (148,000) have recently entered the labour market (i.e. in the five years 2018-2022); on the other hand, an equivalent number (157,500) has entered at least 10 years earlier (i.e. before 2008): this highlights how a conspicuous part of the foreigners currently active in the regional labour market represents a stratum of the population that is strongly persistent over time in terms of presence in the territory and in relative employment.

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[10] As previously specified, the observed population includes both workers permanently resident in the region and those temporarily present in the labour market (as in the case of seasonal workers), as well as subjects involved in forms of commuting from other Italian or European regions.

An analysis of the distance from their entry into employment with respect to their macro-area of citizenship provides a picture that reflects the different types of entrance and the history of migratory flows over the last thirty years. More than 40% of foreigners from a non-EU European country who were employed in 2022 have been actively participating in the regional labour market for more than 15 years, while among African or Asian workers a similar share is held by more recent entrants.

The citizenship dimension allows us to identify the *first* form of stratification, more precisely the shift from a migratory "first stratum" formed by those communities that have been in the labour market longer than those that have entered in recent years. Within the observed population an extremely small proportion of subjects (just 1%) were born in Italy. Most of these 5,249 individuals (about four out of five) are under 30 years old. Compared to the young foreigners born abroad, that are almost equally distributed among the main macro-areas of citizenship (i.e. EU, non-EU, Africa and Asia), those born in Italy more often have Asian origins (40%). The majority of young foreigners born in Italy are employed with medium-level qualifications[11] (67%), mainly in the commerce and leisure sector (43%); their peers born abroad more frequently work in low-skilled professions (46%) and are more often employed in agriculture (9%) and industry (39%) (for the young foreigners born in Italy these percentages are 2% and 32%, respectively).

Career paths
Fragmented trajectories or single contracts?

The reconstruction of the employment history of foreigners monitored within the regional labour market[12] indicates that more than a quarter of the individual trajectories (28%, 129,000) have had a single employment episode, therefore, the contract which we find active during 2022 is their first one. The majority of these subjects (60%) have entered into the labour market in the last five years, while a fifth of them have been in the same relationship for more than 15 years.

On the other hand, 329,000 foreigners have had more than one employment relationship; this group is characterised by longer careers, in

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[11] The proposed classification refers to the following aggregations: 'high' qualification level (managers; intellectual, scientific and highly specialised professions; technical professions); 'medium' qualification level (office workers, skilled professions in commercial activities and in services, specialised labourers; conductors and skilled workers); "low" qualification level (semi-skilled workers and unskilled professions).
[12] The examined work histories have started at different points in time. Therefore, a sort of "cohort effect" might affect their observation: changes over time in specific labour market conditions could also be reflected (but not exclusively) in foreign workers.

40% of cases started before 2008.

The career paths developed on multiple relationships are experienced by foreigners on average younger than those with single-contractual paths, regardless of their period of entrance.

Foreigners with a single employment relationship mainly have a permanent contract (43%), which is the contractual type of almost all careers started before 2008 (83%). On the other hand, a quarter of the employment paths centred on a single relationship concern domestic work: in particular, more than half (55%) of the contracts started between 2008 and 2012 and still active in 2022 are based on this type of contract[13].

Table 1. Average number of employment relationships by foreigners experiencing more contracts during their working career within the Veneto region, by macro-area of citizenship.

Macro-area of citizenship						
	Total	Europe		Africa	Asia	America, Oceania, or stateless
		UE	Non-UE			
Total (n)	329,053	94,313	85,112	69,777	64,934	14,917
Number of working relationships (mean)	8,1	8,1	7,6	9,5	7,2	8,1
of which: in domestic work	0,8	0,9	1,2	0,5	0,6	0,7
Number of working relationships (mean), by class of entrance						
2018-22	4,3	3,9	3,7	5,2	4,2	4,3
2013-17	7,3	6,9	6,9	9,1	6,6	7,5
2008-12	9,2	9,3	8,3	11,6	8,4	8,7
Before 2008	9,9	9,7	8,8	12	9,4	10,1

[13] Domestic work is a contractual type that is difficult to monitor (and for this reason it is often excluded from analyses on economic and occupational dynamics relative to the sphere of subordinate employment). One of the reasons is that it involves a particular type of employer (i.e. households rather than enterprises); moreover, the continuous modification of reporting obligations makes its measurement very uncertain over time. From 1 January 2007 (Law 296 of 27 December 2006, Art. 1, paragraph 1180 et seq.), the reporting obligations were extended to domestic work, but only two years later (Law 2/2009 Art. 16 bis, paragraphs 11 and 12) legislation changed again and INPS (the Italian Institute of Social Welfare) was indicated as the sole recipient of these communications.

The *second* dimension of stratification that we propose here is by contract: from a layer formed to a greater extent by permanent contracts to a layer formed by a greater presence of fixed-term employment contracts.

Concerning individuals who have had more than one work relationship, on average they have had 8 contracts (Tab. 1); it is unavoidable that the number of activated contracts increases with the lengthening of their working careers: in fact, the mean number of contracts ranges from the 4 activations of the foreigners who have been in the regional labour market for less than 5 years to the almost 10 contracts activated by those present for at least 15 years.

For non-EU European foreigners, the preservation of their employment status is a requirement to maintain their residence permit.

The workers with citizenship of an African country stand out for having the most fragmented careers: overall they experience an average of 9.5 work relationships, and they show the highest values in all classes of entry. Conversely, foreigners from non-EU European countries are the most active in domestic work, with Ukrainian and Moldovan women typically employed as domestic helpers and carers.

Transitions in professional categories

The exploration of foreign participation in the regional labour market proceeds with a focus on the type of professional categories[14] in which they are employed.

As regards those subjects for whom the relationship active in 2022 is the only one they have ever started, their placements are mainly in medium-low level qualifications (Figure 1a); however, compared to the careers started before 2013, those recorded in the last decade (2013-2022) show faint signs of "improvement" in the professional classification: while remaining very marginal, the share of jobs with a high level of qualification presents a slight increase for substantially all citizenships.

Focusing on the individuals who have had several working relationships during their career[15], it is possible to verify whether the initial level of professional classification has been maintained over time or whether it has

[14] The information is derived from the "Compulsory Communications" due upon recruitment. Since no assessment can be made on the actual position covered by the worker nor on the quality of the work, this information should be considered a formal indication of the covered position.
[15] In the database used, the only information available on the qualification is that indicated at the time of recruitment; any change during the course of the same contract is not recorded. The proposed analysis refers to changes in professional classification observed between the first and the last contract registered.

undergone changes, towards an "improvement" (switching to a higher qualification level) or towards a "worsening" (moving down to a lower level). To determine this variation, we compared the qualification category with which the subject started their career (i.e. the one indicated in the compulsory communication of their first employment contract) with the professional level reported in their last contract (i.e. the one that we find active in 2022).

Figure 1a. Professional categories of foreigners who have had a single employment relationship, by class of entrance (before 2013 or between 2013 and 2022) and citizenship.
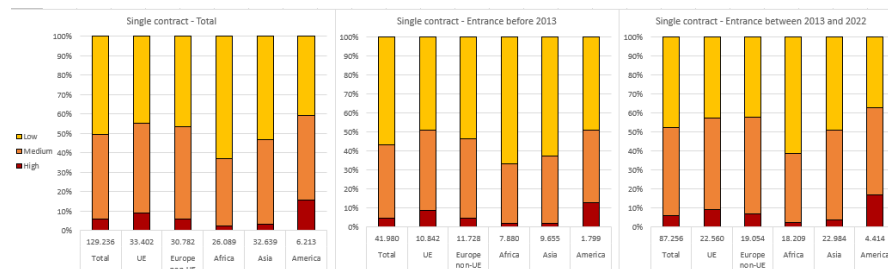
About 60% of the foreign workers maintain the same level of qualification in their first and last contract: they remain mainly at medium-low professional level, although medium-high qualifications are slightly increasing (Figure 1b).

Figure 1b. Professional categories of foreigners who have had 2 or more employment relationships, by class of entrance (before 2013 or between 2013 and 2022) and citizenship
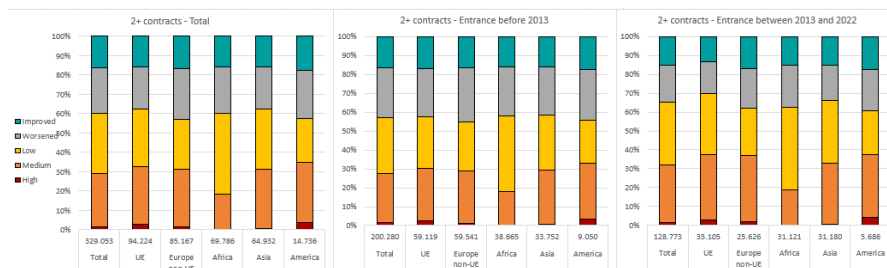
The proportion of individuals that register a variation in their professional level is lower in careers started in the last decade compared to those begun before 2013; however, the decrease happens mainly in transitions to lower professional levels: this is a further faint sign of improvement in the occupational integration of foreign workers.

In this trend, the *third* form of stratification may be observed, after those

by citizenship and by type of contract: that by professional qualification, shown below.

Characterization of the professional categories

The analysis of the career paths characterising the different socio-demographic components of the foreign population working in the regional labour market shows some interesting findings.

Focusing on the professional category registered in the careers composed by a single working relationship, we observe that women and youth (under 30 years old) more often find employment with medium-level qualifications, while more than half of men and members of the other age groups are in low-level qualifications. Marked differences also emerge from the comparison between citizenships: on the one hand, Americans denote a greater propensity (16%) than others to have highly qualified jobs, particularly in the health sector; on the other hand, there is a prevalence of African citizenships in low-skilled jobs; foreigners from European countries (both EU and non-EU) are in an intermediate position, i.e. mainly employed in medium-level professions.

Shifting the attention to foreigners who have experienced more than one contract during their working careers, the proportion of subjects maintaining the same qualification level is consistently around 60%, regardless of gender, age or citizenship. The components with a higher risk of moving down in the level of qualification are women and seniors (over 50). The comparison between citizenships shows that foreigners from EU member states or from American countries are more frequently employed in high-level qualifications that they usually maintain in subsequent working relationships; once again individuals of African origin appear to be the most disadvantaged as they are often relegated to low-skilled occupations, while citizens from non-EU European countries have a likelihood of "worsening" their level of qualifications which is higher than the average.

Transitions in contract type

A focus on the type of contract presents considerable heterogeneity between employment trajectories: these range from paths that begin with an open-ended contract and continue in the contractual stability, to more fragmented and precarious trajectories relegated to temporary relationships (Figure 2a).

The trajectories of the foreign workers participating in the regional labour market for more than a decade are often characterised by sound stability: working paths composed of a single permanent contract that

continues over time (12%) and those in which several open-ended relationships follow one another (27%) cover almost 40% of the careers at least 10 years long; including the trajectories which started with a fixed-term contract but then have reached the contractual stability the percentage exceeds 60%.

Figure 2a. Types of working paths based on contractual placement and related transitions, by class of entrance (before 2013 or between 2013 and 2022) and citizenship
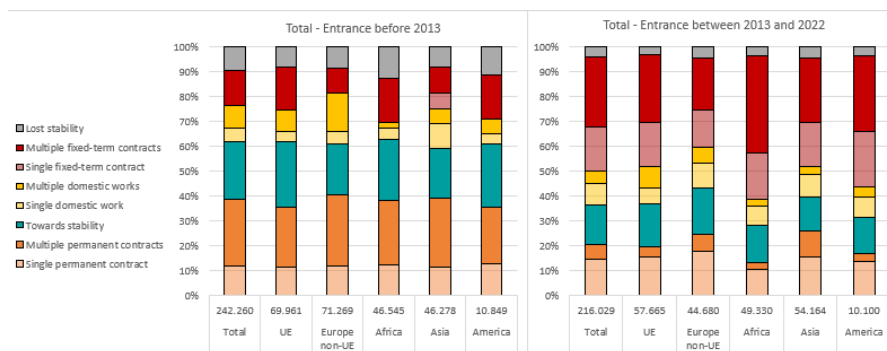
However, if we look at those who began their careers in the last decade, we inevitably find a significant proportion (around 18%) of subjects who are employed with a fixed-term contract, which also represents their debut in the working world; among the foreigners who began their careers earlier, this group cannot be present[16]. Although in the group with shorter employment paths the weight of fixed-term contracts is relevant, the proportion of careers consisting of a single permanent relationship is higher than in the other group.

Regardless of the period of entrance in the labour market, a high portion of foreigners remain permanently employed in domestic work, either with a long single contract or with a succession of domestic contracts.

A more in-depth analysis of the employment history developed in multiple working relationships (Figure 2b) further highlights the greater permanence in fixed-term contracts of foreigners with shorter and more recent careers (as previously specified, often related to seasonal work or commuting).

Foreigners who entered the regional labour market before 2013 show

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[16] A career consisting of a single relationship still active in 2022 cannot have started before 2019.

significantly higher shares of permanence in stable contracts.

Figure 2b. Types of working paths of foreigners having 2 or more employment relationships, by class of entrance and citizenship
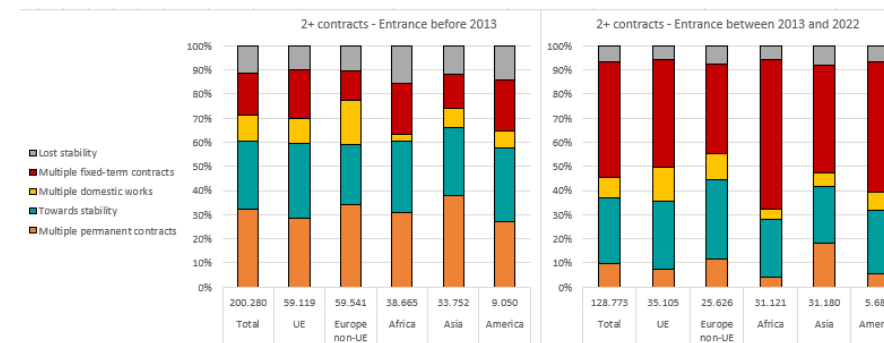
Do improvements in contractual status go hand in hand with professional careers?

The analysis of the contractual and professional components of the employment trajectories separately indicates that foreigners who entered the regional labour market in different periods show specific characteristics, which may also have been influenced by a sort of "cohort effect" linked to changes in the conditions of the labour market itself. Foreigners participating for less than 10 years have more frequently found a job presenting slightly higher levels of qualification than those who entered previously, although the latter, benefiting from longer careers, have more often reached contractual stability.

Now we will try to cross-reference these two components. This is the *fourth* form of stratification that we propose here. Two migratory sub-strata coexist in it: the one analysed by contract and the one by professional qualification.

Focusing on uni-contractual careers, permanent employment relationships tend to be linked to medium levels of qualification (in 51% of cases, compared to 40% of fixed-term or temporary contracts and 33% in domestic work); fixed-term contracts, and even more those in domestic work, mainly concern low qualifications (53% and 67% respectively, while this percentage drops to 41% for stable employees).

In conclusion, we explore careers consisting of more than one employment relationship: over a third (36%) of foreigners maintaining permanent contracts tend to remain in medium-level qualifications; while among workers with several fixed-term relationships, the share that remains employed with low levels of qualification is the prevalent one

(around 40%).

Among foreign workers who have a contractual improvement (i.e. who begin with a fixed-term contract and then reach a permanent position), a significant proportion (29%) experiences a "worsening" in their professional level, while those who benefit from a professional advance are only 13%. The opposite situation occurs among workers who start with a stable contract and then move on to a fixed-term contract: for more than a quarter (27%) of these subjects, the loss of contractual stability is accompanied by an advancement in their level of qualification; however, we cannot but notice that about a fifth of the foreigners who move on to a fixed-term contract experience a "worsening" in their level of qualification (19%).

Conclusions

This in-depth study, which represents a first attempt to explore the structuring of the foreign component currently present in the regional employee labour market, highlights the profound complexity and heterogeneity of the observed universe. What has emerged confirms the process of increasing stratification that, over decades of migratory history, has seen the foreign population become part of the existing one through the constitution of new strata: from the "oldest", which have been present in the local context for more than a decade and now present important quotas of arrivals at stability, to the most recent, characterised by shorter trajectories that often have not yet left the precariousness (even though there are increasing shares of starts directly into permanent employment).

The reconstruction of the employment history of the foreigners observed within the perimeter of the regional employee labour market since their inception revealed that one-third of the subjects began working in the last five years (2018-2022), but at the same time an equivalent proportion started working in the region at least 10 years earlier (i.e. before 2008): this highlights the existence among currently active foreigners of a numerically consistent stratum that is strongly persistent over time in terms of presence in the territory and relative employment.

The analysis of the length of stay in employment by macro-area of citizenship presents a picture that reflects the different types of entries and the history of migration flows over the last thirty years. In particular, more than 40% of foreigners with citizenship of non-EU European countries employed in 2022 have been actively participating in the regional labour market for more than 15 years, while among African or Asian workers a similar share is held by the most recent entrants. In addition to the duration of persistence in the regional labour market, the composition of careers

was also observed: among the foreigners we found employed in 2022, more than a quarter (28%) have had only one employment episode; in most cases, these are careers started in the last five years, although as many as a fifth of the subjects have been actively maintaining the same relationship for more than 15 years.

By contrast, most foreigners have more than one employment relationship: this group is characterised by longer average careers, in as many as 40% of cases started before 2008.

Career paths with multiple relationships are experienced by foreigners, on average younger than those with uni-contractual paths, regardless of the period of onset.

Although low-skilled professions and contractual instability remain more common to the labour paths of foreigners than of Italians, glimmers of faint change and slow assimilation into the original strata are emerging.

Among foreign workers who have been present in the regional employee labour market for more than a decade, trajectories characterised by strong stability have an important weight: putting together the trajectories consisting of one or more permanent employment relationships, we find almost 40% of foreigners with careers spanning more than ten years and, adding the trajectories in which, despite starting out with fixed-term contracts, they succeed in achieving contractual stability, we exceed 60%.

While bearing in mind the limits of the information that can be deduced from the Compulsory Communications which provide formal indications on the position held by the worker, what emerges is that improvements in professional and contractual classification are possible, but it seems that they often do not move in the same direction: the signals detected would show that contractual transitions towards stability are often reflected in transitions in the qualification which instead mark a "worsening" in the classification level, just as conversely "improvements" in the professional level would be associated with greater contractual precariousness. These signals represent interesting points for future investigation, such as using other data sources or resorting to qualitative analysis.

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CHAPTER 7

THE STRATIFICATION OF THE FRONTIER. PERSPECTIVES
FROM THE *SHIPYARD TOWN* OF MONFALCONE

Giuseppe Grimaldi[1]

Introduction

In this paper, I will concentrate on a process that can be described as the "stratification of the frontier". Utilizing insights from an action-research project conducted in a professional secondary school in Monfalcone, a town situated at the border between Italy and Slovenia which revolves around the largest shipyard in Europe, I aim to analyze how various social dynamics inherent in a frontier intermingle and manifest within the same social space. Specifically, while working with the children of shipyard workers – the majority of whom have migrant backgrounds – enrolled in this school geared towards preparing students for jobs in the shipyard, my goal is to illustrate how the stratifications of this frontier affect the lives of the younger generation in Monfaclone.

Frontiers can be seen as the material representation of our times (Leogrande, 2018). Besides its value in the contemporary political sphere and its nefarious effects in present Europe (Brambilla, 2009; Ciabarri, Pinelli, 2017; Altin, 2021), the frontier represents an analytical tool (Grimaldi, Gaibazzi, 2021; Grimaldi ,2022a; Rayemaekers, 2021; Saraf, 2020; Raeymaekers, 2023) through which is possible to make sense of the social fabric.

In the realms of physical, cultural, and symbolic frontiers, political formations, economic systems, and ethnic or national identities emerge, evolve, and sometimes fade away (Ara, Magris, 1982). The frontier, by its nature, exists as a complex and hotly contested space (Massa, 2021). It encompasses territories, political and bureaucratic frameworks, as well as the individuals navigating through the frontier (cfr. Donnan, Wilson 1999). From this viewpoint, it serves dual purposes: as a fundamental instrument for fostering a sense of belonging at local, national, or transnational levels,

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and as a potent framework for reimagining, critiquing, or challenging an established social order (Saraf, 2020).

Frontiers are indeed not fixed. Since Turner's conceptualization (1920) the frontier has been framed as a "mobile front" with shifting boundaries and fluid social orders: therefore, the meanings associated to the frontier, the very selection of what is "us" and what is "them" shifts not just across space (Barth, 1969) but especially across time. The emphasis on the diachronic perspective in the analysis of the frontier opens to interesting questions on its polysemic dimension.

As showed in the analysis of the present Italian/Slovenian border (Altin, 2020; Altin, Degli Uberti, 2022) the frontier is subjected to constant new forces that may materialize with the resemantization of specific spaces. Constructions aimed at presiding the border or used as check points during the cold war, are nowadays informal shelters for the migrants entering Italy through the Slovenian border across the so-called Balkan Route (Altin, 2020).

The ongoing re-signification of the frontier across time, constantly enacts new social processes, produces new power relations and calls into question new social actors. However, while these dynamics are the core of the frontier space, they are far from being easily incorporated by those who live in these spaces. On the contrary, it is quite common that a frontier serves to build identity models through a process of selection and patrimonialization of a specific part of its meanings (Harrison, 2020)[2] and the consequent rejection of others. Therefore, It is possible that different features of a frontier involving different social or epistemic features coexist, contrast and overlap in a constant process of stratification.

The concept of "stratification of the frontier" allows to consider how different social and economic structures, different political meanings, different mobility paths, even different visions of the world overlap, clash, and coagulate.

I will delve deeper into this process by focusing on Monfalcone, a quintessential frontier space situated in Friuli Venezia Giulia, at the border with Slovenia in northeastern Italy. The city is renowned for hosting the largest shipyard belonging to the Fincantieri Group, Europe's most significant state-owned shipbuilding company. In Monfalcone, I conducted an action research project[3] in a secondary school throughout the 2021/2022 academic year aimed explicitly at preparing technicians and mechanics for employment at Fincantieri.

This particular school had a notably high percentage of young students with migrant backgrounds, primarily from Bangladesh[4], and was predominantly attended by children of shipyard workers. The school experienced a substantial enrollment of migrant students with limited or no proficiency in the Italian language, (the so called NAI – Newly Arrived in Italy).

Furthermore, there was a significant rate of students discontinuing their education. Most migrant students tended not to complete their studies, and by the age of 18, many secured employment as unskilled laborers in the shipyard through various firms subcontracting Fincantieri's orders (Grimaldi, 2022b).

In a situation of global reproduction of capitalism and striking labor exploitation (Nagai, Huilin, 2010), I conducted a laboratory with a group of students to create audiovisual contents showcasing the school and the town of Monfalcone. Collaborating with experts in videomaking and acting, I produced a documentary focusing on the "Cantiere[5] of Monfalcone"[6].

This paper aims to ethnographically explore the process of frontier stratification and its impact on the territory of Monfalcone and its population. Through an anthropological reflection on the dynamics involved in creating the documentary, organizing the laboratory, engaging the students, and conducting interviews, we seek to delve into the effects of this process on the area of the shipyard.

I focused on working with young individuals aged between 14 and 18 from diverse national backgrounds and possessing varying levels of linguistic and social competencies. A significant portion of the ethnographic study revolves around the activities conducted with seven youths actively engaged in the action research project. They were involved in interviewing individuals to produce the documentary on Monfalcone's *cantiere* (Grimaldi, 2022b). Additionally, the study benefits from interactions

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[2] A good example in this sense is offered in the analysis of the present Italian Slovenian border, the former frontier between the eastern and the western world. While the former frontier (and its crossings) contributed to forge the identity of the area, its present configuration (as a passage for the refugees along the so-called Balkan Route) goes almost totally unnoticed in the public opinion or activates xenophobic backlashes (Altin, 2020).

[3] The research has been conducted in the framework of the project "FAMI Impac FVG". See https://www.regione.fvg.it/rafvg/cms/RAFVG/cultura-sport/immigrazione/FOGLIA8/
[4] On the large inflow of migrants from Bangladesh to Italy for work purposes, see Della Puppa 2014; Della Puppa, Gelati, 2015.
[5] I will often use the term "cantiere" in its Italian form in order to emphasize its emic salience and the specific history and meaning of the term in the context of the research.
[6] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yRHAjNqhEKU

with students participating in the workshop and those encountered during the ethnographic work at the school. Moreover, I conducted ethnographic research involving teachers, families, and members of community associations in Monfalcone. Although some of these relationships are not explicitly detailed in the ethnographic excerpts, they significantly contributed to framing the context and understanding the dynamics at play.

Before delving deeply into the relationship between a school and the *cantiere* in Monfalcone, it is essential to first understand why a shipyard can be considered a frontier.

The Cantiere and its frontiers

I approached the subject of the Monfalcone shipyard during a workshop with the students. I asked them what aspect we should concentrate on to discuss the matter of employment in Monfalcone. Without hesitation, all of them unanimously agreed on "Fincantieri". It turned out that every participant had at least one relative employed in the shipyard.

Sharmin, a Bengalese 17-year-old boy brought to Italy by his father at the age of 13, had most of his family members employed by subcontractor firms in the shipyard. Various stories emerged, such as Giovanni, an Italian working-class boy from Monfalcone, whose mother was dismissed from Fincantieri. Additionally, there's Claudia, a 14-year-old girl who chose to enroll, despite being the only woman in the entire school, to follow in the footsteps of her father and grandfather as executive (Fieldnotes, 11 February 2022).

The different positionalities within the group I worked with reflect on the one hand the importance of the *cantiere* in the social life of Monfalcone, and on the other hand the multiplicity of its meanings. The *cantiere* in fact calls into question different phenomena, different social positioning, but most of all different histories. It is then crucial to make sense of the ways these histories stratified and coalesced in the present configuration. Considering the *cantiere* in a diachronic perspective will allow to grasp the stratification of different migratory ages – shaped by the changing global and local scenarios, as conceptualized by the editors in the introduction of this book (see also Della Puppa et al., 2024).

An outpost of the Western World

The *cantiere* of Monfalcone inaugurated in 1907: at that time the area was part of the Habsburg Empire and the city (which today has nearly 30,000 inhabitants) was mostly a fishing village. The creation of the *cantiere* immediately produced a rapid urbanization with the arrival of population

from the surrounding areas. The urbanization, however, accelerated after the World War I and the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian empire. The *cantiere* became the materialization of the Italian Eastern Border and during the fascist period there were big investments (especially for the fascist war industry) to promote its Italianness (Zago, 2018). The shipyard was destroyed in 1944 by RAF bombing (Carnemolla, 2012), and with the end of World War II the whole area of Monfalcone entered in a political dispute between Italy and the emerging republic of Yugoslavia. After two years in which the city (and a consistent part of the Venezia Giulia region) configured as a contested space,[7] the treaty of Paris – in 1947 – established that the area belonged to Italy. Following the treaty – besides the political implications in the whole region[8] – Monfalcone and the *cantiere* turned out to represent one of the frontiers of both Italy and the western world.

The new configuration of the area activated impressive cultural flows (Appadurai, 1996). On the one hand many *cantiere's* laborers decided to abandon their job and to establish their lives in the newborn socialist country: over 2000 workers of the *cantiere* moved to Yugoslav Republic right after the ratification of the treaty that assigned Monfalcone to Italy (Miletto, 2019). On the other hand, the Italian government strongly activated to preserve the "italianness" of the place and to ward off the communist threat in both the *cantiere* and the city of Monfalcone - It is not coincidental that despite the strength of the Communist Party in the shipyard, the city of Monfalcone had city governments associated with Christian democracy until the late 1970s [9]. This interest meant huge economic investments in the reconstruction of the *cantiere* and a process of mass recruitment from inland Firuli Venezia Giulia areas. The aim of this massive recruitment was to disarm the social conflicts and to reinforce the city of Monfalcone (and especially the *cantiere*) as an outpost of italianness.

Within this social framework is possible to make sense of the work experience of Alberto, an over 90-year-old man who started to work at the *cantiere* exactly in this period (specifically, in 1948).

Alberto was one of the people that the students interviewed during their

[7] This is not the appropriate space to delve into the phenomena that shaped Monfalcone as a contested area. These processes are associated, for example, with the end of World War II and Italy's defeat, the role of resistance to Nazi-fascism in the region, or the distinctiveness of the Communist Party in the Venezia Giulia region. For a comprehensive analysis of these processes in this area see Altin (forthcoming).
[8] The effects of the treaty of Paris and the decisions that followed are still today of big social relevance in the area: the most iconic process was the so-called Istrian exodus that displaced over 300.000 people from Istria and Dalmatia due to the annexations of the areas to the Yugoslav republic. For an analysis on the phenomenon see Pupo, 2013.
[9] cfr. *Ministero dell'Interno - Anagrafe degli Amministratori Locali e Regionali,* https://dait.interno.gov.it/ elezioni/anagrafe-amministratori.

documentary on the *cantiere*. During his interview he talked about the years he spent at the *cantiere* (he retired in 1986): through his words, one can grasp the significance of the area around the shipyard as a frontier of the Western.

He entered the *cantiere* when he was very young, quickly becoming active in the syndicate. He talked about the battles he led as a trade unionist, from advocating for decent work during protests to organizing strikes for workplace safety. Throughout Alberto's tenure at the *cantiere*, he witnessed not only its growth but also the simultaneous improvement in working conditions for himself and his "comrades". Alberto notably emphasized the term "comrades" when referring to his colleagues. As a leftist union militant, he highlighted that one of the most significant lessons from his work was the importance of respecting social justice and striving for a better life (Fieldnotes, 8 April 2022).

The words of Alberto show the making of the class struggle that went on in Monfalcone in the decades of the Italian economic boom. Parallel to the expansion of the *cantiere,* the increasing of the orders, and the mass recruitments it was created one of the most important operaist force in Italy (Zorzenon, 1971). The area of Monfalcone, therefore, was configured as a frontier where the Western world's social and economic paradigm was defended and contested at the same time. As an outpost of both Italianness and the West, the *cantiere*, on the one hand, materialized as a frontier that fulfilled the progressive promise of the Western civilization (Turner, 1920). On the other hand, it represented a site of contestation of this order: still in the 70's it was the most important communist working site in Italy[10].

Much of the second twentieth century's development in Monfalcone depends exactly on this configuration of the *cantiere* as a frontier between two worlds. Its economic prosperity, the advancement of social rights and the development of the city itself can be considered as the effects of what Tsing (2011) defines as "frictions" between the two abovementioned paradigms. These frictions transformed Monfalcone, once a structurally peripheral and marginal area, into a significant reference point for the Western political and cultural paradigm.

However, as the division between the West and East lessened in the last decades of the century, the configuration of the *cantiere* underwent changes. Simultaneously, a new frontier began to emerge.

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[10] About the importance of communism in the Cantiere see https://www.ilfoglio.it/piccola-posta/2021/02/26/news/terre-di-mezzo-che-sono-spartiacque-della-storia-fra-epopee-e-sconfitte-1940044/

A frontier of the Global South

Starting from the 1980s, the global shift towards neoliberal-oriented production (Alietti, 2013) impacted the *cantiere* of Monfalcone, profoundly altering its structure, function, and workforce[11].

During the 1980s, the world also witnessed the gradual dissolution of the socialist bloc. This phenomenon resulted in the gradual loss of the *cantiere's* frontier status as a Western outpost, leading to an increase in its marginality. Furthermore, aside from grappling with challenges in finding a new role in the global market, the *cantiere* faced significant protests concerning workers' health conditions, notably asbestos-related issues:[12] in short, it seemed that not only the *cantiere* but the city of Monfalcone itself, set on its way to an inexorable decline (Vecchiet, 1988).[13] The immediate effect of this configuration was the substantial downsizing of the laborers.

Parallelly with the reduction of the labor force, however, the *cantiere* entered in a process of reconversion of its production. From the mid 80's on, the *cantiere* changed its technological and operational structure to produce cruise ships following the whole construction process: from inception to ship inauguration.[14]

The new productive system required a fundamental change in the labor force composition. Fincantieri, the state-owned company, from the late 80's on systematically reduced its in-house labor force by cutting in recruitments and encouraging retirements; on the other hand, they started to rely on a system of contracts and subcontracts for labor recruitment. Presently, approximately 80 percent of the shipbuilding work is carried out by contracting firms.[15] Out of over 7,000 individuals employed at the shipyard, only 1,500 are directly hired by Fincantieri.[16]

The configuration of the *cantiere* resulted in a significant division of its internal working conditions: a minority of laborers retained rights and working conditions acquired over time, whereas the majority of the

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[11] The military shipbuilding activities were gradually phased out, and in 1984, Fincantieri, the financial entity overseeing 'italcantieri' (the publicly owned national shipbuilding company), assumed control of the cantiere.
[12] In the shipyard of Monfalcone, asbestos was extensively used in past shipbuilding practices, particularly until the 1980s. Exposure to asbestos resulted in serious health issues among workers, such as lung diseases and mesothelioma (see Covaz, 2013).
[13] It is worth considering that while in the 1930s the ratio of Monfalcone's inhabitants to the cantiere was one worker for every 2.1 inhabitants, in 1988 it was one worker for every 12.8 (Vecchiet, 1988)
[14] https://www.fincantieri.com/it/prodotti-servizi/navi-crociera/
[15] https://www.repubblica.it/economia/2017/03/30/news/monfalcone_la_citta_-cantiere_100_ etnie_in_bilico_all_ombra_dei_colossi_da_crociera-161804454/
[16] https://ilpiccolo.gelocal.it/trieste/cronaca/2019/02/26/news/lo-stabilimento-fincantieri-e-una-citta-mila-persone-fra-operai-ed-equipaggi-1.30045026

cantiere's workforce comprised poorly or non-unionized workers with precarious contracts and unfavorable working conditions

The proliferation of contracting and subcontracting agencies led to the transnationalization of the workforce (Basch, Glick-Schiller, Szantón-Blanc, 1992). Starting in the 1990s, initially, individuals from southern Italy—especially Neapolitans—followed by workers from the former Yugoslavia, and notably from Bangladesh, comprised a significant portion of the precarious workforce of the *cantiere* (Quattrocchi et al., 2003).

Among this new labor force, there was Luca, a 25-year-old Neapolitan worker who had arrived in Monfalcone a few months before our meeting and he was working in a subcontracting firm. I had given Luca a ride via *blablacar* from Naples to Monfalcone; during the ride he told me about his origins in the Neapolitan underclass, the chronic underemployment that connoted his life in the suburbs, and his decision to move to Monfalcone. He told me about his work experience in the *cantiere*; between the line he shed light on a set of very problematic practices that configured his work as proper exploited labor: from systematic grey labor, to very low hourly wages (four euros an hour); from the lack of training to much longer working hours than what is stipulated in the contract. Yet Luca was not unhappy with his situation. On the contrary, he viewed working at the *cantiere* as an opportunity, especially after holding numerous informal jobs in Naples. According to him, it was the first time he could envision building a future, planning to relocate his partner (who was expecting a child) to Monfalcone, and starting a family [Fieldnotes 7 July 2021].

This "progressive" stance of Luca in the face of harsh precarious working conditions is common among the workers employed at the *cantiere* in subcontracting firms, especially among migrants. Dejan, a Romenian worker for a subcontracting firm in his mid-thirties reiterated this position. He was one of those interviewed by the students for the documentary on the *cantiere*. During the interview, Dejan consistently inquired whether the students' questions might jeopardize his job, often choosing not to respond. He repeatedly expressed his reluctance to cast his company in a negative light. On camera, he offered nothing but praise for the company, highlighting the growth opportunities it had received him. Dejan emphasized that although initially hired as unskilled labor, within a couple of years, he became a coordinator of a worker group.

However, through his interview, it became evident that there was a clear differential status defining his presence at the *cantiere* compared to those directly employed by Fincantieri. According to him, this difference was apparent from the moment he entered the gates. Unlike Fincantieri

workers who have access to shuttles for movement within the cantiere, workers from contracting firms like Dejan have to rely on foot or bicycle. Facilities such as the canteen and locker rooms are exclusively available to Fincantieri workers. Moreover, Dejan highlighted the substantial disparity in wages, welfare benefits, and other privileges enjoyed by Fincantieri workers, which he was entirely excluded from [Fieldnotes 22 April 2022].

The excerpts from the conversations with Luca and Dejan turned out to be paradigmatic of the effects of the conversion of the *cantiere*. In the wake of the ascendancy of a neoliberal production paradigm, the shipbuilding industry in Monfalcone adopted the ethos of frontier capitalism (Tsing, 2003) within a space long regarded as emblematic of Western progress. The *cantiere's* restructuring was anchored in a theme intrinsic to frontier capitalism—the structural disparity between the so-called global North and South. However, rather than relocating production to exploit "other" territories (a typical aspect of frontier capitalism[17]), the new configuration initiated a process of in-situ precarization. For marginalized individuals from the so called "Global South", this process continued to symbolize a notion of progress.

Amidst this dialectic, a new manifestation of the *cantiere* emerged, embodying a genuine frontier between the global North and South (Grimaldi, 2022a). This frontier transcends separations or boundaries (Saraf, 2020), serving as a framework that generates socio-cultural practices (Rumford, 2006) for those inhabiting this area.

The repercussions of the *cantiere's* reconfiguration as a frontier between the global North and South have been profound, extending beyond just the laborers. It has significantly influenced the overall sense of place and identity in the city of Monfalcone. Presently, 28.6 percent of Monfalcone's population comprises individuals without Italian citizenship[18], representing one of the highest percentages in Italy relative to its population (Altin, 2022). Nearly half of these individuals (45.6 percent) hail from Bangladesh[19]. This demographic shift has also altered the political landscape in the region. Monfalcone was long considered a bastion of the Italian left, yet in recent years, the city has predominantly leaned towards right-wing ideologies, marked by strong nationalist and xenophobic

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[17] On this process of reconfiguration of global market and externalization of the labor force see among others Gambino, Sacchetto, 2014
[18] The statistics do not consider acquisitions of citizenship or individuals who reside in Monfalcone but do not hold official residency in the city.
[19] https://www.tuttitalia.it/friuli-Venezia-giulia/98-monfalcone/statistiche/cittadini-stranieri-2021/

sentiments[20].

In public discourse, the current configuration of Monfalcone is often likened to a clash of civilizations (Huntington, 2000). However, this framework tends to overlook the historical memory construction process, which selectively ignores the internal transformations of the productive process on which the *cantiere* is based. This selective use of memory, perpetuated by existing economic and political power structures (Harrison, 2020), serves to maintain the foundational narrative of the *cantiere* as the economic and social pivot of the city, while also offering an explanation for the loss of labor and existential horizons in Monfalcone.

The collective project "*moriredicantiere.it*" has been collecting materials and reflections for years about the impact of transformative processes within the *cantiere* on the city of Monfalcone. As they assert in one of their articles:

> In the collective imagination of the citizens of Monfalcone, the shipyard represents a mythology tending to infinity. As if the economic and social conditions induced by its presence in the territory had remained unchanged since the time of its founding by the Cosulich family in the twilight of the past millennium. Any deviation from its mental representation is deeply removed with the result of living in an eternal present, increasingly distant from the concrete everyday reality[21].

While evidence suggests that the current configuration of the *cantiere* was the sole possibility for the construction site's survival, for the (local) citizens of Monfalcone, the present represents a form of "deviance" from what the *cantiere* should be.

The perceptions and portrayal of the *cantiere* in Monfalcone heavily rely on the depiction of the area as the frontier of Western civilization. It embraces a nostalgic view of the past, serving as a counterbalance to a present characterized by existential uncertainty and the capitalist exploitation of workers' lives. However, this kind of hauntology (Derrida, 1994) proves to be highly influential: it fosters the process of stratification of the frontiers upon which the present and future of Monfalconese society

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[20] The current political class has proposed various laws aimed at limiting the presence of foreigners on Italian soil with a proposed law against reunification (cfr. https://www.teleantenna.it/ 3796/ monfalcone-iniziativa-su-ricongiungimenti-della-cisint-per-morsolin-e-saullo-iniziativa-fuori-luogo) and in schools by placing a limit of foreign nationals per classroom (cfr. https://espresso. repubblica.it/ attualita/2018/07/11/news/troppi-stranieri-in-classe-il-comune-decide-di-espellerli-l-ultima-trovata-del-sindaco-leghista-a-monfalcone-1.324760/)

[21] https://moriredicantiere.wordpress.com/ Last visit. 28.03.2023

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are built."

Stratified frontiers and the making of the present Monfalcone

The *moriredicanteire.it* project highlights very clearly the articulation between the idea of the construction site that dominates in Monfalcone representations and its current configuration:

> The introduction of this production model – the subcontracting system[22] – in the early 1990s enshrined a social boundary between the citizens residing in the "mandamento"[23]. More than a boundary, a real gray zone, it was a flexible and expanding no-man's-land, which is nevertheless immediately perceptible to anyone [...] Those who due to the contingencies of life is forced to cross that line is viewed with suspicion, as a non-Monfalconian. As one who in the world of fantasy threatens the permanent dream induced by the mythology of the shipyard. These people represent a mirror where the ancestral fears of the citizens of the area are reflected. As those who wants to destroy the unifying idea of the *cantiere* and the city as a harmonious entity, breaking it down into a duality steeped in contradictions.[24]

These words materialize a distinct frontier that significantly influences the lives of individuals residing in the area of Monfalcone. This frontier emerges from the overlay of two models of the *cantiere*, and it generates a strong rhetoric among the local population. It suggests that a specific configuration of the *cantiere*, whether as an outpost of the West or as a frontier of the Global South, corresponds to a specific concept of humanity. This dichotomy manifests in the oppositional dynamic between "locals" and "migrants" taking on a spatial connotation.

Presently, in the historic center of Monfalcone, businesses and services tailored for the migrant population are thriving. Moreover, the old public housing in downtown Monfalcone, initially built to accommodate the working class of the mid-20th century, is now predominantly inhabited by migrants.[25]

However, this apparent overlay of the former and new "frontiers" results in a potent process of stratification regarding the meaning

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[22] Authors note.

[23] A "mandamento" was a former administrative area in Italy, situated between the province and the municipality. Today, the term is widely employed to denote the region surrounding Monfalcone.

[24] From moriredicantiere.com last view, 30 October 2023.

[25] This superposition between capitalist production and labors' reproduction of lives has been explored among others by Sanò and Piro (2017) working on migrants residing around agricultural production sites in southern Italy.

associated with the *cantiere*.

The new configuration of the city space paradoxically enables the "old" components of Monfalcone, who benefited of the *cantiere* a "western outpost" to uphold a progressive mythology. The houses in the historic center, now predominantly occupied by migrants from Southern Italy and various parts of the world, present a highly lucrative market. Rental prices are akin to those in larger cities, offering substantial profits for the original owners who have owned these properties for decades.

These owners, while renting out—or in some cases selling—their old houses to the "new" inhabitants, relocate to neighboring municipalities. In recent years, these areas have seen the emergence of new rows of houses or modern condominiums. The departure of the historical inhabitants of Monfalcone from the public housing in the historic center aligns with the realization of a petite bourgeois ideal, where the construction site has long been regarded as the frontier of Western modernity.

This dimension is clearly silenced in the representations of the "locals", who instead emphasize a structural division with the "newcomers", despite themselves being part of this process of stratification. This is the case of Arianna, the manager of the social club that provided a room for the videomaking laboratory with the students. Arianna was a Monfalconian in her 50s who, before running the club, worked for a subcontracting firm at the *cantiere*. She was delegated to clean on ships. She told me about the difficulties she had on the job (from the use of chemicals without proper safeguards, to low wages, to unpaid hours). Arianna emphasized several times that she never wanted to do that job, and only after some time, not without a certain embarrassment, she told me that the majority of her colleagues were migrants.

The extract above shows how problematic is to make sense of the stratification of these frontiers making up the present configuration of the *cantiere* in the Monfalconese society. However, there is a place that where this dynamic turns out to be blatant: the Fincantieri's school of Monfalcone.

Stratified frontiers and the Fincantieri's school

The school in which I based the action research activity had a peculiar structure. Specifically, one of the four curricula, the professional maintenance and technical assistance curriculum, bifurcated into two streams from the third year onward. One delved into mechanical maintenance in general, and the other focused on shipbuilding. This address was called "Fincantieri" and was the result of a collaboration between the school and the Italian shipbuilding giant Fincantieri. Part of the classroom lectures were conducted by Fincantieri personnel, laboratory activities took place in the company's special training facilities, and the students could do the internship in the *cantiere*. This collaboration between the school and Fincantieri has a specific goal according to the Monfalconese public opinion: "acquire skills that can meet Fincantieri's needs and open a preferential channel for entry into the company".[26]

The Fincantieri curricula, therefore, is welcomed as a saving element by both the school and the city. A tool that would seem to re-establish (at least for the students of the Fincantieri curriculum) the role of the *cantiere* as vehicle for social mobility. However, despite of the big celebrations, the students who have to choose which of the two addresses to follow seem to have quite different ideas. In order to enter the Fincantieri address, in fact, second-year students must undergo an interview with Fincantieri engineers and teaching staff. According to Michele, an Italian student attending the third year of the Fincantieri address, this test is different for the native or migrant population. While natives are tested for specific skills, according to Michele, migrants are asked their name, why they want to attend the address, and little else[27].

During my fieldwork I had the possibility to note that there was a proper fracture in the first year of the Fincantieri class (the third year of their school curriculum): more than half of the class consisted of young children of immigrants and some of them had limited language proficiency. I could also note in purely numerical terms what this fracture produced in the following years. While in the Fincantieri first class there were more than 20 pupils the second and third (corresponding to the fourth and fifth year of the school curriculum - did not reach 10 students. Among those who completed their diploma, people with migrant backgrounds were an exception. An exception that even needed to be celebrated: one of the teachers was keen to inform me that the year before my research they had graduated the first student of Bengali origin (Fieldnotes, 10 October 2021).

Among the young people who failed in the first year of their Fincantieri class, very few actually repeated the year in the same address. Some (few) choose the conventional address. The most, however, opted to drop out the school. The example of Leon, an 18-year-old of Bengali descent who has been in Italy for four years, is blatant. Leon was attending the first year

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[26] Cfr. All'istituto Pertini si rafforza l'indirizzo Naval Meccanico. il Piccolo, 27.03.2021 https://www.isispertini.edu.it/pvw/app/default/pvw_img.php?sede_codice=GOII0006&doc=2925795&inl=1

[27] Filednotes, 21.04.2022

of the Fincantieri address and halfway through the school year he already knew that he would have been rejected. As he told me, he had already created contacts with a subcontracting firm through his relatives. The firm would have guaranteed him a job at the *cantiere* from June (the end of the school year). Leon said that in the school year he had learned the basics of *cantiere* work, so he would not start at the lowest level (Fieldnotes, 15 March 2022).

In this sense, the Fincantieri curricula for the most of its students (especially those with migrant background) takes on the shape of a precarious job start-up rather than the preparation to enter the shipbuilding company. While the collaboration between school and Fincantieri publicly revives the rethoric of the *cantiere* as the pivot of Monfalconese society, practically this collaboration creates mainly poor labor: a poor labor that aims at reproducing the function of the migrant body in the productive structure of the *cantiere*. The Fincantieri address thus becomes a device through which to reproduce the differential inclusion of migrants in the labor market (Mezzadra, Nielson. 2013) and the differential access of the children of immigrants to substantial citizenship (Grimaldi, 2022c).

The model forming the basis of Fincantieri's approach was elucidated by Igor, an Italian of Romanian origin attending the second year of school. During our conversation, I inquired about his choice of which academic track to pursue—specifically, whether the conventional of the Fincantieri track. He mentioned that he was due to make this decision in the upcoming weeks. Igor expressed his reluctance to opt for the Fincantieri track, fearing that it would cement his status as "working class" indefinitely. He believed that securing direct employment with Fincantieri was highly improbable due to the limited job openings, leaving him with no choice but to rely on subcontracting firms. Without hesitation, he expressed his intention to choose the conventional track and endeavor to work as a freelancer (Fieldnotes 16 April 2022).

Igor's words thus represent the acid test of the ways through which the processes of stratification of the frontiers associated to the *cantiere* act on the lives and the very capacity to aspire (Appadurai, 2004) of the Monfalconese collectivity across generations and nationalities.

Conlcusions

The article delves into the impact of the social, political, and economic configurations of the Monfalcone shipyard on the territory. The framework of the frontier, employed to analyze the dynamics within the shipyard, helped uncover how workers and citizens of Monfalcone constructed identities, memories, and aspirations. Specifically, it examined

the epochal shifts in production and the global geopolitical order reflected in the shipyard through a longitudinal lens. This perspective revealed the transformation of the shipyard from an outpost of the West to a frontier between the global North and South, impacting labor, identity, and 'epistemological' models.

Despite the prevalent political rhetoric aimed at "preserving" the shipyard's old function as an integral part of Monfalcone's identity, marked by a distinction between locals and migrants, a significant stratification between old and new production models emerged within the Monfalconese context.

The mechanical school in Monfalcone, particularly the 'Fincantieri' curriculum, serves as a litmus test for maintaining the shipyard's rhetorical structure as a bastion of 'progress' while simultaneously practicing differential inclusion of migrants (and their children) within Monfalcone's society.

My ethnographic work was conducted within an educational institution rather than the shipyard itself. While this vantage point allowed a broad view of the stratifying meanings across the shipyard beyond its productive space, it limited direct engagement with the workforce (both from Fincantieri and the subcontracting firms). Moreover, working with a student group not differentiated by nationality or citizenship provided a cross-sectional understanding but lacked an in-depth analysis of specific national communities and their interpretations of the shipyard.

The frontier perspective and its analysis of stratification processes prove applicable beyond the Monfalconese context. In the Global North, the spaces that were once the symbol of "industrial progress", are now mostly failed or converted into contexts of differential inclusion of migrant labor.

These spaces foster identity and xenophobic rhetoric, warranting examination through a frontier lens to comprehend the underlying dynamics, spatial ruptures, and identity fractures.

Drawing on a perspective built on the frontier stratification processes can be useful in understanding the dynamics behind these processes and making sense of the forms of spatial and identity laceration connotating these spaces – lacerations whose most violent effects have not yet manifested.

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SECTION 4

CITY, CULTURES AND URBAN SPACES

CHAPTER 8

ETHNOSCAPE, MIGRATORY STRATIFICATIONS AND MULTICULTURAL NEIGHBOURHOODS

Alfredo Alietti[1] and Claudia Mantovan[2]

Introduction

Over time, migration dynamics in Italian metropolitan areas have profoundly changed symbolically and materially the social, economic and cultural landscape of the settlement neighbourhoods through a migratory stratification characterised over time by commercial activities, daily relations in public spaces and exchanges in domestic spaces. If the concept of 'social stratification' is related to social inequality, indicating the division of society into different social strata (or social classes), the concept of 'migratory stratification' refers to the progressive overlapping of different migratory movements in the same socio-territorial context.

However, even with regard to migratory stratification, inequality considerations are important: migratory movements that gradually 'stratify' are in fact composed of subjects differently placed in terms of economic, cultural and social capital endowment, gender, generation, legal status, etc. Moreover, the urban areas affected by migratory stratification processes are not fortuitous: various migratory waves often persist in neighbourhoods characterised by certain traits, such as the affordability of housing and the presence of family members and compatriots who can facilitate access to housing, economic and social resources.

At the same time, the progressive settlement of foreign families into certain urban areas is often perceived by the natives as both cause and effect of environmental and social degradation, whereby the distancing from the new residents is accentuated by referring to the arsenal of ethnic stereotypes and 'ghetto' rhetoric. This is particularly important given the representation in negative terms within which the presence of racialized and ethnic difference in the city has often been constructed, particularly as a potential 'threat' (Keith, 2005). The result of these dynamics is the social construction of a collective imagination in which the succession of migrant

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flows from low social backgrounds and the 'degradation' of the neighbourhood are closely intertwined. Starting from these introductory reflections and from the concept of ethnoscape coined by Arjun Appadurai regarding global migrant flows as "the landscape of persons who constitute the shifting world in which we live" (Apparadurai, 1990), this essay focuses on the transformations taking place in multi-ethnic neighbourhoods, often marked by vulnerability and processes of stigmatisation, and on how within these places migrants structure and stabilize their presence, with their conflictual but also dense and positive relations with the so-called autochthonous.

On the basis of various ethnographic researches carried out over the years by the authors in some urban contexts in northern Italy (Padua and Milan), the aim is to highlight the features of the changes that have taken place within these areas, in order to understand the reasons and the underlying dynamics that have led to various migratory flows in these specific areas, to analyse the main consequences connected to them, and to outline a concise picture of the inter-ethnic coexistence that has been built up and stratified in the analysed contexts. A path that fits into the theoretical and empirical groove of a long sociological tradition, starting from the Chicago School up to the numerous ethnographic researches carried out in the suburbs of European metropolises in the last decades (Harries et al., 2018; Bulmer, Solomos, 2016; Schmidt, 2016; Wessendorf, 2014; Gidley, 2013).

In our case study analysis, the concept of "migratory stratification" will be used consistently as defined in the introduction of this volume: focusing on how various population movements have occurred in a specific context (in this case, specific urban areas), the aim is to adopt a processual, relational, and anti-essentialist sociology that can grasp the connections between migratory stratification and structural processes of an economic, political, and social nature; between the stratification of migratory processes and the stratification of narratives on migrations; between migratory stratification and social and urban change; between dynamics unfolding at micro, meso, and macro levels. With reference to this last point, the urban context itself can be considered as a place where the repercussions of social processes occurring at different territorial levels are stratified: as Blokland T. et al. (2015, 655-65) state, *"'urban' does not so much refer to a geographical place or administrative entity, but rather to a specific sociopolitical or institutional setting, in which various levels (from the local to the transnational) are layered, condensed and materialized"*.

Via Anelli and the Stanga district in Padua: from a "ghetto" to a laboratory of interethnic coexistence

At the end of the 1970s, the 'Serenissima' complex was built in Padua, in Via Anelli, a private residential area consisting of six blocks of flats, to meet the housing needs of mainly university students, technicians, managers and businessmen travelling to the city on business.

The residential complex was located in the Stanga district, which, in the period between the two world wars, had become the first industrial core of the city of Padua. In the Seventies, with the first industrial crisis, many large manufacturing plants in the area closed down, and the district saw the thinning out of its workers. This change allowed Stanga to transform its face: university students came to populate the houses in which industrial workers had previously lived, and within about ten years, the first residential complexes, the commercial area and the city's most important business centre began to spring up. Corresponding to the process of blue-collar housing replacement, from the 1990s onwards, Stanga became the district of Padua with the highest migration intensity. As stated by a teacher at Giovanni XXIII primary school, located near Via Anelli,

> the Stanga is a sort of outpost, as it is and as it is made. It is the first place where there were industries in the city, the first place where there was a strong student residency, the first place where there was a strong migrant residency. Many of the things that happen in the Stanga have repercussions in the rest of the city. After all, the geographical location does a lot (Fabio Rocco, teacher at Giovanni XXIII primary school in Padua).

As the interviewee mentions, the various population flows that followed one another (workers, university students, service sector workers, migrants) and that are still partly present, are linked to the characteristics and location of the Stanga district: the presence of industries and university institutes, the subsequent development of the commercial and business area, the proximity to the junction of the Serenissima and Bologna-Autosole motorways, and the presence, as we shall see, of residential complexes that, like the 'Serenissima' complex, were configured as first landing areas for flows of migrants from low social backgrounds and often without residence permits, leading to the structuring of real migratory chains that from their countries of origin directed migrants directly to via Anelli (Vianello 2006).

The buildings of the 'Serenissima' in Via Anelli contained a total of 286 mini-apartments of around 30 square metres each, which were initially purchased mainly by parents of students from the University of Padua,

teachers, professionals and young couples or small family groups buying their first home, in the vast majority of cases from the Veneto region.

Between the late 1980s and early 1990s, Padua, like many Italian cities, began to be significantly affected by the immigration phenomenon[3]. In Padua, as in the rest of the country, access to housing for migrants immediately proved to be a problematic issue. In fact, immigrants are massively involved in situations of discomfort and housing exclusion: their accommodations tend to be worse and more expensive, even in the presence of a job and an income (Tosi, 2000). The causes of this phenomenon are discrimination and weak housing and social policies. With regard to the former, it was found that agencies or landlords often do not rent houses to foreigners, or require guarantees (such as six months' rent in advance instead of three, or a surety) and/or higher rents (Ares, 2000). With regard to the latter, two areas have proved to be particularly critical: the extreme narrowness of the affordable rental offer and the inadequate treatment of processes in which housing poverty and social marginality are intertwined. On the contrary, the market for affordable rent has worsened in recent years, while demand from migrants is becoming more consistent and more complex.

With the advent of immigration, the small flats in the 'Serenissima' building, partly vacated by many students who had graduated in the meantime, began to be rented out to foreigners. There, in fact, migrants gradually found a place which could offer a low-cost bed, thanks to their willingness to share cramped spaces: the rent for the small flats, which was around 500-600 euros, was actually high in relation to their size, but the practice of subletting made it possible for 6-7 people to live in flats designed to accommodate 2-3 people at most. Moreover, if the tenant of the rent contract necessarily had to have a residence permit, this was obviously not required of the migrants to whom a bed was sublet, and this is how the 'Serenissima' came to be configured in part as a refuge for migrants without a residence permit.

In the face of the progressive entry of migrants into the 'Serenissima', according to a dynamic typical of these situations, there was a progressive departure of the autochthonous inhabitants: by the end of the 1990s, the almost total replacement of the inhabitants of Via Anelli was an established fact. At the beginning of the year 2000, about one thousand people lived

[3] Italy 'officially' became a country of immigration starting from the late 1970s (1976 is the year in which the national migratory balance settled at around zero), but the presence of immigrants only acquired a certain numerical consistency and visibility a decade later. In fact, the first law issued in Italy to regulate the phenomenon of immigration dates back to the mid-1980s (L.943/1986).

in the six blocks of flats: they were practically all migrants, mainly Nigerians and Moroccans; the remaining Italians were just over a dozen. Although at that point it was practically no longer possible to rent out the flats to Italians, the owners of the flats still benefited from a situation in which the migrants' desperate need for housing led them to accept to pay rents which, as we have mentioned, were still considerable, despite the fact that the value of the flats had depreciated by more than half over time.

The practice of subletting, of which the landlords were often aware, allowed migrants to put together the necessary sum to pay the rent, and the fact that the block was at that point ethnically connoted meant that the entry of other migrants did not raise the opposition of the native neighbourhood, as it happens in areas where the presence of Italians is significant. In this situation, the owners could afford not to fulfil their obligations to maintain and repair the flats and common areas, which degraded significantly over time, also due to the overcrowding.

The area, meanwhile, had become the 'ghetto' of Padua in political and media public representation and in the collective imagination. The media, in particular, referred to via Anelli with terms such as 'Bronx', 'Casbah' and, indeed, 'ghetto', constantly emphasising the high percentage of 'illegal immigrants' among the new residents and the presence of drug dealers, often in conflict with each other.

The area, especially since the second half of the 1990s, had indeed become an important regional drug-dealing centre. However, despite the public representation that portrayed via Anelli as an environment exclusively managed and populated by drug dealers, the inhabitants of the 'Serenissima' were in the vast majority individual migrants and families who carried out regular and/or undeclared work in factories and cooperatives (porterage, cleaning). The drug dealers mostly came from outside, and only a few flats were inhabited by drug dealers and/or used as storage for drugs or cash. There were also a couple of dozen prostitutes, mainly Nigerian.

Life inside the buildings, however, was objectively not easy for those who lived there. The area had effectively become a segregated area, both because of the presence of only immigrants inside and because the authorities had at one point decided to surround it with high metal gates. Coexistence between the different types of inhabitants was not easy: many complained about the noise, the dirty, the lack of tranquillity, the fact that they were subjected to criminalisation processes and police raids, as well as the structural degradation that was getting worse and worse.

In the end, the only solution, from a socio-territorial point of view, appeared to be the total regeneration of the area: between 2005 and 2007,

the municipality of Padua implemented a 'desegregation' project through which the six buildings were progressively cleared and migrants with residence documents were transferred to social housing scattered throughout the city (Faiella and Mantovan, 2011). It was in effect an intervention aimed at increasing social mix, through the dispersion of low social class immigrants in the urban space, that has manifested some limits analogous to those highlighted by the literature in reference to projects of this type (Agustoni et al. 2015): acting on the space, in fact, by dispersing people belonging to ethnic minorities and/or lower classes in several neighbourhoods, does not act on the causes of the social disadvantage of these people and therefore does not solve their problems except in a marginal way, and also risks causing a simple 'displacement effect' of the problems present in the neighbourhoods affected by the intervention, as seems to have happened in Padua for drug dealing (Mantovan, 2015). Subsequently, the municipality of Padua moved on to the demolition of the buildings, which began on 9 December 2019 and ended on 29 August 2020. The land in Via Anelli passed into the ownership of the State, which will build the city's new police headquarters, and the City of Padua, in return, obtained ownership of the former Caserma Prandina.

After the via Anelli case, the Stanga remained a strongly stigmatised multi-ethnic neighbourhood, which resulted in many Italians moving out of the neighbourhood. As a fallout of these dynamics, Giovanni XXIII primary school, located a stone's throw from via Anelli, found itself with percentages of pupils of immigrant origin ranging from 80 to 100 per cent, and its teachers, as some of them describe in a small publication (Scalone 2008), were ingenious in developing innovative methods and proposals centred on intercultural coexistence. There was indeed a need to rebuild a sense of identity in the neighbourhood. In fact, the desegregation policies implemented by the municipality of Padua in relation to via Anelli, as we have mentioned, did not favour the reconstruction of a local community but consisted of policies aimed at dismantling the ghetto without considering the effects and root causes that led to the birth of such a phenomenon. However, the neighbourhood was and is inhabited.

Precisely for this reason Giovanni XXIII primary school, multiethnic and frontier, has undertaken several initiatives to try to overturn the segregation paradigm of the neighbourhood, starting from the reconstruction of an identity based on the territorial belonging of pupils and citizens and from a synergy between institutions, schools, networks and territory (Tobagi, 2016). Their work has an original and interesting aim: to work simultaneously on children and on the neighbourhood. Both, in fact, we could say, have fragile identities: children with immigrant parents

because they often do not feel they belong either to the country of origin or the country of residence, and the district Stanga because it has been affected by profound changes.

In fact, as we have seen, once an important industrial core of Padua, following the deindustrialisation process, it has been reconverted into a commercial and business centre. Moreover, like many other neighbourhoods in contemporary cities, due to processes such as neoliberal restructuring and increased international migration, it is characterised by the presence of an increasingly socially and ethnically fragmented population (Blokland et al., 2015). Finally, the affair of the 'Via Anelli ghetto' has cemented the image of a degraded and dangerous neighbourhood.

The teachers' work is therefore aimed at acting simultaneously on the children, their families and the reconstruction of social relations, identity and 'community' in the neighbourhood, because they are aware of the intertwining that exists between all these dimensions (Crul et al., 2012). The children are stimulated to deepen their knowledge of the neighbourhood's history and social fabric, through research and interviews (with the owners of historic and recent shops, former pupils of the school, etc.) and also through projects that put them in contact, for example, with an association of elderly people in the area.

The ultimate aim, as the teachers write in a blog they have created, is to "mend a fabric of social relations that distances the idea of the 'ghetto' from the young minds of children and even adults, [...] thus creating a sense of belonging that prevents future citizens from growing up in a soulless banlieue".[4]

This school, therefore, through the realisation of a series of activities and projects that, year after year, are increasing more and more and generating increasingly broader networks and synergies, is becoming the driving force behind a process of social regeneration of the entire neighbourhood, capable of holding together a work on the construction of identity and relationships and a work on the reduction of social inequalities (through collaborations with the Municipality's Social Services sector and other subjects that intervene on the conditions of fragility that characterise various migrant families in the neighbourhood). The Stanga neighbourhood, therefore, seems to be changing its skin again, through a

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[4] This is the innovative geoblog entitled 'Treasure Island: treasure-hunting in the Stanga district', where children, among other things, upload the material resulting from their reconnaissance of the area (https://brescale.wordpress.com/).

bottom-up work that simultaneously enhances the past and the various migratory stratifications that have affected the area in order to anchor the construction of new identities to this, and turns towards the future to overcome the stigma of urban ghetto.

Via Padua in Milan: between stigma and emancipation dynamics[5]

Talking about Via Padua means talking about the transformation of a part of the city within which the immigration society was built at the turn of the 20th century and the first decades of the 21st century. From the great migrations from the southern regions and the poor areas of the North during the beginning of the industrial era and the subsequent post-war economic boom to the flows from the global South, in this street that stretches from the centre to the periphery are the innumerable stratifications of plurality and diversity. The social and 'ethnic' variety is historically inscribed in the territory, reproducing the same situation that has been taking shape since the mid-1990s, when the immigrant presence became increasingly visible, occupying the living space according to a 'leopard-spot' criterion: certain blocks or streets, following a dynamic of progressive degradation/segregation, accommodate an exclusively foreign population, side by side with other sectors of the territory, characterised by more prestigious building, inhabited by segments of the middle class.

Historical buildings from the first decades of the 20th century combine with the residential constructions that sprung up in the 1960s and 1970s and the even more recent ones that arose mainly on the ashes of abandoned workshops. Equally distinctive is the co-presence of 'village' elements, the legacy of the rural past, whose historic cores were incorporated in the subsequent transformation into industrial suburbs (Agustoni, Alietti, 2009). An improbable tourist walking along the streets of via Padua would be struck by the historical stratification of urban forms that follow one another and by the consequent density of living and relationships that draw so many everyday worlds along a few hundred metres (Novak, Andriola, 2008: 223). It appears difficult, therefore, to attempt to identify spatial limits that could lead us to hypothesise the idea, or the actual reality, of a neighbourhood (Novak, Andriola, 2008), however much the inhabitants employ this term to describe their habitat[6]. However,

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[5] This paragraph is the outcome of a series of reflections and research on multi-ethnic neighbourhoods, in particular Via Padua, carried out together with my colleague Alfredo Agustoni, see Agustoni, Alietti (2009; 2015).
[6] In interviews and informal communication with residents, reference to the via Padua neighbourhood

what remains tangible is the working class connotation of this place which has not changed in its essence over the decades and which cannot be included in an explicitly segregative logic, which is well present in the French example.

Within the classic settlement dynamics, the availability of affordable rental housing in the older and partly dilapidated sector has favoured the access of immigrant workers in recent decades, generating in some cases specific localised migratory chains. In a research conducted on the housing careers of immigrants in Milan, it emerged how Via Padua was the initial arrival point for some foreign workers because of this circumstance, capable of providing an immediate response to the need to find a bed and a roof, albeit at a high cost and under uncomfortable conditions (Alietti, Riniolo, 2011). If at the beginning this rental accommodation offer was exclusively managed by Italian landlords who took advantage of the growing demand for accommodation, in the following years a network of foreign landlords emerged. Generally, these are overcrowded accommodation situations with inadequate, if any, sanitary facilities.

So far nothing new, rather the confirmation of a problematic settlement model that is reproduced in spite of historical conditions and contextual situations. The point on which, in part, Via Padua represents a *unicum* lies precisely in its aforementioned 'urban dialectic' between a variety of buildings and properties exclusively within the private market, which opens up to a sometimes discordant housing melting pot in which multicultural stratification is reflected at a condominium level.

Against the backdrop of the 'built' landscape, the density of relational occasions with the foreigner takes shape, prefiguring a sort of cosmopolitan and/or 'multicultural in everyday life' setting, which increasingly takes on the "schutzian traits of familiarity", a familiarity often with problematic contours, expressed through the reference to degradation and discomfort (Agustoni, Alietti, 2009; Colombo, Semi, 2004). What is the source of this negative feeling? What are the arguments advanced that validate this idea? What are the reasons that legitimise the rejection, most often ambivalent, of the immigrant? A first consideration that emerged from the collected narratives concerns the prevalence of a discursive frame where the negative representation of the neighbourhood as physically and socially degraded becomes hegemonic. In most cases, albeit with different emphases, this perception is justified by the immigrant presence. The

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shows, as we shall see, the strength of a territorial identity which, paradoxically, is not limited to one's residence. This shows that the absence of *boundaries* has a dual significance for sociological knowledge and common-sense knowledge.

degradation-immigration equation takes on the connotations of a veritable commonplace that becomes the cognitive framework within which to articulate the point of view of the so-called autochthonous. The immigrant himself, with his stigma of material poverty and uprooting, and the immigrant per se, with his 'uncivilised' behaviour, ideally depict the picture that explains the downgrading of the neighbourhood.

The prevalence of the feeling of invasion presents itself in two ways: on the one hand, in commercial spaces and, on the other hand, in public spaces. The expansion of ethnic business and the variability of the commercial offer that, in some cases, is addressed to the citizenship as a whole (restaurants, clothing) and, in other cases, is more specifically aimed at the resident immigrant population and not (halal butcher shops, grocery stores, banking services, in some cases real estate services) takes on an ambivalent meaning: on the one hand, the extreme visibility of foreign commercial activities becomes a destabilising factor, on the other hand, in certain cases it is evaluated as an added value to the area.

The synthesis of the representations and images of natives put forward so far makes explicit the difficulty in re-conceptualising the space in which one lives as one's own. The change of the urban landscape experienced on a symbolic level is decisive in creating the discursive presupposition with which to read the reality of degradation. The living place 'problematically' occupied by the foreigner, in one sense or another, seems to alter the identity, which takes on the connotations of a community 'from the good old times'. In some stories, the image of the past and of living together with the domestic foreigner, the Southerner, emphasises the myth of a great social cohesion, a mutual help despite coming from different cultural worlds, which is impossible to realise in the present. From a cognitive point of view, this adverse position is structured on the failure in the relationship with the immigrant of the "reciprocity of expectations", which is based on the assumption, most often taken for granted, of the interchangeability of points of view and the congruence of systems of relevance (Garfinkel, 2004, p. 84).

If the roots of the malaise experienced find its raison d'être in the figure of the foreigner with their real and/or imagined disturbing attitudes, nonetheless a positive relational horizon transpires, particularly in specific collective spheres such as the school, the parish and in the enjoyment of commercial activities. Following the concept of cosmopolitan canopy from Elijah Anderson's (2004) ethnographic research, a possible civil integration is experienced in these places and the respective ethnocentric impulses and distrusts can be neutralised. This configuration ties in with what other authors have revealed in their studies, such as Amin's idea of 'micro-

publics' intended as public spaces of negotiation such as schools, gardens, community centres, or Sandercock's advanced concept of 'sites of intercultural interaction' in which the possibility of mutual alienation is weakened by the prospect of sharing the same experience (Wessendorf, 2014; Amin, 2002, Sandercock, 2003). This does not imply the disappearance of the conflictual framework and negative attitude within which the relationship, as a whole, is delineated, especially with certain more visible immigrant components, but it does represent an element that can undermine the hegemonic model of the impracticability of relations and activate unprecedented forms of territorial identity marked by multiculturalism in its positive value beyond the contingency of problematic events that determine uncertainties and distrust. A paradigmatic example of this configuration in the positive regards the long and articulated process that has had, as a decisive element, the revaluation of the multi-ethnic character against stigmatising rhetoric.

In fact, in the face of certain events, including the tragedy of a young Maghrebin man killed in a clash by another young man of South American origin, the reaction of the then right-wing municipal administration promoted a stigmatising discourse and representation of the 'moral disorder' prevailing in the area in question, which was accompanied by the explicit simple, unilineal relationship between social decay, irregular immigration and deviant behaviour. The affirmation of the perverse intertwining of security policy, stigmatisation policy and the special measures adopted[7], in particular, the 10 p.m. curfew of commercial premises and food outlets, finds, first of all, an objective limitation in comparison with the reality of the neighbourhood beyond the expected practical effects, which are of little importance. The reaction of shopkeepers to the imposition of early closure, widely defined as a 'curfew', and the reaction of some residents to the reiterated image of living in an 'urban nightmare' exposes the fragility of an administrative action based almost exclusively on an ideological and repressive vision of the existing problems (Alietti, 2012).

Appeals by Italian and foreign shop owners to the Administrative Court reduced the claims implicit in the relevant ordinance until the final court ruling declared its illegitimacy at the end of 2010. At the same time, local associations and groups of inhabitants promoted a series of events (public meetings, multi-ethnic festivals, demonstrations) in which they denounced

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[7] The local administration issued two specific ordinances with a clear stigmatising and xenophobic purpose from the title 'Measures to prevent and combat urban decay, as well as to protect urban safety and public security in the area known as "Padua-Trotter"' (Municipality of Milan, 2010).

the failure of the policy adopted and the institutions' latitude in achieving effective social planning for integration and inclusion.

About sixty socio-cultural associations, trade unions, and local parishes came together, building a local network that mobilised to counter the image of the neighbourhood as a ghetto and put themselves forward as interlocutors for a different territorial policy. The realisation of a completely self-produced and self-managed neighbourhood festival (*Via Padua is better than Milan*)[8] represents a successful attempt to think differently about one's own daily space and imagine different solutions to critical situations, offering the rest of the city places, resources, and capacities that are largely unrecognised and hidden. We can consider this collective 'moral indignation' as the vindication of a positive exceptionality of the multi-ethnic dimension through which the normality of relations in everyday life, sometimes conflicting, is constructed (Alietti, 2012).

Another significant limitation in this policy can be found in the lack of a city project that contemplates the change in multicultural terms of its social, economic and cultural geography. The unprecedented demand for citizenship and social justice are increasingly played out within the spatial dimension as the privileged place where they take shape and substance (Dikeç, 2009). In this sense, advancing in the confrontation with the undoubted difficulties that affect some deprived areas, only the securitarian and xenophobic aspects cannot be sustained over time without running the risk of deepening the distance between the two cities, hindering a possible shared path of change from spaces of relegation to spaces of emancipation (Stravrides, 2010).

The reported testimony of a public and reclaiming action of residents in stigmatised neighbourhoods subject to special jurisdiction can represent an emancipatory and, at the same time, integrating instance of the immigrant component, which can potentially build social practices and multicultural policies oriented towards cohesion, escaping the simplification of the reasons for degradation and its institutional definitions.

Conclusions

Several transversal elements emerge from the two summarised case studies, most of which can be traced back to the link between *migrant stratification*, i.e. the succession over time of various migratory flows in a

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[8] The title of the festival is taken from an essay written at school by a resident child of Moroccan origin. The festival had four editions, only to end in the face of organisational difficulties and a lack of support from the municipal administration.

given place, *social stratification*, i.e. the disparity of positions in social space, and, we might say, *territorial stratification*, which can be understood both as the presence of tangible signs in urban space of the various population flows that have populated it and as the hierarchy between the different urban areas of the city. In this new 'ethnoscape', as Sanderock notes, new communities forcibly meet with already settled communities who are concerned and nostalgic, and thus, as a new mixture of cultures projects itself onto the urban landscape, xenophobic fears can quickly turn into a territorially based racist politics (Sandercock, 2004: 35).

The analytical approach illustrated in our introduction has allowed us to observe empirically the connections between the various migratory stratifications, that have affected the two multi-ethnic neighbourhoods analysed, and the political, economic, and social processes at various territorial levels (transnational, national and local). In particular, there are some significant aspects present in the two contexts with different strengths and characterizations:

> at a supranational level, the connections with neoliberal restructuring and the beginning of a new migratory phase, characterized by an increase in international migrations (Robinson, Reeve, 2005; Kyambi, 2005; Berkeley et al., 2005). This made southern European countries, such as Italy, significant destinations for immigration that were not prominent before. This framework for both cases is very relevant given the economic and social attractiveness of the territory (pull factors);
> at a national level, the connections with the Italian migration ("production" of legal irregularities, which limits the possibilities of access to housing and work) and housing policies (poor supply of affordable rents and public housing); in particular, as noted in the case of Milan, these restrictions have been greatly exacerbated by the intervention of the public administration through emergency decrees as instruments of public order;
> at a local level, the connections with housing and social policies are evident in the case of Padua, including the decision to carry out the "desegregation" project, and with the specific characteristics of the Stanga district, which has channelled a series of movements of people (workers, students, migrants).

Moreover, this approach has allowed us to highlight the connections between the stratification of migratory processes and the stratification of the narratives on migration: it is precisely the description of the area of via Anelli as a "Bronx", in the late Nineties, and via Padua as the "Casbah of Milan", for example, which, as said, promoted two different models of

intervention: in the first case, the subsequent implementation of the desegregation project, which changed the demographic composition and urban structure of the neighbourhood, in the second one a progressive stigmatization with the exclusive policy oriented to mere repression.

However, the super-diversity that characterises migratory flows in contemporary times has undoubtedly provoked unprecedented inequalities, triggered segregationist dynamics and fuelled prejudice, but at the same time it has promoted new experiences of space and contact and new practices of cosmopolitanism, creolisation and conviviality (Vertovec, 2011, p. 8).

Regarding to the process of socio-territorial stratification, the areas where migrants settle, generating real localised migratory chains, are in fact mostly those where low-cost housing is available, and where those who do not have a residence permit can still find informal accommodation with the complicity of landlords, who in this way can collect a rent for dilapidated housing, as happened in via Anelli and via Padua. The gradual arrival of migrants from low social backgrounds in certain urban areas also generates, as we have mentioned in the introduction and as we have seen again in the two case studies, dynamics of stigmatisation of the neighbourhoods that represent them as 'degraded' and 'second-class' areas compared to the rest of the city, real 'urban ghettos'.

Linked to these issues is another topic that emerges strongly from the case studies illustrated, namely that of *change*, both social and spatial, which, as known, is closely linked to the migration phenomenon. Migratory flows are in fact a *factor of social transformation*, modifying the composition and morphology of the population, relational dynamics, and as we have mentioned, the very urban landscape in which their presence is made extremely visible with the opening of businesses, centres of worship and participation in moments of widespread sociality and local mobilisation. But migrations are also *caused by changes in the society of arrival*, such as processes of de-industrialisation, the abandonment of living spaces by locals (e.g. university students who moved out of the Serenissima area) or of commercial spaces (e.g. the closure of neighbourhood shops due to, among other things, the competition generated by the opening of shopping centres), all phenomena that generate urban voids that are then filled by migrants. This also confirms how immigration is characterised by its mirror effect that highlights the dynamics and contradictions of the receiving society, including the weakness of housing, social and migration policies, structural racism, processes of social exclusion exacerbated by neoliberal restructuring, and the downgrading of the middle class.

This set of forces binds migrant housing strategies and careers within situations and conditions often connoted for a long time in terms of class rather than ethnic segregation, which determines, in part, a less concentrated territorial distribution of immigrant families than in other European metropolitan areas, which shows, on the contrary, processes of micro-segregation in certain semi-peripheral and/or peripheral areas (Benassi Bergamaschi, Daconto, Montesano, 2021; Consolatio, Benassi, Russo, 2023).

Finally, the progressive characterisation of some neighbourhoods in a multi-ethnic sense, in addition to generating stigmatisation dynamics, can however also represent, as we have emphasised, a true social laboratory of coexistence, triggering bottom-up dynamics aimed at counteracting stigmatising representations and creating new relations and new identities on a local basis which can positively modify the problematic premise of the foreign presence. However, as the case of via Padua shows, in recent times, we have witnessed the 'staging' of another via Padua in some specific streets and squares close to gentrification dynamics caused by the implicit virtue of diversity in its variety. Alongside the aforementioned multitude of signs and ethnically connoted street interactions are *LGBTQIA+* venues, restaurants owned by the children of immigration, breweries and widespread inter-ethnic social spaces that attract a large component of the city's youth, and not only. Property values are growing because of this, in parallel with a policy promoted by the city administration that is still absent except for urban regeneration interventions, which have the perverse effect of accentuating the speculative property dynamic at the expense of interventions to support vulnerable housing and inter-ethnic coexistence understood not only in its commercial value.

Consequently, it can be imagined that the complicated construction of a normality of diversity in everyday practices within the briefly analysed case studies, what has been termed commonplace diversity (Wissendorf, 2014), becomes an instrument of further housing exclusion and social marginalisation.

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CHAPTER 9

"LASCIATEMI CANTARE LA VITA CHE FA UN IMMIGRATO VERO": IMAGES AND IMAGERY OF THE MIGRATION EXPERIENCE IN ITALIAN RAP AND TRAP LYRICS

Tommaso Sarti[1] and Fabio Bertoni[2]

> Io quando andavo a scuola da bambino
> La gente nella classe mi chiamava marocchino
> Terrone "Muto! Torna un po' da dove sei venuto!"
> E questa è la prima roba che ho imparato in assoluto[34]
> (Neffa, in Sangue Misto, Lo Straniero, 1994)
> Io quando andavo a scuola da bambino
> La gente nella classe mi chiamava marocchino
> Ora la gente di classe la rapino[5]
> (Marracash, Popolare, 2005)
> Io quando andavo a scuola da bambino
> La gente mi chiamava marocchino
> "Negro", "vu cumprà", "torna da dove sei venuto"
> Io salgo sopra il podio da abusivo, muto![6]
> (Maruego, La vie en rose, 2020)

Referring to migration as a total social phenomenon, Sayad (2004) underscores the need for a comprehensive assessment of the entirety of its

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[3] We decided to offer the original in the body of the text, providing an English translation in footnotes. The translation tries to be as close to the text as possible, even disadvantaging the metrical form and the flow of rapping. In some cases (Arabic slang / territorial versions of Romeni) we preferred to leave the phrase in the original, as we were not sure of a translation that would not misrepresent the meaning. When necessary, we also provided editorial notes for slang terms.

[4] "When I was a child, at school / my classmates call me Moroccan / Southerner, "shut up!", go back the way you come / it is the first thing I learned" We decided to maintain the original lyrics in the text, and provide a footnote translation. It is oriented to the understanding of the lyrics content, and it will lose a greater part of poetic and structure of the original text.

[5] "When I was a child, at school / my classmates call me Moroccan / Now I rob classy people"

[6] "When I was a child, at school / my classmates call me Moroccan / Nigga, Vu cumprà [racist and derogatory name for itinerant sellers], go back the way you come / Now I am a stowaway on the podium, you have to shut up"

components to grasp the migrant experience fully. Therefore, the production of music within specific genres, such as rap and its variations, constitutes an additional lens through which to analyse migration and its stratifications. Embracing the perspectives of cultural studies (Chambers, 1985; Parmar, 2010) and popular music studies (Kruse, 1993; Bennett, 2000; 2017), we can view both the production and consumption of music as «a means of cultural evocative, capable of narrating stories and embodying narratives of both individual and collective identities» (Midolo, 2008: 153). This expressive and representational potential permits to shape a non-representational space without borders (Frith, 1996).

The enduring popularity of rap as a primary mode of expression for the most marginalized and racially oppressed sectors of society stems from its ability to assert its otherness through distinctive characteristics. Rap is characterized as a «language of rupture, sometimes even violent, with respect to all musical traditions, the emphasis on direct communication with others, the ease with which anyone can perform it, and the artistic legitimacy derived from political commitment and the emanation of the culture of the American ghetto» (Wright, 2000: 122). Originating from Black communities in the USA, rap emerges as a singular form of expression that transcends social and national boundaries, creating ruptures in diverse contexts worldwide through a process of musical and cultural translation that goes beyond mere reproduction of a "imported" style. Far from being a force that homogenizes, hip hop consistently positions its narrative within the margins of every society (Lohlker, 2014).

Contrary to common portrayals depicting Italian rap as predominantly "white", its roots are deeply intertwined with artists of migrant backgrounds from its beginnings. It's noteworthy that since the late 1980s, figures like Soul Boy, rapper, DJ, and foremost organizer of hip hop events, originally from Barbados, emerged as key players in the Bolognese hip-hop scene.

During its nascent stages, the hip-hop scene in Italy was significantly shaped by its ties to internal migration. Figures such as Neffa, DJ Gruff, Josta, Papa Ricky, Esa, and Tormento stand out as prominent members of the first generation of Italian MCs and DJs. Many of them share narratives of migration from Southern to Northern Italy, whether relocating with their families or individually for educational or employment opportunities.

Even with the emergence of Italian street rap in the early 2000s, with its harbouring of disruption in styles, content, and spaces compared to the previous decade, the underlying connection between migrations and rap gained even greater significance. Major record labels began signing leading rappers from the emerging generation, albeit with limited budgets and management errors. As a result, the audience expanded and diversified, moving beyond the confines of militant radical leftist political circles (which had previously embraced hip hop, primarily through the political/militant rap of the *posse* – see Anselmi, 2002) or university student niches. This shift gave rise to a street culture that was less 'orthodox' and, consequently, more attuned to working-class contexts (Giubilaro and Pecorelli, 2019). Italian rap became more receptive to the voices of young people with transnational migration experiences, particularly from the Maghreb. During this period, rappers with migration backgrounds began to emerge, gaining significant prominence within the scene through their affiliation with the most relevant national rap crews: Amir Issaa (Rome Zoo), Matt er Nero (Gente de Borgata, Rome), Lamaislam, Mopashà, and Royal Mehdi (PMC, Bologna), Karkadan and Deleterio (Dogogang, Milan). Subsequently, the emergence of other rappers from a musical generation influenced by these artists (including Hyrst, Jamil, Maruego, Ghali) further expanded the scene in the 2010s, laying the groundwork for the genre's explosive growth in 2015-2016. Italian rap quickly transcended the confines of underground music scenes, dominating sales charts (aided by the central role of streaming platforms and the generational dynamics of online music consumption), and gaining broader popularity in a remarkably short period.

A new form of techno-media DIY (Saitta, 2023) that bypasses record companies and their "selection" while lowering the costs of music production and distribution, has allowed new voices and styles to spread within the market. The recent emergence of rap derivatives such as trap and drill clearly delineates a new trajectory in the music scene, one that was previously only hinted at. In this manner, with a bold parallel spanning decades, marginalized youth find an opportunity to utilize the language of rap with a spirit akin to what their American predecessors defined as «focused on urban survival through cultural empowerment» (Mohaiemen, 2008: 323).

Therefore, this contribution proposes an archaeological approach (Foucault, 1969): by reconstructing the migratory stratification within Italian rap, we aim to break free from a double "eternal present" of emergency that constructs moral panics through the construction of folk devils around both migration and rap music. Through this historical analysis characterized by leaps, ruptures, interstices, and karstic movements, we highlight how migratory paths have become layered within the popular imagination. Simultaneously, we emphasize how rap serves as both a source and a trace of this stratification, serving as a disruptive voice

against mainstream, securitarian, and nationalist narratives.

Methods

Before delving into the migratory stratifications of Italian rap,[7] it is useful to briefly discuss the approach employed in this contribution and its theoretical premises.

We adopt a textual analysis approach to examine Italian rap production by artists with migration backgrounds, including those who have undergone internal (and specifically, South-to-North) migrations. In addition to analysing the lyrics, we consider various other aspects such as beats and samples, music composition, album covers, music videos, live events, social media profiles, and interviews. We view these elements as cultural products that contribute to the formation of imagery and are central in a subcultural perspective to define a music scene, both in terms of production and consumption (Maxwell, 1997; Bennett, 2017).

Rather than focusing on specific case studies, we have opted to provide a comprehensive overview of the music scene's development and transformations, aiming to underscore how the language of rap is consistently and systemically intersected by migrations and the racial line, albeit often overlooked.

While we cannot delve into the multitude of changes that have occurred in recent years in music production overall and within the Italian rap scene specifically, two key aspects merit consideration: first, the genre's surging success, particularly from 2015-2016 onward, and its gradual mainstream acceptance, especially among younger generations; second, the technical and technological advancements in music production and distribution, particularly through online platforms (initially MySpace and YouTube, followed by Spotify and TikTok). These changes, coupled with the genre's inclination towards a do-it-yourself (DIY) and low-cost approach, have made it relatively accessible for artists to self-produce and promote their music circumventing the traditional filters imposed by record labels and mainstream radios. Consequently, we have had to make theory-informed selections, employing a relevance criterion based on historical context and period. We approach our selection with an "emic" perspective, defining it through criteria of reputation and recognition.

The contribution adopts the Chamber's epistemological call, effectively

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[7] In the expression "Italian rap" there is a concurrence between "rap produced in Italy" and "rap in Italian". Our article only refers to the first meaning: it is our intention to break this equivalence, which starts from an (often unintentionally) nationalist assumption, which reifies a kind of Italian-ness and hides the relevance of 'non-national' (because local/regional, migrant, international) languages and aesthetics in Italian music.

summarized in the expression "thinking with music" (Chambers, 2020), which encapsulates the idea of considering music not merely as a research object, but as a component intricately woven into the complex interplay between music, spaces, bodies, and biographies. Thus, the focus extends beyond rap itself to explore the traces it carries of the connection between music production, social productivity, and the performative nature of subjectivities. The act of creating, circulating, and experiencing rap music configures spaces and non-linear paths, as well as social forces and cultural dynamics (Bertoni and DeVidovich, 2022).

Music allows us to delve into "minor stories", revealing itself as a submerged archive capable of conveying narratives that evade conventional representations of history and official sources. Just as Gilroy (1991) identifies a continuous line in Black music spanning the Black Atlantic, and Chambers acknowledges a "Mediterranean thought" that disrupts colonial relationships and identity-based political formations across Mediterranean coasts, our examination of Italian rap in relation to migratory stratifications over the past three decades enables us to reconstruct pathways, routes, and shifting imaginaries. Furthermore, through music production, subjectivities that are typically marginalized assert themselves in positions of cultural prominence and centrality, thereby shaping imaginaries, languages, and trends.

This approach transcends a mere "clue-based" posture in the interpretation of lyrics and the construction of public personas. In a cultural analysis of rap, the accuracy or fictionality of biographies and events narrated in the first person is not particularly relevant. Insisting on the "truth" as the literal convergence between lyrics and lived experiences reveals the limitations of an external perspective, which fails to fully grasp the symbolic, material, and social productivity of music.

Instead, it reduces rap to a documentary, journalistic, or even policing perspective. This characterization may not be exaggerated, especially considering the established use of rap as evidentiary material in US courts (Kubrin and Nielson, 2014), UK courts (Fatsis, 2019), and more recently, also various incidents in the Italian context (Sarti, 2023).

Indeed, the authenticity of rap is founded in a non-representational criterion rooted in possibilities of identification, mutual recognition, and plausibility. In many respects, it shares similarities with ethnographic writing (Beer, 2014), although it differs in terms of purposes. However, its effectiveness lies in its capacity to construct a narrative from a position of proximity and simultaneous involvement and engagement with social worlds that would otherwise be narrated exclusively from an external

perspective, often in stereotypical and trivialized ways.

Voices from the street: the creation of a slang in linguistic stratification

For the past thirty years, language has served as the primary indicator of the connection between rap and the migratory experiences of both producers and consumers of the genre, playing a crucial role in the recognition of social (and linguistic) identities. One of the earliest instances of this connection can be seen in the use of regional dialects, between proud and stigma, such as Neapolitan – exemplified by groups like 99 Posse, Almamegretta, and 13 Bastardi (Catalanotti and Scala, 2021) – and Romen – represented by Colle Der Fomento, Corveleno, and TruceKlan. Despite following different trajectories, Neapolitan and Romen rappers were pioneers in showcasing the potential of linguistic hybridization.

While realities in central and southern Italy sought to assert their linguistic identity by accentuating accents and dialects as a means of differentiation from the predominantly Northern-driven national scene (thereby putting Southern cities 'on the map', as is often said), rappers who migrated to Northern cities incorporated local terms and slang as a form of assertion and positioning within their new contexts.

The mass phenomenon of internal migrations, both permanent and temporary, which commenced in the 1950s and 1960s, was driven by the pursuit of employment and the"dream" of many to escape economic hardship. This coincided with urbanization, resulting in the affirmation of suburbs, mainly populated by the "new" inhabitants with migratory backgrounds. Consequently, the collective imagination began associating certain neighbourhoods with Southern origins, often linked to economic struggles, criminality, and hustle culture. For example, Marracash articulates this association by stating, "Tu yeye, io dentro cose più serie / Siciliano, babe, non è che vado giù in ferie"[8] (Marracash, in Club Dogo, ft. Marracash and Vincenzo, Puro Bogotà, 2008), underscoring the connection between Southern origins and a marginalized status in society.

In the past 15 years, there has been a notable increase in the emergence of bars and entire tracks that juxtapose Italian with other languages, reflecting the migratory backgrounds of the artists (Ferrari, 2018). Among the earliest and most enduring forms of linguistic contaminations, we undoubtedly find the blending of Italian with Arabic, particularly in its Maghrebi variants. These variants have evolved over time, diverging from

standard linguistic forms due to cultural influences and colonial legacies, and incorporate elements of Berber and French as well.

> Nta ket hadr hla mafia
> Eji handna l'Italia
> E gullia
> Politica di khhh, street maghribia
> L'hossoria contret fl commissaria
> L hattai kei drbu khtom
> I kotlohom
> Nsau rashom o nseu bledhom[9]
> (Lamaislam, in PMC vs Club Dogo, Vida Loca pt.2, 2004)

> Con due (click), sul palco
> Chiedi a Jamil, al-Sisi
> Kili su Kili imboscati dal trans (al-SiSi)
> Chiedi a Samir
> Allah y rahmo mét w fy kercho lbitha
> Mét mineur wlah sghira (wlah sghira)
> Mét w beid al ila(beid al ila)
> Rawah f sandouk lilymima
> Cairo Imbonati[10]
> (Karkadan and Giuro Wallah, 2018)

> Ndir lhala sans pitiè
> Fratello ma 3la balich
> En ma vie ho visto bezaf
> Quindi adesso rehma lah
> Baba manchofoch
> 3endi dre3 9edach
> Nari Nari, Wily Wily[11]
> (Ghali and Wily Wily, 2017)

The influence of Maghrebi migration on Italian rap extends beyond the mere use of Arabic lyrics; it has sparked a profound transformation of

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[8] You are fooling around, I'm dealing with more serious affairs / I'm Sicilian, babe, I don't go there for vacation.

[9] You speak about Mafia / come in Italy where we are / and tell me / about crap politicians, street Maghrebis / racism grew up in abundance, and in prison / snitches discredits their brothers / backstab and kill them / while forgetting who they are, and where they come from.
[10] Two clicks on stage / Ask to Jamil, al-Sisi / pounds upon pounds, ambushed by trannie / Ask to Samir / May Allah have mercy of his soul / dead and buried in a cell / Dead while still a minor, indeed, he's young (for real, young) / Dead far away from family (far from family) / Cairo Imbonati [wordplay between "Carlo Imbonati", name of a street in Milan, and the city of Cairo]
[11] No mercy, we make a mess / brother, we don't care / In my life I see everything / and now I have no mercy / Because I lose my father / oh my god, for so long.

aesthetics and cultural references within the genre. Thanks to the contributions of the aforementioned rappers, the international references of Italian rap have undergone a shift. Initially centred solely on American references, the scene gradually embraced influences of French rap, particularly those stemming from the banlieues, Arab, and postcolonial imagery. These influences have become so significant that they have permeated not only rap but also pop artists, evident in their lyrics, productions, and visual imagery accompanying musical productions. Mahmood, with his background (a Sardinian mother and an Egyptian father), serves as a prime example of this.

The multilingualism and cross-pollination of imagery in Italian rap extend beyond Arab influences to encompass a diverse range of references. Notably, influences from Eastern European countries such as Romenia, Ukraine, and Albania have emerged, alongside influences from Central and South America.

> Alo, coaie, suna telefonu! (suna, suna, suna)
> Nu vorbesc cu garda vorbesc doar in euro (oh, da, da, da)
> L chem pa Dany Blanco ca sa aduca marfa (Dany Blanco)[12]
> (OG Eastbull, in OG Eastbull ft Tony Effe and Bucarest, 2016)

As highlighted by Addazi and Poroli (2019), multilingualism serves as a tool for shaping identities, and the deliberate use of words from one's mother tongue contributes to a poetic expression of multiculturalism. This allows young individuals with diverse origins to perceive their uniqueness not solely based on their (parents') country, but rather as residents of a particular urban area, within both local and transnational contexts (Molinari and Borreani, 2021).

Rap evolves into a representation of the 'diversification of differences', acting as a factor that both fragments and, simultaneously, reassembles the population on new grounds. Rappers do not solely (and often, not primarily) assert diversity in terms of linguistic or ethnic-national origins; rather, they become interpreters of the stratification of diversities and social complexities, capturing the situated present (Vertovec, 2023).

Speranza stands out as a remarkable example of embracing multilingualism as a means of multi-scalar exploration. Having grown up between Italy and France, he effortlessly blends Italian, Casertano, French, Romeni – in its dialect used in Pescara – and even incorporates terms from other national or regional languages. This fluid linguistic mosaic reflects his

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[12] Asshole, ring the phone (ring ring ring) / we don't talk with cops, we only talk about money (oh yes) / I call Dany Blanco to bring me the drug (Dany Blanco).

diverse cultural influences and underscores the complexity of contemporary urban identities shaped by migration and transnational experiences.

> Li pagnale a geleppé
> Ne veg' e tutt' culor'
> A livell' e haddé; e love
> Scingalo ha tu mulo
> I miei soldi alle stelle, perquisizioni
> I tuoi stanno sott' e mattunelle
> Episodi tristi, tipo come i nemici
> Quagliat' 'nde putrelle
> Occupamm' abitazioni
> 'Ndo rione sentinelle
> Accatt' e visualizzazioni?
> Ok, tengo anche quelle[13]
> (Speranza and Pagnalé, 2018)

Multilingualism serves as a means of reconstructing various migration and linguistic backgrounds, challenging the very nature of national identity construction centred around the coincidence of citizenship and the Italian language. This aspect, evident in rap lyrics, extends to various aspects of music production. For instance, when Baby Gang announces the release of his album "Innocente" in seven different languages on social media, it becomes a statement of his own multilingualism and that of his audience. This gesture transcends Baby Gang's Moroccan origins and connects individuals with diverse migration backgrounds, even those different from his own, who share common themes, attitudes, and perspectives. It underscores the inclusive nature of rap as a platform for expressing diverse identities and experiences.

Moreover, it is primarily through rappers with migration backgrounds that Italian rap has opened up to international collaborations, involving prominent rappers from France, Spain, Germany, and the UK. These collaborations often stem from shared origins, albeit with different paths of mobility, based on common experiences of racialization. In this way, Italian rap expands both in terms of production and listenership, united by experiences of subordinated inclusion and tensions related to identity and belonging (El-Tayeb, 2011).

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[13] Cops are frozen / I see all sorts in this game / in terms of ideas, and love / My money on the top / My money on the top, stop-and-frisks / your money are hidden under the briquettes / sad episodes, with enemies / melted in the griders / we squat houses / sentinels in the ward / buying views? / Ok, I have those as well.

These connections emerge as a grassroots counterpoint to pan-European identity discourses that are exclusionary and fail to include those who come from or have origins outside of the Europe (and differentially within it, based on a hierarchy of European identity – see Van Baar 2017). Even at this level, rap provides a possibility of reclaiming the right to voice and offers a form of resistance against the invisibility to which individuals would otherwise be confined (Belloni and Boschetti, 2021).

Tales of migration, racism, and (denied) citizenships

Due to the centrality of concepts such as authenticity, realness, and credibility in rap, the genre predominantly revolves around (auto)biographical narratives. From one track to another, rappers craft a narrative persona, accentuating and explicitly highlighting certain elements. Consequently, biographically significant aspects such as the rappers' migratory backgrounds become woven into their lyrics as a source of identification: the story of migration, whether experienced firsthand or as a family background, recurs frequently in their lyrics. This aspect holds relevance for the entire scene, differentiating it from its US influences.

Privo di documenti in un mondo di cui non conosci nemmeno la lingua
Fare soldi in qualche modo per poi mandarli alla propria famiglia
La mia gente ha un cuore gigante e l'anima
Che fa invidia a un mondo intero
Abbiamo visto la fame e la guerra ma nulla può uccidere un popolo fiero
Non sto andando lontano perché so benissimo da dove vengo
E piuttosto che rinnegare le radici finirei dentro al cimitero
Soviet Squat[14]
(Slava, Soviet Squat, 2017)

In me c'è il desiderio di tornare, baciare mia madre sulla fronte
venire a salutare le tue strade
uomo di mare che piange sale
che scorre la sua vita
come le utilitarie in tangenziale
mi chiede se è la fame che fa prendere un aereo
e gli rispondo che non sono io che brontolo, è il mio stomaco, sul

serio[15]
(Johnny Marsiglia, in Mecna ft Johnny Marsiglia e Mezzosangue, Sul serio RMX, 2013)

Rita ha quattordici anni e le danno un fucile in mano
Voglio costringerla a sparare verso un altro essere umano
Ma suo padre è nell'esercito ed architetta un piano
Con i risparmi di una vita compra un volo per Milano
I primi giorni dorme dentro a qualche chiesa
Milano sembra bellissima, ma lei non ha tempo di godersela
Rita non può restare mai ferma[16]
(Mose COV, Rita, 2021)

In addition to the development of migration storytelling, Italian rap thematically delves into the relationship with migratory backgrounds by depicting processes of marginalization and racialization. This entails an imposed positioning at the margins of citizenship, regardless of the actual legal status. The variations of this theme are diverse and articulated in different ways, varying from track to track.

Lyrics that explicitly emphasize the recognition of citizenship and the affirmation of national identities, whether in "hybrid" interpretations characterized by movement and contamination or in the act of declaring oneself as Italian (often with a touch of irony), have resonated significantly.

Sono italiano anche senza lo ius soli
Ho visto il ventennio Berlusconi
Ho visto i botti di Totò Riina
Fantozzi, Bossi, ho visto la lira
Al gol di Grosso in quella partita
Giuro han festeggiato pure a casa mia[17]
(Tommy Kuti, Forza Italia, 2018)

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[14] Devoid of documents, in a country whose language you don't even know / hustling for sending back money to the family / my people have giant heart and soul / that envies an entire world / we've seen hunger and war, but nothing can kill a proud people / I am not going far, because I know very well where I came from / and rather than denying my roots, I will end up in the cemetery / Soviet squat.

[15] Within me lies the desire to return, to kiss my mother on the forehead / to come to greet your streets / I am a man of the sea, who cries salt / My life flows / like cars on the beltway / he wonders if it's hunger that makes one take a plane / and I answer her that ain't me grumbling, it's my stomach for real.

[16] Rita is 14 and they put a rifle in her hand / they want to force her to shoot to another human being / but her father is in the Army, and he hatches a plot / with a lifetime of savings he buys a flight to Milan / She sleeps in a church her early days / Milan looks beautiful, she doesn't have the time to enjoy it / Rita can't remain still.

[17] I am Italian, even without 'ius soli' / I've seen 2 decades of Berlusconi / I've seen the bombs of Totò Riina / Fantozzi and Bossi, I've seen the Lira [Fantozzi is a popular character of comedy movies, starred by Paolo Villaggio; Bossi was an Italian politician, leader of Lega Nord, a right-wing, northern separatist, party; Lira was the national currency before Euro] / At Grosso's goal, in that game [World cup's semi-final in 2006. Italy gains the final after Fabio Grosso's goal in the extra-time] / I swear, in my house, we celebrated.

Cittadinanza italiana
E non mi hanno riconosciuto
M'hanno sempre trattato male
Come se fossi uno sconosciuto
Per i miei fratelli senegalesi
Che sono immigrati, non si sono arresi
Ringrazio il Signore che queste culture diverse arricchiscono il
nostro Paese[18]
(Laioung, Quanto ci tieni, 2017)

This type of lyrics has garnered significant attention, extending beyond the subcultural context of rap, due to their effective capture and representation of efforts to gain visibility, recognition, and legitimacy through identification as both Italian and Black (Hawthorne 2021). The re-politicization of race through music and words (Frisina, Kyeremeh 2021) is accompanied by artists' explicit commitment to claiming recognition and rights, as well as addressing structural violence and institutional racism, and organizing outreach activities to promote other artists with migratory backgrounds.

In this direction, various online magazines and social network profiles have emerged. While many of these initiatives remain within an underground circuit, there are also mainstream examples, such as Ghali, who places great emphasis on enhancing Italo-Tunisian identity and giving voice to youth of North African origin in his artistic career. This is evident not only in some of his songs but also in the construction of his public persona, which includes collaborations with sea-rescue NGO Mediterranea and verbal clashes with Italian right-wing politicians. Even the most controversial aspects are sometimes framed within this narrative: for instance, Ghali stated that he signed a collaboration with McDonald's to include a Harissa-flavored sauce in the menu as a form of individual and collective revenge by imposing an unfamiliar taste on Europeans.

From the privileged viewpoint of Italian rap, it becomes evident that youth with migrant backgrounds assert themselves through rap by highlighting their exclusion from full citizenship rights, regardless of their intention to assert their rights or seek identity recognition. The three opening quotations in this contribution, illustrate this viewpoint as Neffa, Marracash, and Maruego, in different moments, recount experiences of discrimination within the school system. Countless bars within rap lyrics

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[18] Italian citizenship / they don't recognize me / they always treated me badly / as if I were a stranger / That is for my Senegalese brothers / who are immigrants, they never haven't given up / bless the Lord these different cultures enrich our country.

also address issues such as police violence, selective controls, racial profiling in the streets, incarceration, and the challenges associated with social welfare measures.

In essence, citizenship is re-examined through the lens of an everyday "citizenship of the abject" (de Koning 2015), shaped by institutional racism. Rap thus aligns with what Gilroy has defined as "Black oppositional practice," which transcends the narrow concept of anti-racism. Instead, it exposes the limitations and denounces the hypocrisies of a certain form of (white) anti-racism (Mellino, 2020).

The colour of the hoods

Taking a diachronic perspective, rap lyrics offer insight into the stratifications within social and cultural transformations occurring in the contexts of origin, destination, and transit, stemming from a "personal" perspective derived from stories, episodes, and images of everyday experiences. One of the most intriguing focal points for interpreting this historical stratification undoubtedly revolves around the urban periphery.

As highlighted by Molinari and Borreani (2021), migrants have often found housing opportunities in historically working-class neighbourhoods, which were developed during the industrialization processes of the 20th century and are interconnected with internal south-to-north migrations. The living conditions of the youth, characterized by urban inequalities, intersect with systemic and material aspects of housing issues, spatial and social peripheries, and the symbolic and cultural dimensions of territorial stigma associated with "rough neighbourhoods" (and the 'goodfellas' who inhabit them). This results in a common spatialization of diverse migratory paths over time and an urban stratification based on the traces that different migrations leave within these neighborhoods.

Crescendo in certi ambiti, bambini con bei abiti
In cinque in una casa, "Dove cazzo abiti?"
Quartiere di arabi, calabresi e Napoli
In mezzo agli ostacoli, attendiamo miracoli
Nel mentre, cerco la scorciatoia
In mente, vorrei finire nella storia[19]
(Neima Ezza, Amine, 2019)

Fanno tutti lo stesso mestiere

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[19] Grewing up in certain circles, kids with nice dresses / 5 in a house, "where the fuck do you live" / neighbourhood of Arabs, Calabrians, and Neapolitans / among obstacles, we await miracles / I look for shortcuts, in the meantime / in my mind, I want to make history

si beve tutti dallo stesso bicchiere
nel mio quartiere
ci sono più dialetti che nella torre di Babele[20]
(Mose COV, in Mose Cromo ft. Mose COV and Young Rame, Stai
zitto, 2020)

Thus, these areas are recounted by different generations of rappers with diverse migratory backgrounds, spanning origins and decades. Their co-presence in the same area illustrates the demographic changes that have occurred, often with unintentionally parallel narratives. For instance, the experience of arriving in Milan, enduring an initial period of precarity in more central neighbourhoods, and succeeding settling in Barona is a recurring family trajectory, impacting Marracash's family from Sicily in the 1980s and Abby 6ix's family from Burkina Faso in the 2000s. Similarly, in Turin, a similar pattern can be observed in Barriera di Milano, in the North-East of the city, which serves as a common ground for rappers such as Rico Mendossa, Isi Noice, and Hani.

The neighborhood evolves into a landscape of memory (Tolia-Kelly, 2016), continuously changing with signs that accumulate, overlay, and alter previous ones, interwoven with street mythopoeia consisting of journalistic news, popular myths, and urban legends. Rap serves to 'capture' these images, representing the intricate layering by intertwining the biographical journeys of the rappers (or the characters they portray) with their lives in deeply racialized, multi-ethnic, and migratory urban environments.

The multi-ethnicity depicted in the narratives of rappers with migratory backgrounds has the potential to challenge dominant representations. On one hand, it disrupts the notion of migrant communities being confined within their identities, previously trapped in static reproductions of their origins. On the other hand, it challenges the idealized concept of harmonious and idyllic multiculturalism. Everyday encounters and coexistence become tangible and authentic elements, often arising not from deliberate choices but from circumstances of material constraints and limitations.

Sto in mezzo agli zingari sinti e rumeni
tu parli di strada, maddai fate i seri
non parlo di strada, coglione ci vivo
dai cazzo non vedi
case popolari ora siam popolari

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[20] We all do the same job / we all drink from the same pot / in my hood / there are more dialects than in the Tower of Babel

faccio il figlio di papi senza i soldi di papi[21]
(Luchitos, Bugatti, 2020)

Mi chiamano i soci pugliesi da Bari e Milano
Giro con due senegalesi, due albanesi, due napoletani
Due arabi, due cinesi e due sudamericani
che mi dicon: "que lo ke, hermano
que lo ke" (tranquilo)[22]
(Baby Gang, in Baby Gang ft Lacrim and Gustavo, 2023)

Everyday cohabitation fosters conditions for mutual recognition and solidarity: shared experiences of migration and lives in the same contexts simultaneously narrate social class, defined by the intersection of urban inequalities and conditions of poverty – or the necessity of participating in informal economies to escape – while these two lines are distinctly crossed by a racist line of colour. While rap often directly delivers stereotyped (yet often ironic) representations of Chinese bar owners, violent East-Europeans, South American sex-workers, Italian mafiosi, and Maghrebi drug dealers, rappers claim a social positioning oscillating between denunciation and affirmation of social marginality. Identities and cultures are questioned and tactically utilized (Baumann, 1996), far from being reified and mobilized solely in response to the context. In some cases, identities are based on national or regional affiliations; in others, they are continental, or ethnical, or religious. They identify themselves as foreigners in relation to citizenship and institutions, through the universality of an idea of a migrant as well as local particularisms, referring to both the context of origin and the destination.

Reclaiming one's barbarism

The biennium of 2015-2016 marked a significant turning point: a broader audience, outside of subcultural niches, began to familiarize themselves with rap. This shift was propelled by the emergence of a generation of racialized kids, typically born in Italy to migrant parents in the 1990s. As they came of age, they started to assert their existence, representing themselves through music, articulating and naming their personal and collective needs (Bianchi and Dal Lago, 2017). They explicitly positioned their presence and daily lives in terms of resistance to the

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[21] I am among gypsies, Sinti and Romeni / and you talk about the street, c'mon, be serious / I'm not talking about the street, asshole, I live it / Fuck, can't you see? / Public housing, now we are popular / Now I do the daddy's boy without daddy's money.
[22] Apulian fellows call me, from Bari and Milan / I hang out with two Senegalese, two Albanians, two Neapolitans / two Arabs, two Chinese and two South Americans / who tell me: "How is it going, bro? How is it going?" (Relax)

dominant societal logic (Belloni and Boschetti, 2021), offering a harsh critique of their material conditions: «trap began to resonate in the suburbs and disadvantaged realities of numerous other urban settings, where [...] the violence of the centre is also experienced and reworked in the youth world through music» (Molinari and Borreani, 2021: 60).

Accompanied by rap as an expressive form of the marginalized, rap and trap set themselves apart both in sound and themes (Conti, 2020), becoming a fitting representation of the current 'zeitgeist' of youth subcultures and their affective atmospheres characterized by a constant oscillation between euphoria and depression (Kaluza, 2018). This is combined with a discourse, often contradictory, centred around the collectivism of friends, peers, and neighbourhoods. At the core of it all remains the violent street code, which governs social interactions through enacted, and often mimicked or threatened, violence – a "grammar of looks" that either pre-empts or avoids confrontation (Saitta, 2023).

In a context where street life is perceived as one of the few escape routes from hunger and misery, violence takes on a pedagogical value for the deprived youth of the suburbs who must learn to navigate, and *learn to be on* the streets. While rap has often been accused for glorifying violence, as Fisher puts it, its merit lies in the fact that it «stripped the world of sentimental illusion and saw it for what it is [...] where dog eats dog, where you are either a winner or a loser and where most will be losers» (Fisher, 2009: 11). Gangsta rap before, and then trap and drill, depict a reality where violence is ubiquitous and serves as a way of life for many artists who find in music a means of stepping away from criminal activities, while still maintaining a connection between the two worlds (Kubrin, 2005). This shapes mechanisms of identity resistance that sometimes present themselves in ambivalent terms regarding traditional representations of deviance.

Non sono un bandolero, nemmeno un tipo apposto
So dove mangiare, so dove non posso
So dove rischiare, so dove c'ha un costo
Ho imparato a nuotare, ma non sfido il mare mosso
Mhm, una 9 e un kagoule
Se rimango senza sogni
Se non ho più una voce[23]

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[23] I'm not a bandit, not even a straight-up guy / I know where to eat, I know where I can't / I know where to risk, I know where there's a cost / I've learned to swim, but I don't challenge rough seas / Mhm, a 9 [9mm, a type of gun] and a kagoule [iconic kind of raincoat with hood] / If I run out of dreams /If I no longer have a voice.

(8Blevrai, Fame e Fama, 2022)

In giro con venti albanesi, sei sicuro che vuoi problemi?
Parli della mia vita, dopo, quando la vivi tremi
Balaclava cala, Kalashnikov diretto dalla Calabria
Tu, non parlarmi di mafia, non parlarmi di Jugoslavia[24]
(Il Ghost, 20 Albanesi, 2023)

For youth with migrant backgrounds, rapping becomes a means of challenging the stigma imposed upon them by reclaiming the otherness with which they have been labelled by the (self-declared) "civilized" – and bourgeois – citizenship. In doing so, they confront and subvert the worst racist fantasies projected onto them, embodying roles such as delinquents, drug dealers, murderers, or animals in a concrete jungle: figures that symbolize the epitome of evil (Yousfi, 2022).

Even certain contradictions, which have accompanied gangsta rap since its origins (Spence 2015), are partly reinterpreted in this direction. The seemingly neoliberal myth of the self-made man, the ostentatious display of luxury brands, cars, and money are no longer solely symbols of success achieved under adverse conditions. They also become symbols of fear for "aliens and monsters" (Giuliani, 2020) who seize what civilized society covets.

The journalistic uproar and judicial clamour surrounding the artist Baby Gang is indicative of the seriousness and concern with which his lyrics, which both vindicate and avenge the social stigma experienced as a Moroccan and as a "delinquent", have been received:

E fa zanga zanga
Marocchi sono di Casablanca
Bambini in barca a Tangeri
Sognano di arrivare in Spagna
3arbi in Italia
Trabaja solo con la baida
Su un mezzo fra senza la targa
La scheda fratello è lycamobile
Sono offline anche se sono online
Metto le Air scendo in tuta Nike
Tu che ne sai di quando ero in bike

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[24] Out with twenty Albanians, are you sure you want trouble? / You talk about my life later, when you live it, you tremble / Balaclava down, Kalashnikov straight from Calabria / You, don't talk to me about mafia, don't talk to me about Yugoslavia.

A vendere la merce insieme a Mike[25]
(Baby Gang, in Baby Gang ft Morad, Casablanca, 2021)

It's the most politically charged and controversial aspect of the daily life narratives in rap: from a privileged standpoint, the violence depicted in rap lyrics seems intolerable, often senseless, and entirely rooted in selfishness and aggression. A narrative centred on drug dealing and street violence appears indefensible: from a conservative perspective, it embodies their securitarian fears; for progressist individuals, it represents an unacceptable departure from the rhetoric of integration and assimilation (and from their colonial legacy).

Both perspectives contribute to obscuring the structural violence that renders youth with migration backgrounds vulnerable, trapped in a political, economic, and policing system from which they cannot easily escape. This system, founded on institutional racism, permits police to stop individuals based on skin colour, to torture individuals in custody, and even to shoot young individuals solely for failing to stop at a police traffic control. Hatred towards the police is a central theme in rap and trap music (Saitta, 2023) because, for many residents of the suburbs, the State is represented solely by uniforms, not seen as protectors but as enforcers of repression. The expression of violence, subalternity, and marginalization is a – albeit partial and pre-political – means of reaffirming agency that transcends the role of gratitude and acceptance of migrant conditions in aspiring to be 'integrated'.

Alcott, Zara, Bershka rubavamo i vestiti
Con gli antitaccheggi lasciati nei camerini
Era tiki taka, gli africani ed i magrebini
Eravamo tutti poveri ma eravamo ben vestiti.[26]
(Baby Gang, Alcott Zara Bershka, 2021)

Following the arguments proposed by Bourgois (2003) and, in Italy, by Valerio Marchi (1994; 1996) – see also Bertoni, Caroselli, and Sterchele (2021) – the hypocrisy of social alarm becomes even more apparent as violence becomes problematic when it 'invades' central areas, consumption spaces, and nightlife, disrupting the peaceful existence of unsuspecting and 'innocent' consumers. Power dynamics normalize and invibilize structural,

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[25] He did zanga zanga [slang, onomatopoeia for "he stabs"] / Moroccans from Casablanca / Kids on boat to Tangier / dreaming of reaching Spain / Arabs in Italy / work only with cocaine (money) / on an unregistered vehicle / brother, the SIM card is Lycamobile [brand used for international calls]/ I am offline, even when I am online / I puts on [Nike] Air, cong down in Nike tracksuit / what do you know about when I was on my bike / selling drugs with Mike.

[26] Alcott, Zara, Bershka, we stole clothes / anti-theft tags left in fitting rooms / It was tiki-taka, Africans and Maghrebi / We were poor, but well-dressed.

institutional, and everyday violence through axes of domination, and music «becomes a tool for expressing both a violent aesthetic and an aesthetic of violence» (Molinari and Borreani 2021: 79). By reconstructing the cultural stratification of different migrations in shaping the language of Italian rap, we can highlight, beyond sensationalism and securitarian alarm, the stratification of a subjectivity that experiences structural violence at the intersection of class and race, within a 'collective identity' capable of resisting the integration blackmail (Forman, 2002) – a raw expression encapsulated in rap, with all its contradictions and truths.

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CHAPTER 10

THE TASTE OF HOME MIGRANTS' FOOD IN THE MAKING
BETWEEN CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

Marzia Mauriello[1]

Foods that matter

Food is a powerful tool of identity, both individual and collective. Food and identity are deeply linked, and both can be seen at least partially as the outcome of processes of stratification. It is in terms of stratifications – a term/concept that serves as a guide and reference in this volume – that identities can be conceptualized as the outcome of a constant overlap of social, cultural, and symbolic elements which, over time, albeit always in processual terms, constitute individuals. In migrant contexts – the other central issue in this volume – these dynamics of stratification become even more alive and present at an identity level, with food practices serving as a mirror of these material and symbolic processes. Exploring migratory stratifications through the lens of food, encompassing both production and consumption, can contribute significantly to comprehending the trends, impacts, and meanings of migration in places of arrival. Indeed, the relationship between food and identity manifests in diverse ways and can be interpreted from various perspectives.[2] With reference to intersubjective interaction, food can act as both a centrifugal and a centripetal force, acting as a pushing or pulling factor. It can be instrumentally used, both from emic and etic perspectives, to mark a difference in cultural and ethnic terms (Abbots, 2016; Renne, 2007; Bonfanti et al., 2019; Della Puppa and Segalla,

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[2] For example, food practices define one's self in gender terms. It is no coincidence that the pairing of food and gender has stimulated considerable debate within diverse disciplines in academia, and scholarly works over time have demonstrated how powerful food is as a tool for gender distinction. See among others: Murcott 1983; Charles and Kerr, 1988; Adams, 1990; DeVault, 1991; Lupton, 1996; Avakian, 1997; Counihan and Kaplan, 1998; Counihan, 1999. For a recent overview on the pairing of food and gender, see Mauriello and Cottino, 2022.

Food and identity are also tied with reference to 'tradition', which can function as a 'flag' for preserving food cultures and their environments (also of a social and cultural type) in reaction to homologation processes brought on by globalization or, in parallel – and especially in contemporary times – used as a marketing strategy (among others, see: Counihan, Williams-Forson 2007; Koensler, Meloni 2019; Serra Majem, Medina 2015; Bortolotto, Ubertazzi 2018; Brulotte, Di Giovine 2016; Moyer Nocchi 2015; Cuturi, Mauriello 2019).

2018), and it can also be the key to constructing collectivities by overcoming differences of whatever kind: social, cultural, ethnic.

In individual terms – though it should be clear that the "individual" as a concept is always, intrinsically, reflected in the collective – and following the logics of inculturation dynamics, food is among the first elements to undergo a process of naturalization, starting with the undeniable fact that we are made of the food we eat in a very material sense, since food is the substance that constitutes us. "By eating we let food enter inside us, which [means it] participates in our intimate bodily life" (Poulain, 2008: 85, my translation). In this respect, eating can be seen as an act of assimilation. In the same way, Claude Fischler (1988) illustrates the constitutive aspect of food in identity processes by analyzing its symbolic connotation as well: due to the sense of belonging that food helps to build, in the family nucleus and then, more widely, in communities, and due to the meanings that foods acquire in relation to different contexts.

Food takes on cultural and social meaning through a process of naturalization that involves memory, as Holtzman has demonstrated (2006). For this scholar, the relationship between food and memory is multifaceted and includes: "embodied memories constructed through food; food as a locus for historically constructed identity, ethnic or nationalist; the role of food in various forms of 'nostalgia'; dietary change as a socially charged marker of epochal shifts; gender and the agents of memory; and contexts of remembering and forgetting through food" (Holtzman 2006: 364). Furthermore, Holtzman argues that the very power of food in relation to memory is "the extent to which food intrinsically traverses the public and the intimate. Although eating always has a deeply private component, unlike our other most private activities food is integrally constituted through its open sharing […]" (Holtzman, 2006: 373).

It is not only the individual, sensorial, bodily experience of eating that is connected to memory and gives food its evocative power, but all the associated practices, movements, and people; that is to say, the "social and cultural conditions" involved (Holtzman, 2006: 373), or, in other terms, the encounter/merging of the "physical body" and the "social self" (Abarca, 2020: xv).

Meanwhile, the memory of food contributes to naturalizing the experience of eating because individuals are not aware at all or, at least, not entirely aware, of the cultural nature of this experience. This awareness may emerge through encountering Others and confronting their food grammars (Tuomainen, 2009: 527-28), which are made of rules and places

connected to food preparation, distribution, and consumption; and places and spaces are concepts strictly embedded within food. Indeed, food itself builds the place, and this refers not only to the space that is devolved and devoted to it, that is to say, the effective place where food is prepared, distributed, and consumed. It is no coincidence that the hearth, the 'place of fire' where presumably food is cooked and shared daily between members of a family, is still used in many European languages as a synonym for "home", as it symbolizes family and belonging (Grilli, 2019).

Through the sharing of smells, tastes, techniques, knowledge, and practices embedded in food, a sense of belonging is fostered. In specific situations, such as those encountered by migrants, this sense is restored through dynamics that, in certain cases, align with the intrinsic logic and perspective of migratory stratifications. According to David Sutton, food can be regarded as a "cultural site", a point of identification (2001: 121)[3] that aligns with the concept of "dwelling" when considered "a form of thinking and 'being' in the world" (Matta et al., 2020: 3). It is no coincidence that while food helps to create "dwellings as places of being at home" (Abarca, 2020: xvii) and, consequently, the sense of one's place in the world, its refusal or rejection in migrant contexts becomes a form of agency and a way of "rebuilding" oneself. This is because «[p]eople's culinary agency is the tool to build dwellings» (Abarca, 2020: xv; see also Cottino 2022).

On the one hand, the emotional aspect of food is linked to memory in terms of taste too, given that individuals get used to eating in a certain way, literally incorporating certain tastes and smells (Appadurai, 1981); on the other hand, food symbolism continues to be important. Even though 'unfamiliar' foods can certainly be perceived as good and tasty, in migratory contexts, where subjects need to find a balance between past and present, the food of the "motherland" becomes especially "good to think", just as, for the same reason, that of the host/new country can be a bad food to eat. In terms of agency, and considering that exercising agency allows individuals to construct the sense of their presence in the world, what follows is that «[d]welling is the way people engage with the world in their imagination and/or "on the ground": the world does not appear "ready-made" but comes into being and takes on significance through its incorporation into everyday activities» (Matta et al 2020: 3).

If we are to consider «home as a practice» (Matta et al., 2020: 3), then food is to be understood as one of the more important ways of practicing

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[3] Cultural sites are described as "localized cultural wholes that become points of identification for people displaced by migrations caused by larger global processes" (Sutton 2001: 121).

home, precisely because it is an everyday practice which is literally incorporated; in the same way, it undergoes a process of cultural stratification, which is the result of both adaptation and incorporation of new and different modalities, practices, and habits over time. Indeed, the migratory experience reveals the symbolic aspect of food, and its central function in the processes of building a sense of home and of settling oneself in a new context. And it does so from the point of view of the same actors who are subject to change, who find themselves having to deal with a different food system that, together with everything else, becomes part of that process of revolution of their own cultural and social universe represented by migration. In this sense, food can help to re-elaborate subjectivities while reformulating the perception of the sense of the other and of the idea of community. Emma Abbots speaks in this regard of "migrant subjectivities" to indicate the specific identity status of those who find themselves in the condition of having to completely reorganize their living environment (2016).

The experience of food in its process and path of change in moving from one place to another takes on different forms and substance depending on who assumes a "migrant identity". Fabio Parasecoli recounts his experience as an Italian immigrant in the United States and the first occasion for an Italian-American lunch with his family who had emigrated there sixty years earlier. Starting from his own experience as an Italian immigrant in the United States, he formulates meaningful questions about the ways of managing what are perceived by migrants to be culinary traditions: «How do culinary traditions develop as they do among migrants? Why are certain food objects, behaviors, norms, and values from their places of origin maintained, more or less transformed, to become important points of reference in the formation of a sense of community and belonging, while some disappear and others resurface only after periods of invisibility? What role do cooking and other food-related practices play as migrant communities negotiate their presence in postindustrial societies where individuals and groups define their identities around lifestyles and consumer goods?» (2014: 415-416). These dynamics can be considered common to more or less every migratory context, in terms of adaptations, changes, and needs. However, it may also be worth noting that 'not all migrants are the same' and consequently foods can assume different meanings in the contexts of arrival (Mata-Codesal and Abranches, 2018). While it is true that eating and tasting "food from home" is a very effective way of finding one's place in a "new world", it is also true that in some cases this need becomes more urgent than in others. This may happen when the context of arrival is repulsive, leading to dynamics of closure where collectivities tend to withdraw more into themselves. In

this scenario, food is a distinctive element that is called to respond to this need for affirmation that passes through self-exclusion.

On the other hand, and still in relation to an identity submitted to a complex reinterpretation, in the migratory context food can also, on the contrary, 'widen' its geography, becoming a symbol not only of a specific place, of a region, for example, but of an entire geographical area, of an entire country (Tuomainen, 2009; Sutton, 2001). This does not mean that inter-community differences, in particular food differences, are cancelled or, even less, that the awareness of them is lost. Simply, in the name of a "larger" belonging, distances are sometimes reduced, probably also in the name of the need for differentiation from the host country. Food may thus act as a device for sharing and dialogue from both an intra- and an inter-community point of view, since, in line with Abbots' thought, «[f]oods and food spaces are thus coping mechanisms for migrants that can also cut across social and ethnic divisions» (2016: 118). This is another angle to explore the role of food in the process of migratory stratifications, in terms of juxtaposition of tastes, techniques, and food imageries.

Considering eating habits not only as a part of a culture but also as a lifestyle, eating as like being at home and with "people from home", where home is an extended concept that goes beyond the boundaries of one's own community – in a regional or even national sense, as in the African case that I am going to present – means preserving one's own identity, in the broadened sense of a collectivity that should remain as it is, "faithful" to its origins. In this sense, we can speak of a sort of tribute of loyalty to the country of origin through the perception of a maintained identity "integrity", represented by the pursuit of a lifestyle in continuity with the ways and values of the land of origin. This aspect emerged during my conversations with Michel,[4] a 40-year-old Senegalese man, more precisely in reference to the dynamics of self-exclusion on the part of those who "arrive". Michel, who had been in Italy for about twenty years at the time of our first encounters (2019) told me how upon his arrival in Italy he had to deal with the "closure" of some migrants who, due to the "fear of getting lost" remained in their own community and who, for the same reason, didn't look kindly on those who opened up to the autochthonous people.

Following the same logic, eating like the Other can take on the contours of a 'loss of the self', for all that it also means symbolically introducing 'foreign' food into oneself, 'contaminating' oneself with that of the Other.

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[4] In order to respect the privacy of interlocutors, some names have been altered, and pseudonyms are used throughout the essay.

This must be the place

Italy is a place that has historically been involved in emigration more than immigration. Immigration to Italy is seen mostly as a contemporary phenomenon, embedded within global logics and historical events that in more recent years have actually caused mass emigrations from other countries. Even so, and despite the growing number of migrants in the last two decades (see Table 1), migrations to Italy are not just a contemporary phenomenon (Colucci, 2018).

Table 1. Foreign population resident in Campania according to the Census 1981-2011

1981	1991	2001	2011
18.463	46.373	40.430	151.984

Source: elaboration on Censuses, various years (Amato 2014: 25, my translation)

Table 2. ISTAT data on resident foreign population (with residence permit) in the Municipality of Naples

	2003	2011	2021
Total resident population (number)	1.000.449	961.106	921.142
Resident foreigners (all nationalities - number)	10.879	29.428	56.469
Incidence of foreigners on the total population	1,1%	3,1%	6,1%
Resident Africans (number)	1528	2927	8092
Incidence of Africans on the total foreigner population	14%	10%	14%
Incidence of Africans on the total population	0,15%	0,30%	0,88%

Citizenship of African residents[5]			
Senegal	110	383	1.097
Nigeria	110	325	1.408
Capo Verde	432	557	790
Ivory Coast	49	178	453
Burkina Faso (ex Alto Volta)	26	136	332
Ghana	15	60	536
Guinea	14	57	221
Mali	1	6	320
Gambia	0	3	274

African emigration to Italy began in the 1970s with immigration from the former Italian colonies in the Horn of Africa, but became significant in terms of numbers especially in the first decade of the 2000s.[6] The south

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[5] Only sub-Saharan African migrants with more than 100 residents in 2021 are indicated in Table 2.
[6] As geographer Gianpiero Petraroli indicates, "[i]n the last ten years, the instability of some Middle Eastern and Mediterranean countries, such as Syria and Libya, has generated an ever-increasing number of asylum seekers heading to Europe. The population of foreign origin in Naples, from 2011 to today, has grown from

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of Italy, with particular reference to Naples and Campania region, initially were seen mostly as places of transit but over the last few decades have progressively become places of permanence (Amato, 2014; De Filippo and Strozza, 2015: 14).[7] Michel is one example of a migrant who has chosen permanent residency in the south of Italy. I met him during my fieldwork in Naples among African migrant collectivities living in the Neapolitan urban environment.[8] Fieldwork became more intense in the spring of 2019, although I had contacted some African associations in the previous months and had already participated in events that had brought me closer to some migrant communities.[9] For the entire duration of my fieldwork, access to the various communities required the assistance, in the sense of accompaniment to the places of interest, of one Senegalese man and one Ivorian woman, whom I met at two associations and a hub present in the area. These two key interlocutors have been and still are gatekeepers; they are very well-known and trustworthy within African communities for their role in supporting migrants through activities and initiatives. My presence and attendance at the associations were also a meaningful part of research, as these were places where I met various interlocutors, some of whom I interviewed in those very venues;[10] but mostly because these places became the spaces in which I shared reflections on food habits and cultures with those who later ended up being key interlocutors during my ethnographic forays into Piazza Garibaldi and its surrounding areas. Piazza Garibaldi is the square where the central railway station of Naples is located. This place is densely populated by migrant populations of various origins[11] who reside

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29,428 to 60,260 units, with an increase of over 100% (ISTAT, 2011 and 2019)" (Petraroli 2020: 68, my translation).
[7] See Table 2 on the presence of African migrants in the Municipality of Naples over the past 20 years.
[8] Research started in late 2018 and is still ongoing.
[9] According to data from the Municipality of Naples (2021) the most numerous migrant communities who officially reside in the Municipality of Naples come from Nigeria (17% of the total amount of African resident citizens) and Senegal (14%), followed by Ghana (7%) and Ivory Coast (6%) (not considering the island country of Cape Verde). (ISTAT, 2021).
[10] So far, I have interviewed seventeen African migrants, mostly women who are directly involved in the food sector as cooks, restaurant owners/managers, and vendors. Their places of origin are Senegal (6), Ivory Coast (5), Nigeria (3), Ghana (1), Cameroon (1), and South Africa (1). Fieldwork involves consuming meals in various restaurants and places that offer African food in Naples together with some of my interlocutors; participating in intimate/domestic settings, where I actively assist in the preparation of meals (always in an exclusively female environment); and participating in public events and special occasions that involve my interlocutors in some way.
[11] "Piazza Garibaldi is located on the border between two municipalities (II and IV) and on the border between four districts: Pendino, Mercato, San Lorenzo and Vicaria. In the district of San Lorenzo alone there are 10,218 foreign residents (Municipality of Naples, 2016): it is the district with the highest percentage of resident immigrants in the entire municipality of Naples; but, as in the case of Madrid, these data do not return a real number of foreigners who frequent the territory since most of them come both from the Extraordinary Reception Centers (CAS), present throughout the territory of the Metropolitan City of

there or, in any case, is the central meeting place for communities, including African ones. Even those who do not live there go there to work or just to spend time, according to my African interlocutors. This square and the city of Naples often overlap, in the sense that the square becomes the city, being experienced as the space of life and action of migrant communities that perceive it as the city as a whole, making it its synecdoche. Indeed, Piazza Garibaldi can be thought of as a dense place, culturally and socially connoted by the presence of migrants who make it a socializing space. As highlighted by geographer Fabio Amato, ««the area of the central station confirms itself as an urban-commercial crossroads, an area affected by a "commercial ethnicization", in the sense of a strong concentration, in specific places, of the supply of migrants belonging to single nationalities»» (Amato 2017: 24, my translation). Amato also observes how the presence of migrants has altered the city's appearance, terming this phenomenon the «private geography of migrants» (Amato, 2014: 20, my translation), with particular emphasis on the central station area. Here, the impact of international migrations is unmistakably reflected in the transformation of the landscape, encompassing the foodscape. With reference to my fieldwork, indeed, the African food supply in this specific area of the city is multifaceted not only because of the great variety of cuisines and dishes that come from various countries of sub-Saharan Africa (mostly West Africa) but also because of the various ways of "accessing" such foods: street food vendors and hawkers; restaurants (usually run by women who are also the cooks) where people can also buy take-away foods; and home restaurants, where women prepare African dishes in their houses and sell them as take-away food, while also giving customers the opportunity to consume meals at their place.

The current food supply, also including groceries and international supermarkets, tends to be concentrated in the areas surrounding Piazza Garibaldi.

According to my interlocutors and my fieldwork so far, the area of the central station is the place where almost all African restaurants in Naples are located: in 2020 I counted two Ivorian, two Senegalese, two Nigerian, and one Ghanaian restaurant.[12] These activities are determinant not only because they give migrants the chance to find easily accessed home food

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but also because they contribute to redesigning the area, making it a social space for migrant collectivities. As Julie Botticello writes about an open-air market in South London also frequented by Nigerian migrants, in which she carries out her research, this «fulfills a social need to be present and be recognized. It is a general space, a public place to which anyone can go, yet one that is defined by the prospects of social encounter» (2007: 14).

My interlocutors, mostly women, reported that the food supply for migrants in Naples has been greatly enriched in the last ten years, due to the greater availability of food products from countries of emigration. The following are my ethnographic notes:

When Charlene first arrived in Naples, in 1993, she used to sell panini here [in Piazza Garibaldi], carrying them in big bags… so, maybe there were not modified strollers as there are nowadays! Some time later, though she is not very specific about the period, she started to sell what she calls "rice and sauce" [always in the square and as a street food]. Then she started working as a cook in a Nigerian and in a Tanzanian restaurant until 1996, when she opened the "first Ivorian restaurant in Naples", as she mentioned.

Charlene comes from Ivory Coast and she is in her seventies; I first met her in 2019 at the location where her restaurant is currently located. She complained she had to move from the old place, which for her was much better in terms of style and clientele, because of various troubles that occurred there. She underlines that in the first place she ran, since it was cleaner, and thus more attractive: "everybody came there", while the place she runs now is "simple" and not as crowded as it used to be in the past. She also recounts that in the beginning (mid 1990s, early 2000s) she had to ask her compatriots who were going to Ivory Coast to bring her back ingredients from there: "When I first arrived there was no food from my country".

The perception of many interlocutors, both men and women from various African countries, is that in the last twenty years the food supply in Naples has changed significantly in terms of the availability of African foods.

Before [the mid 1990s/2000s], to eat some products, you had them brought from Paris. [Things] like palm oil and some powdered foods, such as cassava, okra… then these ethnic shops opened. Banana[13] opened about thirty years ago but at the beginning it didn't have many things. (Pascal,

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Naples, and from neighboring municipalities. Therefore, the presence of a large number of immigrants concentrated in a single territory has given rise to an ethnic enclave and a relative spatial distribution of trade" (Petraroli, 2020: 68-69, my translation).

[12] The existence of restaurants (and thus cuisines) from these countries is most likely linked to the stronger presence of these communities in the area and, according to my interlocutors, the number of these places is growing over time.

[13] According to my interlocutors, this is one of the older, if not the oldest, ethnic food shop in Piazza Garibaldi.

Senegal)

Some migrant women, who work in the food supply environment in various capacities (as restaurant home/restaurant owners and/or cooks, street food vendors) talk about the possibility of 'reconstructing' a dish exactly as if they were at home (place of origin), because of the ease of finding all the necessary and "original" ingredients. This is possible because of the current availability of African foods in the city but also because of the ease of going back and forth to the place of origin: as reported by an Ivorian woman who runs a restaurant with her mother: "Nowadays you go to Africa as you go to the market [in Naples]".

Even though the importance of food availability currently is undeniable, the struggle that migrant women had to face in the past – when home ingredients were not available in the city – is the key to understanding the overwhelming importance of food in the paths to home-making, while also provoking thoughts regarding the processes of migrant stratification that have occurred here in the last two/three decades, modifying the foodscape in multiple ways, along with the landscape.

As indicated in the introduction to this volume by Della Puppa, Sanò, and Storato, through a diachronic perspective we can observe "the stratification of the different migratory phases shaped by changing global and local scenarios through their incorporation in material objects and socio-cultural practices" (11-12). Food, in its dual role as a material "artifact" and as a socio-cultural practice, therefore takes on great importance in a discussion about cultural stratification in relation to migration.

At the same time, the women who succeeded in creating their 'traditional' dishes with new and different ingredients, enabling a sensory experience that is similar to that of the food of home, also give sense to themselves and their presence in the new environment by reproducing a practice that back home is constitutive of women's identity: cooking. I consider this aspect central for two main reasons: the first is the importance of "practicing food" in the form of cooking as a "memory exercise". Following Deborah Lupton: «Preparing a meal may evoke memories of past events at which that meal has been prepared and eaten, conjuring up the emotions felt at that time, or the experience may look forward to the sharing of the meal with another, anticipating an emotional outcome» (1996: 32).

The second aspect pays special attention to the imaginative power of food; Emma Abbots demonstrates how migrants' perception of "traditional" and "hybrid" foods in host countries is to be understood as

an "artificial construct that is often founded upon nostalgia or imagining of home (2016). According to Parasecoli (2014: 432):

For migrants, locality is experienced through the production, preparation, and consumption of foods, the performance of practices, and the reproduction of cultural categories that reinforce their connection with their places of origin and with other migrants in other countries, with friends, family members, and with other nearby or far away migrants. Their cognitive map spans from their block to their place of work, from the importing companies that provide them with familiar ingredients to the stores where they shop, from the kitchens where traditional dishes are prepared to the restaurants they patronize.

The centrality of food in these processes is due to the combination of its both intangible and tangible nature which, while allowing the past to be recalled through the sensorial experience, at the same time roots the subjects in the present, in the "here and now" of the material and practical experience of preparation (technique) and food consumption.

Space and place play a central role especially in contexts such as contemporary cities, which are often alienated, following the reasoning of Parasecoli who introduces the concept of a "cognitive map", which would lead back to the sense of self through the possibility of finding oneself in a familiar space. If dwelling leads back to the sense of self, the contribution of food is in the creation of a well-known space, on the level of the senses but also on that of sociality: places of production, consumption, or distribution of familiar/homeland food give a sense of one's being in the world, that is, in the new place.

[T]he sense of belonging to a community may be generated by the reappropriation of lived-in places and specific localities in which preparation, distribution, and consumption of familiar foods play a crucial role (Parasecoli, 2014: 429-430).

The sense of familiarity achieved through the "reappropriation" of places can also be seen as the result of a process of migratory stratification that allows the creation of a sort of 'third space' where people feel they belong. Indeed, the other very important and central concept is "locality" or presence in a place that is relational and contextual rather than scalar or spatial (Appadurai, 1996).

In the case of Naples, "locality" is a square and its surrounding areas, which respond to the way migrants imagine the city, reducing it to a (stratified) place where they 'can be' present.

This presence can take on different forms and shapes in relation to

alimentary practices.

A Senegalese female cook who is very well-known within the African migrant community arrived in Naples in the early 2000s and opened her restaurant in 2014: "But I was already cooking for everybody", where by "everybody" she refers not only to Senegalese people but to all African collectivities present in the area, while "already" probably refers to a home restaurant activity that, as reported by another interlocutor, is the oldest way for African migrant women to offer African food in Naples. In this regard, one of my key interlocutors observes:

In the beginning [when he arrived in Naples, in 1999] there were Senegalese ladies who went to cook in the Pakistani restaurant, before Senegalese restaurants opened. The ladies who cooked at home were there [in the area] even before. They didn't go work as housekeepers or caregivers, they cooked… They did these jobs here. Only Nigerians were on the street [selling food].

In the fall of 2018 I met Janet, a Nigerian woman in her forties who works as a hawker selling Nigerian "traditional and colonial street food" – as she put it – with an adapted stroller that serves as a cart. Like other migrant women, apparently, mostly from Nigeria, she moves all around piazza Garibaldi and the surrounding area. During our conversation, I mentioned how in Naples historically women prepared and sold certain street foods, such as fried pizzas. This was something completely new and surprising for her because she had only seen men selling pizzas on the street. Then I asked her if she had ever been to the Spanish Quarters, where there are still women selling this kind of pizza, and in doing so I found out that in seven years in Naples she had only seen and known Piazza Garibaldi. She had never visited other areas of the city because "I don't have time; I always have to work".

Janet is not the only one who is unfamiliar with the rest of the city, which is reduced to a symbolically connoted and very dense space: a 'world in a square'.

On the other hand, some migrants have decided to 'go beyond' the square, exploring the city and its inhabitants. One is Pascal, who arrived in Naples from Senegal more than twenty years ago, when he was in his twenties. He described a sort of initial ostracism from the Senegalese migrant community because of his decision, upon his arrival, not to spend his time exclusively in the area of the central station, but also to visit other areas of the city, such as the historical center, where he would have "hung out with the whites". "The square" becomes a place that is culturally marked and experienced as such, as well as a locality in which food plays a

central role in every single aspect embedded with it.

For migrants, locality is experienced through the production, preparation, and consumption of foods, the performance of practices, and the reproduction of cultural categories that reinforce their connection with their places of origin and with other migrants in other countries, with friends, family members, and with other nearby or far away migrants. Their cognitive map spans from their block to their place of work, from the importing companies that provide them with familiar ingredients to the stores where they shop, from the kitchens where traditional dishes are prepared to the restaurants they patronize (Parasecoli, 2014: 432, my translation).

Restaurants, likewise, are meeting places, besides being places for sharing food. Mostly located on backstreets, they are modest in terms of interior furnishings, while outside they often have no sign at all to indicate their presence, and if there is one, it is inconspicuous. They are important places for intra- and inter-community aggregation, as fieldwork revealed via the words of Samba, a Senegalese man in his forties who arrived in Italy more than a decade ago and used to work as a cook in an African restaurant close to Piazza Garibaldi. He decided to quit that job because, among other reasons, he could no longer bear "to be involved", referring to the fact that, working in the kitchen of a well-known and popular restaurant, he often found himself involved as a 'witness' in a whole series of issues experienced by the people of his community: "there were too many Senegalese who chit chat". Besides his disappointment, his story demonstrates how restaurants may evidently become a living environment in which, for better or worse, relationships develop and intertwine.

At the same time, the choice of where to go eating or where to get a meal to take away can have a cultural, emotional, and affective connotation, as one of my interlocutors reported when he talked about the reasons for deciding where to purchase the meal for the day. He referred to the home restaurant activity carried out by a woman whom he knows well and who is his 'emotional reference' in terms of ready-to-eat meals. As he described, there are several home restaurants run by migrant women from Sub-Saharan Africa in the neighborhood, and yet his choice is made on an emotional level, not (only) on that of taste.

Each food in its place

The adaptation process that migrants undergo implies a movement between who one was and who one will be (Sayad 1999). In this sense, migrants embody a paradigm of liminality.

Food accompanies this process of reconfiguration by adapting itself, albeit maintaining its function of "anchoring" (Abbots 2016) to the land of origin. On the other hand, food itself has a hybrid and transformative nature, since it has always traveled with humans (Schivelbusch, 1980; Mintz, 1985, Teti, 2007, Gentilcore, 2010).

However, as I mentioned above, nowadays the need for food adaptation is less necessary than it was in the past due to the availability of many 'exotic' food products that can be found in multi-ethnic supermarkets in migrants' neighborhoods. Over time, this process has resulted in the formation of a new foodscape, playing a role in redefining specific areas of the urban space influenced by the presence of migrants. In these areas, the phenomenon of migratory stratifications becomes clearly visible. This is important in terms of the distribution of activities and the concentration of the food offered in a circumscribed space; in the perception of those who arrive and consolidate their presence on the territory, it becomes a significant place and therefore a living space *tout court*. It does not matter that the city is also something else and is also elsewhere, as the meaning of the city lies in the dimension of locality that was mentioned above.

The city is defined by the space where individuals feel a sense of belonging, achieved through the gradual establishment, over time and within a confined area, of places for food distribution and consumption that migrants identify as their own. Simultaneously, the presence of familiar food allows for the delineation of living spaces, as the sense of belonging is intertwined with the possibility of consuming in accustomed ways, rediscovering well-known and familiar consumer goods. From this point of view, food is obviously the consumer good *par excellence*, also because it is indispensable for survival, and therefore an essential, rather than an accessory good. The relationship between presence in certain neighborhoods – that is, living in certain areas of the city depending on one's nationality of origin – and the possibility of consumption is that of cause and effect. The presence of a certain ethnically and culturally characterized group leads to the birth of commercial activities linked to consumption, obviously including food consumption. At the same time, the possibility that in those places one can consume 'in the right way' by rediscovering 'the things at home' probably reinforces the desire to stay in those places. As Petraroli highlights:

> The geographical identifications that characterize the single commercial establishments act as a pole of attraction for those nationalities coming from the same geographical area (2020: 70, my translation).

The author speaks of a "territorial transformation" due to the large number of "ethnic businesses", where «the ethnic niche is characterized by the development of particular activities and services in which immigrants specialize» (Ranisio, 2016: 180, my translation). As Petraroli points out, in the market street of via Bologna, which is one of the streets that join Piazza Garibaldi, only one commercial activity managed by people originating from the place "resists",

> in the presence of over thirty ethnic businesses. Via Bologna, with its inter-ethnic market born in the 1990s and regularized by the Municipality of Naples in 2001 (fig. 3), appears to be the street of ethnic commerce with the most companies in the whole area; more than any other avenue, this one is filled with traders from all over the world. The most represented communities come from Sub-Saharan Africa and North Africa: Senegal, Nigeria and Morocco are the predominant ones. The entire pedestrian street is crowded, on both sides, by numerous and noisy stalls managed by street vendors: over thirty ethnic stalls are present along the street, in the presence of a single Italian commercial establishment. (2020: 71-73, my translation).

The transformation and stratification of urban space are undeniably intertwined with the processes of belonging experienced by the individuals I encountered in my study. The enduring presence of migrant communities has triggered a redefinition of spaces, a phenomenon evident through the emergence of various activities associated with the migrant presence in the area over time. This relationship is complex, as the heightened and more permanent migrant presence has not only spurred a specific type of (food) offering but has also provided an opportunity for individuals to reconnect with elements reminiscent of their homeland. Consequently, this sense of familiarity likely contributes to the process of migrants establishing deeper roots in the new location. What appears central in terms of inclusiveness and well-being, and what at the same time can be considered the cause and the effect of migratory stratifications, is in fact the feeling of similarity that migrants can experience between their homeland and the place of arrival, in this case Naples. Some of them reported how they immediately felt at ease in the city. The people, the climate, but also the fact that here they were able to find everything they needed, including food.

Right after the first COVID-19 lockdown, in 2020, I met Fatima, one of my key interlocutors, who manage a non-profit organization for the social inclusion of migrant communities. She is an activist in her forties and very well-known within migrant collectivities. I found myself talking to her and her friend Flora, a 38-year-old Senegalese in Italy since 2016

who had come to see Fatima at the headquarters of the organization. Flora's husband is a chef, also Senegalese, whom I had previously met and interviewed. She started her story by telling me about her feeling of shock upon arrival in Naples, which appeared to her incredibly similar to her country of origin (here to be understood in a less than positive sense). Her initial shock was therefore due to the unexpected continuity between two worlds, the African and the European, which she had imagined to be poles apart, and different in every way. Instead, for better or worse, in Naples she found a "living space" very similar to that of her homeland. Her family, she told me, has been "adopted" by a Neapolitan family who help them in times of trouble. Food, she stressed, was one of the ways their "Neapolitan friends" have taken care of them.

However, this "feeling like home" with reference to food in most cases appears to be an internal matter that contributes to build a sense of a wider "Africanity", but does not function as a means for a more general inclusiveness in the broader social structure. Indeed, fieldwork has revealed that so-called ethnic business in terms of food should be considered – in the case of African food – as an internal business, almost exclusively functioning within the sub-Saharan African communities in Naples.

Conclusion

Among the African collectivities present in the city of Naples and encountered so far, the idea of "family food, food-from-home" seems to broaden its geographies, becoming inclusive in the direction of an "Africanity" that overcomes the differences between communities of different origins. The new food practices that have stratified over time, along with the establishment of migrant spaces responding to the phenomenon of migratory stratifications, contribute to the development of the sense of home. These practices and spaces can be viewed as promoters of an inclusive and informal territoriality, fostering and encouraging a sense of "feeling at home" (Della Puppa and Segalla, 2018). This feeling, however, should not only be perceived as a product of reproduction of "homely" dynamics but also as a consequence of the configuration of a "third space" linked to processes of migratory stratifications.

Thus, the maintenance of some food dynamics gives meaning to oneself in the new context while the creation of new food practices and places, which have stratified over time, contributes to the constitution of a new space filled with meaning and comfort. This aspect is in line with the aforementioned concept of functional imagination (Parasecoli, 2014), which is not so much linked to the re-proposal of something that was there

but to the construction and modeling of new logic and new practices. Through their reiteration, these new elements become a constitutive part of belonging to a place – despite the places themselves being in a constant transformative process – and of new forms of inclusiveness despite the original diversity.

While the differences among communities certainly remain, others are attenuated, and new (food) habits arise. There are, however, some common elements identified so far – which create a significant continuity in terms of a sense of belonging and in relation to the processes of home-making – that overcome the limits set by the different geographical origins and which become an opportunity for new forms of social interaction based on food practices. Food, therefore, connects communities to their land of origin and then continuously transforms in the process of adaptation and stratification, maintaining its symbolic value despite changes and thus allowing significant openness in terms of intercommunity relations.

Similarly, the feeling of ease increases proportionally with the level of familiarity one reaches with a certain place when one has "maximum spatial knowledge of it: knowing almost without thinking where one is, where one needs to go for specific purposes and how to get there" (Hage 1997: 3). For Hage, it is this form of control over space, which then becomes one's living environment, that generates security and contributes to the construction of a sense of home. It is no coincidence that my interlocutors add that they also feel at home due to the ease with which they obtain 'their things', that is, consumer goods, referring not to the whole city but to that space which I previously defined as "dense", that is, Piazza Garibaldi and its immediate surrounding areas. This is the place perceived as safe in this sense, where it is possible to exercise one's own 'community autonomy', and where the African food supply present in the city is concentrated. And this is the place where hopefully people can finally feel "at home".

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